



The Assault on Journalism

**Building Knowledge to Protect
Freedom of Expression**

Edited by **Ulla Carlsson and Reeta Pöyhtäri**

NORDICOM

The Assault on Journalism

The Assault on Journalism

Building knowledge to protect freedom of expression

Edited by Ulla Carlsson and Reeta Pöyhtäri

NORDICOM

The Assault on Journalism

Building knowledge to protect freedom of expression

Edited by Ulla Carlsson and Reeta Pöyhtäri

© Editorial matters and selection, the editors; articles, individual contributors; Nordicom 2017
(with one exception, page 341-362, reprinted by permission of UNESCO)

The designations employed and the presentation of material throughout this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

The ideas and opinions expressed in this publication are those of the authors; they are not necessarily those of UNESCO and do not commit the Organization.

ISBN 978-91-87957-50-5 (printed)

ISBN 978-91-87957-51-2 (web)

Publisher:
Nordicom
University of Gothenburg
Box 713
SE-405 30 Göteborg
Sweden

Cover by: Daniel Zachrisson
Layout by: Henny Östlund

Printed by: Ale Tryckteam AB, Bohus, Sweden, 2017



Contents

Acknowledgements	9
<i>Ulla Carlsson and Reeta Pöyhtäri</i> Words of Introduction	11
THE STATUS OF SAFETY OF JOURNALISTS. KEY ARTICLES	
<i>Simon Cottle</i> Journalist Killings and the Responsibility to Report	21
<i>Guy Berger</i> Why the World Became Concerned with Journalistic Safety, and Why the Issue Will Continue to Attract Attention	33
<i>Silvia Chocarro Marcesse</i> The United Nations' Role in Promoting the Safety of Journalists from 1945 to 2016	45
<i>Berit von der Lippe and Rune Ottosen</i> Gendering War and Peace Journalism. New challenges for media research	61
<i>Thomas Hanitzsch</i> Collaboration Is the Future. Doing research in the network era	71
THE WAY FORWARD	
1. Reflection, Reconsideration, Collaboration	
<i>Elisabeth Eide</i> A Country without Mercy. Afghan journalists caught in crossfires	81
<i>Pradip Ninan Thomas</i> The Cost of Truth Telling in India. Reporting in the context of intolerance	87
<i>Ramon R. Tuazon, Paz H. Diaz and Therese Patricia C. San Diego</i> Philippine and Global Research on News Media Safety. Crossing disciplines, bridging gaps	93
<i>Reeta Pöyhtäri</i> UNESCO's Research Agenda on the Safety of Journalists. Call for new academic research initiatives	103
<i>Jackie Harrison</i> Setting a New Research Agenda. The establishment of a journalism safety research network	109
<i>Magda Abu-Fadil</i> Journalism Schools Must Include Safety Courses in Curricula	113
2. How to Measure Safety of Journalists	
<i>Katharine Sarikakis</i> Assaults against Journalists. We see the tip of the iceberg	119
<i>Sara Torsner</i> Measuring Journalism Safety. Methodological challenges	129

RESEARCH ARTICLES

Ari Heinonen

Introduction. Explorations in an Emerging Research Field 141

1. Threats and Violence against Journalists, and Its Effects

Syed Irfan Ashraf and Lisa Brooten

Tribal Journalists under Fire.
Threats, impunity and decision making in reporting on conflict in Pakistan 147

Umaru A. Pate and Hamza Idris

How Journalists Survived to Report.
Professionalism and risk management in the reporting of terror groups
and violent extremism in North East Nigeria 159

Lilian Ngusuur Unaegbu

Safety Concerns in the Nigerian Media. What gender dynamics? 171

Anthony Feinstein and Bennis Pavisian

The Psychological Wellbeing of Iranian Journalists 185

Roy Krøvel

Violence against Indigenous Journalists in Colombia and Latin America 191

Kirsten Sparre

The Dangers of Sports Journalism 205

CURRENT RESEARCH HIGHLIGHTS

Marilyn Clark and Anna Grech

Unwarranted Interference, Fear and Self-censorship among Journalists
in Council of Europe Member States 221

Sriram Arulchelvan

Internal Threats and Safety of Journalists. A study from India 227

Fay Anderson

Australian News Photographers, Safety and Trauma 231

Trond Idås and Klas Backholm

Risk and Resilience among Journalists Covering Potentially Traumatic Events 235

2. Protection of Journalists and Sources

Stig A. Nohrstedt and Rune Ottosen

What's Wrong with War Journalism?
Why and how legal aspects of conflicts need better reporting 241

Leire Iturregui Mardaras, María José Cantalapiedra González and Leire Moure Peñín

Embedded Journalism and Its Implications in the Field. 255

Mariateresa Garrido Villareal

The Protection of Citizen Journalists during Armed Conflicts. A legal approach 267

Bora Ataman and Barış Çoban

How Safe Is It? Being an activist citizen journalist in Turkey 279

<i>Judith Lohner and Sandra Banjac</i> A Story Bigger than Your Life? The safety challenges of journalists reporting on democratization conflicts	289
<i>Sallie Hughes and Mireya Márquez-Ramírez</i> How Unsafe Contexts and Overlapping Risks Influence Journalism Practice. Evidence from a survey of Mexican journalists	303
CURRENT RESEARCH HIGHLIGHTS	
<i>Giovanna Dell'Orto</i> Foreign Correspondents and Local Journalists. A key newsgathering partnership, for safety and for the global public good	319
<i>Sadia Jamil</i> Freedom under Pressure. Threats to journalists' safety in Pakistan	323
<i>Olunifesi Adekunle Suraj and Olawale Olaleye</i> Digital Safety among Nigerian Journalists. Knowledge, attitudes and practice	329
The Authors	337
REPUBLICATION OF	
<i>Time to Break the Cycle of Violence against Journalists. Highlights from the UNESCO Director-General's 2016 Report on the Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity</i> UNESCO, Paris, 2016	341
Appendix	363
1. UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity	
2. UNESCO: Towards a Research Agenda on the Safety of Journalists	

Acknowledgements

In connection with World Press Freedom Day 2016 in Helsinki an international conference, entitled *Safety of Journalists. Knowledge is the Key*, was arranged by UNESCO and the UNESCO Chair on Freedom of Expression at the University of Gothenburg in collaboration with International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR), and a range of other partners. Centre for Freedom of the Media (CFOM) at University of Sheffield should especially be mentioned for their efforts. This publication is based on the contributions to the conference.

We are grateful to the Swedish Anne-Marie and Gustaf Anders Foundation for Media Research, whose financial support enabled the publication of this book. We also wish to express our great appreciation for the support provided by UNESCO and IAMCR. Finally, we are deeply indebted to the contributors all around the world who have made this publication possible.

Words of Introduction

Ulla Carlsson and Reeta Pöyhtäri

§ 21

Finally it is also an important right in a free society to *be freely allowed to contribute to society's well-being*. However, if that is to occur, it must be possible for society's state of affairs to become known to everyone, and it must be possible for everyone to speak his mind freely about it. Where this is lacking, liberty is not worth its name. /.../

Peter Forsskål wrote these words in the last paragraph of 21 in his pamphlet *Thoughts on Civil Liberty*, published in Stockholm in 1759. This publication was a polemic against oppression and tyranny – arguing for freedom of expression and civil rights. Forsskål, born in Finland, which at that time was part of the Kingdom of Sweden, was a philosopher, theologian, botanist and orientalist, as well as one of Carl Linnaeus' disciples. He was brilliant – and stubborn.

It was a most challenging statement, and another was in paragraph 9, where Forsskål wrote: “A wise government will rather let the people express their discontent with pens than with other guns”.

Both are universal statements just as important then as now. Threats to freedom of expression are constantly recurring in both old and new shapes, something we, at present, are all aware of every day.

Forsskål foreshadowed the modern understanding of freedom of expression, and in particular freedom of information, in which the media were to play a crucial role as a public sphere. His belief in the power of the free word must have seemed wholly unrealistic at that time. Unexpectedly, he was given permission to print a censored edition, but soon all copies of his pamphlet were banned and confiscated. Harassed and threatened, he left the Kingdom of Sweden.

2016 marked the 250th anniversary of the first Freedom of the Press Act in the world. This, at the time (1766), new Swedish law prohibited censorship and guaranteed public access to official records. The principles behind this act can be found in *Thoughts on Civil Liberty* written by Peter Forsskål. But, he was not to experience this fundamental law. Forsskål died three years earlier, at 31 years of age, of malaria on the Arabian Peninsula. Neither he was to experience the coup d'état nine years later that entailed major restrictions on the press law.

The two statements by Peter Forsskål were also an accurate expression of the basic principles underlying the theme for World Press Freedom Day in Helsinki in 2016,

Access to Information and Fundamental Freedoms. This is your right!, and its three perspectives: freedom of information as a fundamental freedom and a human right; protecting press freedom from censorship and surveillance overreach; and ensuring safety for journalism online and offline. The latter perspective was the basis for a conference on safety of journalists in connection with this WPF, and subsequently for this publication.

Media, assault on journalism and freedom of expression

Freedom of expression is a fundamental human right, and a prerequisite for several other democratic rights. It is a right, but it implies responsibility and respect for the rights of others. Limits on freedom of expression are not constant, but marked by the cultural and social context. Yet there must be no doubt as to where the responsibility lies. Freedom of expression has legal, ethical and moral dimensions. It is about a universal good.

The media have for many years been the lifeline of freedom of expression. The presence of pluralism and independence of the media are essential to democratic rule, and freedom of the media is crucial to the practice of journalism. People who exercise their right to freedom of expression through journalism must be allowed to practice their work without restrictions. This is the responsibility of the state, courts, media companies and journalist organizations, but also of NGOs and civil society, in the era of globalization and digitization.

Every day we see new forms of censorship and repression, self-censorship, surveillance, monitoring and control, gatekeeping, propaganda – disinformation, acts of terror, anti-terror laws, criminalization of encryption and/or anonymity, hate speech and harassment, and organized crime. These are critical issues in many countries, but especially in zones facing social, ethnic and political stress, armed conflicts or disaster situations.

There are even cases of outright murder in which journalists or their sources have been targeted. More than 800 journalists, media workers and social media producers have been killed during the past ten years. Among these killed journalists, during the past two years 59 per cent were killed in war zones, and 41 per cent were killed outside armed conflict areas. A total of 95 per cent of these professionals were local and just five per cent were foreign correspondents. The same applies to non-lethal attacks, which range from intimidation, harassment and arbitrary detention to misogynistic attacks directed against women journalists (cf. UNESCO 2014, UNESCO 2016).

Most victims are targeted in countries that are at peace, but where revealing sensitive information – about e.g. drug trafficking, violations of human rights or corruption – can mean risking one's life. Poorly trained and poorly paid journalists are severely handicapped when it comes to defending professional ethics. Lack of security is a source of corruption and self-censorship among journalists.

Silencing these actors by violence and threats constitutes a serious threat to freedom of expression and as such, it is the ultimate act of censorship. Equally worrying is the fact that for more than nine in ten cases of journalists' killings, the crimes remain

unsolved (*ibid.*). The end result is a vicious cycle of impunity, in addition to a very likely chilling effect on society in a climate of fear and self-censorship. There is a need to highlight the flagrant number of unresolved journalists' murders and the lack of punishment for their perpetrators around the world.

Even in countries that are ranked high on a number of indexes measuring the vitality of democracy, welfare, freedom of expression, absence of corruption and similar indicators, voices are silenced through expressions, made on social media, of hatred, harassment and threats to journalists and other media workers – it is about creating fear. According to recent data, even up to almost 50 per cent of journalists in the Nordic region have experienced online hatred and verbal abuse, including serious threats of a sexual nature towards female journalists as well as death threats (*cf.* Landsverk Hagen 2015, Löfgren Nilsson and Örnebring 2016). Even in these countries, societal debate on crucial issues such as ethnic diversity, equality and human rights is effectively silenced through the attacks. There are also signs of centrally orchestrated information war, lead by state actors, in which journalists are one of the main targets of digital attacks and abuse. Digital security is an obvious and integral part of the issue of safety of journalists.

In several respects, today's situation is a consequence of an extensive transition process involving politics, economics – and digitization – all of which have changed the work and business of journalists. The notion of who a journalist or media worker is has to be redefined in this new context. It is evident that the majority of those attacked for doing journalism are journalists. But besides media workers formally organized in a professional body or employed by a media organization, there are freelancers and social media producers engaged in journalistic activities as well as other actors who may produce journalism.

The increasing number of freelancers should be noted in particular. News media companies rely more and more on freelance journalists, and these journalists are particularly exposed to the risks of working alone in war and conflict zones, but do not have the same level of security as staff journalists do.

Global challenges

Today's risks are global and associated with new dilemmas, because the digital public space is global, while politics remain largely national. There is an increasing understanding of the importance of global solutions: agreements that are formulated globally and implemented nationally. The recognition that the safety of journalists is essential to protecting all citizens' right to reliable information and journalists' right to provide this information without fearing for their safety has been underlined by UN, UNESCO, OSCE, Council of Europe and several other international and regional organizations in a number of resolutions and declarations during the past decades.

Unfortunately, such declarations are often ignored – but it is now that active mobilization of such agreements is extremely important.

A most important step was taken in September 2016 when the UN Human Rights Council adopted a milestone resolution on safety of journalists (A/HRC/33/L.6). It is

a resolution that sets a comprehensive and detailed agenda for states to end impunity for violence against journalists and media workers; it is about their obligations under international law: to release arbitrarily detained journalists, to adopt or reform laws that are abused to obstruct the work of journalists, and to guarantee no interference with the use of encryption and digital security tools enabling anonymity in support of the safety of journalists. All these components are found in previous UN resolutions, but now all are gathered in one and the same resolution adopted by the UN Human Rights Council – in consensus.

To make real progress in this regard, there is an urgent need for a new approach to global governance that is built on a strong multi-stakeholder foundation, and it has to be focused on enhancing domestic decision-making rather than constraining it – in the spirit of a solution-oriented dialogue.

That must also be the essence of the UN 2030 Agenda with its 17 goals and 169 targets. Goal 16 to “promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels” has a clear bearing on media and journalism, particularly on the safety of journalists and the issue of impunity. Not least through its three specific targets:

- 16.1 significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere,
- 16.3 promote the rule of law at the national and international levels, and ensure equal access to justice for all,
- 16.10 ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements.

To assess each society’s progress towards achieving this goal, the UN is currently developing relevant indicators. One proposed by UNESCO and the Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights, and now approved, is:

Number of verified cases of killing, kidnapping, enforced disappearance, arbitrary detention and torture of journalists, associated media personnel, trade unionists and human rights advocates in the previous 12 months.

Such an indicator will further mainstream the understanding of safety of journalists as a right in its own, but also as a target for sustainable development – essential for other sustainable development goals. From that point of view, research and new knowledge are more needed than ever.

Safety of journalists. Knowledge is a key

The safety of journalists and the issue of impunity are associated with many things: the media structure, media law, media ownership, access to media, digital inclusion, media literacy, gender, journalism education, etc.; all of which are to be seen in a political, economic and cultural context. And let us not forget the global approach; there is a need for many efforts, from human rights, media development, education and media

literacy perspectives to more far-reaching proposals such as establishment of international prosecutors and examining magistrates when states have failed to handle the investigation of violence against media workers.

But if progress is to be made, knowledge is a prerequisite. For us researchers it is of the utmost importance that we broaden our theoretical and analytical frameworks. This has too often been ignored in the contemporary research, but now there is an urgent call for empirical results, theoretical insights and analytical concepts.

The kind of academic research described above is essential and can significantly improve our understanding of the complex issue of journalist safety, and in this way contribute to creating safer working conditions for everyone who produces journalism.

What's more, it can help resolve broader issues and systematic problems in society such as corruption, lack of good governance, weak rule of law and inequality. The challenge is not only to explain the problems, but also to contribute to solutions and to communicate with the people in power so that research findings will make a difference.

It is imperative to engage researchers at the local, national, regional and international levels and to encourage them to work together across ethnic, cultural, religious and political boundaries – and disciplines. We have to build on past work, but also break new ground. We need to grasp and absorb new and unexpected insights and to question 'our' givens. We need to venture beyond our familiar intellectual habitat – to share and discuss knowledge and contexts. Networking is crucial.

Having well-established international, regional and national research platforms, with a sense of the history of the field, is more important than ever. As researchers, we need platforms where we can consider the relevance of the questions we formulate – where we are more judicious in our choice of theoretical perspectives, contexts and methods, and where we can evaluate the validity of our findings and the conclusions we draw from them. It is time to test our capacity to propose and imagine models that contribute to more holistic paradigms.

A conference and a publication

The volume you have before you should be seen against such a background. It is based on contributions to a conference, entitled *Safety of Journalists. Knowledge is the Key*, held in connection with World Press Freedom Day in Helsinki, 3-4 May 2016. The conference was arranged by UNESCO and the UNESCO Chair at the University of Gothenburg in collaboration with International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) and a range of other partners. Centre for Freedom of the Media (CFOM) at University of Sheffield should especially be mentioned for their efforts. It was the first scientific conference on the safety of journalists in connection with World Press Freedom Day. It was even one of the first international academic conferences ever in this research field.

The aim of the conference was to emphasize and stimulate safety of journalists as a field of research, and to ensure worldwide participation. If we are to address the elusive

relationship between media, assaults on journalism and freedom of expression, we need to bring together researchers from different parts of the world. Working with the conference and the book has involved a process of reading, listening, discussing and learning – not least about the different ways in which journalist safety is experienced around the world, and how the issue is formulated in different research traditions. At the same time, the fundamental issue remains identical in all traditions, because violence against journalists constitutes an attack on freedom of expression. Moreover, work with the conference and book has shown the courage displayed by several scholars.

Early in the planning of the conference the idea of collecting the various plenary statements and presented papers appeared. Fortunately, the authors agreed that it was a good idea, and were willing to take the time to revise their manuscripts for publication. The contributions represent a broad and varied material dealing with empirical as well as theoretical research cases, and a multitude of insights are presented.

Organization of the book

The volume is organized in four parts. In the first part, a couple of key articles are presented. These articles should be seen as an analytical framework for all the chapters of this book, within the manifold perspectives of its authors. The first part begins with Professor Simon Cottle's keynote speech at the conference, *Journalist Killings and the Responsibility to Report*, where he underlines the importance of understanding how journalism is caught up in both the vortices of history and the globalizing present.

The second part is entitled *The Way Forward*, and it is divided in two focus areas. First, a number of researchers and experts present their reflections and initiatives to achieve progress in the area of journalist safety. They stress the need for education, research and comparative statistics – not least collaboration among researchers – in a context of sorely needed media reforms, strong media ethics systems, media literacy and democratic development. Secondly, researchers are evaluating the existing tools to measure safety, and new means for measurement are suggested.

The chapters in the third part of the book are revised versions of papers presented during three different sessions of the conference. Even some poster contributions have been revised into short chapters. The common thread running through all these sessions was: when we call for better theorizing on the safety of journalists, it is through empirically based knowledge that such improvement is best achieved. The chapters are divided in two main themes: 1. *Threats and Violence against Journalists, and Its Effects*, and 2. *Protection of Journalists and Sources*. In the introduction of this part of the book, Professor Ari Heinonen concludes that “these articles demonstrate that a new important interdisciplinary research field is emerging”.

The fourth and final section is devoted to statistics of relevance to building a knowledge base on safety of journalists. Developing analytical frameworks that can guide comparative analysis is most important, as without such efforts there is an obvious risk that certain factors will grow out of proportion. We are very pleased to have been given the opportunity to reprint the UNESCO brochure *Time to Break the Cycle of Violence Against Journalists. Highlights from the UNESCO Director-General's 2016 Report on the*

Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity, a landmark launched on the International Day to End Impunity for Crimes against Journalists, 2 November 2016.

It is our hope that the chapters presented in this book will stimulate further research dialogues and inspire new research initiatives regarding safety of journalists and the danger of impunity. Moreover, if threats and attacks against journalists can be stopped, it will promote justice and equality – a public good for society at large. Knowledge is the key – it is about protecting, promoting and developing freedom of expression and freedom of the media in the digital era.

References

- Forsskål, P. (1759). *Thoughts on Civil Liberty*. Translation of the original manuscript with background. Stockholm: Atlantis 2009 (original publisher Lars Salvius, Stockholm).
- Landsverk Hagen, A. (2015). *Meningers mot: netthat og yttringsfrihed i Norge*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm.
- Löfgren Nilsson, M. and Örnebring, H. (2016). Journalism under Threat: Intimidation and harassment of Swedish journalists. *Journalism Practice* 10(7): 880-890.
- UNESCO. (2014). *World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development*. Paris: UNESCO. Online: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002270/227025e.pdf>
- UNESCO. (2016). *Time to break the cycle of violence against journalists. Highlights from the UNESCO Director-General's 2016 Report on the Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity*. Online: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BwbZgOWQMh7TjhaUjRMYW5GNHM/view> (See page 341)

The Status of Safety of Journalists

Key Articles

Journalist Killings and the Responsibility to Report

Simon Cottle

Abstract

More journalists are being killed and threatened around the world than at any time before. How do we account for these disturbing trends and why do journalists increasingly put themselves in harm's way? This chapter argues that if we are to better understand the motivations of journalists and the mobilisation of journalism as a communicative and collective enterprise, one that is now capable of both reporting on and recognising the human plight of others in violent, uncivil places, it is important to understand how journalism is caught up in the vortices of history and the globalising present. The discussion develops on the important work of Jeffrey Alexander (2006), reconceiving journalism in and through the prism of the 'Civil Sphere', and inflected here both historically and globally. In a world of globalized communications, journalism's capacity to report from uncivil places, I argue, has become geographically expanded, culturally deepened and, in important respects, historically and normatively compelled.

Keywords: journalist killings, human circle, civil sphere

In a world of globalized communications, journalism's capacity to report from unruly, uncivil places has become geographically expanded, culturally deepened and, in important respects, historically and normatively compelled. This is often overlooked in the contemporary world of academic scholarship.

According to figures compiled by the International News Safety Institute (INSI), 111 media workers were killed in 2015, and 115 in 2016. Recent years have recorded some of the worst death tolls. In 2006, 168 journalists lost their lives, many of them killed when working in Iraq. In 2007, a particularly bad year, 172 media workers died. At the time of writing, the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) documents 2012 journalists killed since 1992. Many of these deaths go largely unnoticed and unreported in the world's media. Occasionally, however, the issue manages to find brief public exposure. On February 22, 2012, American journalist Mary Colvin and French photographer Remi Ochlik were killed in a bombardment of the Baba Amro district of Homs, Syria. Their tragic deaths helped, for a time at least, to focus world attention on the mortal risks confronted by journalists and photojournalists when reporting from such dangerous places. Though such high-profile deaths serve to remind us of the terrible

price that can be paid by Western correspondents and photojournalists when reporting wars and major conflicts, they are not an accurate representation of journalist killings around the world.

The data collected by INSI, The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), and Reporters Without Borders, amongst others, clearly document that in fact most journalist killings and incidents of intimidation and harassment target local journalists, indigenous to the country being reported on, and not Western correspondents and reporters. Furthermore, many journalists and media workers killed, contrary to popular (and in part media-fuelled) misconception, are not involved in war reporting. Almost half of all journalist killings involve those going about the course of their everyday reporting and story investigations and not predominantly when reporting inter-state wars or, even, intra-state civil wars.

Violence, threats and intimidation in the contemporary world, whether state sanctioned or rooted in uncivil societies, assume different forms and are exercised for diverse purposes. But all position journalists at increased risk. This changing backdrop of societal violence in global context is important therefore, for a deeper understanding of the risks and dangers confronted by contemporary journalists and media workers today. And so too do we need to recognise and understand the shifting historical impetuses that compel many of them to report from such dangerous places, exposing the plight and tragedy of others and bearing witness to unfolding human calamity. The academic study of journalism, including that of war journalism and foreign correspondence too often assumes, *a priori*, a default position of external critic, relentlessly focused on the perceived deficiencies or distortions of journalism's representations rather than the problematic and potentially lethal circumstances of its production; circumstances that must be negotiated by journalists in the everyday execution of their work and often informed by a deep-seated sense of the 'responsibility to report' (Sambrook 2010; Cottle 2013). The following first places the increased risks posed to journalists going about their professional practice in global context, before considering the historical imperatives that converge in the present and compel many of them to engage in such dangerous work.¹

Journalism and the dark side of globalization

Today a number of global trends and endemic conflicts position journalists at increased risk and in harm's way. Following the end of the Cold War the world's political tectonic plates moved and fragmented, creating a situation of multiple power plays and shifting political actors that no longer align in a predictable, bi-polar world of allegiances. In such globally fluid and uncertain contexts of conflict today's journalists are not always afforded the legal recognition and protection of neutrality they once were.

In contemporary global times the nature of warfare has also morphed and changed (Tumber and Webster 2006). The so-called 'New Western way of war' (Shaw 2005) is characterized by the pursuit of overwhelming firepower, delivered by high-in-the-sky weapons systems, coordinated by communications and surveillance technologies above

the battlefield, and with the intent of minimizing risk and death to Western military personnel. The fall-out of which is to generate 'collateral damage', that cynical euphemism for civilian deaths, unleashed far from public view on the ground. This form of warfare, dependent on democratic governance back home, is particularly sensitive to adverse, morale sapping, images and information which, in turn can also lead to the deliberate targeting of journalists (Shaw 2005; Miller 2003; Paterson 2014).

So-called new wars, characterized by failed and failing states, warring bands, armed criminals and roaming militias as well as extreme ethnic violence and fast-changing fields of violence, also position journalists and media workers at increased risk (Kaldor 2007). And journalists, alongside humanitarian workers (Humanitarian Outcomes 2014; Cottle and Cooper 2015) and other non-combatants have also recently found themselves deliberately targeted in asymmetric/mediatized conflicts. Here the production of terror images (violent symbols) purposefully choreographed and disseminated to send a chill down the spine of the world include the most inhumane scenes of torture, filmed beheadings and the staged killings of Western hostages (Cottle 2006).

In such circumstances journalists are neither afforded the neutrality they once may have been, and they also no longer have a communications monopoly. The latter further undermines their value, status and claims for safety when warlords and belligerents have ready access to their own communication technologies and means of their dissemination. And, in their respective efforts to control images and information from the conflict zone, terrorists, conflict belligerents and repressive states deploy new digital communications to entrap, target and kill journalists.

In a globalized world, violence and wars conducted on the basis of fundamentalist beliefs and deep-seated religious and/or ideological enmities spill across borders and the perpetrators of collective violence no longer necessarily recognize nation states or differentiate between combatants and civilians – or journalists. International criminal networks, as much as contemporary warlords, are globally enmeshed and often supported from afar. They are also prepared to use extreme violence to contain and control public information and investigations that threaten their interests. Alongside repressive states large corporations are also often involved in environmental despoilation and the pursuit of venal profits. They are known to engage in or subcontract out violence and intimidation directed at local opposition groups and activists for social justice. Here too journalists can become indirect victims and/or directly targeted when seeking to report on such injustices.

Globally enmeshed conflicts and crises, then, are not confined to the sharp-end of killing characterised in the new Western way of war, the particularly brutal forms of ethnic and gender-based violence associated with new wars, or even new forms of mediatized transnational terror. But all generally position not only civilians and non-combatants at risk, but also journalists (Cottle 2009). It is in this global context that journalists must navigate their way through proliferating crises and conflicts, the dark side of globalisation, as best they can (Cottle 2011). There are a number of deep-seated, if more beneficent historical trends, that compels them to do so.

Journalism and the expanding human circle

Journalism variously gives expression to deep historical trends and shifts in human sensibility. In globalised times, these can help to progressively ‘expand the human circle’, incorporating those positioned in jeopardy who deserve and now rightly demand wider recognition and world response. This view of journalism is a departure from the principal theoretical frameworks usually entertained when seeking to critically engage with contemporary journalism, its production, practices and performance – whether political economy, the sociology of news organisations and practices, or cultural-studies approaches to journalism’s texts, representations and dominant discourses (for reviews see Cottle 2003, 2006; Schudson 2011). These and other theoretical optics most certainly help to make sense of journalism performance and practices, but their sights are generally fixed on a relatively short time span, and thereby overlook the considerably longer-term historical trajectories at play in journalism’s communicative aims and professional and civil commitments. If we are to better understand the motivations of journalists and the mobilisation of journalism as a distinctive, communicative and collective enterprise in the present age, one that is capable of both reporting on and recognising the human plight of others in unruly and uncivil places, it is important to understand how journalism is caught up in the vortices of history. This, as well as the political economics of the marketplace, the sociology of news organisations and the contending discourses of propaganda and power, historically grounds and helps to better account for the assignment of journalists who knowingly and willingly place themselves in perilous conditions.

To understand how and why journalism has increasingly sought to report and bear witness to human injustices and violence around the world, we need, then, to situate the emergence and development of journalism in relation to deep-seated historical antecedents and continuing influences based within civil society. This includes the growing historical recognition of distant others as not so different from ourselves. The ‘expanding human circle’ (Ignatieff 1998; Rifkin 2009; Singer 2011; Nussbaum 2014; Shermer 2015) can be traced in respect of a number of underlying historical processes, some reaching far back in time and the evolution of human society (Harai 2014).

The rise of the first axial age (monotheistic, universalising) religions in the middle centuries of the first millennium BC, for example, has been seen as pivotal in helping to open up a religio-normative space for critique and social challenge (Bellah 2011: xix). Through time this has developed and becomes available to be directed at extant hierarchies of power and structures of dominance (see also Armstrong 2015). This more abstract or ‘theoretic’ communicative disposition has developed upon earlier forms of communication that had evolved in the Paleolithic age and adding to earlier mimetic (gestural) and later ritual modes of sociability and collective life (Bellah 2011; Bellah and Joas 2012).

The origins and formalisation of justice and law, both on and off the battlefield (Walzer 2006; Johnston 2011; Robertson 2012; Crowe 2014), also contributed to historically evolving views on what can be perceived and experienced as fair, equitable and just. These views have been based on deep-seated moral values and normative

expectations (Singer 2011), which is not to suggest that in their historical origins they were not principally also about vengeance and the recognition of hierarchical power (Bahrani 2008; Johnston 2011). But through time and evolving conceptions of justice, such ideas and sentiments have become available to fuel social critique and support projects for change (Alexander 2006).

The expansion of city states, trade and the ‘gentle hand’ of commerce (Gellner 1990; Mann 2012) further served to encourage social intercourse across different communities and geographically dispersed groups, contributing to associational relationships based not on mistrust or traditional enmities but shared interests and common recognition – though clearly these same processes can also promote competitive rivalries and the marketplace can also underpin forms of national conflict or even war. State formation, war and the (internal) pacification of violence from the Middle Ages to the present within the West, and in countries and cultures beyond (Giddens 1985; Elias 1994; Goldstein 2011; Pinker 2012; Morris 2014), have arguably contributed to a growing sense of moral repugnance at naked, brutal violence in public spaces, and, increasingly, such shifting sentiments have encroached upon the private sphere. The recent wave of moral revulsion expressed around the world to the ‘barbarous’ executions by the so-called Islamic State (ISIS), and advanced by prominent politicians, publics and journalists, is testimony to the contemporary hold of a generalising (though clearly not yet universal) sense of moral and emotional repugnance that perceives such violent acts as something that should have been relegated to medieval, pre-Enlightenment history.

The Enlightenment – both of science and, importantly though some what neglected, the philosophy of sentiments and sympathy (Rifkin 2009; Pagden 2013; Mazlish 2014) – has also left its mark on Western consciousness, and through processes of colonisation, capitalist accumulation and globalisation, human sensibility more universally. This more ‘empathic consciousness’ (Rifkin 2009) becomes progressively encoded within and normatively elaborated across different cultural forms and representations, as in depictions of acts of inhumanity and human suffering found in: Western art throughout its history (Hughes 2003; Brandon 2007; Danchev 2011; Cottle and Evans, *forthcoming*); the rise of the novel (Hunt 2007); photography (Linfield 2010; Borer 2012; Kennedy and Patrick 2014); film, documentary and video, and journalism (Perlmutter 1999; Willis 2003; Allan 2006, 2015; Laquer 2011; Cottle 2014; Cottle and Cooper 2015; Cottle and Hughes 2015). According to Anthony Pagden (2013), the Enlightenment served to move people’s thinking and practices from Thomas Hobbes’s *Leviathan* and the ‘war of all, against all’ to the moral-sense philosophers of sentiment and sympathy, who marked a fundamental shift in social and political consciousness. It was David Hume who famously argued in *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739), “No quality of human nature is more remarkable than that propensity we have to sympathize with others, and to receive by communication their inclinations and sentiments however different from, or even contrary to, our own” (Book II, Part I, Section XI). This Enlightenment standpoint continues to resonate in contemporary positions of humanitarianism and ideas of cosmopolitanism today (Pagden 2013: 78).

The advances of humanitarianism and, more recently, human rights have further informed contemporary Western cultures and societies and do so normatively as well

as institutionally and judicially (Hunt 2007; Tilly 2007; Ishay 2008; Keane 2009; Rifkin 2009; Robertson 2012). The increased recognition of distant others as not so dissimilar to ourselves, and their perception through an increasingly empathic and compassionate lens (Rifkin 2009), suggests, then, that contemporary trends in humanitarianism and increasingly empathy-filled journalism have long historical antecedents. Moreover, these are considerably more deeply embedded within the ebb and flow of human societies than any easy idea of technological or communications determinism can accommodate (Wilson 1998). That said, the expansiveness and reach of modern communication systems can surely not be underestimated in ‘bringing home’, both figuratively and literally, the human plight of others from around the globe (Robertson 1992). Human beings have historically become depicted – and, for many, increasingly discerned – less as strangers and foreign, exotic and Other, and more as not so different to ourselves, and, in such ways, can more readily become seen as deserving of our recognition and, sometimes, response (Ignatieff 1998; Chouliaraki 2006, 2010; Cohen 2006; Orgad 2012; Cottle and Cooper 2015).

Authors have begun to discern the progressive possibilities associated with such communication flows, and how this affects relations of power in a world of exponentially increasing global communications.

Today, many of the good ideas of globalisation are taking root. Computers and digital media store unlimited quantities of images and texts, insuring that a ready stock of cultural information is always available. As part of the process, the world’s political, economic, military, religious, and cultural elite must be able to stand up to the disinfecting sunlight of transparency and the discerning court of global public opinion. Acts of cultural intolerance, oppression, and abuse are becoming increasingly plain for everyone to see and repudiate (Lull 2007: 149).

Such views on the power of contemporary media or, more precisely, power of progressive forces rooted in democratising and transnationalising civil society, are now on the academic agenda (see, for example, Thompson 1995; McNair 2006, 2015; Silverstone 2007; Cottle 2011; Lule 2012), and, in large measure, it is the practices and performance of contemporary journalism around the world that has helped put them there. Journalism, it can be said, along with other media such as photography (Sontag 1979, 2003; Linfield 2010), video and film, as well as citizen journalism (Torchin 2012; Thorsen and Allan 2014), have all entered increasingly into the politics of recognition (Taylor 1994). That is to say, journalism has helped to grant identities to images in the wider force field of politics. Here it is not only material redistribution of goods and services but also the collective pursuit of identity recognition that becomes essential for group well-being, and collective advance. Journalism on occasion also proves capable of taking the position of the ‘Other’, recognising differences and championing social causes based on perceived injustices and the hurt suffered by denigrated and marginalised social groups (Cottle 2004, 2006: 167-184) – whether victims of war and disasters, the poor and dispossessed or minorities and women and whether disenfranchised by patriarchal and/or fundamentalist beliefs or structures of inequality and power.

This of course should not be read as suggesting that journalism has not in the past, or indeed continues in the present, to contribute to those very processes of Othering that some journalists now feel obligated to question, and who do so through crafted, experiential and humanly sympathetic forms of reporting and analysis. But it *is* to say that journalism can and sometimes does perform roles and responsibilities that, inevitably, are both expressive and constitutive of changing civil society.

Journalism today in many countries also contributes to what John Keane distinguishes as today's 'monitory democracy', namely, an evolving, communications-based form of democratic practice that can be differentiated from earlier historical waves of 'assembly' and later 'representative' democracy (Keane 2009). Monitory democracy, he argues, is a:

post-Westminster form of democracy in which power-monitoring and power-controlling devices have begun to extend sideways and downwards through the whole political order. They penetrate the corridors of government and occupy the nooks and crannies of civil society, and in so doing they greatly complicate, and sometimes wrong-foot, the lives of politicians, parties, legislatures and governments (Keane 2009: xxvii).

Keane positions his major disquisition on the remarkable advances of democracy around the world, and the growth of 'monitory democracy' post-1945, in large part on media and communications and, specifically, today's 'communicative abundance'. It is this, in combination with 'monitoring' human-rights organisations and an expansive culture of humanitarianism now institutionalised in the established and growing field of non-governmental organisations and international frameworks of law, that prompts journalism and journalists to recognise not only an expanding human circle of former others, but also their own responsibility to report. And this in a period when, for the first time in human history, the UN falteringly moves towards the enactment of principles of the 'responsibility to protect', requiring signatory states since 2005 to honour their commitment to protect civilian populations from the four atrocity crimes of war crimes, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing, and genocide (Evans 2008).

Current scholarship on mediated bearing witness further helps to focus claims about journalism's mobilisation and motivations in respect of reporting on the plight of others in unruly and uncivil places. This includes an advancing disposition to recognise victims and survivors of war, disasters and catastrophes as deserving and demanding of recognition and world response (Cottle 2013). Scholars have usefully drawn attention to the historical etymology of 'bearing witness' with its origins in law, theology and atrocity – origins that endow current ideas of witnessing with 'extraordinary moral and cultural force' (Peters 2011: 708). Ideas of bearing witness clearly have evolved historically, but in the field of modern journalism and international reporting they have also become powerfully associated with the reporting of some of the major conflicts and human disasters across the twentieth century (Taylor 1998; Leith 2004; Sambrook 2010; Tait 2011).

Together these deep historical antecedents serve to compel journalism and journalists to report on the plight of others around the world today, and, in so doing, increasing numbers also put themselves at risk.

Journalism and the civil sphere

A particularly persuasive theoretical lens for better appreciating the contribution of journalism within civil societies and expanding human circle, is provided by Jeffrey Alexander in his magnum opus *'The Civil Sphere'* (2006). This offers an unusual and penetrating optic on how justice and democracy can be sustained in complex societies and how solidarity becomes enacted in and through the 'civil sphere'. It also helps to open up a new way of seeing journalism:

The premise of Civil Sphere is that societies are not governed by power alone and not fuelled only by the pursuit of self-interest. Feelings for others matter, and they are structured by the boundaries of solidarity. How solidarity is structured, how far it extends, what it's composed of – these are the critical issues for every social order, and especially for orders that aim at the good life. Solidarity is possible because people are oriented not only to the here and now but to the ideal, to the transcendent, to what they hope will be the everlasting (Alexander 2006: 3).

In contradistinction to Jürgen Habermas's public sphere theory (1974, 1989), with its emphasis upon public-opinion formation through information exchange and rational deliberation, Alexander grants processes of symbolic recognition, collective identity and affect their cultural and political due. It is how people feel and understand, and how, invariably, they do so on a basis of shared sentiments of justice, fairness and what is right, he argues, that warrants increased recognition in communication processes allied to political struggles for change. This informs people's desire and capacity to realise the 'good society' for themselves and, importantly, for others. The civil sphere overlaps with other spheres – politics and economy – and like them takes place in and through various institutions but, importantly, it also exerts its own relative autonomy. Alexander's conceptualisation of the civil sphere, then, provides an eloquent and necessary intervention into a field of scholarship whose default position is too often only to see journalism and journalists through a critical prism of professional deficiencies, representational distortions, marketplace determinations and dominant cultural codes and discourses. It has tremendous relevance for helping us to think through the roles and commitments of journalists reporting from unruly, uncivil places. It could, however, be more firmly positioned on a stronger historical foundation in respect of those longer-term societal trajectories already alluded to – trajectories that inform the contemporary civil sphere: individualism, democracy, empathy, humanitarianism, human rights, and globalised threats and human insecurity.²

The reliance upon universal cultural binaries as the motivating and mobilising force of progressive social change may also read as a little historically thin, and short-circuits how such binaries have themselves become historically forged and constituted. Today,

as we have heard above, it is crucial to recognise the increasingly global reach of an expansive 'civil sphere' that reflexively extends beyond the normative boundaries of a particular nation state or homogenised view of society (Lull 2007; Cottle and Lester 2011; McNair 2016).

Conclusion

The discussion above has sought to underline the constitutive nature of contemporary journalism within the considerably longer-term historical trends in human society, and granted communications an expressive role in respect of these wider shifts in sensibility and struggles for change. Here the centrality of journalism to the enactment of the 'civil sphere', after Alexander (2006), was recognised and gently nudged to grant greater attention to (1) its depth historical antecedents, and (2) its extension beyond national parameters to incorporate today's globalised world of risks and threats. Only from this twin vantage point of history and the global are we in a better position to discern not only the changing nature of violence and precarity in the contemporary world, but also the increased propensity of journalism and journalists to report on this world. And it is this that thereby positions many in perilous conditions and some in mortal jeopardy.

In a globalizing world in which the UN's 'responsibility to protect' doctrine urges the international community to recognize its shared responsibility to protect the lives and human dignity of those confronting atrocity and mass killings, the world's journalists also deserve increased international recognition and protection. Indeed, there is a case that the current lexicon of 'protection' and 'security' needs to shift to that of 'safeguarding' and 'prosecution' given the seeming impunity that characterize too many journalist killings today. Wider institutional and legal frameworks must be robustly enforced and brought into play if journalists in the future, as well as those on dangerous assignments in the present, are to be properly recognised and safeguarded in international law, differing tiers of governance and within civil society. They need this not only when seeking to alert the world's conscience to gross acts of inhumanity around the world but also when reporting on the everyday violence, intimidation, crime and corruption that insidiously threatens and undermines both theirs' and other peoples' 'civil society.'

Daily 'civil life' can only flourish in participatory and emancipatory modes when enacted within and protected by normatively accepted, legally sanctioned and democratically mandated societies. The 'responsibility to protect' and 'the responsibility to report', profoundly implicate journalists in the practice of their craft and the conduct of civil societies around the world. They should be seen as indivisible, mutually constitutive, and implicate us all in the conduct and safeguarding of journalists. The protection of journalists and their responsibility to report in and from dangerous places, in violent times, cannot therefore be simply seen as a matter *to do* with 'journalists' or, even more broadly, as simply being *about* 'journalism.' Ultimately it is a matter for all of us, as it reaches deep inside the conduct of human affairs in global society.

References

- Alexander, J. (2006). *The Civil Sphere*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Alexander, J. (2007). *The Meanings of Social Life: A Cultural Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Allan, S. (2006). *Online News*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Allan, S. (2013). *Citizen Witnessing*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Allan, S. (2015). 'Visualizing Human Rights: The Video Advocacy of WITNESS', pp. 197-210 in S. Cottle and G. Cooper (eds), *Humanitarianism, Communication and Change*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Armstrong, K. (2015). *Fields of Blood: Religion and the History of Violence*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Bahrani, Z. (2008). *Rituals of War: The Body and Violence in Mesopotamia*. New York: Zone Books.
- Bellah, R. (2011). *Religion in Human Evolution*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Bellah, R. and Joas, H. (eds) (2012). *The Axial Age and Its Consequences*. London: Harvard University.
- Bendingfeld, S. (2015). Culture, Power, and Political Change: Skeptics and the Civil Sphere, *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 39(2): 158-189.
- Borer, A. (ed.) (2012). *Media, Mobilization and Human Rights: Mediating Suffering*. London: Zed Books.
- Brandon, L. (2007). *Art & War*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Chouliaraki, L. (2006). *The Spectatorship of Suffering*. London: Sage.
- Cohen, S. (2006). *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Cottle, S. (ed.) (2003). *Media Organisation*. London: Sage.
- Cottle, S. (2004). *The Racist Murder of Stephen Lawrence*. New York: Praeger.
- Cottle, S. (2006). *Mediatized Conflict: Developments in Media and Conflict Studies*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Cottle, S. (2009). *Global Crisis Reporting: Journalism in the Global Age*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Cottle, S. (2011). 'Taking Global Crises in the News Seriously: Notes From the Dark Side Of Globalization', *Global Media and Communication*, 7(2): 77-95.
- Cottle, S. (2013). 'Journalists Witnessing Disasters: From the Calculus of Death to the Injunction to Care', *Journalism Studies*, 14(2): 232-248.
- Cottle, S. (2014). 'Rethinking Media and Disasters in a Global Age: What's Changed and Why it Matters', *Media, War & Conflict*, 7(1): 3-22.
- Cottle, S. and Lester, L. (eds) (2011). *Transnational Protests and the Media*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Cottle, S. and Cooper, G. (eds) (2015). *Humanitarianism, Communications, and Change*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Cottle, S. and Hughes, C. (2015). "'The Responsibility to Protect" and the World's Press: Establishing a New Humanitarian Norm?', pp. 76-91 in J. Hoffmann and V. Hawkins (eds), *Communication for Peace*. Routledge.
- Cottle, S., Sambrook, R. and Mosdell, N. (2016). *Reporting Dangerously: Journalist Killings, Intimidation and Security*. London: Palgrave.
- Cottle, S. and Evans, K. (forthcoming). "'Massacre of the Innocents": On the Historical Shifts in Sensibility Toward Atrocity', in M. Brown and E. Carrabine (eds.) *The Routledge International Handbook of Visual Criminology*. London: Routledge.
- Crowe, D. (2014). *War Crimes, Genocide, and Justice*. New York: Palgrave.
- Danchev, A. (2011). *On Art and War and Terror*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Press.
- Elias, N. (1994). *The Civilizing Process*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Evans, G. (2008). *The Responsibility to Report: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes*. Washington DC: Brookings Institute.
- Gellner, E. (1990). *Plough, Sword and Book*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1985). *The Nation-State and Violence*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Goldstein, J. (2011). *Winning the War on War*. New York: Dutton, Penguin Books.
- Habermas, J. (1974). 'The Public Sphere', *New German Critique*, 3(Autumn): 49-59.
- Habermas, J. (1996). *Between Facts and Norms*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Harari, Y. (2014). *Sapiens: A Brief History*. London: Harvill Secker.
- Hughes, R. (2003). *Goya*. New York: Knopf.

- Humanitarian Outcomes (2014). *Aid Worker Security Report 2014*. Humanitarian Outcomes. London: Canalot Studios.
- Hunt, L. (2007). *Inventing Human Rights*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.
- Ignatieff, M. (1998). *The Warrior's Honour: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Ishay, M. (2008). *The History of Human Rights*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Johnston, D. (2011). *A Brief History of Justice*. London: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Kaldor, M. (2006). *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Keane, J. (2009). *The Life and Death of Democracy*. London: Simon & Schuster.
- Kennedy, L. and Patrick, C. (2014). *The Violence of the Image: Photography and International Conflict*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Laquer, T. (2011). 'Mourning, Pity, and the Work of Narrative in the Making of "Humanity"', pp. 31-57 in R. Wilson and R. Brown (eds) *Humanitarianism and Suffering*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leith, D. (2004). *Bearing Witness: The Lives of War Correspondents and Photojournalists*. Milsons Point, NSW: Random House.
- Linfield, S. (2010). *The Cruel Radiance: Photography and Political Violence*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Lule, J. (2012). *Globalization and Media*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Lull, J. (2007). *Culture-On-Demand: Communication in a Crisis World*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Mann, M. (2012). *The Sources of Social Power. Volume 1: A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Matheson, D. and Allan, S. (2009). *Digital War Reporting*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Mazlish, B. (2014). *Reflections on the Modern and the Global*. London: Transaction.
- Morris, I. (2014) *War: What Is It Good For?* London: Profile Books.
- McNair, B. (2006). *Cultural Chaos: Journalism, News and Power in a Globalised World*. London: Routledge.
- McNair, B. (2015). *Communication and Political Crisis: Media and Governance in a Globalized Public Sphere*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Miller, D. (ed.) (2003). *Tell Me Lies: Propaganda and Media Distortion in the Attack on Iraq*. London: Pluto.
- Morris, I. (2014). *War: What is it Good For?* London: Profile Books.
- Nussbaum, M. (2014). *Political Emotions: Why Love Matters for Justice*. London: Belknap Harvard.
- Orgad, S. (2012). *Media Representation and the Global Imagination*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Pagden, A. (2013). *The Enlightenment: And Why It Still Matters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Paterson, C. (2014). *War Reporters Under Threat: The United States and Media Freedom*. London: Pluto Press.
- Perlmutter, D. (1999). *Visions of War*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- Pinker, S. (2011). *The Better Angels of Our Nature*. London: Penguin.
- Ploughshares (2007). *Armed Conflict Report 2007 Summary*. Ontario: Project.
- Rifkin, J. (2009). *The Empathic Civilization*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Robertson, G. (2012). *Crimes Against Humanity*. London: Penguin.
- Robertson, R. (1992). 'Mapping the Global Condition: Globalization as the Central Concept', pp. 15-30 in M. Featherstone (ed.) *Global Culture*. London: Sage.
- Sambrook, R. (2010). *Are Foreign Correspondents Redundant?* Oxford: Reuters Institute for Journalism.
- Schudson, M. (2011). *The Sociology of News*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Shaw, M. (2005). *The New Western Way of War: Risk-Transfer War and its Crisis in Iraq*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Shermer, M. (2015). *The Moral Arc*. New York: Henry Holt.
- Silverstone, R. (2007). *Media and Morality: On the Rise of the Mediaopolis*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Singer, P. (2011). *The Expanding Circle*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Press.
- Sontag, S. (1979). *On Photography*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Sontag, S. (2003). *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

- Tait, S. (2011). 'Bearing Witness, Journalism and Moral Responsibility', *Media, Culture & Society*, 33(8): 1220-1235.
- Taylor, C. (1994). 'The Politics of Recognition', in A. Gutman (ed.) *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (pp. 25-74). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Taylor, J. (1998). *Body Horror: Photojournalism, Catastrophe and War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Thompson, J. (1995). *The Media and Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Thorsen, E. and Allan, S. (eds) (2014). *Citizen Journalism: Global Perspectives, Volume II*. London: Peter Lang.
- Tilly, C. (2007). *Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Torchin, L. (2012). *Creating the Witness: Documenting Genocide on Film, Video and the Internet*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Tumber, H. and Webster, F. (2006). *Journalists Under Fire: Information War and Journalistic Practices*. London: Sage.
- United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) (2009). *From Conflict to Peacebuilding. The Role of Natural Resources and the Environment*.
- Walzer, M. (2006). *Just and Unjust Wars*. New York: Basic Books.
- Willis, J. (2003). *The Human Journalist: Reporters, Perspectives, and Emotions*. Westport: Praeger Publishers.
- Wilson, B. (1998). *Media, Technology and Society: A History from the Telegraph to the Internet*. London: Routledge.

Notes

1. This chapter draws upon my chapters and argument elaborated at greater length in S. Cottle, R. Sambrook and N. Mosdell (2016) *Reporting Dangerously: Journalist Killings, Intimidation and Security*, and my keynote address 'Journalist Killings and the Civil Sphere', delivered to the 2016 UNESCO World Press Freedom Day Conference on Safety of Journalists: New Agendas. Helsinki, Finland, (3.5.16). I would like to thank Professor Ulla Carlsson and the conference organizers for inviting me to attend this important event.
2. For a more detailed appreciation of Alexander's 'civil sphere' concept and its critics see 'Journalism and the Civil Sphere' pp. 88-107 in Cottle et al (2016), and Bendingfield (2015).

Why the World Became Concerned with Journalistic Safety, *and Why the Issue Will Continue to Attract Attention*

Guy Berger

Abstract

There is a history to why the challenge of securing safety for journalism has become a prominent issue in many parts of the world. This is partly because of increased attacks on journalists, but it is also a function of global developments that have afforded space for the issue to come to fore as a major concern by the international community – with associated impact on other actors as well. Safety can, and should, be distinguished from other dimensions relevant to journalism – media freedom, pluralism, independence, gender and digital matters. At the same time, attention to safety – within a framework of rights, highlights the interconnections and wider possibilities of work on this subject. Furthermore, because knowledge about the topic is a relatively green-fields opportunity, academic engagement can have real impact. Looking ahead, with intensification of digital dynamics in societies, the issue of safety (affecting both off- and online worlds) is likely to increasingly be a key component in the emerging and broadening ecology of journalistic practice.

Keywords: journalism, safety, internet, press freedom, digital, ecology

It would be mistaken to take for granted that safety for the practice of journalism has emerged as a global concern. This because it has taken specific conditions and actions for the issue to become a major point of focus in the international community. To understand the meaning of “safety” and anticipate its trajectory worldwide, it is important to understand the dynamics that have been driving it.

Of particular significance for this chapter, is how it came to be that the safety of journalists rose to occupy a top place within UNESCO’s normative work and practical programmes, both reflecting external realities and also helping to shape them. As the agency within the United Nations that deals with media-related issues, UNESCO has long been a site for related debates. The general conference of UNESCO Member States (which by 2016 totalled 195 countries) has taken up different positions over time, reflecting an evolution that has broadly mirrored many of the societal changes in the wider world, and it has also added impetus to some of them as well – within the UN more broadly, but also more widely. The reasons why safety has come to the fore,

and its significance for other aspects of journalism, media and the Internet, is a key point that will be elaborated below.

The origins of the ascendancy of safety issues can be understood as an indirect outcome of the end of the Cold War period. That historic change focused UNESCO attention on agendas for national press freedom, an issue on which many different states could agree, given the discrediting of state-controlled systems and an end to ideological politicization reflecting the different world power systems. What this meant was a fading of the erstwhile (and deadlocked) debates about international communication imbalances within the Organisation. The global agenda switched to a vision of a reduced role for the state in media matters (amongst other realms of life), and to the recognition of the importance of the civil society (such as manifested by community radio) and of business (as seen in privatisations of state-media assets where these existed and the opening up to privately owned media through forms of deregulation). In place of attempts to rebalance international communication flows, the new focus operated on the basis of national sovereignty operating under the “Washington Consensus” that favoured neo-liberal policies and which on the whole was positive in terms of expanding the political space for independent journalism.

The emblematic development in this transition was the 1991 UNESCO conference in Windhoek, capital of the then-newly independent Namibia. The gathering was titled significantly as “Promoting an Independent and Pluralistic African Press”. This event brought together independent African journalists who issued the “Windhoek Declaration” at the end of the proceedings.¹ The conceptual perspective embedded in the Declaration highlighted three key elements constituting “press freedom” – namely, “an independent, pluralistic and free press”. These three distinct issues signalled that the journalists drafting the text wished to go beyond the classic liberal political dimension of press freedom, and to supplement this component with attention to the economic and the institutional. In this way, it can be interpreted that independence referred mainly to issues at the level of the media outlet, pluralism to the sector, and freedom to the national legislative scope. This was thus a recognition that mass media could be politically free from state control at the national level, but without therefore being automatically independent or pluralistic at the other levels. The lesson was that the entire three-part package was what would be needed for, as the Declaration put it, “the development and maintenance of democracy in a nation, and for economic development”.² For a period, the “trinity” of independence, pluralism and freedom seemed like a comprehensive schema. Yet in the decades after, it appeared that there were gaps that needed to be addressed.

Thus it was that when UNESCO came to build on the Windhoek conceptualization some years later, distinct attention was also given to the issues of gender, Internet and safety. The three original Windhoek dimensions would continue to inform the structure of key chapters of the UNESCO Media Development Indicators framework in 2007 (covering democratic performance of media institutions, the economic structure of the media sector, and legal and regulatory environment). Yet the expansion of the “Windhoek” normative framework from three to six elements (adding in gender, Internet and safety) was organic, and it made its appearance in the UNESCO report

on “World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development”, first published in 2014. In this way, the Windhoek conditions switched the focus away from international communication imbalances to national conditions for press freedom for which individual states are responsible, and thereby afforded the political possibility for the safety of journalists to become a significant issue over time.

Considered conceptually, the expanded Windhoek conception is a six-dimensional analysis of media issues – freedom, pluralism, and independence as of old, but supplemented by the aspects of gender, safety and digital developments. As with the Windhoek original, it continues to be understood that one dimension does not necessarily imply the other. Freedom does not necessarily impact on gender inequality, nor vice versa. Nor does pluralism automatically guarantee the physical safety of those doing journalism. Digital developments do not necessarily strengthen or weaken freedom, pluralism and independence; but at the same time it would be missing a major factor if the global Internet – with its opportunities as well as risks – was not factored into an analysis of press freedom issues today. In other words, in this expanded perspective, it is possible for a country to exhibit unevenness and even contradictions in regard to the six elements in this expanded perspective.

As with the original Windhoek model, the six-part “sequel” can be regarded as normatively desirable. Besides for independence, pluralism and independence, it is evident today that a flourishing journalism needs gender equality, conditions for the safe exercise of free expression, and an Internet which UNESCO – as well be elaborated below – describes as being based on human-rights, openness, accessibility and multi-stakeholder participation.

The significance of this expanded framework is that it illustrates that UNESCO recognized new realities in a dynamic way. There was an inherent logic to incorporating further elements beyond the original three aspects, and one that – as will be shown – was also within the terrain of the politically possible. The various resolutions and programmes associated with the expanded conception have helped to create international standards of a holistic media norm in terms of which particular media-related policies and practices can be assessed and evaluated. Shortfalls in any given society can be assessed in terms of empirical assessments of the six dimensions, and the identified gaps can serve to hone strategies for change.

Conceptualising safety in the mix

It is salutary at this point to consider the conceptual relationship between safety and the other five elements of the framework.

First, one may assess the distinctiveness of each. It is evident that media can (and should) do much better in achieving gender equality, but also that both men and women would still not necessarily be safe to do their work as a result of progress in regard to gender issues. By the same token, safety measures do not automatically promote gender equality (even although they ought to be gender-sensitive at least, if not gender-transformative).

Another pointed example is that media freedom can exist formally in a country, but journalists may still be routinely killed there. On the other hand, there are cases where media freedom is constrained, and yet journalists are not subjected to violent attack. This perspective differs from a number of others where questions about safety of journalists elicit responses that are related more strictly to press freedom questions (censorship, repressive laws, restrictive court actions, for example). While realities are often murky, it is important conceptually to understand the specificity of safety issues. Societies may seek to make a case to curtail freedom of expression, which may or may not meet the international standards of proportionality, legitimacy and legal purpose. This, however, involves different issues as compared to the issue of threats and attacks on the physical safety of those doing journalism, their families and their sources. A key distinction is legality – no society can justify violence as an acceptable limitation on expression, and certainly no society has a law that makes it legal to threaten, intimidate, kidnap, torture, assassinate or otherwise harm any person (even irrespective of whether they do journalism or not).

The issue in press freedom is about the character of laws limiting the right to free expression, and their application, whereas the issue in safety is about the rule of law and the protection of the individual's right to life, liberty and the security of person. Both rights are per the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and they bring different considerations to bear. Restrictions on the right to free expression do not necessarily impact on the right to life and security. Interconnection should not be mistaken for identity.

In other words, it is important to remember the distinctiveness of safety and media freedom, while at the same time also being aware of interconnections between these, and between them and the dimensions of independence, pluralism, gender and digital developments.

The rise of safety as a matter of top concern

The reasons why the digital aspects and gender issues came into the picture for UNESCO in the 21st century are not hard to divine. The reason why safety came to the fore also reflects the reality of external societal changes. If the political changes after the Cold War ultimately afforded a focus on safety issues, it was the harsh reality that drove safety to the top of the agenda.

In the decade 2006-2016, the number of killings of journalists recorded by UNESCO was a ten-year low 46 in 2008, rising to a ten-year high 124 in 2012. In some regions, the rise was even more dramatic such as in Latin American and the Caribbean with 4 in 2008 – and 25 in 2015. Africa registered 4 killings in 2008, and 16 in 2015. More than one third of the total killed in the decade was in Arab states, reflecting turmoil there in the past decade. A quarter was in Asia and the Pacific, with Afghanistan the major site in this region. The figures vary from year to year, but the worldwide trend has been starkly upwards.³

Against this backdrop, it was a specialized committee of 39 Member States at UNESCO which began to register the importance of considering safety as a significant

challenge to supporting press freedom and media development at country level. Constituting the governing body of UNESCO's International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC), the Member States involved came to increasingly recognize the need to adopt a position on the safety of journalists.

Created in 1980, the IPDC was an attempt to build media capacity in developing countries in the context of the debate about inequality in international communication flows. But already in 1997, the IPDC requested the UNESCO Director General to condemn all killings of journalists. Almost a decade later, reflecting the growth of the problem, this normative role was reinforced with a monitoring and accountability function, with a mandate in 2006 for the Director General to develop a biannual analytical report that would also include voluntary responses from on the issue of judicial follow-up to killings. At this point, the focus was still primarily on casualties in countries in conflict. Thus in 2008, UNESCO adopted a Charter for the Safety of Journalists Working in War Zones or Dangerous Areas. In the face of the extension of attacks on journalists to further countries not formally in conditions of war or civil war, UNESCO was implicitly called on to do more. The World Press Freedom Declaration in Medellin, Colombia in 2007 was partial recognition that other issues also came into play as regards safety – not only armed conflict.

In 2010, upping the ante further, the IPDC council initiated what would two years later become the United Nations Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity. Significantly, while not all UNESCO Member States would agree on whether a particular law or court case about journalism is a violation (as distinct from a legitimate and proportional limitation) of media freedom, the issue of safety has found consensus among the countries who cannot condone extra-judicial killings – especially when these are driven simply by the exercise of freedom of expression. At the same time, it has increasingly become understood (as evidenced in UN resolutions) that safety is an issue that impacts more than individual rights, more than the rule of law in a given state, and even more than the public's right to know within that country. In a global world, an attack on journalists in one state also impacts on the ability of the international community more widely to know what is taking place in that country. Further, the precedent that is set when journalists are killed (usually with impunity) in one country, creates a symbolism that raises the risk for all other journalists – whether working in their own countries or abroad – as the Charlie Hebdo attacks in 2014 vividly demonstrated. In summary, the potential for political consensus and the cross-border significance account for the international interest in the issue.

Although titled the “United Nations Plan of Action”, the guiding thread of initiative is a multi-stakeholder one. Hence, the recognition of the need for “Strategic partnerships beyond the UN system, harnessing the initiatives of various international, regional and local organizations dedicated to the safety of journalists and media workers”.⁴ A gender-sensitive approach was also recognised as a principle from the outset. An ambitious implementation strategy was also adopted, containing a work plan of more than 100 possible actions.⁵ The strategy noted that “no single UN body, and indeed not even the UN as a whole, can single-handedly deliver the results envis-

aged by the UN Plan. Although the Plan is framed primarily as setting out the contributions and associated responsibilities of UN bodies, it is clear that actors outside of the UN have a major contribution to offer through joint and/or complementary activities. As a result, the Strategy has been designed on an inclusive basis, encouraging multiple partnerships between all actors: UN bodies, States, regional bodies, media actors and civil society, including South-South cooperation.” Implicit in the strategy are actions that correspond to the phases of action required for prevention of attacks, protection in the face of attacks and effective prosecution of perpetrators.

Impact of the UN Plan

Against this background, the impact of the UN Plan has been significant in mobilising many actors around the issue of safety at global UN level, regional levels and in many of the countries directly concerned. This was documented in the first review of the UN Plan for 2013 and 2014.⁶ Further assessment of the UN Plan will take place in 2017.

What has become evident is that awareness-raising has been one of the most significant results of the UN Plan. By the end of 2016, there had been nine resolutions in UN bodies on the safety of journalists and the issue of impunity. At regional level, the Council of Europe has issued one of the strongest international statements in a 2016 Recommendation⁷, calling for “urgent, resolute and systemic responses” by its Member States to a wide number of threats and attacks.⁸ Momentum has begat more momentum.

The effect of raised awareness is partly evident in the increased response rate by UNESCO Member States to the Organisation’s request for voluntary information on judicial follow-up to killings of journalists. While just 30 per cent of states contacted responded in 2013, this rose to 47 per cent in 2015, and 65 per cent in 2016.⁹ It is also apparent in the development of a draft indicator for the Sustainable Development Goals, which agreed in 2016 by the UN Statistical Commission. The indicator, which will still need approval at the UN General Assembly, refers to the number of verified cases of killing, kidnapping, enforced disappearance, arbitrary detention and torture of journalists and associated media personnel (as well as of trades unionists and human rights defenders). Without raised awareness, it would likely not have been possible to include journalistic safety as a way to partly assess progress on target 16.10 “public access to information and fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements”, which target in turn is part of Goal 16 which identifies peace, justice and strong institutions as critical components for sustainable development. This mainstreaming of journalistic safety in the development agenda is in contrast to the period of the Millennium Development Goals (2000-2015), and opens many opportunities to advance the cause in terms of awareness, capacity-building and the creation of institutional mechanisms for monitoring, protection and prosecution.

What has also become evident under the inspiration of the UN Plan is progress being made in enlisting additional constituencies in the issue of safety. UNESCO has engaged with the regional human rights courts in Europe, Latin America and Africa

in recent years, and developed successful training programmes for judges as follow-up. Security forces have been trained on the issue of safety of journalists, in countries ranging from Tunisia, Colombia, Burkina Faso and Mali.

At country-level, the experiences of setting up sustainable systems for protection such as in Colombia and Mexico have been shared with other countries. Work has begun towards an information-monitoring mechanism in Pakistan and Iraq. Serbia's mechanism for tackling impunity for long-unresolved cases has been brought to the attention of other countries. An analytical discussion paper on how to set up safety mechanisms has been published.¹⁰

As regards the direct involvement by media itself, in many countries there is increased training of journalists including in digital safety. Media leaders are becoming more active in several areas, such as intra-industry solidarity, and have taken part in commemorating 2 November as the International Day to End Impunity for Crimes Against Journalists which day was recognized by the UN General Assembly in 2011. Concern with safety for freelancers has led to the formation of the alliance called A Culture of Safety which works on standards and support for the security of this category of journalistic actors.

All this momentum has been powered by consensus amongst UN Member States including the formation of "Friends of Safety of Journalists" groups among ambassadors in New York, Paris and Geneva. It has also been powered by the passion of many actors, and the mobilisation of resources for activities. Finally, it has been characterized by the development of new knowledge, and by growing knowledge-sharing, about the problem and possible solutions. These points have particular relevance to the involvement of a further constituency in the UN Plan – namely, academia.

Academia rises to the challenge of addressing safety

Particularly since 2014, there has been a growing positive response from academia, with specialized sessions on safety being held within international conferences and the convening of a number of dedicated research colloquia as well. UNESCO has published a proposed research agenda for consideration by academics.¹¹ An informal international network is evolving with its own page on Facebook. Curricula have been developed for journalism schools to include the topic within their courses.

Engagement with the topic of safety and impunity offers many opportunities to academics and students. In the first instance, it is a way to integrate with a wider and growing movement that is dealing with highly material matters which concern the practice of journalism in particular and freedom of expression more broadly. Without compromise of academic integrity or a critical approach, it is a way to link actual research, teaching and learning to a real-world issue and to make relevant impact. Secondly, the state of knowledge and skill in the area of safety is not only relatively underdeveloped, but also continuously changing. There are literally thousands of questions that cry out to be addressed. This is a green field for research, and the knowledge results can only enrich the practices of actors seeking to work across the many dimensions of safety of journalists. The relative freshness of the topic lends itself to publica-

tion possibilities as well, whether in peer-reviewed journals and books, or in blogs or media articles. Thirdly, the pertinence of safety – both in knowledge generation and transmission – means that resources can be mobilised to fund the various activities involved from an academic point of view.

Conceptualising the Internet and safety for journalism

A particular consideration, which links back to the conceptual frame of this chapter, is that of grasping the distinctiveness as well as the interconnectedness and intersections of safety as a key aspect surrounding media and journalism. It is to locate attention to safety within a complex whole, and as something that has a bearing on much of the rest.

In this regard, it is worth signalling here the relevance of the concept of Internet Universality adopted by UNESCO Member States in their 38th General Conference in 2015. To contextualize the significance of this, one may acknowledge a temptation by many media-related actors to operate with a journalism-centric view of the world. It is indeed the case that press freedom and media issues have historically been central vectors for issues pertaining to democracy and development. At the same time, what this means needs new consideration with the rise of the Internet. It is not only the case that the Internet, along with digital devices such as mobile phones, has afforded a huge increase in the number of actors accessing and creating media content (and not only for primarily interpersonal communications). Relatedly, it is also no longer the case that only formally-recognised journalists are assumed to be covered by the protections accorded to the practice of journalism – a development that has been acknowledged by the various UN Special Rapporteurs on Freedom of Expression and Opinion, as well as by UNESCO.¹² It is also not only the case that the Internet has afforded the broadening of the field of who contributes specifically to journalism conceived as verifiable information and informed comment in the public interest, at the same time as weakening the business models of traditional providers.

What is also increasingly evident, in addition to all the above, is that Internet as a medium itself is now increasingly becoming a means towards much more than human communication. It is, *inter alia*, and increasingly, a commercial transactions mechanism, a surveillance machine, a cyber-warfare instrument, and a device-to-device network (“the Internet of things”). What this means is that a wider concept is needed for the Internet than just that of regarding it as a communications platform implicating the right to expression. It is also a platform that deeply implicates the rights to privacy and association, and to life and security, and all this has a bearing on the six-part framework of UNESCO and safety in particular.

In responding to these developments, UNESCO’s concept of Internet Universality provides potential insight.¹³ The concept designates what is needed for an Internet for all people, and highlights the four principles noted earlier in this chapter – of an Internet which is governed by considerations of human rights, openness, accessibility and multi-stakeholder participation (summarized by the acronym ROAM). The four principles are interdependent. This can be seen in the example of accessibility to the Internet being rather narrow in the absence of respect for human rights (particularly

expression); conversely, human rights online are somewhat hollow if there is not accessibility to everybody (and for instance if the Internet is not a safe space for women). Further, an open internet is dependent on multi-stakeholder participation, human rights and accessibility. The interdependencies could be further elaborated, but the preliminary discussion here is sufficient to address new conceptual questions about UNESCO's six-part framework and the place of safety therein.

Clearly, the digital component of the framework is also a transformative of the whole. With the ROAM model at hand to unpack the digital dimensions, it is possible to consider safety within a highly complex and differentiated whole. If safety (which spans both off- and online dimensions) is about the confluence of the right to expression and the right to life and security, then – as regards the Internet – safety also needs to take cognizance of other rights such as the right to privacy (and correlations of encryption and anonymity¹⁴) and even the right to property (such as intellectual property concerning algorithms). And it needs to see how all these rights, and their balancing, relate to the requisite principles of openness, accessibility and multi-stakeholder governance of the Internet. This bigger picture provides an anchor for approaching the ever-widening functionalities of the Internet. Thus proprietary algorithms relating to the Internet of Things may seem to be a different world to that of journalistic safety – but the Internet Universality concept helps us see the interlinkages. Likewise, bulk surveillance, data protection and big data analysis for purposes variously justified as “national security” can be assessed in terms of their impact on safety. A safety-centric outlook today has to take on board the expanding dimensions of the digital world and its diverse articulations with the physical world.

Conclusion

When the UN General Assembly conducted its ten-year review of its approach to the Internet in December 2015, it covered many of the changing issues on the Internet, including e-health, e-governance etc. Its outcome document¹⁵, however, also significantly saw fit to include a call “for the protection of journalists, media workers and civil society space”. It went on to urge “States to take all appropriate measures necessary to ensure the right to freedom of opinion and expression, the right to peaceful assembly and association and the right not to be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with privacy, in accordance with their human rights obligations”. These are some of the connections between safety and the Internet that call out for further conceptual and empirical analysis, and corresponding educational responses as well. In short, the welcome consideration by the UN General Assembly reflects part of the contemporary significance of journalistic safety in the digital age, as well as the place of the issue in relation to other key issues.

By perceiving these connections within the broadening ecology of journalism, and by working in relation to them, academic stakeholders and others can make progress in securing a world in which the journalistic work can be done without fear of attack – online, offline and in varying combinations between these two.

If those actors who do journalism are important enough to be protected, including so they may enjoy digital security, then they are surely also important enough to merit the associated conditions of freedom, pluralism, independence and gender equality. In this way, attention to safety – a topic that is proving to be a powerful concern in its own right – can be a key to opening other doors, both politically and practically, which can improve the condition and contribution of journalism in the digital age.

It is by examining the evolution of safety as a growing issue of international concern, that one can anticipate that the matter will continue to draw attention in the foreseeable future. As the Internet assumes an ever-greater role in society, so too the unique and distinctive contribution of journalism will be underlined – and, by association, so too will the need to assure safety for those who practise this public-interest form of communication.

Just as the Internet opens up new opportunities for journalism, so too it widens the potential for threats and attacks using digital means. For example, journalists even in “safe” countries may not generally need to fear kidnapping or assassination for their work, but they are increasingly finding themselves the target of misogynistic and/or racist online abuse and threats – which can at least have an intimidating or “chilling” effect. They are increasingly at risk of digital surveillance and of their output being disrupted by Distributed Denial of Service (DDoS) attacks. Meanwhile, a digital attack on a journalist can jeopardise network security more broadly, with implications beyond freedom of expression.

All this highlights why there is likely to be ongoing “push back” so that neither journalists, nor the public, will stand by in the face of the perpetuation of such victimisation and its wider impact. While the problems of securing safety for journalism are not going to be resolved in the short term, the confluence of factors that have put this issue on the global agenda also suggest that responses seeking to protect journalism will continue, and the focus on journalistic safety can only be expected to increase in coming years.

Notes

1. This Declaration was later endorsed by the UNESCO Member States, and the momentum also gave rise to World Press Freedom Day, as well as catalyzing the formation of the Media Institute of Southern Africa and the International Freedom of Expression Exchange (IFEX).
2. In this way, the Declaration pushed the envelope of neo-liberalism, and paved the way for more far-reaching oriented steps such as *African Charter on Broadcasting in 2001*, the *Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa in 2002*, and the *Pan-African Declaration on Access to Information in 2011*.
3. Figures from UNESCO. 2016. *The safety of journalists and the danger of impunity. Report by the Director General to the Intergovernmental Council of the IPDC (thirtieth session)*. p.20 http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/IPDC/ipdc_council_30_4_en_02.pdf
4. UN PLAN OF ACTION ON THE SAFETY OF JOURNALISTS AND THE ISSUE OF IMPUNITY
http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/official_documents/UN-Plan-on-Safety-Journalists_EN_UN-Logo.pdf

5. IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY 2013-2014
http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/official_documents/Implementation_Strategy_2013-2014_01.pdf
6. UN PLAN OF ACTION ON THE SAFETY OF JOURNALISTS AND THE ISSUE OF IMPUNITY, IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW REPORT FOR THE PERIOD 2013-2014.
http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/import/ReviewReportUNPlan_of_Action_on_Safety_of_Journalist_Fin.pdf
7. Recommendation CM/Rec(2016)4 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on the protection of journalism and safety of journalists and other media actors https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016806415d9
8. It urged that “legislation criminalising violence against journalists should be backed up by law enforcement machinery and redress mechanisms for victims (and their families) that are effective in practice”. In addition, states should develop protocols and training programmes for all State authorities responsible for fulfilling State obligations for protecting journalists and other media actors, and in combatting impunity. Surveillance and tracking, the Recommendation also pointed out in recognition of digital developments, threaten the safety of journalists and undermine the protection of their sources.
9. Time to break the cycle of violence against journalists. Highlights from the UNESCO Director-General’s Report on the Safety of Journalists and the Problem of Impunity http://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/unesco_report_rgb_english.pdf
10. Supporting freedom of expression. A practical guide to developing specialized safety mechanisms. http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/publications/Supporting-Freedom-of-Expression_Guide-Safety-Mechanisms.pdf
11. <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/freedom-of-expression/safety-of-journalists/unescos-research-agenda-on-safety-of-journalists/>
12. The UN Plan of Action says “In addition, the protection of journalists should not be limited to those formally recognised as journalists, but should cover others, including community media workers and citizen journalists and others who may be using new media as a means of reaching their audiences.” The IPDC, since a decision by its council in 2014, refers to “journalists, media workers and social media producers who generate a significant amount of public-interest journalism”.
13. *Internet Universality – A Means Towards Building Knowledge Societies and the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda*. <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/crosscutting-priorities/unesco-internet-study/internet-universality/>
14. See Schulz, W and Hoboken, J. 2016. *Human rights and encryption*. UNESCO series on Internet freedom. Paris: UNESCO <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002465/246527e.pdf>
15. Resolution A/70/L.33. Outcome document of the high-level meeting of the General Assembly on the overall review of the implementation of the outcomes of the World Summit on the Information Society. <http://workspace.unpan.org/sites/Internet/Documents/UNPAN95735.pdf>

The United Nations' Role in Promoting the Safety of Journalists from 1945 to 2016

Silvia Chocarro Marcesse

Abstract

The United Nations (UN) has played an increasing role in promoting the safety of journalists. Yet little has been done to study its work from a historical perspective. This paper explores global attempts to promote journalist safety carried out by the UN system, from its inception in 1945 until 2016. It also analyses the past to ascertain the relevance of the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity. Never since its approval in 2012 has the UN progressed so much in such a short time in this field of normative work. This affords a historic opportunity to tackle this issue meaningfully.

Keywords: United Nations, UN, safety of journalists, protection of journalists

These are challenging times for practising journalism safely. Between 2005 and 2015, on average, 90 journalists were killed each year due to their work, which is nearly twice as many as for the previous 20 years, between 1985 and 2005, when the average was 50 per year¹. In 2016, the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Irina Bokova, condemned the killing of 101 journalists, media workers and social media producers who were engaged in journalistic activities (UNESCO 2017). Most of these crimes go unresolved, and impunity reigns in at least nine out of ten cases (UNESCO 2012a, 2014; Reporters without Borders [RSF] 2015).

Murder is the most extreme form of silencing journalists, although jailing, threats and harassment are also used, not only during armed conflict, but most often in times of peace. Journalists fall victim not only to physical violence, but also to psychological and digital attacks. Furthermore, the danger extends to their sources and families. Reporting on issues such as politics, corruption, organized crime, human rights, the environment, protests and elections can be a life-threatening endeavour (e.g., UNESCO 2012a; Reporters without Borders [RSF] 2015).

This historical research reports initiatives carried out by the United Nations' system from 1945 to 2016 to promote the safety of journalists. With the aim of providing a comprehensive description of the endeavours undertaken by the UN since it was established in 1945, the research covers a broad scope of seventy years' work on the

part of all UN bodies, limited only to global as opposed to local action. By taking this historical approach, the research highlights the importance of the first ever UN strategy in this area: the *UN Plan on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity* in 2012 (referred to in this article as the UN Plan). The Plan has been a catalyst for landmark resolutions passed in the UN General Assembly, the UN Security Council and the Human Rights Council.

The present research is the result of a systematic examination of primary sources of information, including archival data and interviews with actors directly involved in the events described. Secondary sources were also used. It can also be noted that the author participated in drafting the UN Plan, meaning that this research is also informed by her direct observations.

Little has been written from a historical standpoint on the specific issue of the United Nations' role in promoting journalists' safety. The few examples found focus primarily on the 1970s. A review and update of the issue is therefore warranted. This article is based on the author's doctoral thesis entitled *The Promotion of the Safety of Journalists: the Role of the United Nations from 1945 to 2014* (*La promoción de la seguridad de los periodistas: el papel de Naciones Unidas de 1945 a 2014*).

Context: The laws of war

The international community's interest in protecting journalists in their work stems from and is closely linked to journalists' work during armed conflicts. The first references to the protection of journalists in a multilateral framework can be found in the 1899 and 1907 Hague Conventions, both of which established that individuals following an army without belonging to it, for instance "newspaper correspondents and reporters", are to be considered prisoners of war if detained by the enemy, provided that they have an authorization certificate issued by the military authorities of the army they accompany (Hague Convention II 1899 Art.13; Hague Convention IV 1907 Art.13). This measure was inspired by instructions that United States President Abraham Lincoln gave in 1863 to the Union Army during the United States Civil War, known as the Lieber Code, and by the 1874 Project of an International Declaration concerning the Laws and Customs of War (Kirby and Jackson 1986).

As the role of the media and journalists as a profession developed and became more prominent, it gradually sparked the interest of intergovernmental bodies. In 1927, the League of Nations (LoN) organized the Conference of Press Experts, bringing together media and professional associations from around the globe to debate, together with states, the role of the press in international harmony and cooperation (LoN 1927). Although the protection of journalists was not a specific item on the agenda, related issues were discussed such as journalists' detention and expulsion by government authorities, for instance under accusations of spying. In this regard, the *Fédération Internationale des Journalistes* (FIJ), established in 1926, proposed that an international committee of professional associations be established to monitor these cases and issue identification cards for journalists on foreign missions to protect them from arbitrary measures taken against them. However, their proposals were not backed

by LoN members, as these were seen as compromising states' sovereignty (Mukherjee 1995; Beyersdorf 2016).

Similar provisions to those proposed in the Hague Conventions were also included in Article 81 of the 1929 Third Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War and in Article 4 of the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. In both instances, it was once again established that authorized "war correspondents" accompanying armed forces in the context of an international conflict are to be considered prisoners of war if detained by the enemy. Additional protocols making reference to other types of journalists were later signed as explained below.

Towards an international convention: 1945-1977

Since it was established in 1945, the UN has taken an interest in the right to freedom of expression, defined in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and in further detail in the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). In addition, Article 1 of the 1945 Constitution of UNESCO states that to realize its purpose, the Organization will "collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image" (UNESCO 1945). In 1948, the UN Conference on Freedom of Information was held²; the results were 43 resolutions and three conventions. The preliminary debates at the conference raised the issue of the protection of journalists, particularly war correspondents (UNESCO 1947). However, most of these resolutions and conventions never saw the light of day, mainly because of Cold War ideological differences that intensified over time, exacerbated by de-colonization and the emergence of non-aligned countries with their own interests (McGonagle and Donders 2015).

The protection of journalists did not appear on the UN agenda until the 1970s. In 1970, aware that the provisions in the Geneva Conventions did not cover journalists' needs at the time, the UN General Assembly (UNGA) decided to develop an international agreement "ensuring the protection of journalists engaged in dangerous missions" (UNGA 1970). The idea emerged from an initiative pursued by the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) directed by Sean MacBride, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ireland, who had written a draft international convention presented in 1968 in Montecatini, Italy, backed by major media and professional organizations (Pilloud 1971; UNESCO 1980). Sean MacBride was to play a leading role on this issue once again at the end of the 1970s.

Following through on the UNGA request, the UN Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) was tasked with writing a draft international convention. Consultations and debates were held for two years within the UNCHR in consultation with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and an expert committee created for this purpose. A draft was debated in 1972, but never approved (ICRC 1972). The role of other non-UN actors was less prominent, but it would gain relevance in future

attempts. According to the latter draft, the Convention was to apply to any “correspondent, reporter, photographer, film cameraman or press technician who is ordinarily engaged in any of these activities as his principal occupation”, who does so according to the laws or practices of his or her country, only on “dangerous missions” – that is to say, during armed conflict, whether it be international or not. Furthermore, this Convention was only to apply to journalists holding an identification card issued by states in compliance with a regulation to be developed by an international professional committee made up of nine members appointed by the UN Secretary General (UNCHR 1972: 56-57).

The main issues of contention between the states were whether or not there was actually a need to establish a protection mechanism for journalists to grant them special status, how to define a journalist, what the criteria for issuing an identification card should be, and whether or not protection should include non-international conflicts (UNGA 1971a, 1971b). The lack of agreement led the General Assembly to decide to continue the debate and to request that the draft be submitted for consultation to the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts (hereafter, Diplomatic Conference), organized by ICRC. This shifted the debate over to ICRC, and no further draft convention was ever again to be debated within the UN, whose General Assembly closed the issue in 1975.

Article 79 of the Additional Protocol I to the 1949 Geneva Conventions

Although the international convention was never approved, it did serve to germinate Article 79 of the Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts, approved in June 1977.

Article 79 on “Measures of protection for journalists” therefore emerges in an “unexpected way” from an external source, the UNGA (Pilloud et al. 1987: 919). When it received the draft convention, the Diplomatic Conference decided to establish an *ad hoc* group that concluded the solution would be to include a specific article in the additional protocols being debated at the time and to avoid controversial issues preventing an agreement in the form of a convention (ICRC 1978). After several debates, the proposal was approved without opposition. Article 79 indicated that “journalists engaged in dangerous professional missions in areas of armed conflict shall be considered as civilians”. It actually does not create any new status for journalists, but is merely declaratory, confirming that a journalist, who is ‘undoubtedly’ a civilian, does not lose that status during armed conflict while performing his or her functions as a journalist (Pilloud et al. 1987: 920). It also includes a non-obligatory identity card to be carried by journalists. The idea of creating a special status for journalists would have been consistent with the humanitarian law that recognizes medical and religious staff, for example; however, for the ICRC to expand the list could entail the risk of diminishing the protection (Gasser 1983). The ICRC then took the lead to familiarize the media with this new text (Modoux 1983).

From controversial debate in UNESCO to initial consensus in the ICRC: 1975-1985

The protection of journalists appeared on the UNESCO agenda in the second half of the 1970s. First, Article 9 of the Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, Apartheid and Incitement to War, approved in 1978, recognized the need to protect journalists and other media agents in their work (UNESCO 1978a). In 1979, UNESCO's biennial programme included the goal of effective protection of journalists (UNESCO 1979, para. 4483).

Meanwhile, major debates on the issue took place within the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (hereafter, the MacBride Commission), integrated by fifteen experts from various regions in the world, and created to prepare a report (hereafter, the MacBride Report) on how to address the main challenges of international communications. Sean MacBride headed this Commission and was convinced of the need to include recommendations on establishing protection mechanisms for journalists, as he had been a journalist ten years earlier (UNESCO 1978b). In 1977, UNESCO organized the first international conference on the protection of journalists in Florence, Italy. Three international gatherings organized by the MacBride Commission ensued, one in Stockholm (1978) and two in Paris (1979). Not only did UNESCO member states participate in these meetings, but also media owners, professional associations, jurists and civil society groups (UNESCO 1980).

Added to the differences that had already arisen in the UNGA debates regarding the granting of special status, how to define a journalist, and the issuing of identification cards, new issues of contention flared up, for instance, over whether or not journalists' right to be protected should be tied to ethical criteria and whether journalists' protection should apply to threats posed by the concentration of the media (UNESCO 1977). These proposals were considered inconceivable by the World Press Freedom Committee (WPFC), an organization established in 1976 by a group of United States media companies to prevent UNESCO from what it considered attempts to control the free flow of information (Bullen 2002).

In 1980, the MacBride Report, entitled *Many Voices, One World*, was presented to the UNESCO General Conference. The report recognized the contentious issues regarding measures to protect journalists, in the face of which it recommended that the debate continue. The report specifically flagged, for example, that "to propose additional measures would invite the dangers entailed in a licensing system since it would require some body to stipulate who should be entitled to claim such protection" (MacBride 1980). However, the fact that the report did not recommend ending the debate on protection was interpreted by some states, led by the United States, and some media companies, led by the WPFC, as veiled support for continuing to attempt to create protection measures which, in their view, concealed control measures (Bullen 2002). On the other hand, MacBride advocated a stronger position regarding protection of journalists and left a footnote to the report pointing out that he disagreed with

the recommendation and was in favour of creating an international mechanism. In his opinion, there were ways in which protection measures could be taken without undermining journalists' independence (MacBride 1979, 1980).

UNESCO did indeed carry forward the debate. It did so in cooperation with professional associations, notably the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ), headquartered in Prague, and the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), headquartered in Brussels, both of which – together with four regional associations of journalists – in an attempt to overcome their differences and find points in common, had established a consultative committee in 1978 that remained operative until the end of the 1980s (see Nordenstreng 2016: 159-162). This consultative club agreed that measures needed to be taken, and as a first step it published a joint booklet entitled *Killed for Truth* (IOJ 1987). At a special meeting on the topic convened by UNESCO with both journalists' and publishers' organizations in 1981, the controversy flared up and a number of Western media published articles criticizing UNESCO and particularly Pierre Gaborit, the author of a working paper prepared for the meeting, of deliberately promoting measures against press freedom – a disproportionate reaction according to Gaborit (personal communication 2015). At this time, the WPFC gathered a group of 63 media companies from 21 countries, which signed the Declaration of Talloires in 1981, asserting that journalists did not need any protection or special status (Bullen 2002). From then on, the debate on the protection of journalists gradually fizzled out in UNESCO and, therefore, in the UN system. This was prompted by the departure of the United States from the Organization, later followed by Great Britain, partly due to UNESCO's position on freedom of expression and the protection of journalists.

Given the situation, and an attempt to build consensus, the ICRC took on a leading role. The ICRC's Communication Director at the time, Alain Modoux, decided to organize a meeting with the attendance of as many professional organizations and media representatives, in addition to UN bodies, as possible to discuss the issue of protection of journalists. The WPFC and other media editors' organizations expressed its concern about reopening the debate and that the ICRC could be used to obtain backing for proposals to protect journalists in order to control them. The WPFC, for example, recommended the debate was to hinge around journalists' "safety" rather than their "protection", as the WPFC was convinced that the word "protection" concealed an attempt to establish media control (WPFC 2000; A. Modoux, personal communication 2015). This terminological recommendation has also had sway within UNESCO ever since. The meeting, organized in April 1985 in Mont-Pèlerin au-dessus de Vevey (Switzerland) resulted in a telephone line known as the ICRC Hotline for Journalists, enabling journalists to request assistance if they are wounded, detained or missing. Created in 1985, it continues to operate today.

This achievement was, therefore, on the practical side rather than at the policy level, "a missed opportunity" for Kaarle Nordenstreng, then IOJ's President (personal communication 2015), "a victory of free press groups against state control", according to Ronald Koven, then WPFC European Representative (personal communication 2015). The ideological battle that characterized the Cold War took over this issue.

From promoting safety to combating impunity: 1989-2012

UN human right system

In 1989, UNCHR member Waleed Sadi revived the debate by proposing to study ways to protect journalists (UNCHR 1990). This time, it was not about creating a convention but establishing guidelines. However, lack of agreement ended the debate. In turn, two other members, Louis Joinet and Danilo Turk, prepared various reports on the right to freedom of expression and opinion, the latter debated in 1992, which mentioned that a rapporteur be appointed to tackle journalists' protection (UNCHR 1992). In 1993, a Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression that covered attacks against journalists was instated.

In his first report in 1994, the first rapporteur, Abid Hussain, asserted that the protection of media professionals was a top priority issue and one to be included in his annual reports (UNCHR 1994). In 1999, as result of a meeting organized by the NGO Article 19, a joint declaration on freedom of expression was issued with the rapporteurs of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the Organization of American States (OAS), both instated in 1997. Since then, these rapporteurs, together with their African Union (AU) counterpart, appointed in 2004, have issued a yearly joint communiqué. In 2012, it exclusively addressed "crimes against freedom of expression" (Article 19 2012).

Although the issue of journalists' safety was mentioned in all of the special rapporteurs' reports, it was not until 2010 that the report was devoted to the protection of journalists, specifically during armed conflict (La Rue 2010). In 2012, once again, the report analysed the issue, this time in peacetime (Human Rights Council [HRC] 2012). The Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions had focused its report on this same issue in 2011; moreover, the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders attached special attention to journalists (HRC 2011a, 2011b).

Furthermore, within the UN system, the Universal Periodic Review, established in 2007 to monitor individual countries' human rights situations, has included information on attacks on journalists. Also, in 2011, the Human Rights Committee (HR Committee) approved General Comment 34 related to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, where it expresses the need for states to take effective protection measures and ensure that the attacks journalists suffer due to their work are investigated (HR Committee 2011).

UN Security Council

On December 2006, for the first time, the UN Security Council (UNSC) approved a resolution on the protection of journalists. Resolution 1738 urges states to ensure a safe environment for journalistic work during armed conflict. It also requests that the UN Secretary General (UNSG) include information on journalists in reports on the protection of civilians, which began to be reflected in 2007. Early steps towards drafting a resolution were taken by the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), the Euro-

pean Broadcasting Union (EBU) and the International News Safety Institute (INSI). In 2005, they presented a draft resolution to the UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, at the World Summit on the Information Society in Tunis, hoping a UNSC resolution would allow monitoring of how governments are dealing with the killing of journalists and put before the UNSC proposals for further action (A. White, Secretary-General 1987-2011, IFJ, personal communication 2015). In parallel to this process, RSF also advocated for the protection of journalists to be the subject of discussion at the UNSC (A. Balguys Gallois, RSF, personal communication 2016). In 2006, a draft resolution was proposed by the Permanent French Mission to the UN in New York. The Greek mission provided another draft. Both versions were combined in one and co-sponsored by the two countries. On December 2006, Resolution 1738 was passed unanimously by the UNSC. It was considered a landmark resolution.

UNESCO

At the end of the Cold War, the 1991 Windhoek Declaration on Promoting Independent and Pluralistic Media gave rise to the inauguration of World Press Freedom Day (WPDF) on May 3rd, which was also to become an important awareness-raising tool regarding violence against journalists. Its celebrations and their subsequent declarations focused particularly on the issue of violence against journalists in 2003, 2004, 2007 and 2013, and subsequently, every WPDF event has specifically tackled the issue in some way. After the Windhoek Declaration, four others ensued in Almaty, Santiago, Sana'a and Sofia. The 1994 Santiago Declaration proposed that a world prize be established and that systems to monitor attacks against journalists be bolstered. Both of these proposals were later put into practice within UNESCO. At the 1997 Sofia meeting, a panel was devoted to the specific issue of impunity, which was to gradually gain visibility and importance and was first reflected in a resolution to be approved by UNESCO.

That same year, in 1997, UNESCO's General Conference agreed to create the UNESCO/Guillermo Cano World Press Freedom Prize, which honours journalists worldwide who have made an outstanding contribution to the defence of press freedom, particularly in the face of danger. Moreover, UNESCO approved Resolution 29 on violence against journalists. It was the first time that such a resolution had been passed in the UN, specifically in UNESCO, and was the first resolution exclusively devoted to promoting safety of journalists to include corrective measures, echoing concerns from civil society and professional associations on the issue of impunity. Specifically, UNESCO's Director-General was invited "to condemn the assassination and any physical violence against journalists as a crime against society" and "to urge that the competent authorities discharge their duty of preventing, investigating and punishing such crimes" (UNESCO 1997). Since then, the Director-General has systematically condemned the killing of journalists and requested that governments investigate such cases, but has not condemned "any physical violence", despite being empowered to do so.

This monitoring work was bolstered in 2008 with the publication of the first of the reports entitled *The Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity* that the Direc-

tor General of UNESCO has thus far presented every two years. This initiative came from the IPDC Secretariat, was then backed by the IPDC Bureau and was ratified by the Intergovernmental Council of the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) (W. Jayaweera, IPDC Director, personal communication 2013). Since then, this report includes an analytical description of journalist deaths and contains information on judicial investigations based on information provided by states “on a voluntary basis” (IPDC 2008). This is the only report to date to compile this type of information, which monitors the impunity of crimes against journalists. In addition to these initiatives, since 1989 UNESCO has supported ad hoc projects, mostly to train journalists and develop practical guides on the issue. During this period of the 1990s and 2000s, the work of civil society groups was crucial in supporting UNESCO’s efforts (S. Coudray, Chief of Section, UNESCO, personal communication 2015).

From the UN plan to a priority on the UN agenda: 2012-2016

The UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity, the first UN strategy on the issue, was initiated within the IPDC, whose Intergovernmental Council approved a decision in March 2010 that proposed a consultation focused on “formulating a comprehensive, coherent and action-oriented approach” within the UN (UNESCO 2010). The proposal was put forward by the delegation of the United Kingdom to UNESCO, also echoing concerns by civil society groups, unaware at the time that it would spawn an impactful UN plan (I. Gaber, UK Representative to the IPDC, personal communication 2013). UN bodies, other intergovernmental organizations, professional associations and civil society groups participated in the strategy together with UNESCO member states. The debate on the latest draft of the UN Plan in the IPDC Intergovernmental Council was contentious, reminiscent of past debates. Eventually it gained support and was finally approved on 13 April 2012 by the UN Chief Executive Board (UNCEB), the highest-level coordination forum of the UN system, chaired by the UNSG. It was later backed by an unprecedented number of UN resolutions.

The Plan’s objective is to “work to establish a free and safe environment for journalists and media workers both in armed conflict and in other situations in order to bolster peace, democracy and development throughout the world” (UNESCO 2012). Acknowledging that the UN itself cannot solve such a complex problem, the Plan promotes multi-stakeholder implementation (UNESCO 2013a).

From the beginning of the UN Plan process in 2011 until December 2016, the UN system has approved more resolutions than ever in its history. It has also produced more reports and held more meetings than ever before. Just six months after the UN Plan was approved, the HRC adopted a resolution on the safety of journalists in which it urges all states to actively participate in the UN Plan (HRC 2012). Furthermore, the Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights (OHCHR) compiled best practices (HRC 2013). One year later, in 2014, the HRC approved another resolution requesting that governments take concrete measures to combat impunity for crimes

against journalists (HRC 2014a). Other resolutions were to exhort states to lend special attention to the integrity of journalists covering demonstrations (HRC 2014b). A third HRC resolution was to come in 2016, calling on states to protect journalists from various forms of attacks: from arbitrary detention to the violation of the protection of journalists' sources, from interference with the use of encryption and anonymity tools to the misuse of measures to combat terrorism, and to unduly hinder the work and safety of journalists (HRC 2016).

After almost thirty years, in December 2013, the issue resurfaced in the UNGA, which approved a resolution (UNGA 2013). It was the first time the UNGA approved a resolution specifically calling on states and UN institutions to prevent attacks against journalists and both investigate and play an active role in implementing the UN Plan. The resolution also echoed a claim from civil society groups, such as the international network IFEX, and proclaimed the 2nd of November to be the International Day to End Impunity for Crimes against Journalists. In 2014 and 2015, the UNGA again approved two resolutions (UNGA 2014, 2015). In both cases, the prevailing impunity for violence against journalists played a central role.

In 2015, a second UN Security Council resolution was passed condemning for the first time the impunity of attacks against journalists and calling on all states involved in conflict to safeguard the work of journalists, which constitutes one of the essential foundations of a democratic society, and thereby can contribute to the protection of civilians (UNGA 2015).

At UNESCO, a resolution was approved at UNESCO's 36th General Conference, stating that the organization will monitor freedom of the press, including the safety of journalists. This resulted in the *World Trends Report on Freedom of Expression* (UNESCO 2013b), which has been carried out on a regular basis since then. In 2015, the UNESCO Executive Board approved Decision 196 EX/31 requesting to organize a conference on journalists' safety with news organizations. In addition, UNESCO has designed the journalists' safety indicators, a mapping tool. It has also established a research agenda and organized major events (UNESCO 2015). Since the Plan was approved, the number of projects and the budget promoting journalists' safety worldwide have dramatically increased, and the issue has become one of the top priorities of the organization's Communication and Information Sector. The IPDC has also continued to discuss the issue and approved up to five decisions requesting that the Director-General of UNESCO continue to prepare a biennial report on the killing of journalists and on the progress of the judicial inquiries. In 2016, special mention was made to improve data collection as part of the UN's monitoring of target 10 of the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16 (UNESCO 2016b), which calls for measures to "ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements".

Table 1. The safety of journalists in the United Nations system. Highlights 1945-2016

1970	UN General Assembly (UNGA) Resolution 2673 (XXV). <i>Protection of journalists engaged in dangerous missions in areas of armed conflict.</i>
1971	<i>Preliminary Draft International Convention on the Protection of Journalists Engaged in Dangerous Missions.</i> Economic and Social Council. E/RES/1597(L).
	<i>Protection of Journalists Engaged in Dangerous Missions in Areas of Armed Conflict</i> , report by the Secretary-General. A/8438/Add.1. & Add.2.
1977	Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I), of 8 June 1977.
	<i>The Status and Responsibilities of Information Personnel and The Protection of Journalists in the Exercise of their Profession</i> , document prepared by UNESCO for the International Colloquium on the Free and Balanced Flow of Information between Developed and Developing Countries, 18-20 April.
1978	UNESCO Declaration on <i>Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, Apartheid and Incitement to War.</i> Records of the 20 th General Conference, Volume I, Objective 9.3.
1979	<i>The Protection of Journalists</i> , document No. 90 of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. UNESCO. Sean MacBride.
1980	<i>The Protection of Journalists</i> , document No. 4 of the New Communication Order. UNESCO.
	<i>Many Voices. One World: Report by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems.</i> UNESCO and Kogan Page. MacBride et al.
1981	<i>Project for the Establishment of an International Commission and Periodical International Conference for the Protection of Journalists</i> , document prepared for UNESCO Consultative Meeting on the Protection of Journalists, 16-17 February, by Pierre Gaborit.
1990	<i>The Protection of Journalists</i> , report by Waleed Sadi. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities on its Forty-Second Session. Commission on Human Rights. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1990/17.
1991	Windhoek Declaration on Promoting an Independent and Pluralistic African Press.
1993	Establishment of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression. E/CN.4/RES/1993/45.
	Establishment of UN World Press Freedom Day (WPDF). UNGA Decision 48/432.
1997	UNESCO Resolution 29 on the <i>Condemnation of Violence against Journalists.</i>
	Establishment of UNESCO/Guillermo Cano World Press Freedom Prize. UNESCO 151th Executive Board Decision (151 EX/15).
1999	First Joint Declaration of the representatives and rapporteurs of intergovernmental bodies to protect free media and expression, hosted by the NGO Article 19.
2006	UN Security Council Resolution S/RES/1738.
2007	WPDF Medellin Declaration on <i>Securing the Safety of Journalists and Combating Impunity.</i>
2008	First UNESCO Director-General Report on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity.</i>
	First UNESCO International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) Decision on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity.</i>
2010	Report with a focus on the protection of journalists by the UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Frank la Rue, to the UN General Assembly. A/65/284.
	Second UNESCO Director-General Report on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity.</i>
	Second UNESCO IPDC Decision on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity.</i>

2011	First UN Inter-Agency Meeting on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity</i> .
	General Comment No. 34. Article 19: Freedoms of Opinion and Expression. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). CCPR/C/GC/34.
	Report with special mention to the safety of journalists by the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders, Margaret Sekaggya, to the Human Rights Council (HRC). A/HRC/19/55.
2012	UN Plan of Action on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity</i> .
	Second UN Inter-Agency Meeting on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity</i> .
	First HRC Resolution on <i>The Safety of Journalists</i> . A/HRC/21/12.
	Report with a focus on the protection of journalists by the UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Frank la Rue, to the HRC. A/HRC/20/17.
	Report dedicated to violence against journalists by the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, Christof Heyns, to the HRC. A/HRC/20/22.
	First joint declaration of the representatives and rapporteurs of intergovernmental bodies to protect free media and expression dedicated to "crimes against journalists".
	Third UNESCO Director-General Report on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity</i> .
2013	Third UNESCO IPDC Decision on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity</i> .
	First UNGA Resolution on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity</i> . A/RES/68/163.
	Implementation Strategy of the UN Plan of Action on The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity.
	HRC Report <i>The Safety of Journalists</i> . A/HRC/24/23.
	UNESCO Workplan on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity</i> .
2014	WPF San Jose Declaration <i>Safe to Speak: Securing Freedom of Expression in Media</i> .
	Second UNGA Resolution on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity</i> , declaring November 2 the International Day to End Impunity on Crimes against Impunity. A/RES/69/185.
	UN Secretary-General Report on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity</i> on the implementation of resolution 68/163. A/69/268.
	Second HRC Resolution on <i>The Safety of Journalists</i> . A/HRC/RES/27/5.
	Fourth UNESCO Director-General Report on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity</i> .
	Fourth IPDC Decision on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity</i> .
2015	UNESCO Report on <i>World Trends Report on in Freedom of Expression and Media Development</i> , including a chapter focused on the issue of the safety of journalists.
	UN Security Council Resolution 2222. S/RES/2222.
	Third UNGA Resolution on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity</i> . A/RES/70/162.
	UN Secretary-General Report on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity</i> on the implementation of resolution 69/185. A/70/290.
	UNESCO 196th Executive Board Decision (196 EX/31). <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity</i> .
2016	UNESCO Report on <i>World Trends Report on in Freedom of Expression and Media Development. Special Digital Focus</i> .
	Third HRC Resolution on <i>The Safety of Journalists</i> . A/HRC/RES/33/2.
	Fifth UNESCO Director-General Report on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity</i> .
	Fifth IPDC Decision on <i>The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity</i> .

Conclusion

This historical review shows that, within the UN system, the first attempts to protect journalists were made in the 1970s, within the UNGA and UNESCO. In both instances, the issue of protecting journalists, which in principle would seem straightforward in terms of reaching a consensus, became a battle between different views on the role of the press and journalists, exacerbated by Cold War rivalries. The wear and tear of the debates themselves, coupled with the departures of the United States and Great Britain from UNESCO, knocked the issue off its agenda. During the 1990s, action was taken on the broader theme of freedom of expression and ad hoc initiatives implemented on journalists' safety, mostly at UNESCO and the human rights system. Then, UNESCO's approval of Resolution 29 in 1997 marked the first normative step in addressing the issue both in times of war and in peacetime and placed promoting journalists' safety on a par with curbing impunity. Nearly ten years later, the UNSC's approval of Resolution 1738 marked a significant second step forward. The boost of UNESCO's monitoring work by the report on *The Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity*, initiated in 2008, coupled with increased interest on the part of the UN human rights system, particularly by the special rapporteurs, followed suit. Against this background, the UN Plan emerged. The idea of a binding convention has been raised by some non-UN organizations on a few occasions, but consensus seems to be that this would open Pandora's Box, rekindling still controversial issues, and that is could even result in a setback.

It can be concluded, therefore, that the UN Plan constitutes the first UN strategy on the issue. As has happened with most UN progress in this field, it was also influenced by the progress made by outside actors, such as professional organizations and civil society groups. The UN Plan's multi-stakeholder process also contributed to ensuring its support by the states. Since then, the issue of journalists' safety and impunity for crimes committed against them has taken on the most prominent position it has ever had in the UN's history. This affords an unprecedented opportunity to tackle the issue of violence against journalists. The challenge now lies in states' commitments to the resolutions approved and to translating them into concrete measures to prevent, protect and prosecute those responsible for the attacks against journalists. It also lies in the UN system, and UNESCO in particular, coordinating and monitoring their implementation. To ensure long-term success, a robust sustainable strategic multi-stakeholder approach is required. Critical to this success is also the full engagement by media in all its forms and by all its practitioners. The momentum exists and should not be lost.

References

- Article 19 (2012). *Joint Declaration on Crimes against Freedom of Expression*. Online: <http://www.article19.org/resources.php/resource/3348/en/joint-declaration-on-crimes-against-freedom-of-expression>.
- Beyersdorf, F. (2016). First Professional International: FIJ (1926-40), pp. 80-124 in Nordenstreng, K. Björk, U. J., Beyersdorf, F., Høyer, S., Lauk, P. *A History of the International Movement of Journalists. Professionalism versus Politics* Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Bullen, D. (2002). *Voices of Freedom. The Story of the World Press Freedom Committee*. Reston: WPFC.
- Committee to Protect Journalists. *Journalists killed since 1992*. Online: <http://cpj.org/killed/>.
- Gasser, H. (1983). International Humanitarian Law and the Journalists' Mission. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 232: 3-19.
- ICRC (1978). *Official records of the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development on International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts (1974-1977)*. Volumes VIII. Geneva: ICRC.
- International Committee of the Red Cross (1972). *Conference of Government Experts on the Reaffirmation and Development on International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, Second Session, 3 May – 3 June 1972. Report of the Work on the Conference. Volume I*. Geneva: ICRC.
- International Organization of Journalists (1987). *Killed for Truth. Assasines pour la vérité. Asesinados a causa de la verdad*. Prague: IOJ.
- Kirby, M. and Jackson, L. J. (1986). International Humanitarian Law and the Protection of Media Personnel. *University of New South Wales Law Journal*, (9): 1-16.
- League of Nations (1927). *Conference of Press Experts. First Meeting*. Conf.E.P./P.V.1.(1). UN Archives, Geneva.
- MacBride, S. (1979). *The protection of journalists. International Communication for the Study of Communications Problems*. Paris: UNESCO.
- MacBride, S. et al. (1980). *Many Voices. One World: Report by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems*. Paris: UNESCO.
- McGonagle, T. and Donders, Y. (eds.) (2015). *The United Nations and Freedom of Expression and Information: Critical Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Modoux, A. (1983). International Humanitarian Law and the Journalists' Mission. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 232: 19-22.
- Mukherjee, A. (1993). *International Protection of Journalists: Practice and prospects*. Doctoral Thesis. Syracuse University.
- Mukherjee, A. (1995). Internationalization of Journalists' Rights: An Historical Analysis. *Journal of International Law & Practice*, (4): 87.
- Nordenstreng, K. (2013). Deconstructing Libertarian Myths about Press Freedom, pp. 45-59 in Carlsson, U. (ed.) *Freedom of Expression Revisited: Citizenship and Journalism in the Digital Era*. Gothenburg: Nordicom. Online: <http://tampub.uta.fi/handle/10024/68290>.
- Nordenstreng, K. (2016). Embroiled in Cold War politics: IOJ and IFJ (1946-), pp. 125-172 in Nordenstreng, K., Björk, U.J., Beyersdorf, F., Høyer, S., Lauk, P. *A History of the International Movement of Journalists. Professionalism versus Politics*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pilloud, C. (1971). Protection of Journalists on Dangerous Missions in Areas of Armed Conflict. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 11(118): pp. 3-7.
- Pilloud, C., Sandoz, Y., Swinarski, C. and Zimmermann, B. (eds). (1987). *Commentary on the additional protocols: of 8 June 1977 to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949*. Geneva: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I), 8 June 1977.
- Reporters without borders (2015). *Hostile Climate for Environmental Journalists*. Online: http://rsf.org/sites/default/IMG/pdf/rapport_environnement_en.pdf
- World Press Freedom Committee (2000). *New Code Words for Censorship. Modern Labels for Curbs on the Press*. Reston: WPFC.

UN Documents

- Human Rights Council (2010). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, Frank La Rue*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/HRC/RES/17/27>
- Human Rights Council (2011a). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders, Margaret Sekaggya*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/HRC/19/55>
- Human Rights Council (2011b). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Christof Heyns*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/HRC/20/22>
- Human Rights Council (2011c). *General comment No. 34 Article 19: Freedoms of opinion and expression*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/CCPR/C/GC/34>

- Human Rights Council (2012). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, Frank La Rue*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/HRC/20/17>
- Human Rights Council (2012). *Resolution A/HRC/21/12*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/HRC/RES/21/12>
- Human Rights Council (2013). *Resolution A/HRC/27/5*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/HRC/RES/27/5>
- Human Rights Council (2014a). *Resolution A/HRC/24/23*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/HRC/RES/24/23>
- Human Rights Council (2014b). *Resolution A/HRC/25/38*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/HRC/RES/25/38>
- Human Rights Council (2014c). *Resolution A/HRC/26/13*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/HRC/RES/26/13>
- Human Rights Council (2016). *Resolution A/HRC/33/2*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/HRC/RES/33/2>
- UN Commission on Human Rights (1972). *Report on the Twenty-Eight Session*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/E/CN.4/1097>
- UN Commission on Human Rights (1990). *Report of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities on its Forty-Second Session*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/E/CN.4/1991/2>
- UN Commission on Human Rights (1992). *The Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression. Final report prepared by Mr. Danilo Turk and Mr. Louis Joinet*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/E/CN.4/Sub.2/1992/9>
- UN Commission on Human Rights (1992). *Promotion and Protection of the Rights to Freedom of Opinion and Expression. Report by the Special Rapporteur, Mr. Abid Hussain*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/E/CN.4/1994/33>
- UN General Assembly (1970). *Resolution 2673 (XXV)*. Online: [http://www.undocs.org/A/RES/2673\(XXV\)](http://www.undocs.org/A/RES/2673(XXV))
- UN General Assembly (1971a). *Protection of Journalists Engaged in Dangerous Missions in Areas of Armed Conflict: note by the Secretary-General, A/8438/Add.1*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/8438/Add.1>
- UN General Assembly (1971b). *Protection of Journalists Engaged in Dangerous Missions in Areas of Armed Conflict: report by the Secretary-General, A/8371/Add.2*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/8371/Add.2>
- UN General Assembly (2013). *Resolution A/RES/68/163*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/RES/68/163>
- UN General Assembly (2014). *Resolution A/RES/69/185*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/RES/69/185>
- UN General Assembly (2015). *Resolution A/RES/70/162*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/A/RES/70/162>
- UN Security Council (2006). *Resolution 1738*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/S/RES/1738>
- UN Security Council (2015). *Resolution 2222*. Online: <http://www.undocs.org/S/RES/2222>
- UNESCO (1945). *Constitution*. Online: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html
- UNESCO (1947). *Resolutions adopted by the second Congress of the International Organisation of Journalists, 1947*. Free Flow Con./6. UNESCO Archives, Paris.
- UNESCO (1977). *The status and responsibilities of information personnel and the protection of journalists in the exercise of their profession. Florence, 18-20 April 1977*. OPI-77/WS/3. UNESCO Archives, Paris.
- UNESCO (1978a). *Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, apartheid and incitement to war*. Online: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13176&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html
- UNESCO (1978b). *CIC-Correspondence on Meeting for the Protection of Journalists*. 307A01ICSCP: 307:07A136, CC7CIC/78/SMS. UNESCO Archives.
- UNESCO (1979). *20 C/5 Approved Programme and Budget*. Online: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0004/000416/041687eb.pdf>
- UNESCO (1980). *Protection of Journalists*. New Communication Order, 4. Online: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0004/000421/042108Eb.pdf>
- UNESCO (1997). *Resolution 29. Condemnation of violence against journalists*. Online: http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/FIELD/Brussels/pdf/ipdc_resolution_29.pdf

- UNESCO (2008). *IPDC Decision on The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity 2008*. Online: http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/ipdc2008_decision_safety_of_journalists.pdf
- UNESCO (2010). *IPDC Decision on The Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity 2010*. Online: http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/ipdc2010_safety_decision_final.pdf
- UNESCO (2012a). *The Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity. Report by the Director-General*. Online: http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/images/Themes/Freedom_of_expression/Safety_Report_by%20DG_2012.pdf
- UNESCO (2012b). *UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity*. Online: http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/official_documents/UN-Plan-on-Safety-Journalists_EN_UN-Logo.pdf
- UNESCO (2013a). *Implementation Strategy 2013-2014*. Online: https://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/official_documents/Implementation_Strategy_2013-2014_01.pdf
- UNESCO (2013b). *Resolution 36 C/53*. Online: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002150/215084e.pdf>
- UNESCO (2014). *The Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity. Report by the Director-General*. Online: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002301/230101E.pdf>
- UNESCO (2015). *Decision 196EX/31*. Online: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002328/232890e.pdf>
- UNESCO (2016a). *The Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity. Report by the Director-General*. Online: http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/IPDC/ipdc_council_30_4_en_02.pdf
- UNESCO (2016b). *The Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity. Report by the Director-General*. Online: http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/IPDC/ipdc_30_council_decisions_en.pdf
- UNESCO (2017). *Journalists killed every four days in 2016*. Online: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/news/journalist_killed_every_four_days_in_2016/

Notes

1. From 1985 to 1991, the figures are adapted from the annual surveys conducted by Freedom House, cit. in Mukherjee, M. (1993). *International Protection of Journalists: Practices and Prospects* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Syracuse University. From 1992 to 2015, data are based on the CPJ database.
2. In the first years of the UN, 'Freedom of Information' was used to refer to what the UN currently terms freedom of expression.

Gendering War and Peace Journalism

New challenges for media research

Berit von der Lippe and Rune Ottosen

Abstract

The article addresses in what way gender matters when dealing with war – and peace journalism. Issues discussed are to what extent the experiences of male and female reporters differ when they cover stories from the front line, especially regarding safety and working conditions. One important question is whether the increased presence of women in the frontline might be indicative of a change in war storylines. Are the stories framed differently dependent on the gender of the reporter? Will women's perspectives allow for greater engagement with the lives of the victims of war rather than its technical and strategic aspects? The article also addresses how gender perspectives can contribute new ideas on peace journalism and even challenge our understanding of Johan Galtung's theory.

Keywords: gender, agency, femininities, masculinities, peace journalism, Global War on Terror

In what way does gender matter in dealing with war – and peace journalism? This article addresses issues regarding safety and working conditions for male and female reporters when they cover stories from the frontline. It also addresses questions about the framing of war stories and whether the increased presence of women on the frontline might be indicative of a change in war storylines.

Such issues are complex and will depend on circumstances where the gender factor must be seen in a wider context. In media representations of gender, some individuals are anonymous or invisible. Some bodies are valuable and worth protecting; some are unworthy of protection; some are constructed as dangerous and even evil, thus necessary to destroy (some are dangerous and need at least to be restrained). We are dealing with gendered dichotomies of self/other, autonomy/dependence, agency/passivity, rational/emotional, civilized/primitive, as well dimensions of visibility/invisibility being foregrounded/backgrounded or marginalized and silenced. One aim of this compilation is to demonstrate how gender is manipulated and used as a vehicle to support and legitimize violence and militarism.

We will address some of the challenges journalists working as war reporters experience – mainly as consequences of the so-called Global War on Terror (GWT). The

essays in this compilation aim to reduce the scholarly missing links by bringing forth aspects of war reporting through various gendered lenses. In our recently published book: *Gendering War and Peace Reporting. Some Insights – Some Missing Links*¹, 15 co-authors, scholars, cultural critics and media workers have scrutinized coverage and highlighted some ‘missing links’ and partiality in war-reporting practices, practices showing that a gendered analysis of war reporting is poorly presented. The book will hopefully lead to some important insights when it comes to gendering perspectives in war and peace reporting – admitting, though, some important missing links: absence of war reporting in social media, where especially Muslim women and young girls have been – and are – boldly working as war reporters.

Within the dominant (neo) liberal project in a globalized world, feminism tends to be expressed in individualistic terms rather than focusing on social solidarity and global power structures. As several postcolonial feminists have argued, a historical weakness of liberal feminism in the West has been its patronizing attitude towards women of colour who have been seen less as allies or agents and more as victims in need of rescue. These are perspectives present in the anthology. Added to the feminist perspectives indicated here are aspects of sexuality, ethnicity, culture, geography and social class; thus an intersectional approach, against a background of identity or power.

Like most mediated wars, the published stories are still stories about how liberators and oppressors, heroes and villains, protagonists and antagonists are constructed. With only a few exceptions, the stories are still mainly about male soldiers, representing so-called masculine values, whether honourable or disastrous – revealing simultaneously how some kinds of hegemonic masculinity are embedded in this discourse and regarded as universal. Although there are no clear-cut demarcation lines (rather, there are blurred lines) between the topics and perspectives in the chapters in this volume, they are presented along the following structural line: first, we bring forth some reflections on how the gender of the reporter matters; second, theoretical perspectives are discussed thereby indicating the media’s construction of women, mainly as ‘the other, in need of protection’ and within a postcolonial approach. Then, masculinities and femininities are discussed as the context of articles, and last – but not least – it is argued that gender has an impact on peace journalism.

Reflections of gender and war reporting

The stories told of history, war, defeat, victory and glory spring mainly – and more manifestly than other discourses – from masculinized memory, ambitions, humiliation and hope, told mainly by males in power positions and by male reporters (Yuval-Davis 1997; Tickner 2001). It is obvious that things have changed nowadays – in societies, in politics and in the media. Today, women are present and visible (though in the minority) as generals, officers or soldiers, and as high-ranking politicians dealing with security issues; and in many countries women’s presence as journalists and war reporters seems to be taken for granted. The question of whether women’s perspectives might allow for greater engagement with the lives of the victims of war rather than its

technical and strategic aspects cannot be answered with a 'yes' or 'no', but is nevertheless of great importance.

The forces shaping our collective perspectives are, however, still dominated by men's voices, and traditional masculinist war narratives are still the rules of the (war) game. War reporting has been overrepresented by elite sources like politicians, high ranking military officers and state officials. These elite sources are collectively dominated by men, and it will require more than more women journalists to change this male hegemony (Ottosen 2010). Gender matters in war reporting, as it does in the real world – and especially during war and conflict (Enloe 1999), but gendering war reporting is still marginalized. Violence against women tends to increase during times of war and conflict, and owing to the continuation of various forms of violence, left unaddressed by so-called peace settlements – still negotiated primarily by men and for men – new forms of violence such as domestic violence and human trafficking become acute in the aftermath of war (Pankhurst 2008, see also Reeves 2011). The need for gendered lenses on war and conflict reporting is indeed urgent. Constructions of masculinities and femininities thus matter.

Visibility matters, as do voices heard and voices listened to. Roland Barthes's understanding of myth may illuminate the taken-for-granted aspect of 'gender neutrality' and iconic images in war reporting – dynamic or not – because the media tend to give the impression of simply seeing the world and surroundings as they actually are. In reality, media images are highly contingent and ideologically framed (Barthes 1959). Visual representations found in images in photojournalism, computer games and action movies about wars are essential to hegemonic masculinity (Andersen 2014).

When watching a dozen male ministers, admirals, soldiers or officers on a television screen, most people only see ministers, admirals, soldiers or officers. It is often overlooked that the members of the group are exclusively males, but had the group been exclusively made up of women – ministers, admirals, soldiers or officers – they would probably be perceived first as females. Would they have been seen or perceived as ministers, admirals, soldiers or officers at all? Or would some people even in 2016 have laughed, seeing the women as ridiculous? One way the myth functions is to naturalize men in power positions to such an extent that some kinds of hegemonic masculinity still seem to be an integral part of what may be called hegemonic discourse.

The masculinity that encourages and sustains the desire to fight in war is dependent on maintaining a privileged position. Resistance and transformation are indeed possible, and capable, of challenging the existence of war itself; if challenged, men might not be pressured into mobilization by such notions of masculinity (Repo 2006: 123). While female war reporters have faced – and know that they must face – sexism and specifically gendered constraints and hostility from the military, the public and news organizations, it is less evident that male reporters too have experienced similar hostility. Because these issues are complex, only some of them will be discussed in this article.

The shortcomings of lip service to gender equality

Despite the absence of any deterministic link between sex/gender and more peaceful news (or a more peaceful world), bringing women reporters' voices into war coverage might have some impact on traditional masculinist war and conflict narratives. The gendered lenses used in what follows are first and foremost perspectives critical to the depoliticizing tendencies of liberal feminism. Representation in power politics, according to this feminist school – where Nancy Fraser is a leading voice (see Fraser 2013) – seems to be more important than redistribution and opposition to existing power structures, focusing mainly on women's exclusion from power positions in general. Pursuing strategies for women's inclusion in these positions may of course be important, but the question is what happens when or if some few females these days take their place alongside the males.

The neoliberal project seeks, according to Fraser, to undo past collective gains that limited labour exploitation and maintained public goods, instead fragmenting people into individuals pursuing their individual goals. Within the dominant (neo) liberal project in a globalized world, feminism tends to be expressed in individualistic terms rather than focusing on social solidarity. As several postcolonial feminists have argued, one historical weakness of liberal/imperialist feminism in the West has been a perspective in which women of colour are seen less as allies or agents and more as victims in need of rescue (Narayan 1997, 2000; Mohanty 2003; Spivak 2004).

Because concepts such as gender equality allow for multiple interpretations, spaces are created for empty declarations. Gender concepts may not just be neutralized or absorbed, but may in fact also work against mobilization for real changes. It is difficult, as Maria Stratigaki has written, to mobilize for something already 'being there' (Stratigaki 2005: 36). The danger of co-option is greater in large organizations, particularly if there is a high level of normative legitimacy for the general principle underlying the original policy goal. Co-option works against mobilization and pressure by interested parties and individuals by using the original as well as the transformed concept as an alibi. Ann J. Tickner (2001: 49) exposes the 'myth of protection' thus: "... despite a widespread myth that wars are fought, mostly by men, to protect 'vulnerable' people – a category to which women and children are generally assigned – women and children constitute a significant proportion of casualties in recent wars".

An important (rhetorical) question is thus: Has mainstream feminism today been co-opted and cheapened into the narrow struggle to fill men's shoes while preserving capitalist, racist, imperialist and even patriarchal inequalities? In the context of the ethical turn in foreign policy, NATO will, for example, no longer appear solely as a military alliance, but also as an organization in which civilian and military relations are interconnected – to the benefit of the overall agenda of peace/avoiding war between major powers. In NATO's most recent action plan, the integration of gender is, for example, particularly stressed: "... key action areas include the further integration of a gender perspective in the areas of arms control, building integrity, children in armed conflict, counter-terrorism and human trafficking" (NATO 2014, see also Lippe and Stuvøy 2013).

NATO's globalization perspective(s)

Vital to promoting NATO's political project are psychological operations (PSYOPS), also known as perception management (Ottosen 2013). One PSYOPS action was to publish propaganda through television, radio and written publications. These products looked like journalism, but were constructed to promote the interests of their partner, the former president of Afghanistan, Hamid Karzai, who was (with little justification) framed as the defender of democratic values. By the use of NATO/ISAF propaganda through a lookalike newspaper, *Sada-e Azadi*, the civilian population of Afghanistan is promised a future democracy, including the liberation of women (op. cit.: 87). This fits well into the pattern described by Jemima Repo:

The parallel is made between the American-backed officials as enlightened and progressive in support of women's rights and Westernisation, and the Islamists as Islamic fundamentalist ex-warriors still bloodthirsty and insistent on a backward society that oppresses women. The division between good/bad men divides Afghan masculinities into two opposing groups that sustains the US self-image of democratic liberator used in the humanitarian discourse for additional justification for the war. The US and its Afghani supporters are still characterised as woman-friendly, and any association with the Taliban as woman-repressive (Repo 2006: 66).

A gender sensitive approach pays attention to the differences among men and among women, rather than exaggerating them. What is implied, though, first and foremost is that representations are intertwined with identity categories such as state, nation, ethnicity and others. Security discourses and media discourses on war do more than construct problems, dangers and fears, underlining what and whom to be afraid of – media discourses also construct 'good citizens'.

In an era of globalization and increasing interdependence between nation states, no less than during the Cold War rhetoric of containment, war rhetoric is still informed by specifically masculine values. Attempts to connect violence structures with attributes or behavioural propensities that men or women supposedly share rely on stereotypical generalizations about men and women and will, as Iris Young underlines, "often leap too quickly from an account of the traits of persons to institutional structures and collective action" (Young 2003: 2). Good citizenship still seems to consist of cooperative obedience to authorities claiming that 'we' support democracy 'out-of-area' in the ongoing wars on terror.

Although many researchers in international relations claim that the discipline of international politics is gender neutral, others argue that the very definition of security and violence is in many ways gendered, affecting the overall nature and functioning of the international system. According to Tickner (2001), nowhere are the gender binaries more apparent than in the field of international politics (see also Enloe 1999, 2004). The international environment continues to be defined in terms of hegemonic masculinities, establishing the boundaries and power relations between the feminine, the private and masculine, the public and international. Gender, international relations and the notions of security are tightly connected, tending to form rather fixed

discourses and practices that are further utilized in international politics. Does this hold? Or, somewhat more modestly, how do such views correspond with the media's war reporting?

Security states hardly justify their wars by appealing to sentiments of greed or desire for conquest: Their appeal is their role as protectors. Assumptions, categorizations and conceptualizations concerning gendered security issues need to be analysed as part of the wider globalization phenomenon. The 'wider phenomenon' is a global polity that is taken for granted according to the dominant ideology of liberalism, both economic and political, a background assumption that Shepherd calls an "absent presence" (Shepherd 2008). The presence of women and the increased gender awareness in war, peace, and security issues, on the other hand, may be seen as 'present absences' – women in power positions are present and visible, but few among these women are representing any counter-discourse to the hegemonic discourse, and there is thus a presence of women and absence of feminist opposition.

Gendering peace journalism

Johan Galtung's model for war and peace reporting has been introduced as a criticism of the present conflict reporting in mainstream media (war journalism). Galtung argues that criticism is not enough, and proposes peace journalism as a constructive alternative. He takes the feminist position that women will be better prepared to be peace journalists, as most of the violence in the world is perpetrated by men (he suggests 90 per cent). He then makes the assumption that the "vested interest for women to change the situation is obvious; just as there is vested interest for males in preserving the *status quo*". Galtung forgets the main problem in his own model, seeing the war itself as the biggest problem, and putting the women reporters on a pedestal, better equipped than men to be peace journalists:

But there are also other reasons why men may be better at peace journalism though this is in no way meant to suggest that the burden of this civilizing mission should fall on women alone. Peace is more holistic than war; women may be more sensitive to a broader range of variables than men (op. cit.: 268).

Galtung's model of peace journalism builds on the dichotomy between what he calls "war journalism" and "peace journalism" (Ottosen 2010). The model includes four main points that contrast the two approaches: War journalism is violence-oriented, propaganda-oriented, elite-oriented and victory-oriented. Its approach is often dualistic, a zero-sum game in which the winner takes it all (as in sports journalism). One potential consequence is that war journalism contributes to escalating conflicts by reproducing propaganda and promoting war. His theory is also relevant to the propaganda warfare mentioned above, as an essential part of the peace journalism model is to expose propaganda lies on all sides (Galtung 2002).

Peace journalism is people-oriented in the sense that it focuses on the victims (often civilian casualties) and thus gives a voice to the voiceless. It is also truth-oriented in

the sense that it reveals untruth on all sides and focuses on propaganda as a means of continuing the war (Galtung 2002: 261-270). In this context, the peace journalism quest is to identify atrocities on all sides in a conflict so as to break the pattern labelled by Noam Chomsky as 'worthy' and 'unworthy' victims (Herman and Chomsky 1988).

In this context the model is gender neutral, because the explicit issue of gender and different masculinities and femininities is not dealt with. Galtung, addressing gender, focuses mainly on the role of women as victims, supplemented by a general acceptance of the notion that women are more open to peace ideas than are men. When listing unreported issues, for instance, he refers to the Balkan war (taking place) at the same time as the article was written as: "the mediation of numerous Yugoslav peace groups, consisting mainly of women" (Galtung 1992: 261). He also implies that women are more open to positive news (such as peace ideas) than men are, and that men apparently tend to be more interested in negative news, "violence, where the male hunter-warrior has to be on guard" (op. cit.: 267). Here,

... that women should be more interested in peace news than in war news tallies well with the assumption of women as better peace workers/peace carriers. If women believe more than men in horizontal networking for the care of other humans

We think a historically oriented gender analysis could very well be added to this list of critical supplements to Galtung's model, as it lacks the ability to include aspects of multiple feminites and masculinities in the analysis of media representation of war and conflicts. A critical look at Galtung's model will have a moral and ethical point of departure, acknowledging that the media themselves play a role in the propaganda war, presenting a conscious choice: to identify other options for the readers/viewers by offering a solution-oriented, people-oriented and truth-oriented approach; and this in turn implies a focus on possible suggestions for peace that the parties to the conflict might have an interest in hiding. But, as Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick have pointed out, it is not the job of journalists to come up with specific peace suggestions in their reporting: "Peace Journalism is when editors and reporters make choices, about what to report and how to report it, which create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value nonviolent, developmental responses to conflict" (2005).

Hegemonic masculinities – and femininities

If the reciprocal relationship between masculinity and militarism is in some sense weakening and the blurring of gender has become visible outside and even within war stories, so too perhaps is the power of the state to manipulate public support for its right to use violence in pursuing its policies abroad and in encouraging men and – in the name of gender equality policy – women to join the armed forces. Thus the state has a vested interest in maintaining strong ideological links between militarism and specific kinds of masculinity – while at the same time needing females to enter the forces, an integral part of liberal feminism.

Many women war reporters are probably tougher and even more fearless than their male colleagues when faced with dangers, and therefore perceive their gender as irrel-

evant and themselves as equal to their male colleagues. The question is: Have they simply been ‘leaning in’? This may perhaps be illustrated by women reporters’ reactions to the French branch of Reporters Sans Frontières (RSF). In 2011, this branch was forced to withdraw a statement saying that the international news media should not send women reporters to Cairo following cases of sexual assault. RSF had announced: “For the time being [media should] stop sending female journalists to cover the situation in Egypt. It is unfortunate that we have come to this but, given the violence of these assaults, there is no other solution” (*Guardian* 2011). Lindsey Hilsum, Channel 4’s highly regarded international editor, wrote to RSF demanding it withdraw its initial advice, saying: “We have fought for decades as female journalists to get our editors to treat us equally. I do not understand how an organisation devoted to press freedom can recommend discrimination like this”.

She asked the rhetorical question: “If more female journalists are assaulted, are you going to say it’s our fault for being there?” She did not stop there and told the *Guardian*:

Sexual harassment and assault is undeniably a problem and absolutely horrific, but that does not mean women should be intimidated into not reporting in difficult situations. Male journalists have been assaulted and killed in this year’s uprisings, but I haven’t heard calls for them to leave.

Those who take the greatest risk are, however, more often the local/native translators, freelancers or journalists. All reporters in conflict zones have to make judgments on the ground about safety, and the risk of sexual assault is one factor in that judgement. An Egyptian-American reporter, who spent years – and a pregnancy – as Baghdad bureau chief for her agency and is now based in Cairo, tweeted the following response: “Well intentioned, but we have a job to do ... Nobody ever tells female doctors and nurses to go home and let the boys handle it”.

Like their male colleagues, women reporters have come under sniper and artillery as well as aerial bombardment; they have been teargassed at protests and interrogated by security services and militias in the Middle East, Africa and South Asia. Women and men reporters tend to evaluate journalism, journalism ethics and journalistic identities in similar ways, and to have similar epistemologies. Women reporters do not share some gender-specific style of reporting or journalistic philosophy – and neither do men. And just as women in general do not share the same perspectives on feminism, the same applies to women war reporters. Power is not produced alone, and neither is gender. As Judith Butler sees it, gender is an act that requires repetitive performance “of a set of meanings already socially established; it is the mundane and ritualised form of their legitimation” (Butler 1999: 178). It is a process without beginning or end, “an ongoing discursive practice ... open to intervention and resignification” (Butler 1999: 43).

Concluding remarks: Masculinities, heroes and victims

Femininities are not only just as important as masculinities in understanding the war system as such, and it is equally important to be aware of how these constructions are

played out in the media's war reportage. Both femininities and masculinities may be seen as located in hierarchies on the basis of cross-cutting factors such as nationality, race or religion, and – more broadly – global power structures (Jaggar 2005). Gender hierarchies between and also within these identities, and hierarchies and power relations, are also manifest between *different* masculinities and different femininities. These issues are inseparable from gender identities and are crucial to media and war reporting. The hegemonic security discourse and the discourse of victory are based on suppositions about human nature and suppositions about war as (often) the only means of stability. The hegemonic assumptions used in analysing states and their behaviour in the international system depend, as we have brought forth above, on characteristics that we in the West tend to associate with masculinities: autonomy, sovereignty, independence, power, strength and honour. Many feminists see fear of the other, the fear of dependence (implicitly, lack of autonomy), as a male construct. The fear of admitting that women's agency is as potent as men's might be another aspect of hegemonic masculinities.

In her discussion of R.W. Connell's notion of hegemonic masculinity, Mimi Schippers argues that:

As Connell suggests, any conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity must be first defined in its difference from femininity. I would add, however, that any conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity must also be defined by the way in which it articulates a complementary and hierarchical relationship to femininity. Connell's definition of hegemonic masculinity, with a few key changes (in *italics*) and the explicit addition of femininity, serves us quite well. Hegemonic masculinity is the qualities defined as manly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to femininity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (Schippers 2007).

Hegemonic masculinity is a concept – popularized by the sociologist R.W. Connell – of proposed practices that promote the dominant social position of men. Because defeat is the ultimate humiliation, hegemonic masculinity is valorized in its role as the 'protector'. It links military masculinity with values such as honour, loyalty and righteousness, and it is this type of masculinity that belongs to heroes and myth making. (Tickner 2001: 57) Such war narratives are often effective vehicles for mobilizing public support for war, and rely to a great extent on the celebration of heroic masculinity.

In the name of universality, realists and liberals (as well as neoconservatives) have constructed a worldview based largely on the experiences of some men – a worldview offering only a partial vista of reality, and from a specific perspective. The notion that this might be a kind of particularist perspective is seldom considered. Theorists, and most politicians and journalists, come short in their critique – not only of hegemonic discourse, but also of similar international relations theories. Thus, in making manifest the gendered fantasies of autonomy, one also makes manifest the limited perspective on which hegemonic realist thinking still seems to depend.

References

- Andersen, R. (2006). *A Century of Media, A Century of War*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble*: Tenth anniversary edition. London: Routledge.
- Enloe, C. (1990). *Bananas, beaches, and bases: Making feminist sense of international politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fraser, N. (2013). *Fortunes of feminism: from state-managed capitalism to neoliberal crisis*. Brooklyn, New York: Verso Books.
- Galtung, J. (2002). Peace journalism – A challenge, in Kempf, W. and Luostarinen, H. (eds.) *Journalism and the new world order. Vol 2. Studying war and the media*. Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Herman, E. S. and Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*, New York: Pantheon Books.
- Jaggar, A. M. (2005). Saving Amina: Global justice for women and intercultural dialogue, pp. 37-63 in Follestad, A. and Pogge, T. (eds.) *Real World Justice*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Lippe, B. von der and Ottosen, R. (2016). Introduction: Approaches and Insights on Gendering War – and Peace Reporting, pp. 9-29 in Lippe, B. von der and Ottosen, R. (eds.) *Gendering War and Peace Reporting. Some insights – some missing links*. Gothenburg: Nordicom.
- Lynch, J. and McGoldrick, A. (2005). *Peace journalism*. Stroud: Hawthorne Press.
- Ottosen, R. (2013). PSYOPS or journalism. Norwegian information warfare in Afghanistan. pp. 71-91 in Barkho, L. (ed.) *From theory to practice. How to assess and apply impartiality in news and current affairs*. Bristol: Intellect Ltd.
- Ottosen, R. (2010). The war in Afghanistan and peace journalism in practice, in *Media War and Conflict*, 3(3): 61-78.
- Pankhurst, D. (2008). *Gendered peace: Women's struggles for post-war justice and reconciliation*. New York: Routledge.
- Repo, J. (2006). *Gendering the militarisation of the war on terrorism: Discourses and representations of masculinities and femininities*. Master's thesis, University of Helsinki.
- Schippers, M. (2007). Recovering the feminine other: Masculinity, femininity, and gender hegemony. *Theory and Society*, March 2007, 36(1): 85-102.
- Spivak, G. C. (2004). Terror: A speech After 9-11, Project Muse, *boundary 2*, 31(2): 81-111.
- Tickner, J. A. (2001). *Gendering world politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Young, I. M. (2003). The logic of masculinist protection: Reflections on the current security state, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 29(1).

Note

1. This article draws upon the authors' introductory chapter 'Approaches and Insights on Gendering War – and Peace Reporting', in the book *Gendering War and Peace Reporting. Some Insights – Some Missing Links*, edited by Berit von der Lippe and Rune Ottosen.

Collaboration Is the Future

Doing research in the network era

Thomas Hanitzsch

Abstract

The study of journalists' safety around the world is one of the areas that clearly require international collaboration. This chapter highlights three distinct models of scientific collaboration: the centralized, the correspondent, and the coordinated cooperation model. The Worlds of Journalism Study exemplifies the latter approach. Using this project as an exemplar of large-scale collaborative research, the chapter reflects on the evolution of the Worlds of Journalism Study: the way it is organized, its innovative use of democratic structures, and some of the problems it faced in the process. Over the years, the study has evolved into a democratic tribe of scholars; it has become an intellectual community that extends to 67 countries around the world. In the future, collaborative research may become the norm rather than the exception. Few areas in our field are better disposed to this kind of scholarship than the study of journalists' safety.

Keywords: journalists' safety, international research, collaborative research, the Worlds of Journalism Study

The study of journalists' safety around the world rests on the assumption that journalists operate under – often strikingly – unequal conditions, providing them with different levels of security and protection from violence and abuse. Research of this kind is impossible to do without international collaboration. One prime example is the *World Press Freedom Index* published annually by Reporters sans frontières (RSF).¹ RSF works together with experts in the covered countries to collect information about violence and abuse and to rate the extent to which journalists can operate freely from external pressures. I am a member of the expert network employed by RSF, and I have been centrally involved in a number of academic projects that rely on international collaboration. I founded one of these undertakings, the *Worlds of Journalism Study*, in 2006 and am still coordinating it today. The editors of this book, who are interested in journalists' safety across continents, have invited me to share some of my experiences with large collaborative studies, and I think there is indeed a lot to say about this topic.

Collaborative networks have become ubiquitous in many fields of scientific endeavor, and they have been gaining momentum in communication and media studies since the turn of the millennium. While there was a time when we still had to urge our students to “go international,” cross-national collaboration and comparative research have now

become almost fashionable. The end of the Cold War has made the world much more accessible, and modern communication technologies have created new and efficient ways of interacting with scholars from around the globe.

Even more importantly, collaborative research has opened up new opportunities and avenues of research. It forces us to revise our assumptions against cross-national inconsistencies and can prevent us from over-generalizing from our own, often idiosyncratic, cultural experience. The safety of journalists is clearly a case in point. Researchers in the West have often little sensibility concerning the challenges and difficulties faced by journalists in other parts of the world. Furthermore, collaborative research builds and sustains networks of researchers across continents, facilitates international exchange of knowledge and skills, and ultimately contributes to community building and a sense of belonging among the participating researchers. For the most part, collaborative research is an exciting and mind-broadening experience of cosmopolitan scholarship.

Different models of scientific collaboration

Participation in cross-national collective projects often starts with a supposedly simple but ultimately consequential question: What kind of collaborative researcher do I want to be? Several years ago, Frank Esser and I have wrote about different models of academic collaboration, each model having its advantages and potential pitfalls (Esser and Hanitzsch, 2012). The *World Press Freedom Index* mentioned above is not a strictly academic endeavor, but it exemplifies one model of collaborative research, the *centralized model*. In this type of collaboration, an international institution – Reporters sans frontières, in this example – usually takes the lead and employs locally based experts to gather the needed information. Due to the political economy of international research, these lead institutions are likely to be located in the Western world, most notably in the United States. The headquarters of RSF, for instance, are located in Paris. And this already points to one important disadvantage of the model: Ideas tend to follow the money. It is no surprise that many ideas underpinning the widely used *Freedom of the Press* index published by Freedom House² or the *Media Sustainability Index* reported by IREX³ are informed by Western conceptual thinking (e.g., definitions of ‘press freedom’ and ‘development’) as well as by Western methodological preferences.

The *correspondent model* only differs slightly from the above approach; it more greatly involves researchers from other countries in the execution of the study. The model still relies on a central research institution, which can be any scholar’s office, university department, or non-university institution. This lead institution develops the conceptual and methodological framework, and only afterwards contacts researchers in the various countries to carry out the field research. The collaborators, or “satellites,” have therefore no choice but to accept the research design; they serve as national experts whose core responsibility is simultaneous data collection. Oftentimes, the local researchers are not involved in the data analysis and publications resulting from the study. The downsides of this model are therefore similar to the centralized approach. Participating researchers receive their “orders” and instructions from the headquarters and are left with limited academic freedom.

Thinking about it, the above two models do not fully count as “collaborative” in the sense I understand the term. In my view, true academic collaboration requires much more intellectual freedom for all researchers participating in a study and entails involvement – or at least the chance for involvement – at all stages of the project. True collaboration means that all partners can bring to bear their intellectual preferences and cultural expertise at any point in time, from the conceptualization and planning of the study until publication of the results.

It is for this reason that I personally favor the *coordinated cooperation model* of internationally collaborative research. In this perspective, one scholar or institution serves in the capacity of a coordinator, while all researchers participating in the network are considered equal collaborators. All involved researchers are given the opportunity to participate in the development of theories, concepts, the research design and research tools. This type of coordinated cooperation is the kind of research network promoted by the European Commission through its “Framework” funding programs (now: “Horizon 2020”) launched in 1984. This model of collaborative research is currently gaining ground in communication and media studies. In its most common form, researchers gather at international workshops and conferences prior to the actual start of the project to reach an agreement on all necessary steps. The involved researchers collaboratively develop a common conceptual framework and research tools, carry out field research as a concerted effort, and collectively publish the results of their study.

The Worlds of Journalism Study as an exemplar of collaborative research

The *Worlds of Journalism Study* (WJS) has adopted the coordinated cooperation model as its underlying collaborative framework. We did not plan this from the onset; the study was originally set up as a rather small-scale pilot study that included seven countries. Over time, the project has evolved into a large collaborative study, which at the time this essay was written involved 67 countries. Briefly described, the *Worlds of Journalism Study* is an academically driven project intended to study the state of journalism throughout the world. The study’s primary objective is to help journalism researchers, practitioners, media managers and policymakers better understand the worldviews and changes that are taking place in the professional orientations of journalists, the conditions and limitations under which journalists operate, and the social functions of journalism in a changing world (see <http://www.worldsofjournalism.org>). Though not yet published, the study’s results will be highly relevant to the exploration of journalists’ safety. One central theme in the current, and in the previous, series of surveys is the assessment of editorial autonomy and influences on news work (Hanitzsch et al. 2010; Reich and Hanitzsch 2013).

As the geographical reach of the project and the number of researchers involved in it grew, we finally reached a point where we felt the need to implement a managerial structure that would enable us to coordinate a study of this magnitude. In 2011, when it became clear that the project would carry on with an even larger number of countries, we incepted the *Worlds of Journalism Study* as a semi-institutional framework

with a mission statement, its own statutes, and a governing body: the WJS Executive Committee. The major motivation for scholars to join a project such as this one can be summarized by a principle that Robert L. Stevenson (1996) famously called “Give a little, get a lot.” In other words, in return for contributing data on his or her own country, each collaborator was entitled to receive the full comparative data set once data collection was complete. The underlying hope was that participants would find creative ways of analyzing the data and of testing hypotheses in ways that would not have been possible when the scope was limited to single-country data only.

Democratic scholarship and the business of making compromises

An important aspect of the network’s organization is the democratic legitimacy of all individuals who steer the study in managerial key positions. In a nutshell, every country is represented by at least one Principal Investigator. Principal Investigators regularly meet in a General Assembly (physical or online), in which every country has one vote; decisions are formally made by a simple majority, though in practice the decisions we made in the past were highly consensual. The WJS Executive Committee consists of seven members of the network, each person coordinating one of the following seven regions covered by the study: (Sub-Saharan) Africa, Asia, Oceania, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America/the Caribbean, the Middle East (and North Africa), and Western Europe and North America. The role of the Executive Committee is to provide leadership and strategic planning for the project, to recruit new members, organize meetings and workshops, promote publications and dissemination of results, as well as to raise central funding and assist members in their fund-raising efforts. The WJS Center is currently based in Munich, where the project website is maintained and data collection, verification and dissemination are centrally managed. The Executive Committee is further supported by a Scientific Advisory Committee, which consists of leading scholars in the field, as well as by a Statistical Advisory Committee.

What makes the *Worlds of Journalism Study* so unique among the many similar studies, I believe, is that the members of the Executive Committee are elected; they are voted into office by the General Assembly. We experimented with democratic elements in the study for various reasons. Most importantly, we wanted to give all members of the research network the feeling that they have a say in all decisions we were making for the project – from the design and planning of research to the publication of results. We always tried to avoid any undue impression that the study was governed by a strategy that Halloran (1998: 45) famously identified as “research imperialism.” Consequently, we tried to be inclusive rather than exclusive; we tend to see theoretical, methodological and cultural diversity as an advantage rather than a threat. We are proud to see the *Worlds of Journalism Study* developing as a democratic tribe of scholars rather than as an academic empire.

As positive and enthusiastic as this may sound, the collaborative structure we employed also created problems on many fronts. The scholars collaborating in the *Worlds of Journalism Study* come from different theoretical, methodological and cultural backgrounds, and they have distinctive understandings of teamwork, division of

labor, work structures, academic hierarchy, information exchange and, perhaps most importantly, communication habits. This is probably the reason why collaborative research is sometimes referred to as “exhausting,” “a nightmare,” and “frustrating” (Livingstone 2003: 481).

A major problem of the cooperation model we employed is that participating researchers have to come to an agreement on conceptual, methodological and organizational decisions on a voluntary basis, and this can turn out to be difficult for many reasons. Inevitably, scholars will find themselves attending seemingly endless meetings in which they try to settle on a common theoretical and methodological framework. Try having even two people in a room agree on the value of a specific theory. In the end, one may end up with least common denominators on the conceptual level that are so meaningless theoretically that the project would do much better without theory altogether.

Likewise, the collaborative development of research tools can turn into a traumatic experience. Scholars tend to have their own agendas for research questions, and they often have very peculiar preferences for measures. Every time we discussed the questionnaire for the 2012-15 survey, we could have easily come up with more items to be added to what already was a long and partly unmanageable list of item. Ultimately, we realized that collaborative work relies not only on time, funding and mutual interest, but also on good will and trust (Livingstone 2003). It is fair to say that collaborative research is essentially a matter of making compromises.

This being said, there are certain limits to the collaborative compromise. Once the network settles on issues, participants need to accept those decisions even when they disagree. In the process of developing the questionnaire for the 2012-15 wave of the *Worlds of Journalism Study*, for example, we decided to generally use five-point scales for rating items. After we finalized the questionnaire wording in a long meeting at an IAMCR conference in Istanbul, one team from a major Western country decided to continue with four-point scales in their country nevertheless. At this point, we realized that collaboration simply becomes impossible under these premises. It is for this reason I think the selection of collaborators is anything but a trivial issue. One should always choose partners wisely. Ideally, we work with people we can trust, with whom we have a robust track record of cooperation, and who have access to the necessary research infrastructure.

Overcoming problems, creating a scholarly community

Furthermore, collaborative research is often an exercise in frustration management and academic diplomacy. We have provided clear and concise instructions to the whole research network, supplemented by numerous explanations and reminders, and yet not everyone appears to read those guidelines with the same care. This has created some preventable variation in data quality, and quite a bit of unnecessary communication between Principal Investigators and the WJS Center. In hindsight, we could have anticipated these problems from the start, because, in the end, there is little one can do to fully avoid them. Researchers participating in large networks tend to be busy people;

they are often committed to multiple academic endeavors, and they have teaching and managerial duties in their home institutions. As project coordinator, I have learned to be more patient than we may have been in the past.

Of particular importance in this context is the anticipation of messy data submitted by at least some collaborators. The *Worlds of Journalism Study* has generated interview data from more than 27,500 journalists in 67 countries. One does not necessarily have to brace for Murphy's Law (according to which anything that can go wrong, will go wrong), but coordinators need to be prepared for the fact that, with such a high degree of complexity, some things will inevitably get out of order. It is for this reason that we centralized data checking and handling in the WJS Center, and that we created routines for thorough data inspection and validation, which has turned out to be extremely tedious and time-consuming. Only late in the process did we realize that data management for a project of this magnitude is actually a full-time job, and this, too, needs to be anticipated.

Just think of all the things that can possibly go wrong. We had data sets from some countries that produced extremely surprising and not quite plausible results in initial, preliminary analyses. In some of these cases, journalists' responses revealed a pattern that was exactly the opposite of other countries in the sample. A careful inspection of the data revealed, after long experimentation with the statistical tools, that some local teams had inverted the scales. When journalists were supposed to respond using a five-point scale ranging from 5 = "extremely important" to 1 "not important," in some countries the scale was reversed to 1 = "extremely important" to 5 "not important."

To be sure, these things can happen; nobody is perfect. One of the most disheartening experiences we had, however, was with collaborators who provided us with falsified data. These were clearly the moments of the greatest disappointment while working with the study. In most of these cases, we found a larger number of duplicate cases, which means the same interview appeared twice or even more often in the data set. There were instances where Principal Investigators seemed to have submitted falsified data without being aware of it; obviously, they had been cheated by the people working for them. Once the problem was detected, the Principal Investigators agreed to do additional interviews in order to meet our sampling requirements. In other cases, however, Principal Investigators had been actively involved in the data fraud, which in all of these instances led to termination of the collaboration. The lesson we learned from this experience was that digital data can be falsified easily and that in large multinational research projects, one needs to carefully check for data issues as a measure to safeguard overall data integrity. Furthermore, as the quality of data sets almost inevitably varies across the many different countries covered, we felt the need to be transparent about methodological procedures and problems encountered during field research.

At some point, we also realized that large-scale collaborative projects require opportunities for physical encounters. Video conferences are great, but they are less efficient than physical meetings. We therefore started organizing regular "family gatherings" for all collaborators involved in the project. In two *Worlds of Journalism Study* "Conventions", one in Thessaloniki (2014) and another one in Munich (2015), we exchanged our views about central concepts, discussed methodological issues, and pre-

sented initial findings from preliminary analyses. All of these efforts have helped us cultivate a “sense of belonging” to something that is greater than the sum of its parts.

Finally, another important lesson we learned through working with *Worlds of Journalism Study* was that scientific collaboration is often more than just a matter of producing data and academic publications. By collaborating with researchers from a great number of countries, we created a sustainable scholarly community that extends to all inhabited continents. We formed this community around a common mission and shared interests everyone identifies with. We developed a website and a Facebook group to foster our own “corporate identity.” We even produced our own ballpoint pens!

In the end, the *Worlds of Journalism Study* has become a collaborative endeavor that developed a life of its own. It is no longer the “Hanitzsch project,” as it used to be; it has long moved beyond the ambitions of a single researcher and has become a shared asset for everyone involved. Today, the *Worlds of Journalism Study* is an intellectual community, a platform for data exchange, a tool for sharing knowledge and experience, and a vehicle to drive comparative research in the field. At present, the project is the largest collaborative endeavor in the field, and a model for many other, similar studies.

Concluding remarks

We are now looking back at ten years since we started the project that became the seedling of the *Worlds of Journalism Study*. Seeing how the study has developed since its inception in 2006 makes me proud, I admit. To a significant degree, however, the success of the project is intrinsically tied to the time when it was created. Simply, the stage was set for this kind of large international endeavor; and indeed, we have seen the birth of a number of similar projects during recent years. I sincerely believe that collaborative research is the future in our field. Collaboration allows us to share research resources, which are often scarce, as well as intellectual expertise.

In a network era, collaborative research may even become the norm rather than the exception. Consequently, we will get used to seeing many collective publications in the future, which among other things will have important consequences for intellectual property and the attribution of academic reputation (to the individual vs. the collective). The “lone scholar” may no longer be the standard model of research in the social sciences and humanities. Rather, collaboration is key to the production of scientific knowledge and the development of scholarly careers. Few areas in our field are better suited to this kind of scholarship than the study of journalists’ safety.

References

- Esser, F. and Hanitzsch, T. (2012). Organizing and Managing Comparative Research Projects across Nations: Models and Challenges of Coordinated Collaboration, pp. 521-532 in Volkmer, I. (ed.) *The Handbook of Global Media Research*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Halloran, J. D. (1998). Social science, communication research and the Third World. *Media Development*, 2: 43-46.
- Hanitzsch, T.; Anikina, M.; Berganza, R.; Cangoz, I.; Coman, M.; Hamada, B.; Hanusch, F.; Karadjov, C. D.; Mellado, C.; Moreira, S. V.; Mwesige, P. G.; Plaisance, P. L.; Reich, Z.; Seethaler, J.; Skewes, E. A.; Noor, D. V., and Yuen, K. W. (2010). Modeling Perceived Influences on Journalism: Evidence from a Cross-National Survey of Journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 87: 7-24.

- Livingstone, S. (2003). On the challenges of cross-national comparative media research. *European Journal of Communication*, 18: 477-500.
- Reich, Z. and Hanitzsch, T. (2013). Determinants of Journalists' Professional Autonomy: Individual and National Level Factors Matter more than Organizational Ones. *Mass Communication & Society*, 16: 133-156.
- Stevenson, R. L. (1996). *Remapping the news of the world*. <http://www.ibiblio.org/newsflow/results/> (accessed 2016-11-17).

Notes

1. <https://rsf.org/>
2. <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2016>
3. <https://www.irex.org/resource/media-sustainability-index-msi>

The Way Forward

1. Reflection, Reconsideration, Collaboration

A Country without Mercy

Afghan journalists caught in crossfires

Elisabeth Eide

In the last Afghan solar year (22 March 2015 – 21 March 2016), twelve journalists and media workers were killed, exceeding any previous year in recent history.¹ In June 2016, the US photographer David Gilkey and his interpreter, journalist Zabihullah Tamanna, were killed in a Taliban attack in Majra, southern Afghanistan. Approximately three hundred journalists left Afghanistan in 2015.² More may follow.

The journalists who left last year are relatively few considering the quarter million Afghans who came to Europe in 2015 to seek asylum. Nevertheless, they all share some of the same reasons for leaving. Most important are the high level of threats and the lack of security, both of which affect media workers seriously. In a broad-based Deutsche Welle-report, journalists complain of being “under suspicion from all sides”, and claim that besides the Taliban, the government as well “puts journalists under pressure. Then there are the mafia and the warlords”.³

The situation has parallels in other countries ravaged by conflict, today not least in Syria and Iraq, but also in neighbouring Pakistan. The difference is that Afghanistan has been in a situation of constant war, occupation, and violent conflict for close to forty years, meaning that a vast majority of the country’s population has not experienced any lasting period of peace and stability. This may be one of the more profound explanations for the current exodus. Hopes have been raised too many times, only to be dashed. Many journalists do not see a future for free media and journalism in Afghanistan, despite the fact that the Constitution guarantees free expression.

There are ample reasons for this lack of hope in the future. One example is what NAI⁴, a leading organization reporting on violation of journalists’ rights, indicates at the beginning of their July 2016 report. One student from their academy was killed in the suicide attack in Kabul, while a camera operator was seriously injured. Two journalists from the leading TV station, *Tolo*, were beaten up by police when they wanted to conduct an interview with a minister. Security officers in Helmand province beat up a local correspondent.⁵ This synthesizes in a sense what Afghan journalists are up against: first and foremost terrorist insurgents, but also authorities, both central and local.

In May 2016, I attended a workshop in Mazar-e-Sharif, Northern Afghanistan, to discuss free expression and the situation for journalists, authors, and related professions. The individuals seated around the table were representatives of a rather thin stratum of critical Afghan intellectuals. They were nevertheless able to provide an

overview of the situation. They reported that besides the Taliban and other extremist movements, government bodies also harass journalists. In addition, government representatives take measures to neutralize them by offering them political positions. The recipe of people in power is to become friendly with journalists – especially with those who are most critical. The participants admitted that taking this kind of bait sometimes seems like an easy way out of a difficult situation. Self-censorship is widespread.

Fears and risks

Being an independent reporter or media institution and filing stories on Taliban atrocities means putting oneself at serious risk. NAI sees a connection between the way in which the popular *Tolo TV* reported on Taliban atrocities in Kunduz when they conquered the city for a while⁶ – and the Taliban attack on a bus with *Tolo* workers in February 2016, when insurgents killed seven and wounded more than twenty. The Taliban had started issuing press releases on *journalists* as *military targets*, and this is something completely new, said Sediqullah Tauhidi from NAI. – If important centres such as Kunduz fall permanently into the hands of the Taliban, the frustration felt by journalists will increase. The stronger the terrorists are, the stricter our working conditions.

After the devastating attack on *Tolo TV*, President Ghani and his partner-in-government CEO⁷ Dr. Abdullah changed their rhetoric. They condemned the Taliban more aggressively and expressed their explicit support for free media.

However, they face a disturbing situation, because the Taliban are increasing their influence in most of the 34 provinces of Afghanistan. As this is written, three out of 34 provincial capitals are under Taliban siege.⁸ Kunduz city, not far from Mazar, is one of them, and was recently re-conquered for some days by the Taliban. IS – in Afghanistan often-called ISG (Islamic State Group) – has influence in some areas, and there are other insurgent groups. All of these groups put journalists in danger, but threats emerging from governmental bodies are also well documented in NAI's monthly reports.

The dark story of Kunduz city being held by the Taliban has led to a great deal of reflection among Afghan journalists. Some criticize the international media's sole focus on the bombing of the *Doctors without Borders* hospital in November 2015, where 28 persons were killed. They are concerned about the fact that, during the Taliban's short reign, Taliban soldiers raped a number of women at a student home, something the international media hardly mentioned.

In January 2016, when the attack on *Tolo* occurred, the international coverage again fell short, according to our roundtable participants. Mujeeb Khalvatgar of NAI remembers an anchor at BBC asking whether the killed *Tolo* people were "ordinary workers or journalists". – Why did they ask like this? he queried, implying that to them, the lives lost, whether journalists or media workers, should be equally mourned and recognized. When extremists threaten and attack media institutions, they do not differentiate between 'ordinary workers' and 'journalists'. The Committee to Protect

Journalists (CPJ) reports that 29 journalists have been killed in Afghanistan since 1994, but here none of the *Tolo* media workers are mentioned.⁹

Media surge – Extremist dangers

After the fall of Taliban in 2001, Afghanistan saw an explosion of new, emerging media, while during the Taliban reign there had hardly been any, except for a religious radio station. The expansion occurred thanks to a surge in international support. This support is now being gradually reduced, and NAI fears that extremist media, supported by a variety of bodies in the Middle East, will strengthen their positions and capture audiences more easily if/when liberal and open media have to reduce or stop their activities. Extremist media seem to have an outreach. Our contacts in Mazar tell of many experiences with taxi-drivers who listen to anti-democratic radio stations. Traditional interpretations of religion, combined with tribal traditions, constitute a serious obstacle to free expression and help certain mullahs to recruit extremists.

According to Director of NAI, Abdul Mujeeb Khalvatgar, a ‘talibanistic’ interpretation of Islam is still widespread. What is greatly needed now is the right to object to the strict interpretations.

Media/journalists in Afghanistan

Number of journalists in Afghanistan 2016: between 8,000 and 10,000.

At the end of 2014, there were approx. 12,500.

The country has 174 radio stations, 82 TV stations and an unknown number of printed publications. Lately, one TV station, seven radio stations and many print media have shut down, due to economic problems.

Number of journalists killed in Afghanistan since 1992: 31 (Source: CPJ. This number excludes media workers who are not labelled as journalist professionals).

Afghanistan is ranked 120 out of 180 in Reporters without Borders Press Freedom Index, <https://rsf.org/en/ranking>

Government sanctions

While most of the threats and attacks registered originate from the Taliban and related organizations, the government and government-allied warlords also harass journalists. This happens particularly when journalists are trying to cover conflicts and demonstrations. In August 2016, a rally was held just before President Ashraf Ghani was scheduled to leave for Bamiyan province, where the Hazara people are in the majority.¹⁰ The demonstrators were met with teargas, and police beat up journalists who went to cover the story, while also threatening to arrest some of them. Several journalists witnessed how police destroyed their equipment and confiscated their smart phones. One reporter claimed that the president’s security guards were the ones who

grabbed his equipment after he had recorded the presidential speech on that occasion and had gone to the rally to get some footage. In Bamiyan province, a journalist experienced being arrested and held until the president and his entourage had left. The journalist, held for 28 hours, claims the reason for his detainment was that he had criticized the local government for inefficiency.¹¹

A journalist in the war-torn Helmand province claims he was threatened with arrest and detainment for having published an article on corruption on social media. He was pressured to delete his article. Following a confrontation with a warlord, which included death threats, another journalist working out of Mazar had to apologize for a critical story to save his life, and honestly admitted that he would not provoke the warlords again, as he preferred to stay alive.¹²

In yet another incident, a journalist working for *Radio Killid* (killid = key) went to a press conference with the CEO Dr. Abdullah. On his way, he encountered a traffic jam, caused by President Ashraf Ghani's entourage, and took some photos with his smart phone. Some of the President's bodyguards grabbed his phone, then letting him go, but warned him that they could detain him for six months. On such events, the leadership often offers excuses and claims they will punish the culprits [in this case, the bodyguards], but according to NAI this rarely happens.¹³

Vulnerable women journalists

Not surprisingly, women journalists face special problems. A veteran radio journalist in Mazar¹⁴ says that her family does not agree with her choice of profession, and that she and some colleagues have received threats from several sources, including family members. Some may have support from their immediate family, but distant family members may still make serious threats. As stated by a recent report from Afghan Journalists Safety Committee (AJSC, 2016)¹⁵: "Since families are very closely knit in Afghanistan, even opposition by distant relatives can have a large impact". Based on interviews in several provinces, the report showed that, in Kandahar and Nangarhar provinces, 80 per cent of the female interviewees surveyed reported that their families were opposed to them working in the media. Thirty per cent of all informants had experienced intimidation or violence at least once since they started in the profession, and 69 per cent had been subject to sexual harassment (AJSC 2016).

To one veteran journalist in Mazar, the threats had become routine. – Fundamentalists and dark-minded people see some programs in TV and radio as 'demoralizing', and more so if a female presenter is involved. Many threats come as phone calls, and lately they have intensified. This has almost made me leave the profession.

She is not alone. According to one of NAI's reports, "a great number of female media professionals and journalists have left their jobs in the media sector" due to increased insecurity across the country.¹⁶

Another female journalist has more support from her family and has worked with documentaries about women and children in prison and about *madrasas* (religious schools) for women where they are taught the Taliban version of Islam. Particularly the prison story was a risky endeavour, as the imprisoned women risked being killed

by their own families, due to accusations of adultery or running away from violent marriages. She and other journalists in Mazar claimed that most police officers do not know what journalism is, and thus interfere unduly with reporters at work.

Conflicting laws

For the moment, no journalists are imprisoned in Afghanistan, although several are reported to have been arrested and held for shorter periods. The government mostly pays lip service to supporting journalists' rights. Thus, the relative safety enjoyed by journalists is partly a result of self-censorship.

The government in Afghanistan has signed the UN Convention on Human Rights and several other conventions, and the Constitution contains articles on gender equality and free expression. On the other hand, Article 3 of the Constitution makes it *very clear* that none of the other articles can be interpreted in a way that contradicts Islam.¹⁷ Thus, it is *unclear* what one may write and discuss openly, and this lack of clarity enables attacks on intellectuals who are disliked by the powerful. The general attorney has, for example, criticized *Tolo TV*, claiming that many people complain about Western secularism: music and "un-Islamic programmes".

Tasks ahead: New knowledge needed

In Afghanistan, there is little scientific media research. However the situation calls for further exploration of the journalist situation as a whole, particularly of the connections between ownership, warring parties, the judicial system, impunity and how this all affects the profession. If security is not improved, the relatively open media situation will deteriorate. NAI, which already provides a base of information, has suggested a research unit that, among other things, could address some of these needs, preferably in collaboration with academics from Kabul University. It is vital that much of this work be left to Afghan intellectuals and institutions, but they are clearly in need of encouragement and co-operation. The deteriorating security situation (and wars elsewhere) has caused many foreign journalists and researchers to leave the country.

Conducting more in-depth interviews with Afghan reporters on their professional challenges should be prioritized, and special attention should be paid to female reporters and their situation, because without them, half of the population would face further media marginalization in this gender-segregated society. Investigating the growth of extremist-led media is another important endeavour that requires international co-operation.

This co-operation, in a situation of risk, constitutes a balancing act. On the one hand, such a partnership may support Afghan counterparts. On the other, painstaking experiences tell those of us who have travelled a great deal in the country that being associated with 'foreign partners', and 'foreigners' in general, has come to be a risk in itself and a 'justification' for Taliban and other insurgent attacks. The attack on The American University in Kabul (24 August 2016), leaving 13 dead and many more wounded, serves as a recent example of this vulnerable situation.

In late September 2016, the Afghan government asked the UN to appoint a special envoy for better safety for Afghan journalists and freedom of speech. On this occasion, NAI strongly supported the government.¹⁸ The suggestion is in line with a call from Reporters Without Borders in November 2015 and CPJ in April 2016 for the UN Secretary General to appoint a Special Representative for the Safety of Journalists, who could work to implement the UN plan of action for the safety of journalist and the issue of impunity.¹⁹

The UN response is not clear as this chapter is being written, and whether it would benefit Afghan journalists is more than uncertain. In the meantime, our friends around the table in Mazar unfortunately expect the journalist exodus to continue.

Notes

1. <http://www.pajhwok.com/ps/node/449301> Accessed 22.09.2016
2. <http://www.voanews.com/a/journalists-fleeing-afghanistan-over-insecurity/3318859.html> Accessed 22.09.2016. In addition: local sources met during a visit in May 2016.
3. Deutsche Welle: Afghan journalists defy Taliban threats; 14.10.2015. <http://www.dw.com/en/afghan-journalists-defy-taliban-threats/a-18780717> Accessed 22.09.2016
4. <http://nai.org.af/>
5. NAI July report 2016: <http://nai.org.af/files/documents/mw/Nai%20Monthly%20Report%20134%20English.pdf>, accessed 04.10.2016
6. Taliban held the city for 14 days in September-October 2015.
7. After the elections in 2015, owing to intervention by the US Secretary of State John Kerry, the two contenders decided to share power: Asraf Ghani became the president, while Dr. Abdullah, from the main opposition, became the Chief Executive Officer (CEO).
8. See Ahmed Rashid: A Shaky Holding Operation in Afghanistan, Financial Times <https://www.ft.com/content/0de7c062-cb1a-354d-8aaf-8d9303bfb84f>
9. CPJ report 2016: <https://cpj.org/killed/asia/afghanistan/> In this report, 11 (by name) seem to be of Afghan origin. Accessed 06.10.2016.
10. There had been other demonstrations previously, concerning a planned pipeline being rerouted outside the province – a pipeline that would have given the province some much-needed revenue. Hazaras remain a vulnerable minority in Afghanistan, also because most of them are Shi'ite Muslims.
11. NAI monthly report August 2016: <http://nai.org.af/files/documents/mw/Nai%20Monthly%20Report%20135%20English.pdf> Accessed 04.10.2016.
12. Personal interview, part of a group interview with journalists in Mazar-e-Sharif. Identity protected.
13. See previous footnote.
14. Personal interview, part of a group interview with journalists in Mazar-e-Sharif. Identity protected.
15. ASJC report 2016: <http://www.tolonews.com/pdf/women-in-media-english.pdf> Accessed 06.10.2016
16. NAI March report: <http://nai.org.af/files/documents/mw/Media%20Watch%20report%20130%20English.pdf>, accessed 06.10.2016.
17. <http://www.afghanembassy.com.pl/afg/images/pliki/TheConstitution.pdf> Accessed 22.09.2016
18. NAI news 22 September 2016: <http://nai.org.af/blog/support-appointing-a-representative-on-behalf-of-afghan-journalists/> Accessed 06.10.2016.
19. RSF: <https://rsf.org/en/news/rsf-calls-un-appoint-special-representative-safety-journalists> CPJ: <https://cpj.org/blog/2016/04/cpj-joins-call-for-un-to-appoint-special-represent.php> Accessed 06.10.2016.

The Cost of Truth Telling in India

Reporting in the context of intolerance

Pradip Ninan Thomas

I would like to begin by stating the obvious. Any way forward has to be based on a clear understanding of the possibilities for change in the environment and context of the press in India. While there is a lot to celebrate about the press in India, its institutional location within the Market, its shapings by economic criteria and its cohabitations with business, politics and power have arguably compromised its ability to act as the Fourth Estate. So there is a sense in which the press has internal issues that it needs to deal with, although it also has to deal with external issues. When extra-journalistic pressures impinge on reporting, when power is levied to instil fear, encourage the non-reporting of scams and scandals and when those with the temerity to hold truth to power pay the ultimate price – death, the way forward simply has to reckon with and find solutions within a consideration of these home truths.

Legal and extra-legal challenges to press freedom

When exploring the issue of assaults on press freedom in India, one simply has to begin with the fact that all public institutions that are in principle committed to protecting the public interest have been politicized and are beholden to the power that stems from politics. While there are exceptions such as the Supreme Court, which for the most is non-partisan (although this court did uphold the constitutionality of criminal defamation law in early 2016, thereby ignoring civil remedies that are the norm in democracies), the institutions that are involved in maintaining and protecting law and order, including most sections of the judiciary and the police, are involved in upholding the interests of the privileged and powerful. Their power is reinforced by a raft of legislations, some that are of colonial origin such as the Indian Penal Code (IPC), which has been used to stifle any questioning of authority (see Figure 1).

Defamation charges have been used to silence dissent, criticism of authority and to curb contrary opinion. In recent years, and in the context of an explicitly Hindu nationalist government, the IPC has been used arbitrarily to stifle the articulation of dissent, ostensibly in the interests of national security. Additionally, the Official Secrets Act and the Information Technology Act do have provisions to prosecute those whose opinions and expressions are deemed to harm the national interest.

Figure 1. Stifling Dissent: The criminalisation of peaceful dissent in India

LAW	DEFINITION	MAXIMUM PUNISHMENT	TYPE OF OFFENCE
SEDITION Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code	Prohibits any words, spoken or written, or any signs or visible representation that can cause "hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection," toward the government.	Life imprisonment and fine	Cognizable*, non-bailable***
CRIMINAL DEFAMATION Sections 499 and 500 of the IPC	Defined defamation as any words, spoken or written, or any signs or visible representation, or any imputation concerning a person "intending to harm, or knowing or having reason to believe that such imputation will harm, the reputation of such person."	2 years i prison and fine	Bailable***, non-cognizable* compoundable****
HURTING RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS Section 298 of the IPC	Criminalizes expression of any kind that is "deliberately intended to wound the religious feelings of any person."	1 year in prison and fine	Non-cognizable, bailable, and compoundable. (Cognizable offence in Andhra Pradesh)
HURTING RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS Section 295A of the IPC	Criminalizes language that "with deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feelings of any class of persons resident in the Union ... insults or attempts to insult the religion or the religious beliefs of that class."	3 years in prison and fine	Cognizable, non-bailable
HATE SPEECH Section 153A of the IPC	Criminalizes words, either spoken or written, or signs or visible representations or otherwise, that promotes or attempts to promote, on grounds of religion, race, place of birth, residence, language, caste or community or any other ground whatsoever, disharmony or feelings of enmity, hatred or ill-will between different religious, racial, language or regional groups or castes or communities.	3 years in prison and fine	Cognizable, non-bailable
HATE SPEECH Section 505(2) of the IPC	Criminalizes the publication or circulation of statements or reports "containing rumour or alarming news with intent to create or promote, or which is likely to create or promote, on grounds of religion, race, place of birth, residence, language, caste, or community or any other ground whatsoever, feelings of enmity, hatred or ill-will between different religious, racial, language or regional groups or castes or communities."	3 years in prison and fine	Cognizable, non-bailable
HATE SPEECH 505(1)(c) of the IPC	Imposes criminal penalties or anyone who "makes, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report ... with intent to incite or which is likely to incite any class or community of persons to commit any offence against any other class or community of persons."	3 years in prison and fine	Cognizable, non-bailable
CRIMINAL INTIMIDATION Section 503 of the IPC	"Whoever threatens another with injury to this person, reputation or property, or to the person or reputation of anyone in whom the person is interested, with intent to cause alarm to that person, or to cause that person to do any act which he is not legally bound to do, or to omit to do any act which that person is legally entitled to do, as the means of avoiding the execution of such threat, commits criminal intimidation."	2 years in prison and fine	Non-cognizable, bailable
PUBLIC TRANQUILITY Section 505(1)(b) of the IPC	Anyone who "makes, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report ... with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, fear or alarm to the public, or to any section of the public whereby any person may be induced to commit an offence against the State or against the public tranquility."	3 years in prison and fine	Non-cognizable, non-bailable
OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT	Section 5(1) and 5(2): Penalizes receiving or disseminating a broad range of documents and information, particularly government documents.	3 years in prison	Cognizable, non-bailable
	Section 3: Defines the offense of "spying" extremely broadly to include making, receiving, or communication any document that is "calculated to be," "might be," or is "intended to be" "directly or indirectly useful to a foreign country."	Life imprisonment	Cognizable, non-bailable
CONTEMPT OF COURTS ACT Subsection (2)(i)	Criminalizes speech that "scandalises or tends to scandalise, or lowers or tends to lower the authority of any court."	Six months in prison and fine	Non-cognizable, bailable
INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY ACT AND "BLOCKING RULES" Section 69A	Authorizes blocking of Internet content "in the interest of sovereignty and integrity of India, defense of India, security of the State, friendly relations with foreign states or public order" or for preventing incitement to the commission of offenses that threaten those interests. The Blocking Rules empower the central government to direct any agency or intermediary to block access to information when satisfied that it is necessary or expedient. Anyone can submit a website for consideration to be blocked. Intermediaries who fail to comply with blocking orders are punishable.	7 years in prison and fine	Cognizable, non-bailable
THE SCHEDULED CASTES AND THE SCHEDULED TRIBES (PREVENTION OF ATROCITIES) AMENDMENT ACT Section 3 (1)	Bans any expression that "promotes or attempts to promote feelings of enmity, hatred or ill-will against members of the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes" and also any expression that "disrespects any late person held in high esteem by members of the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes."	5 years in prison and fine	Cognizable, non-bailable

* Cognizable offence: the police can arrest without warrant, and start investigation into the case without taking any orders from the court.

** Non-cognizable offence: the police require the permission of the court to investigate, and the accused cannot be arrested without a warrant.

*** Bailable offence: it is the right of the accused to be released on bail.

**** Non-bailable offence: the accused must apply to the court for bail, and it is at the discretion of the court to grant or refuse the bail.

***** Compoundable offence: the charges can be dropped if the complainant and the accused enter into compromise, even without the permission of the court.

Source: Mukherje, A. (2016) Human Rights Watch, May 24. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/05/24/stifling-dissent/criminalization-peaceful-expression-india>

Moreover, and in the context of social media, policing and monitoring are also being carried out by an army of trolls who are aligned to the cause of Hindu nationalism and who are involved in curating and criminalizing dissent online and using this to cyber-bully journalists, commentators and media personnel. While it is important to acknowledge the genuine need for the government to police online content, especially inflammatory content with the potential to contribute to fuelling inter-community tensions, the arbitrary nature of prosecutions and arrests suggests that its response is biased. Rather ironically, freedom of expression is constitutionally guaranteed, successive prime ministers have publically defended that right and India is home to one of the most extensive and diverse media in the world. However, it would seem that the sharpening of a variety of polarizations in India and the commercialization of the media have led to the media being framed (and acting) as just another institution in society, lacking any special privileges or claims to being watchdogs of public accountability and holding truth to power.

The erosion of democracy and democratic values is best illustrated by the fact that the independence enjoyed by public institutions, such as the judiciary and the media, is now subject to extra-judicial and extra-media pressures that include political influence and economic inducements. The politicization of civil society has in effect annulled constitutionally guaranteed norms and values, resulting in mobs killing a Muslim butcher in his home, ostensibly for storing beef at home, and in 'Gau Rakshas' (protectors of cows) enforcing spot checks on vehicles in the North Indian state of Haryana and handing out summary justice to those transporting meat, often with the support of the police, beating Dalits (Untouchables) in public and having the audacity to circulate online content of the beating for the crime of disposing of a dead cow.

The nature of assaults on the press

It is in this environment that the media operate and perhaps it is therefore unsurprising that most journalists too have become partisan and that those who hold truth to power are a minority and prone therefore to becoming a target for harassment and assault. There is a difference between that minority of urban journalists who hold truth to power and who enjoy some institutional protection and rural 'stringers' who often are targets for serious violence simply because they operate in environments in which the rule of law has been compromised and the writ of feudal and political power is both extensive and intensive.

This gap has been highlighted in a report by the Committee to Protect Journalists (2016), which has highlighted the fact, that since 1992, there have been no convictions related to the murders of 27 journalists for exposing corruption. The report highlights the specific cases of the murders of three small-town journalists Jagendra Singh, Umesh Rajput and Akshay Singh and the cultures of impunity that protect the perpetrators of such violence. Women journalists, especially those working in rural and remote areas and in conflict zones, are victims of physical attacks and misogyny that translates into traumatic harassment off and online.

The case of Malini Subramaniam reporting from Bastar, an area where indigenous communities are caught between Maoists on the one hand and para-military and vigilante forces on the other, is especially telling. In February 2016 her home in Bastar, Chhattisgarh, was attacked by a vigilante group, and the police refused to cooperate with her because she has consistently written about police brutality against indigenous people and the sexual violence perpetrated by security personnel. She subsequently relocated to Hyderabad. The sexual harassment of women journalists is commonplace and both urban and rural women journalists are prone to such harassment (see Ananya 2016). The word ‘presstitute’ is routinely used by the Hindu Right to attack journalists who are critical of the government, and well known news anchors such as Barkha Dutt of NDTV and Sindhu Suryakumar from Asianet News TV have been trolled mercilessly, threatened with rape by Internet Hindus, keyboard bullies, ostensibly for slighting Hinduism.

The Indian media portal The Hoot covered assaults on the press during a four month period, March-July in 2016 in which one journalist was killed in Uttar Pradesh, there were 22 attacks on journalists, 5 threats, 6 police actions, 3 legal actions, 10 defamation cases and 2 legal notices. This spike in assaults has earned India the dubious reputation of being “Asia’s deadliest country for media personnel, ahead of both Pakistan and Afghanistan” (Reporters without Borders) and occupying the 133rd rank out of 180 on the World Press Freedom Index (India ranks 133 on Press Freedom Index).

It is important that this spike in violence be seen in a context in which the devotion to economic growth has been accompanied by massive corruption, both in the public and private sectors, that involves land deals, real estate, extractive industries such as mining, defence purchases, as well as corruption in seats for students in medical colleges. The Vyapam scandal linked to the Madhya Pradesh Vyavsayik Pariksha Mandal – a state examinations board involved in allocating seats at public institutes of higher learning and posts for government jobs such as the police and excise and transport – involved bribes and corruption by politicians from the ruling BJP, police, bureaucrats and examiners. When a journalist from Aaj Tak (one of the best known Hindi news channels) Akshay Singh investigated the death of a medical student, he was mysteriously poisoned, his death being one among 40 mysterious deaths since 2010 involving people associated with this scandal. The Kafkaesque and extraordinarily mysterious nature of these deaths, along with investigations that are yet to come up with conclusive evidence, points to the murky state of corruption in that state and the fraught processes of establishing justice (see Sethi 2015).

While the Right to Information Act (2005) has established the right of Indian citizens to file Freedom of Information requests, over the past decade many right to information (RTI) investigators have been murdered precisely because they have attempted to unearth and publicize scams, scandals and corruption in the provision of public and private services in the country. A report in the Hindustan Times reveals that 39 RTI activists have been killed between 2005-2015 and 275 assaulted (Chauhan 2015), many of them for exposing corrupt land deals.

The Way Forward? Within a context of intolerance

So how does one reconcile such violence with a country that does have, for the most part, a free press and a reputation for valuing freedom of expression? The reality is that freedom of expression is under threat in a context in which tolerance levels have become dangerously low. Academic writings that are deemed to be critical of Indian tradition have been censored; student activism related to the on-going struggles in disputed Kashmir and the reporting of human rights violations in Maoist zones have met with reprisal through legal means; wounding religious sensitivities has become a stock reason for government clamping down on the freedom of expression offline and online. In spite of such assaults, there are many forthright journalists in the country who are persistent in their reporting of corruption and who have made a difference.

What is lacking is a political climate that guarantees the exercise of the freedom of expression and multi-party agreement on the need to support expression and the right to voice opinions at all costs. It would be fair to say that all political parties, whether on the Right or the Left of the political spectrum, share the blame for this state of affairs, although the turn towards religious nationalism has certainly contributed to heightened intolerance of dissident views. It is also certainly the case that the online environment, which enables the existence of unregulated echo chambers, has vastly contributed to the cultures of intolerance in the country.

So is there a way forward? I think that any recommendations for improvement need to be made with due consideration of context. And while it is relatively simple to make recommendations, their implementation depends on the availability of supportive environments and political will, both of which are in short supply in India today. At a minimum, there is a need for robust institutional support for the safety of journalists (for both stringers and women reporters in rural India) and awareness in law and order circles of the vital role played by journalists in ensuring that the public interest is taken seriously and of the importance of journalist safety to the functioning of democracy. In my way of thinking, the way forward is dependent on India considering another approach to development and the values associated with growth within environments that are tolerant of dissent.

There is a need to humanize development and to uphold the values of consanguinity and respect. There is a need for a public shaping of policy that is suitable for a country that is extraordinarily diverse and full of paradoxes and contradictions. This is a task for journalism in India and an opportunity to both redeem its credibility and contribute to the strengthening of a vibrant and diverse democracy in India.

References

- Ananya, I. (2016). Do women journalists have it harder in India? *The Wire*, September 19. Available at: <http://thewire.in/66902/do-women-journalists-have-it-harder-in-india/>.
- Chauhan, C. (2015). 10 years of RTI Act: 39 activists dead, 275 assaulted says report, July 8, *The Hindustan Times*. Available at: <http://www.hindustantimes.com/india/10-years-of-rti-act-39-activists-dead-275-assaulted-says-report/story-mwEjPtaUDXthPQZ6293BYL.html>.

Dangerous Pursuit: *In India, journalists who cover corruption may pay with their lives* (1-37). A Special report by the Committee to Protect Journalists, NY, 2016. Written by Sumit Galhotra and Raksha Kumar.

India ranks 133 on Press Freedom Index (2016). *The Hindu*, April 21. Available at: <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/india-ranked-low-in-press-freedom-index/article8500250.ece>

Sethi, A. (2015). The mystery of India's deadly exam scam, *The Guardian Online*, December 17. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/17/the-mystery-of-indias-deadly-exam-scam>.

Philippine and Global Research on News Media Safety

Crossing disciplines, bridging gaps

Ramon R. Tuazon, Paz H. Diaz and Therese Patricia C. San Diego

Increasing threats to the safety of journalists and media workers and the killing of them worldwide have become urgent concerns not only for governments and news media organizations, but also for academe and the scientific community.

In 2015, UNESCO crafted a research agenda that sought to encourage new academic research on the safety of journalists, which, according to UNESCO (2016, para. 1), “has been covered only by a scarce amount of scientifically oriented studies.”

Interest in the apparent lack of scientific research on journalists’ safety and the culture of impunity was echoed in the Philippines. Filipino scholars reported a dearth of local scholarly literature on the issue despite the Philippines being identified as one of the most dangerous places in the world for journalists (Rosario-Braid, Maslog, and Tuazon, 2012; Arao, 2015).¹

This chapter therefore proposes steps toward closing the gaps in the research on the safety of journalists and media workers in the Philippines and across the globe.

While there is no absence of research on the subject, there is a preponderance of anecdotal research and a lack of empirical studies.² This is a significant gap, as empirical research – in the form of quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods studies³ – is crucial in providing evidence-based information that can inform policies and action agendas intended to deter threats and violence against news media workers.

Another gap is the lack of systematic documentation and dissemination of studies on the topic. There is a need for coordinated efforts among schools and research institutions to encourage the inventory and utilization of existing research. The latter may include policy advocacy based on study findings.

Yet another gap that needs to be filled is the development and use of a framework that can provide parameters for future research on the topic.

Proposed research framework: Using interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary lenses

The authors argue that there is a need for empirical research on the safety of journalists and the culture of impunity that takes interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches. The field should not be limited to journalism or communication research.

This approach is consistent with one of the principles of the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity – a “context-sensitive, multidisci-

iplinary approach to the root causes of threats to journalists and impunity” (United Nations 2012: 5). It provides a holistic perspective that covers legal, political, economic, and sociocultural dimensions in any given society. It facilitates the understanding of mindsets, values, behaviors, and practices of different stakeholders by presenting theories, paradigms, and principles from different social science disciplines.

The Manila-based Asian Institute of Journalism and Communication (AIJC) has been at the forefront of promoting interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary frames in examining development issues including journalist killings and the culture of impunity. Its pioneering book, *Crimes and Unpunishment: the Killing of Filipino Journalists* edited by Rosario-Braid, Maslog, and Tuazon (2012), presents an in-depth analysis of journalist killings from the perspectives of anthropology, media studies, political science, political economy, psychology, and law.

AIJC’s use of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary perspectives in the book led to the identification of research gaps regarding the safety of journalists and media workers.

From the perspective of child psychology, what emerged was the need to study impunity as a behavioral construct in order to determine the connection between early education and impunity. Areas for research include how children and young adults are raised, and how parents teach discipline, truth-telling, respect, and tolerance, especially for divergent views.

In the context of political economy, proposed research variables include “industrial anatomy” or the “identification of all industry participants or actors, their motivations, and their profit-and-cost calculus” (Mendoza 2012: 77), and “modus operandi” or how the murder of journalists is executed.

The breakdown of the rule of law and the dysfunctional criminal justice system are another research area proposed in the AIJC study. Studies documenting how these problems have contributed to the culture of impunity validate this need.⁴

There is also a need for studies on the seeming public apathy over the plight of endangered journalists worldwide. In the Philippines, for example, social observers lament the lack of public protests against the drug war, which has already claimed the lives of over 6,000 individuals. Nearly 4,000 of these are cases of extrajudicial or vigilante killings.⁵

Another example of an interdisciplinary study on the killing of journalists is *Filipino Journalists at Risk: Who and Where are They? An Analysis of the Killing of Filipino Mediamen* by the Department of Geography at University of the Philippines Diliman (Lagman et al. 2015). The study identified patterns in the demographic characteristics of slain journalists from 1986 to 2012, the temporal circumstances behind their deaths, and the geographical context of where these crimes occurred. It produced Geographic Information System (GIS)-generated maps to analyze the nature of the killings. This study should be used and replicated, as it can help stakeholders understand the environment of the localities where media killings occur, identify the most vulnerable, and help prevent threats and violence.

A related research gap that needs to be addressed is impunity from the perspective of the perpetrators, including the masterminds, executioners, and assassins, and

the way they rationalize their brutality. Studies must go beyond profiling to include psychological make-up as well as cultural and social factors affecting the perpetrators.

The effects and impact of violence on the psychological well-being of news media workers seem to be uncharted research territory as well. There should be studies on the emotional and psychological effects on journalists of covering violence and witnessing and experiencing trauma. The outcomes of news organizations' efforts in addressing such effects also need to be measured in order to determine their effectiveness and areas for improvement.

In the AIJC multidisciplinary study, Rosario-Braid, a communication scholar, and Tan, an anthropologist, both recommended the Theory of Moral Exclusion as a framework for examining impunity, especially in the Philippines, owing to Filipinos' small-group affiliation. The theory posits the tendency by individuals or groups to exclude those who do not belong to the clan, tribe, and social circle. Tan further explains how "emphasizing in-group membership and the need to defend 'us', while creating moral exclusion by 'othering' those who are not like us" can reinforce impunity (Tan 2012: 27).

According to Mendoza (2012), a political economist, impunity can also be framed by looking into the political economy of crime and punishment (as proposed by Nobel laureate Gary Becker 1968). Criminals commit crimes because they believe the rewards are greater than the costs.

During the 2016 research agenda forum conducted by AIJC (discussed in more detail under "National research agenda: The Philippine case study"), Arao noted that the safety of journalists and media workers is directly linked to the culture of impunity, and that the media is not the only sector affected by this culture (Arao 2016). The journalism professor emphasized that the culture of resistance must prevail over the culture of impunity, and that journalists need to participate in promoting and upholding human rights and people's basic freedoms because impunity affects everyone.

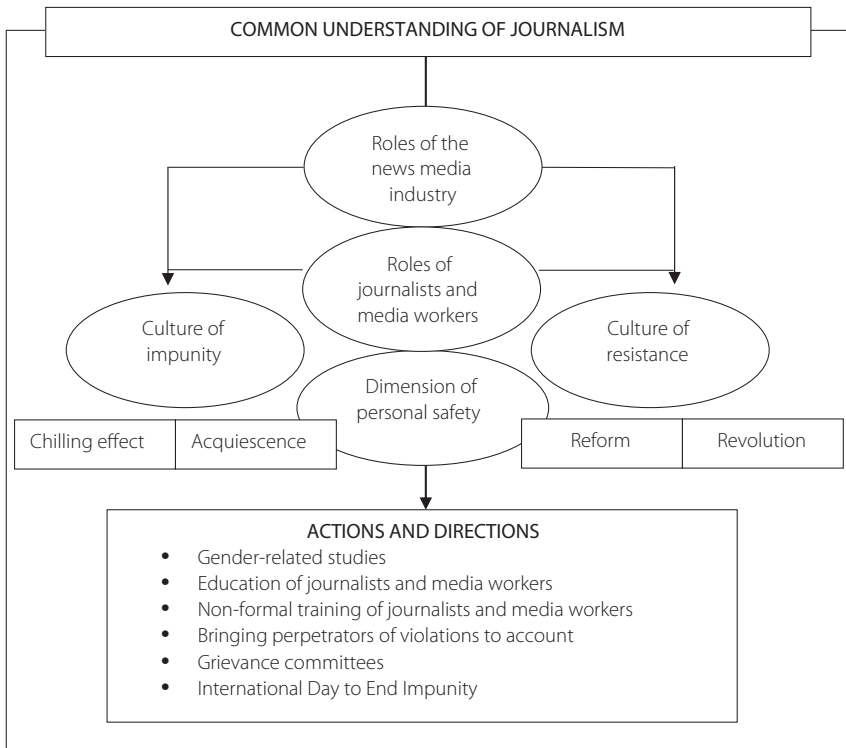
There may also be a need to examine the scientific validity and contextual viability of different methodologies and indicators used by organizations such as the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), and IFEX in measuring the impunity or press freedom index. Researchers should study their appropriateness to the local context and take note of geopolitical and cultural considerations.

National research agenda: The Philippine case study

AIJC, with support from UNESCO Office Jakarta, convened the *Research Agenda Forum on the Safety and Protection of Journalists and Media Workers in the Philippines* in 2016 with participants from academe, research institutions, professional journalism/media associations, media companies, and government agencies. The main objective was to adapt the UNESCO Research Agenda to the Philippine setting.

In connection with the Philippine research agenda, the following framework (see Figure 1) was developed by Dr. Paz H. Diaz.

Figure 1. Research framework for the study of safety and protection of journalists and media workers



Common understanding of journalism. The overarching theme of the framework is a common understanding of journalism, which is essential when safety and protection of journalists and media workers is the main research topic.

The individuals involved in improving the safety standards must understand and appreciate journalism for what it is: an institution that is crucial in helping democracy function because of its substantial civic impact on society and communities. This vital role must be preserved with the assurance of the protection of news media workers wherever they are assigned and whatever issue they need to cover.

The proposed local studies include research on measurement and development of public appreciation for access to information and freedom of information; how citizens' concepts of journalism have evolved; how journalism is contributing to the quality of public discourse; and how elevating the quality of reporting would affect public appreciation and protection of news media workers.

Topics recommended for cross-border or comparative studies include existing normative and legal instruments protecting journalists and media workers; legal mechanisms used by journalists to protect themselves; and benchmarking and evaluation of journalist safety policies from international organizations.

Studies that aim to revisit the Cybercrime Law can explore how the law can be used against online attackers, and where the line between freedom of expression and harassment is drawn when attacks on journalists are in the form of online content such as memes.

Roles of the news media industry. News media organizations have an important role in keeping journalism alive, because their stories keep citizens informed not only about daily events but also with thorough, persistent analysis of issues, which, without the media, might be easily forgotten by the public or brushed aside by corrupt individuals.

Recommended research areas include media companies' safety protocols, resources, newsroom policies, and support networks, as well as media management issues including redress of grievances, work security, work hierarchy, and human relations within and outside media organizations.

The relationship between the companies' policies and economics can also be studied. Related topics include a survey on the salary of journalists vis-à-vis safety and exposure to violations in journalism ethics; forms of corruption in the media that may arise from issues regarding compensation and general perks of the profession; appreciation of journalists and the trust index, and the effect of social media on professional journalism practice.

Roles of journalists and media workers. Smart, honest, and courageous news professionals are the staple of democracies. Their professionalism and persistence are key in shedding light on issues of public concern. Some of them may struggle financially but still carry on out of personal motivation and a sense of what is right and what should be done. Their stories speak the truth and awaken the people, because they turn raw data and information into engaging, easily digestible articles. Though it takes dedication from public officials to respond to and act on issues highlighted in the news media, journalists' watchdog function helps encourage citizen participation and vigilance.

Among the other proposed research areas under this topic are the Filipino public's perceptions of the role of news media; how transparency is affected by the new realities of corporate communications, including social media and other forms of instantaneous digital communication; and the use of the rights-based approach in studying the professional, economic, and personal security of news media workers.

Dimension of personal safety. Media organizations, journalists, and media workers should understand the need for safety and set the standards necessary to assure safety, especially in dangerous areas.

Two main studies that participants suggested regarding issues of understanding safety are the following: (1) an awareness and perception study that seeks to understand the need for news media workers to protect themselves and the need to protect others (physical and psychosocial dimension); and (2) a study that aims to establish a protocol for media monitoring of reports on the threats and attacks against journalists and media workers.

It is suggested that, for the second study, researchers should look at all media platforms and monitor published reports on journalists' safety and determine whether values have anything to do with killings of journalists, why journalists carry on despite the threats and killings, and news media workers' knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors with regard to their safety.

Culture of impunity vs. culture of resistance. News media workers constantly live in the shadow of impunity when they have to write stories that criticize individuals or groups in power. Studying the culture of impunity is important in understanding journalist safety issues.

"Culture of impunity" refers to a situation in which people in a society have come to believe that they can do whatever they want with impunity, without having to face any consequences imposed by law. In the Philippines, the term has been used to describe the slaying of media practitioners by powerful or "untouchable" entities.

Impunity can bring about a "chilling effect," causing reporters and media workers to refrain from reporting on the slayings of others in their profession out of fear for their own safety. The same effect can be experienced by other segments of the population, thus leading to "acquiescence" – this occurs when people become apathetic or cold toward the subject of threats to the safety of journalists, or when they agree that killings or threats experienced by news media workers are to be accepted as part of reality.

The "culture of resistance," according to Arao (2016: 232), seeks to "expose the oppressive reality in society (mainly characterized by highlighting the cases of harassment and intimidation experienced by members of the mass media and the mass movement)." It refers to the movement undertaken by journalists and other stakeholders to bring about reform, to awaken people's sensitivities to the threats and violence, and to ensure justice for those who are attacked and killed.

The following are some related research areas that must be explored:

1. Risk mapping: studying sources of risks vis-à-vis incidents of threats and attacks against news media workers
2. National security and community social support to media
3. How journalism affects the culture of impunity and vice versa
4. Determining citizens' awareness, knowledge, and attitudes toward journalists' roles, relevance, and safety
5. Profiling journalist safety among Philippine regional and cultural groups, covering demographic profiles of the community where the threat/harassment/killing took place; the regional, national, or political affiliations of the journalists concerned; and the issues that instigated threats, harassment cases, and killings
6. Participation of journalists and media workers in the struggle to uphold human rights and how this affects their safety

Bridging the gaps: Pursuing interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research on the safety of journalists and media workers

Interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary inquiry should be encouraged through international academic cooperation, because the university setting provides a venue for collaborations among researchers from different disciplines.

Opportunities for collaboration can begin with the research network to be launched by the Centre for Freedom of the Media of the University of Sheffield Department of Journalism Studies. On the other hand, universities can initiate interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research efforts among different departments and colleges within their respective campuses.

A challenge, however, is the “silo mentality” present in some institutions, where members may not be open to sharing expertise, information, and resources with other departments or disciplines. Some may not immediately identify the advantages or even the practicability of such initiatives.

To address these barriers, schools’ curricula should have teaching-learning strategies that encourage an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary mindset.

The interdisciplinary approach to curriculum integration “generates an understanding of themes and ideas that cut across disciplines and of the connections between different disciplines and their relationship to the real world” (UNESCO International Bureau of Education, n.d., para. 1). This approach typically focuses on process and meaning by combining theories, methodologies, and perspectives from two or more disciplines.

On the other hand, a multidisciplinary curriculum is focused on the diverse perspectives that different disciplines can bring to a discussion. The terms “multidisciplinary” and “crossdisciplinary,” often used interchangeably, describe the crossing of boundaries between disciplines.

IBE-UNESCO also uses the term “transdisciplinary” to refer to an approach to curriculum integration that removes the lines between conventional disciplines. Teaching-learning strategies focus on constructing meaning in the context of the real world where the different disciplines meet.

Scholarly research on journalist killings and the culture of impunity should be complemented by investigative and in-depth reporting, which also require methodical research work. “Mainstreaming” such issues through investigative news reports can generate more interest from young reporters and researchers and increase public awareness about the issues.

Among the advantages of having journalists themselves conducting such research are their familiarity with journalism practices, their understanding of the media environment, and their ability to popularize content.

Journalists should therefore be equipped with social science research competencies. Journalism research techniques blended with social science research methods can help generate new knowledge and fresh perspectives that can improve understanding of issues and discover solutions to problems.

During the UNESCO research conference on the safety of journalists at the 2016 World Press Freedom Day gathering, many young people were interested in journalism

research, specifically on the issues of safety and impunity, just as there are many young idealistic journalists worldwide who are persevering in the practice of their noble profession.

These young researchers and journalists give hope amidst safety issues facing the industry today. The challenge is how to sustain their interest and invite more young researchers from various disciplines to study and help address issues regarding the protection of news media workers around the world.

References

- ABS-CBN News. (2016, February 1). *IFJ: PH is world's 2nd most dangerous place for journalists*. Retrieved from <http://news.abs-cbn.com/nation/v1/02/01/16/ifj-ph-is-worlds-2nd-most-dangerous-place-for-journalists>
- Arao, D. A. (2015, November 22). *Reporting, fighting impunity*. Retrieved from <http://opinion.inquirer.net/90522/reporting-fighting-impunity>
- Arao, D. A. (2016, October 12). Press freedom, governance, and culture of impunity: The alarming case of the Philippines. [Presentation]. Paper presented at the Research Agenda Forum on the Safety and Protection of Journalists and Media Workers in the Philippines. Quezon City, Philippines.
- Asian Institute of Journalism and Communication. (2016, October). *Research agenda forum: Safety and protection of journalists and media workers in the Philippines*. Manila, Philippines: AIJC.
- Bueza, Michael. (2016, September 13). *In numbers: the Philippines' war on drugs*. Retrieved from <http://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/iq/145814-numbers-statistics-philippines-war-drugs>.
- Center for Media Freedom and Responsibility. (n.d.). *Database on the killing of journalists in the Philippines since 1986*. Retrieved from <http://cmfr-phil.org/mediakillings/>
- CPJ. (2015, October 08). *Getting away with murder: CPJ's 2015 global impunity index spotlights countries where journalists are slain and killers go free*. CPJ. org. Retrieved November 28, 2016 from, <https://cpj.org/reports/2015/10/impunity-index-getting-away-with-murder.php>.
- International Bureau of Education. (n.d.). *Interdisciplinary approach*. Retrieved from <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/en/glossary-curriculum-terminology/i/interdisciplinary-approach>
- International Bureau of Education. (n.d.). *Multidisciplinary approach*. Retrieved from <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/en/glossary-curriculum-terminology/m/multidisciplinary-approach>
- International Bureau of Education. (n.d.). *Transdisciplinary approach*. Retrieved from <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/en/glossary-curriculum-terminology/t/transdisciplinary-approach>
- International Freedom of Expression Exchange. (2011, June 8). *IFEX announces 23 November as International Day to End Impunity*. Retrieved from https://www.ifex.org/international/2011/06/08/international_day_to_end_impunity_launch/
- International Federation of Journalists. (2016). *Journalists and media staff killed 1990-2015: 25 years of contribution towards safer journalism*. Brussels, Belgium: International Federation of Journalists.
- International Media Support. (2016, October 10). *New initiative to improve the safety of journalists in countries with conflict and political transition*. Retrieved from <https://www.mediasupport.org/new-project-ensure-better-protection-journalists-countries-armed-conflict-political-insecurity/>
- Lagman, M.S. B., Martinez, S. M., Damian, J. C., and Garcia, E. (2012). *Filipino journalists at risk: Who and where are they? An analysis of the killing of Filipino mediamen*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines.
- Mendoza, A. M. (2012). The culture of impunity: A political economy perspective, pp. 67-87 in F. R. Braid, C. C. Maslog and R. R. Tuazon. (eds.), *Crimes and unpunishment: The killing of Filipino journalists*. San Juan City, Philippines: Asian Institute of Journalism and Communication, UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines.
- Ng, N. (2015, May 5). *Philippines: Why it's deadly for journalists*. Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/05/04/asia/philippines-deadly-for-journalists/>
- Punch, K. F. (2005). *Introduction to social research: Quantitative and qualitative approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Rosaura, R. D. (2015, November 3). *PH under fire for unsolved killing of journalists*. Retrieved from <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/736355/ph-under-fire-for-unsolved-killing-of-journalists>

- Rosario-Braid, F. (2012). Writing 30 to the culture of impunity, pp. 3-19 in F. R. Braid, C. C. Maslog and R. R. Tuazon. (eds.), *Crimes and unpunishment: The killing of Filipino journalists* San Juan City, Philippines: Asian Institute of Journalism and Communication, UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines.
- Rosario-Braid, F., Maslog, C. C., and Tuazon, R. R. (eds.). (2012). *Crimes and unpunishment: The killing of Filipino journalists*. Manila, Philippines: Asian Institute of Journalism and Communication and the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines.
- Tan, M. L. (2012). Making and unmaking a culture of impunity: Anthropological perspectives, pp. 20-43 in F. R. Braid, C. C. Maslog, and R. R. Tuazon (eds.), *Crimes and unpunishment: The killing of Filipino journalists* Manila: AIJC and UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines.
- Tubeza, P. C. (2011, November 23). *Maguindanao massacre trial could take '55,000 years'*. Retrieved from <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/98771/maguindanao-massacre-trial-could-take-%E2%80%9955,000-years%E2%80%99>
- United Nations. (2012). *UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity*. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/official_documents/UN-Plan-on-Safety-Journalists_EN_UN-Logo.pdf
- UNESCO. (2012, March). *IPDC decision on the safety of journalists and the issue of impunity*. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/IPDC/ipdc28_safety_decision_final.pdf
- UNESCO. (2015, June 1). *Towards a research agenda on the safety of journalists*. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/images/Themes/Freedom_of_expression/safety_of_journalists/Draft_Research_Agenda_Safety_of_Journalists_06_2015.pdf
- UNESCO. (2016). *Research conference on the safety of journalists - knowledge is the key*. Retrieved from <http://en.unesco.org/world-press-freedom-day-2016/research-conference-safety-journalists-knowledge-key>
- UNESCO. (2016). *UNESCO's Research Agenda on the Safety of Journalists*. Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/freedom-of-expression/safety-of-journalists/unescos-research-agenda-on-safety-of-journalists/>
- Witchel, E. (2016, October 27). *Getting away with murder*. Retrieved from <https://cpj.org/reports/2016/10/impunity-index-getting-away-with-murder-killed-justice.php>

Notes

1. In 2015, the Philippines was ranked the third deadliest country for journalists by the Committee to Protect Journalists (Ng 2015), and the second among the 10 most dangerous countries for journalists according to the International Federation of Journalists (ABS-CBN News, 2016). In the 2016 Global Impunity Index, the Philippines ranked fourth among “countries where journalists are slain and their killers go free,” with 41 unsolved killings between September 1, 2006 and August 31, 2016 (Witchel 2016, para. 1).
2. This was observed at UNESCO's Research Conference on the Safety of Journalists in 2016 (UNESCO 2016).
3. There is a misconception that the term ‘empirical’ applies only to quantitative data; however, the term equally applies to qualitative data.
4. The EU-Philippines Justice Support Program II has identified rampant structural, institutional, and operational problems in the Philippine justice system, such as resource shortages, corruption, cumbersome procedures, outdated operation systems, and insufficient coordination. According to the International Freedom of Expression Exchange (2011), 9 out of 10 violent crimes against journalists are never prosecuted. In the case of the Maguindanao massacre in November 2009 – described as the “single deadliest attack on journalists in recent history” (IFEX 2011, para. 1) where 32 journalists were killed – it is estimated that it could take some 55,000 years to try all the cases in court (CMFR n.d., PCIJ 2013, Rosauo 2015, Ng 2015).
5. According to the Philippine National Police, 6,095 people were killed in the “war on drugs” from July 1 to December 14, 2016. Out of this number, 2,102 are suspected drug personalities killed in police operations, while 3,993 are victims of extrajudicial or vigilante killings (Bueza 2016).

UNESCO's Research Agenda on the Safety of Journalists

Call for new academic research initiatives

Reeta Pöyhtäri

Threats to those doing journalism do not only occur in situations of conflict and unrest. With the emergence of modern technologies and digitalization, there has been a multiplication of ways to harass practitioners of journalism. They now are the targets of multiple threats of physical, psychological and digital attacks. The effect of this is felt even in countries that have traditionally been able to guarantee the free and safe practice of journalism. Therefore, more than ever, it is of importance to enhance our knowledge about these safety threats in a joint and global undertaking characterized by cooperation.

Within this global context, UNESCO is the UN agency with the mandate to advance “the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication” and to promote “the free flow of ideas by word and image”. UNESCO has defined press freedom as designating the conditions of media freedom, pluralism and independence, as well as the safety of journalists (UNESCO 2014b). As the holder of a global mandate in the field of work with the safe practice of journalism, the Organization has led the initiative to develop the UN Plan of Action on Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity (2012). Grasping the complexity of the safety issue, the Plan defines a wide range of actions to be carried out by a variety of stakeholders to enhance the overall safety of those involved in journalism practice in a broad sense, including “journalists, media workers and social media producers generating a significant amount of public interest journalism”¹, in both conflict and non-conflict situations, online and offline, and with a view to strengthening peace, democracy, and development worldwide.

For the purpose of improving the safety of those who do journalism, whether they be journalists or other actors who produce occasional journalism, as well as for cooperation under the UN Plan, academia is an important partner.

Research, monitoring and analysis are among the main tools for enhancing our general understanding of journalist safety and the prevailing issue of impunity, and for contributing to the creation of safer working conditions for all who produce journalism. Research can, for example, reveal patterns in the societal conditions, legal frameworks, journalistic practices or actions of media institutions that are crucial to the safe practice of journalism. Research can also help to map the huge rate of impunity for lethal attacks on journalists: According the dataset containing information received from those UNESCO member states that respond to queries, the Organization has

confirmation of only 63 cases out of 827 (8 per cent) that have been resolved between 2006 and the end of 2015 (UNESCO 2016).

UNESCO itself implements and commissions safety-related studies. These include the biannual UNESCO Director General's Report on the Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity (2014a, 2016), the Safety chapter in the biannual report on World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development (2014b, 2015b), and Journalists' Safety Indicators Assessments² (2015a). There are also UNESCO studies on the digital safety of journalists (Henrichsen, Betz and Lisosky 2015) and source protection (Posetti/WAN-IFRA/UNESCO, forthcoming). Yet much more can be done, and the Organization has reached out to academic partners to encourage more research on this subject.

It is against this background that UNESCO, in 2015, developed the Academic Research Agenda on Safety of Journalists³. By creating the agenda, UNESCO aims to encourage new academic research in this important area that until present has been covered only by a small number of scientific studies. The agenda builds on previous and on-going academic research initiatives in the field that have already successfully covered issues such as war journalism and war correspondents, conflict journalism, psychological effects of war and conflict journalism, etc. With its new agenda, UNESCO hopes to continue and widen the field, inspiring new research across the full range of dimensions.

The research agenda on safety of journalists: Eleven broad areas of inquiry
Journalism safety can be broadly defined in line with the Implementation Strategy of the UN Plan of Action as: "a broad category that extends from preventive, protective and pre-emptive measures, through to combating impunity and promoting a social culture which cherishes freedom of expression and press freedom". It is well established that securing safe conditions for the practice of journalism depends on ending impunity for attacks against practitioners. Hence, the term 'safety' designates the combined package of safety and impunity issues.

This definition of safety can be utilized as a starting point for academic inquiry. The research agenda therefore discusses eleven broad areas of possible research relating to the safety of journalists, including the aspects of physical, digital and psychological safety. These areas are:

- Rights-based issues: Media development, democracy, human and civil rights and journalists' safety
- Societal issues: Societal causes and effects of journalists' (un)safety
- Legal issues: Legal frameworks, law and journalists' safety, including impunity
- Practitioner issues: Journalistic practices, ethics and journalists' safety
- Educational issues: Journalism education, professionalism and safety
- Economic issues: Media institutions, economics, working conditions and safety
- Conflict issues: Journalists' safety in conflict and non-conflict situations

- Thematic issues: Specific safety threats (gender-specific threats, topic-specific threats such as war, crime or environmental reporting)
- Psychological issues: Psychological effects of safety threats
- Digital issues: Digital threats to journalists and protection measures
- Methodological issues: Measuring and theorizing journalists' safety.

First results of cooperation related to the research agenda

In 2015-2016, after the launch of the research agenda, scholars from different fields were invited to participate in the academic special sessions that UNESCO organized at various events. These included academic sessions during the IAMCR 2015 conference in Montreal, Canada, and IAMCR 2016 in Leicester, as well as the 2015 Global Communication Association Conference in Berlin, Germany, and they enabled some 25 researchers to share and discuss their safety-related research. Furthermore, the first academic conference fully dedicated to the topic was organized during UNESCO's World Press Freedom Day celebrations in Helsinki, Finland, on 3-4 May 2016. The conference brought together more than 80 researchers working on or interested in the safety of journalists and it forms the foundation for the publication at hand.

Based on a simple calculation of the themes discussed in the first 48 academic research papers on safety of journalists presented at the above-mentioned events, the balance for the issues covered by the research agenda is the following: Rights-based issues – 1 study; Societal issues – no studies; Legal issues – 6 studies; Practitioner issues – 16 studies; Educational issues – 1 study; Economic issues – 2 studies; Conflict issues – 7 studies; Thematic issues (including gender matters, sports journalism, photojournalists and indigenous journalists) – 5 studies; Psychological issues – 5 studies; Digital issues – 4 studies; and Methodological issues – 1 study.

Within this limited sample, most of the research concentrates on practitioner issues, followed by studies on safety in times of conflict, and legal issues. Typically, a research paper covers the type and extent of threats experienced by journalists in a certain country. Topics that are not covered, or only barely covered, are societal issues (e.g., impact of attacks on society more broadly), economic matters (discussing the role of employers and media houses) and methodologies. In addition, when discussing the existing field with researchers at various events, multidisciplinary approaches, cross-country comparisons, as well as studies combining empirical evidence from practitioners with theory have been mentioned as viewpoints that are lacking. Journalism education is also poorly represented in this sample, but this has since been remedied by a conference in November 2016, entitled “Best Practice in teaching conflict, war and peace journalism” and supported by The Norwegian National Commission for UNESCO, The Department of Journalism and Media Studies at Oslo, and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences.

Based on all of the above, it would seem that there is room for additional attention to other dimensions of safety. There is still a need for more empirical evidence and studies that cover the extent and character of the subject matter, as the attacks and

their extent have by and large not been investigated in all relevant countries, while research into global normative developments could also be elaborated. At the same time, there is a growing need for deeper understanding of the underlying causes of the indicated safety issues, such as societal, economic and newsroom policy matters. There is a further demand for developing theories and methodologies that enable cooperation between various academic fields and countries.

Concluding words

The first two years after the creation of the Academic Research Agenda on Safety of Journalists have shown that academia is an eager and invaluable partner in promoting a deeper understanding of the safety threats faced by journalists. The basis for joint approaches has been laid by the launch of the agenda and the academic initiatives that have followed. The academic community has also shown that, when given the opportunity and support, researchers are willing to carry the initiative further on their own. In 2016, with support of UNESCO's International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC), the Journalism Safety Research Network was initiated by the Centre for Freedom of the Media (CFOM), University of Sheffield, and now numerous researchers are already sharing their research findings and interests through the network. This is crucial to ensuring the success and the continuity of research. It is not the external actors who can convince academia about the importance of a topic – it is when the topic becomes adopted by the academic community itself that it begins gaining in prominence.

Keeping this in mind, let us not stop the data collection and analysis at this point – instead, let us continue putting our heads together, for the sake of both those doing journalism and the public they serve.

References

- Henrichsen, J. R., Betz, M. and Lisosky, J. M. (2015). *Building Digital Safety for Journalism. A survey of selected issues*. Paris: UNESCO series on internet freedom. Online: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002323/232358e.pdf>.
- UNESCO (2012). *UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity*. Online: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/freedom-of-expression/safety-of-journalists/un-plan-of-action/>.
- UNESCO (2014a). *The Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity. Report by the Director-General to the Intergovernmental Council of the IPDC (29th Session)*. Paris: UNESCO. Online: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002301/230101E.pdf>.
- UNESCO (2014b). *World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development*. Paris: UNESCO. Online: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002270/227025e.pdf>.
- UNESCO (2015a). *Journalists Safety Indicators*. Online: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/freedom-of-expression/safety-of-journalists/journalists-safety-indicators/>. For the indicator tool, see further http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/images/Themes/Freedom_of_expression/safety_of_journalists/JSI_national_eng_20150820.pdf.
- UNESCO (2015b). *World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development. Special digital focus 2015*. Paris: UNESCO. Online: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002349/234933e.pdf>.
- UNESCO (2016). *Time to break the cycle of violence against journalists. Highlights from the UNESCO Director-General's 2016 Report on the Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity*. Online: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BwbZgOWQMh7TjhaUjRMYW5GNHM/view>.

Posetti, J. / World Editors Forum (within the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, WAN-IFRA (forthcoming) *Protecting Journalism Sources in the Digital Age*. Paris: UNESCO Series on Internet Freedom.

Notes

1. This is the UNESCO/International Programme for the Development of Communication's (IPDC) definition of 'journalist' (to be protected), e.g. in UNESCO 2015a, 3.
2. UNESCO's Journalists' Safety Indicators assessments and publications online: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/freedom-of-expression/safety-of-journalists/journalists-safety-indicators/>.
3. The Research Agenda online: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/freedom-of-expression/safety-of-journalists/unescos-research-agenda-on-safety-of-journalists/>.

Setting a New Research Agenda

The establishment of a journalism safety research network

Jackie Harrison

At a UNESCO research conference on the safety of journalists during the celebrations of World Press Freedom Day in Helsinki, Finland on 3 and 4 May 2016, UNESCO declared “that the Safety of Journalists paved the way for academic research cooperation”.¹ To advance such cooperation the Centre for Freedom of the Media (CFOM), University of Sheffield, UK, supported by UNESCO, announced the launch of a journalism safety research network (JSRN). The network is hosted by CFOM (<http://www.cfom.org.uk>) and scholars, media workers and others have been invited to sign up for future academic networking opportunities and to the prospect for greater research communication and collaboration in the area of journalism safety.

The value of networks

Of course the advantages to research knowledge networks are well known and have recently been dramatically illustrated by President Obama’s (2016) ‘Cancer Moonshot’ to accelerate cancer research. Among the first ten recommendations made by the ‘Blue Ribbon’ task force guiding the initiative was to build a national cancer data ecosystem to “create a national ecosystem for sharing and analysing cancer data so that researchers, clinicians and patients will be able to contribute data, which will facilitate efficient data analysis”. The aim of making a “decade’s worth of progress ... in just 5 years” highlights the potential value of collaborative working. In other words specialists and others specifically share the findings of their research and experiences which has hitherto been limited by traditional barriers of specialisation and division of labour. Specialisation can create a double problem of experts not talking/listening to other experts in different fields of knowledge and of experts in all fields not talking to perceived non-experts. In relation to journalism and communication this has all too often been unhelpfully referred to as theory/practice divide.

While work within disciplinary boundaries of course produces highly valued specialist knowledge, many contemporary complex problems we face require greater research capacity which comes from both depth and breadth of knowledge as well as new methodological innovations, alongside input from those who have practical knowledge and experience. Whether a network forms to search for a cure, or in recognition of complex contemporary global challenges, or in this case to better understand the complex linkages between the causes and consequences of attacks on journalists, the formulation of

an eco system requires that it is an all-encompassing knowledge network that should be unbounded, responsive to diverse interests regarding a common problem, flexible (outside the control of traditional stakeholders) and offers the continuous sharing of knowledge. To understand the complexity of journalism safety in the contemporary world knowledge is the key and a knowledge network the locksmith.

The establishment of a network

Problematically, a knowledge network is only as good as the comprehensive nature of the understanding of whatever problem is being addressed by those who participate in it. Thus the initial practical problem facing the JSRN was to assemble a database of possible members and to work to identify different types of expertise and research that is already being undertaken across the world. To this end contact details were drawn up by CFOM using existing lists of CFOM and UNESCO contacts, including those who participated in the UNESCO research panels on the topic in Montreal, Berlin, Helsinki and Leicester and by a researcher at the University of Sheffield who looked for research related to journalism safety in different departments across hundreds of universities, NGOs and pressure groups. The intention here is to be as inclusive as possible.

Following notification of the desire by CFOM and UNESCO to establish a JSRN those who wished to join were asked to register and to establish a personal account which is linked to a facility for peer-to-peer communication and data storage. This is a formal space in which network members can update their contact details and research areas, search for other network members and update the group about research projects. There will also be an area where members can upload papers and publications to share with the network. The software being used for this development is a free and open source content management system used in several other applications to create communities. Supporting this is a Facebook site for informal communication and conversation.

The development and growth of the JSRN

At the time of writing, research is on-going in terms of how to ensure constant improvement of the JSRN to meet the demand for relevant research-derived knowledge. In this, the creation of a vibrant shared space will itself be an iterative process, where the repeated use of the JSRN itself provides new ideas and suggestions for improvements from its members. At the same time there is also the need to ensure that the development of research collaborations and innovation is also an iterative process, providing opportunities for people to revisit ideas and critically reflect upon them by creating a virtuous circle of research-driven understandings which brings together political, legal, cultural, social, economic aspects of journalism safety at micro, meso and macro levels to create deeper knowledge of the problem. Such knowledge should have utility outside academia, for those working at local, regional, national and international levels for a range of agencies and within the practice of journalism itself. In other words there

is a need to facilitate a continuous cycle of development of research-driven questions, which create a deeper understanding of the problem(s) of journalism safety, which then require further research to be undertaken by JSRN members.

One example of what I mean by this can be illustrated through an Economic and Social Research (ESRC) funded PhD studentship. The studentship is a collaborative project between academia (CFOM) and UNESCO and has identified a gap in knowledge that was of interest to both parties, through what many of us now refer to as the co-production of knowledge. The student, Sara Torsner, has undertaken fieldwork and an internship at UNESCO and describes her research as seeking “to develop a greater working knowledge of the nature and dynamics of risks for journalists and to gain a better understanding of and advance the mechanisms for gathering information about dangers to journalists through the development of Journalism Safety Trends data sets (JSTs).” In short, she is designing a ‘tool’ that “identifies risks that news journalists face in environments inimical to free and independent journalism”. As she notes such a tool will have to, over time, address issues as varied as risk to journalism at sub-national, national and international levels. Equally it must cover risk to journalism manifest in conditions of conflict, non-conflict and fragility (political, economic and cultural).

To begin this task she must build a data inventory that enables her to map existing data and subsequently to identify missing data from which she must create a database and then identify critical variables (structural and specific) to be used in the design of a JST tool – all in all, an extremely data and knowledge hungry piece of research. Ultimately the practical viability of such a tool depends on it being accurately predictive and so it is the case that the need for research knowledge and practical guidance with regard to building a JST is potentially inexhaustible – since accurate predictions require mastery of many variables. To meet this potentially inexhaustible demand for accuracy, a knowledge network could in theory make a practical and effective contribution to gathering systematic evidence and information over time. Such collaboration would depend upon the vitality, resourcefulness and energy of the constituency of a JSRN and the desire of participants to work together on common projects.

In this way the JSRN is part of the molecular structure of the antidote to those who would suppress or restrain free and independent news journalism. Research can address the problems of journalism safety from many different but important perspectives and approaches that help us to build up a clearer and larger picture over time. Such knowledge then can be used to help more researchers and stakeholders to become experts on pressing issues relating to journalism safety and to contribute knowledge to the capacity building processes that are needed to develop effective protection mechanisms in different countries.

Conclusion

To do all of this the JSRN must also combine widespread membership and accurate research with publicity. Combined they are a form of civil intervention. The JSRN may not be the most dramatic form of civil intervention, but other institutions and organisations that attach themselves to the principle of publicity, including such

diverse bodies ranging from international tribunals to investigative journalism with many others in between, constantly attest to its effectiveness. Publicity here is understood to be regarded both as a form of evidence that can be readily understood and is easily and widely available for all to see and possibly act upon. Therefore to be effective a network needs to produce accurate research that in turn can be ‘translated’ into a synoptic form that is easily disseminated through the widespread communication of its findings. It is this ‘translation service’ (for example simply explaining how particular pieces of research might measure political fragility and its associated risk to journalism in a specific area, or how certain cultural hostilities originated and how they threaten free and independent journalism in a given international region) that completes the triadic structure of the JSRN: diverse participants, accurate research and publicity. Redressing injustices requires a diversity of knowledgeable opinion, first-hand understanding and research expertise of the kind sustained by a well functioning knowledge network attached to publicising its findings no matter how unpalatable they might be to some.

Note

1. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/news-and-in-focus-articles/all-news/news/unescos_research_conference_on_the_safety_of_journalists_paved_the_way_for_academic_research_cooperation_knowledge_is_the_key/#:V-pM7zY4mi4

Journalism Schools Must Include Safety Courses in Curricula

Magda Abu-Fadil

Too many journalists are victims of violence and impunity, and more should be done in academia to prepare media students for the perils they are likely to face.

I urge all faculty members at this conference to incorporate a course on safety for journalists in their curricula. It's not a luxury; it's an urgent necessity. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), one journalist is killed every five days in the line of duty and the impunity of such acts is unabated.

Unlike the issues of journalism and freedom of expression, journalists' safety has not been a popular topic of academic research. It has rarely been discussed as a specific research question, much less in practical courses.

I participated in another session on new frontiers in disinformation and the use of propaganda, also a threat to journalists' safety. Panelists discussed various aspects of media's misleading messages, hate speech, phony photographs and visuals, manipulation by terrorist groups, and the proliferation of news websites as a counterforce to government-controlled media and corporate monopolies.

The issue of journalists' safety was very much part of that discussion, as was my insistence that it should be taught at universities to make sure students understand what awaits them.

It began in Amman

One way of mitigating risks to journalists is by introducing safety courses in the curricula of university media programs. Short workshops for professionals are not enough.

War correspondents and freelancers are among the scores of journalists worldwide who risk life and limb every day to tell stories of conflicts and relay images of humanity's miseries, often without any protection.

I was in Amman, Jordan, in January 2015 working with UNESCO and the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) to train journalism and media academics – deans and faculty members – from Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan and Iraq.

The faculty from Lebanon represented the Lebanese University, the American University of Science and Technology, and Holy Spirit University; from Palestine there were professors from Birzeit University, Al Quds University, and An-Najah National University; and from Iraq there were professors from the Faculty of Information at Al Iraqia University in Baghdad, and the Faculty of Information at Salahuddin University in Erbil.

The aim was to introduce safety for journalists as a required course in their respective curricula. If taught in its entirety, the course would span 12 weeks over an academic semester. UNESCO and IFJ have been active in promoting the topic and have published guidebooks on how journalists can protect themselves in various scenarios. The two-and-a-half-day workshop was a team effort including Australian journalist, trainer and safety expert Clare Arthurs.

We asked the participants what their interests and priorities were, and presented them with a draft curriculum, draft lesson plans, and methods to benchmark and assess the material. While several of the 'trainees' acknowledged the need for safety awareness, most were still wedded to traditional teaching methods, giving more weight to theory than practice.

This is a problem universities face region-wide in the Arab World, as untold numbers of academics teaching journalism courses have never worked in newsrooms, in the field, or faced the types of threats and dangers that are par for the course. Arthurs' journalism-cum-academic background and mine added weight to the argument. Having worked on media curricula at academic institutions in a previous incarnation, I knew full well what overhauling a program and introducing new courses entailed.

There are endless committee meetings frequently involving faculty members who know nothing about the subject and who hail from different disciplines. There are ego trippers in the staid halls of academe, turf wars, a snail-paced bureaucracy, who fears a new course may knock an existing one off the curriculum. There's also the matter of a university's accreditation and whether such an offering would lessen the curriculum's value.

But the subject matter is not limited to conflict zones, wars and terrorism. There are natural disasters, epidemics, and other events that put journalists' lives in danger, and they're being given short shrift.

Our team of trainers was reinforced by Adrien Collin from IFJ, George Awad from UNESCO, and others with field experience. We focused on the need to include units on planning, risk assessment, personal safety, operational self-sufficiency, travel security, transport, first aid to handle a number of emergencies in the field, health care in hostile environments, demonstrations (and riots), natural disasters, outbreaks of disease, ballistics, kidnapping, women's safety (given the large number of women journalists in the line of fire), digital security, international humanitarian law, local laws, ethics, and safe investigative reporting.

Workshop discussions centered on how many weeks were in a semester, and that varied by institution, depending on whether they were state-run or private universities. There was the issue of the language of instruction. Most taught in Arabic, but some taught in English and others in French, depending on the country, although in the Arab world, it is not unusual to have trilingual educators, students and journalists.

One critical issue was who would teach such a course. The trainers felt strongly that a practicing journalist with teaching/training experience was best fit for the assignment.

The course is tailored to the needs of various educational systems, contexts and languages in the region, and can be adopted worldwide. It is to be made available online for easy access to all those interested in helping safeguard journalists.

Progress in Beirut

Academics, media professionals and experts met in Beirut in February 2016 to push for the course. The conference there was a follow-up of the 2015 launch and grouped Egyptian academics from Cairo University, the American University in Cairo; from Iraq's Salahuddin University in Erbil; from Jordan's Petra and Philadelphia Universities; from Morocco's Institut Supérieur de l'Information et de la Communication; from Oman's Sultan Qabous University; from Palestine's Birzeit and Al Quds Universities; from Syria's Yarmouk and Damascus Universities; from Tunisia's Sfax University and the Institut de Presse et des Sciences de L'Information; from Lebanon's Lebanese University, Holy Spirit University, Lebanese International University, and Rafic Hariri University.

By then, Michael Foley from the School of Media at the Dublin Institute of Technology had come on board to help shape the course that was written in English and Arabic. "Students of journalism must understand the risks they confront when they work," noted then IFJ President Jim Boumelha at the opening. The IFJ produces an annual report of media casualties, added Boumelha, saying most of those targeted are local journalist whose names get tepid reactions and do not resonate in the media, unlike the spotlight shed on foreign correspondents.

The academics went over a draft of the course to be offered as one required uninterrupted 12-week unit, as an elective course or one from which they can select components to incorporate into other relevant media courses. Speakers included a security expert as well as four noted Lebanese journalists – two who work locally and two whose international track record in covering conflict zones is legend.

"News organizations should train journalists and insist on safety measures and the use of proper equipment," said Yazbeck Wehbe, a veteran of Lebanon's LBCI TV News who also teaches journalism at several Lebanese universities.

Patrick Baz, a world-renowned photojournalist whose career is linked to Agence France-Presse (AFP), offered valuable insights on how he covered some of the hottest spots in the Arab world and what lingering impact it has had on him.

"Being a correspondent is going to places, and bearing witness to war crimes," said Samia Nakhoul, a Reuters veteran and Middle East editor who was seriously injured and almost died when U.S. tanks lobbed shells into the Palestine Hotel in Baghdad where foreign media were based during the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

News organizations should provide trauma counseling as well as safety training, while universities should equip their students with the requisite knowledge and skills to face all manner of hazards, Nakhoul said.

The course is scheduled to appear in print publication form and online in English and Arabic. Its launch by UNESCO is scheduled for 2017.

The Way Forward

2. How to Measure Safety of Journalists

Assaults against Journalists

We see the tip of the iceberg

Katharine Sarikakis

In recent years, the issue of safety of journalists has attracted the attention of international organisations. From 2000 to 2016, the UN, the Council of Europe, the OSCE and the European Parliament have produced over 122 major documents aiming to deal with the complexity and urgency of protecting journalists. Evidence shows that attacks against journalists and increasingly against public writers, such as bloggers, are becoming more intense and widespread, but at the same time more quickly known across borders. In particular, the urgency of the need to know more about the situation of journalists around the world is largely translated in monitoring and recording incidents. The onerous task of doing so, on a global scale, has fallen on the shoulders of NGOs, whose operations are by-and-large subject to fundraising. The commitment of States to free speech as a concrete goal is put to the test regularly: so far, with very few exceptions, States have failed to provide for the consistent and systemic protective measures for journalists. Yet, this is not all.

Journalism is undergoing important structural and cultural changes, including a broadening in the exercise of journalism, which, despite the many challenges it brings to both journalism itself and to society's relation to the news, has offered the possibility for the generation of news stories and the presentation of multiple viewpoints to audiences across the world. As a consequence, the strict boundaries between professional journalists and journalistic practices by a wider part of the public has prompted the international community to broaden the scope of 'protection of journalism' in an effort to provide legally supported frameworks of protection for writers, especially in autocratic regimes.

Challenges to monitoring the state of journalists

It is increasingly understood that journalists are not to be considered 'simply' collateral damage in conflict, but rather targets of conflict parties, and not only in situations of armed conflict. Therefore, for the comprehensive understanding of the complexity of safety of journalists, on the one hand, and the transformation required in the jobs on the other, the very practices and mechanisms of monitoring *must reflect* these realities in systematic ways. A crucial element, and constant challenge, underpinning the effort to record and report killings of and assaults on journalists is to provide measurable evidence about the state of freedom of the press and provide tools through indicators for democracy and freedom. The value of such reports cannot be overstated, not least

because of their role as historical records, regarding progress and deterioration in practicing journalism, and as speakers on behalf of victims and survivors. Also, the efficacy of law and the role of the international community and States will be further evaluated and judged in the not so distant future.

With a look into this future, a major meta-analysis¹ of existing databases was conducted, monitoring the state of journalists' safety around the world, in the period 2000-2016. This project began as an attempt to identify the factors, which seem to indicate highest danger for journalists and to find out a possible 'profile' of the journalist mostly at risk. For example, is it a fixer in Iraq? Is it a corruption investigating journalist in Russia? No satisfactory answers were achieved, not least because, as revealed through network analysis and other forms of analysis, existing databases were not identical qualitatively, in terms of persons identified. A test of two years was conducted between two major organisations bringing up approximately records of 50 journalists not overlapping. There are also further differences in recording methods by organisations, some more significant than others. The decision was made to take a step back and compare the available databases.

All data was examined as listed in the databases and reports from 2000 to 2016 as they were made available², by the following organisations: Committee for the Protection of Journalists; International Federation of Journalists; International News Safety Institute; International Press Institute; Pen International; Reporters sans Frontiers; UNESCO and World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers WAN-INFRA. It became clear that the task to identify and verify the circumstances of assault and death requires and depends on an advanced set of skills and sustained resources: linguistic competencies, on-site witnesses and experts, the collaboration of authorities or official bodies, reliable information from sources and expert data analysts to make sense of the context each time.

The transformations in what is considered today journalism and who is asserted as journalist, requires the application of a broader, yet well defined, set of definitional criteria to include those immediately and directly involved in the making of a news story in the field. Self-evidently, an enlarged understanding of journalism must be concrete enough to not dilute the aim of the analysis, which is to provide an up-to-date and comprehensive quantitative view of the total cost of human life in the process of finding the truth and providing this information to the public.

The resulting meta-analytical database shows that the numbers of journalists killed are higher than any database has provided so far, separately (Fig 1). The next figure (Fig 2) – a more comprehensive count including media workers – shows an unmistakable rise in deaths of journalists, counting in total 2294 deaths by the end of 2016. This graph is the result of careful cross-referencing across the aforementioned databases, taking into account complex circumstances of deaths and accidents resulting in death. Each entry was examined in each database and report manually, first, across databases to identify overlaps and misses; second, in cases of similar but not identical names or other details, extended searches on the internet were conducted to locate press coverage or other supporting material to confirm identities. This was not simply a case of adding the names of each database- it was neither possible nor methodologically correct. The resulting database, hence, contains further details as to the circumstances of death.

Figure 1. Comparative presentation of recorded deaths³ of journalists by organisation, using strict i.e. traditional definitions of journalism, 2000-2016

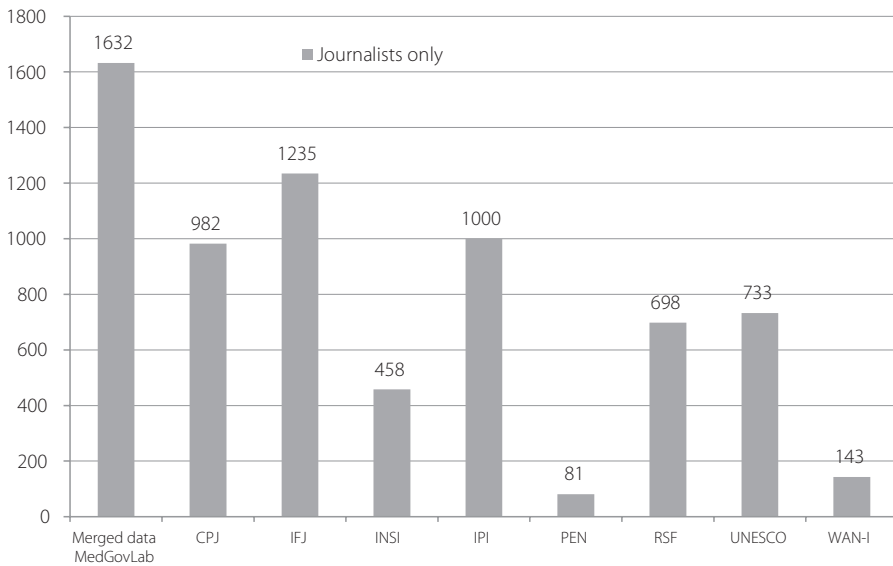
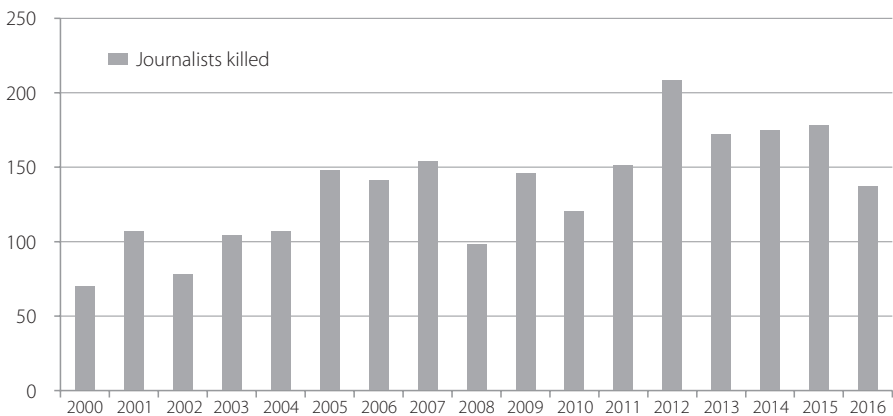
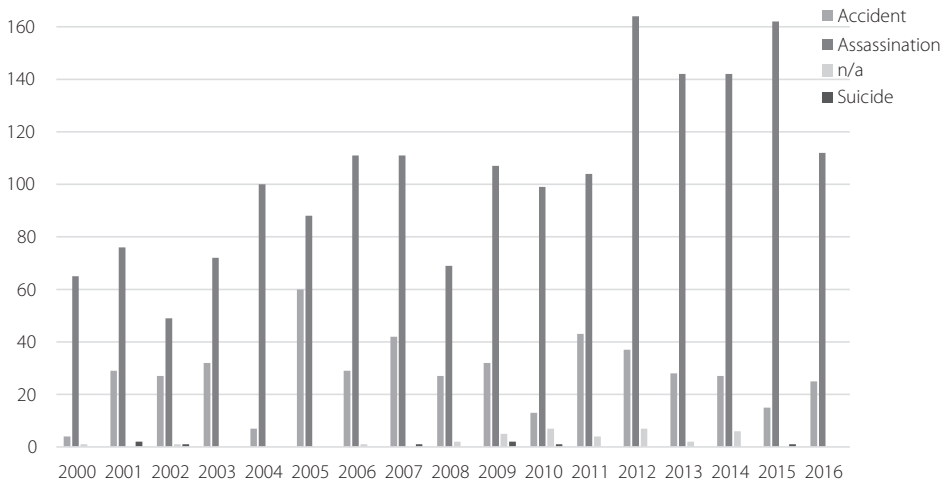


Figure 2. Journalists⁴ killings worldwide, 2000-2016



Recorded suicides constitute below one per cent of all cases. Information on suicides is consistently missing, is incomplete or uncertain particularly as to whether the recorded number corresponds to the reality of journalism. It is estimated that suicides, due to their social stigma, as well as methodological uncertainties as to whether they are to be attributed to practicing journalism, are severely under-reported. There were no confirmed details as to the type of death for 36 cases, as seen in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Types of death of journalists, 2000-2016

For 33 journalists we have no information on gender; 161 of all journalists were women. For 20 per cent of the cases no information could be found about journalists' citizenship and relation to location of reporting and death. 72 per cent or 1647 were local journalists and eight per cent correspondents i.e. died abroad. We have no information about the job position for three per cent of cases and no information about the type of media journalists worked for, for almost a quarter of the cases. Information about these demographic categories can reveal evidence for changing trends or continuities, as to whether for example the presence of major global television broadcaster might inadvertently provide more safety or whether there are cases where in terrorist assaults, in particular, this might contribute to making journalists even more vulnerable if publicity is sought after by such groups. Information also can reveal gender differences, if any, as well as the role of geopolitical conditions determining at least employment protection.

The collected cases far exceed the database of the best organised and most comprehensive and updated database maintained by CPJ, including total numbers of confirmed and unconfirmed motives as well as type of media worker, since 2000⁵. There are certain methodological observations that can be made about the differences determining each major database that are beyond the scope of this discussion. What transpires from the study of efforts to maintain records about journalists' killings is that first, the multiple approach to the same question by different and variously located actors is an advantage to seeking out the truth about journalists; second, that this multi-perspectival approach results in a degree of fragmentation that will not serve these aims in the long term. Our investigation indicates that journalists and the international community would potentially benefit from a closer synergy and harmonisation of methodological approaches to monitoring, while allowing for more methodological approaches and changes to be implemented *in addition* to a core (but not minimal) set of methodological tools and furthermore, strategies.

As an example, it is worth mentioning the difficulties generated by seemingly 'simple' stages in the recording of cases, such as the existing difference in transcribing non-western names into Latin characters. This, for example, has raised the question several times, whether the records refer to the same person or not. Other points relate to the inconsistency of data generation with regards to age and employment status or more specifics on the stories investigated. Yet, the impressive work of collating data and verifying them, across the organisations we examined cannot be overstated.

The comprehensiveness of IFJ's records as well as the CPJ's (in the cases of strictly defined journalism) lists provides stable points of reference for other organisations. RSF provides also historical records stretching back to the end of Second World War; INSI tracks all staff and freelance casualties during coverage-related activities including accidents; IPI looks strictly at targeted staff. Despite the number of investigations into assaults and deaths, it is striking that there persist considerable information gaps. Dissemination and publication methods do not lend themselves easily to further evaluation and analysis, due to the divergence in definitions and systems of presentation. It has been challenging, for example, to retrieve systematic data for the purposes of research, which might cause considerable problems to the future efforts of proponents of social justice and end to impunity in the policy and activist realm, as well as future efforts by the media industries to enter the debate with concrete anti-impunity measures.

By far, in the examined period, the most dangerous countries for journalists have been war and conflict zones. However, to assume that journalists are safe in their work in Europe, as a region of stability and prosperity and robust legal frameworks for the protection of free speech and free press would be misleading. Understanding the concept of safety as one encompassing the everyday ability to perform one's duties free from assault, intimidation and harassment, in short free from physical and psychological violence, requires that we explore in more detail and during a longer and sustained period the visible but also intangible forms of oppression through intimidation. The next and final section discusses the challenges in doing so, in the context of Europe.

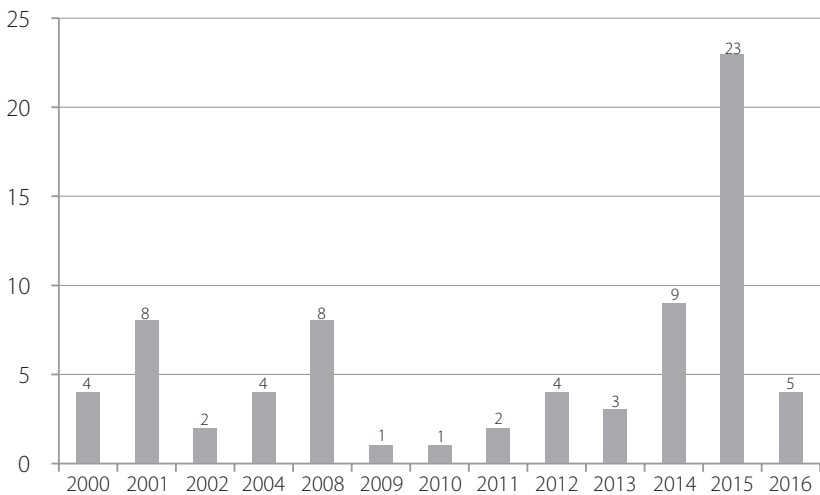
Safety beyond counting bodies: the case of Europe

Assaults and intimidation are not exclusively found in autocratic regimes or conflict zones. The aim was to explore the extent to which numbers may be traceable for cases of assault against journalists and media workers in Europe and to analyse what these numbers tell us. The research looked into multiple sources where some form of documentation of an assault took place and this included references in the press, reports of international originations and journalists' unions and news agencies archives. The primary research revealed⁶ 1035 cases of journalists who have been threatened, assaulted or ultimately killed between 2000-2016 in Europe alone. Collecting information about historical cases is extremely difficult and points to changes that took place gradually. A major concern is the skeletal information on many victims i.e. survivors of assault, especially during the early 2000s, where even media coverage was quite eschewed.

The consistent attention to free speech and the role of journalists pursued by the UNESCO in particular over the course of thirty years together with the work of civil

society has succeeded in moving the debate towards a more sophisticated and highly sensitised level. This allows the beginnings of a more thorough and systematic approach to monitoring and reporting attacks on journalists and further keeps the issue high on the international community's agenda as a matter of global media policy. The picture emerging shows that the number of assaults in Europe has seen a sharp rise (Fig 4 and 5) and in particular since 2013. Three major geographical points accounting for 689 cases are Russia, Turkey and Azerbaijan. Politics is the most common investigation area of victims and survivors, followed by reporting on ethnic issues, predominantly regarding the coverage of the Kurdish minority in Turkey.

Figure 4. Deaths of journalists in Europe, excluding Turkey and Russia, 2000-2016

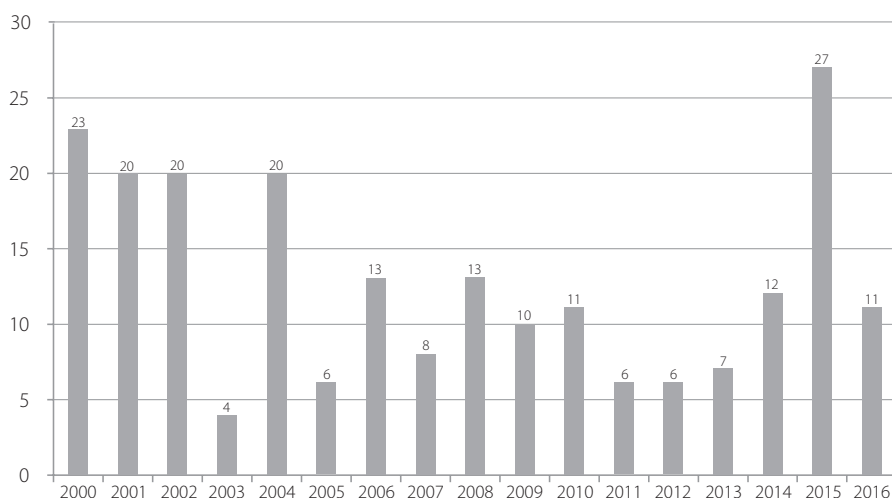


The recorded cases are not exhaustive or conclusive, with the exception of number of deaths: multiple threats or assaults against the same person were not recorded, hence the numbers represent *persons* assaulted. Moreover, it is impossible to capture all reported assaults, if they are not reported in some form- it is not unreasonable to assume that only the worst cases reach some form of reporting. In the cases of deaths, the numbers offer a rather accurate picture, in particular as the numbers include terrorist attacks and assassinations that have been reported widely in the press. The role of the press itself and the international community in bringing to the light the dangers and violations against human rights is crucial. Assaults however are not monitored systematically and neither are threats and intimidation.

We know very little about the everyday realities of investigative journalists who do not necessarily make such cases known or which are considered often as 'part of the job'. The individual experiences, however, make up for social phenomena; their sum, although cannot tell the whole story, provides a powerful context about the 'stories behind the stories'. Of 1035 journalists assaulted, 220 died. Deaths, when not direct

assassinations, come as result of assaults often within a short timeframe. Figures 4 and 5 present a picture of journalists' deaths in Europe. Clearly, the numbers of journalists attacked is the highest in Turkey and Russia. These two countries account for half the deaths of journalists in 2016. Overall, Russia holds the first place in killings of journalists with 132 deaths since 2000, Ukraine is second with 16 deaths and Turkey 15 until the end of 2016. Russia accounts for 17 per cent of all assaults with 176 cases and Turkey makes up 45 per cent of the data with 466 cases of assault in the examined period, with the majority of the cases taking place in 2016.

Figure 5. Deaths of journalists in Europe, including Turkey and Russia, 2000-2016

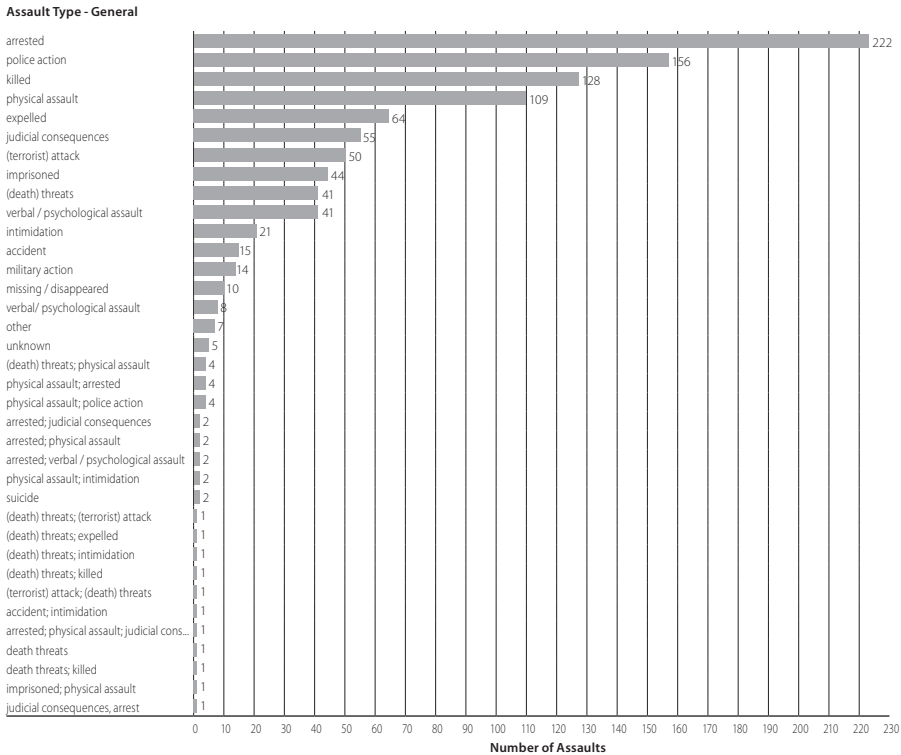


Press freedom in those countries is attributed as 'not free' according to Freedom House, meaning that violence and repression against journalists are frequently committed by the government, authorities, police and there is high degree of impunity. Ukraine and Italy, where press freedom status is 'partly free', are in fourth position with 35 assaults, making up about three per cent of data for each of the countries. Almost the same data are found in France due to the Charlie Habdo killings in 2015 and Bulgaria (34 assaults). The majority of cases concern journalists working for the print press (over 52 per cent of the total numbers of 539 cases) and a high number of journalists, 124, about whom it has been impossible to locate their employers and/or media.

The nature of assaults included in this database are predominantly arrests, assaults resulting from direct police action as in protests, as well as the use of laws, such as defamation, or seemingly irrelevant to journalism laws, such as accusation of tax evasion, to harass journalists. The data shows that by far the biggest culprit is the State and the police in countries where the State can be classified authoritarian. Figure 5 presents the picture of assaults including Turkey and Russia. The rest of Europe presents a different picture, when Russia and Turkey are not included. It becomes clear that *also* in

relatively stable democratic regimes journalists are physically assaulted, *but their cases become known*. The qualifying difference here is possibly that there is more likelihood that the law will be invoked to restore justice.

Figure 6. Method of assault, including assassinations ('killing'), 2000-2016



Hence, deaths have historically been seen as out of the ordinary state of affairs. Physical assaults, judicial measures, verbal and psychological attacks constitute the three main sources of assault against journalists in Europe. Finally, the topics investigated by journalists in these situations are politics (325 cases) coverage of ethnic minority issues (143), coverage of protests (46) and crime (31). Also here, a considerable amount of information about 193 cases remains unknown.

Concluding thoughts

This chapter aimed to present the complexity in understanding, monitoring and providing for the safety of journalists in widely varying national contexts and often unpredictable and unstable environments. The responsibility of the international community, broadly understood, is to support the organisations, mechanisms and actors

that can surround journalists as a network of support and protection. Other crucial dimensions cannot be covered within a few pages, such as the role of technology in endangering but also potentially protecting journalists, such as surveillance technologies. Yet, the importance of speedy communications to share situations of emergency and seek out safety cannot be overstated. Similarly, the lines of investigation, information and exchange between authorities, the mass media and NGOs must remain rapid, open and pluralistic at all times.

The two cases of reconstructing and recovering data from a variety of reliable sources about the *full cost of human life* in the process of providing access to information for billions of people through journalism shows both the difficulty to collect accurate data and that the scale of the problem is far greater than estimated. Western-based organisations with the task to monitor and record the state of journalists have a difficult job to fulfil. It is clear that for international organisations to perform adequately in this task, it is necessary to overhaul established ways of collecting information and, importantly, disseminating it. A degree of standardisation of fundamental categories of information; methodological revision and further rigour; and of presentation of datasets for further analysis might be desirable.

These tasks very much depend on resources; linguistic competencies; collaborative functions across sectors. It is clear that we lack substantial chunks of information about the employment status, the precise age of journalists as well as the topic covering. We lack information about the actual conditions of work, probably witnessing the tip of the iceberg of harassment and assaults, coming outside the newsroom. The summarised reports in this chapter show that the scope of safety and sacrifice is far greater than each actor alone or their sum can account for. Although the discussion did not offer an investigation into the USA and other mature democracies, it is clear from the survey in the European territory that safe havens are few and in between, and that even in stable democracies the conditions for journalism and free expression remain vulnerable and can deteriorate surprisingly fast.

Notes

1. Media Governance and Industries research Lab forthcoming report on *Assaults on Journalists: what is the total cost of information?* The team cross-referenced, cleaned and evaluated all available data by examining each and every entry of case of death of journalists manually.
2. Presentation varied from databases to descriptive annual or biannual reports.
3. Not all databases report deaths for the period under study, but for shorter periods.
4. Here the designation of 'journalist' is understood in its broader sense.
5. CPJ provides total numbers of 1371 cases until December 15, 2016.
6. *Report on the Safety of Journalists in Europe: revised numbers on assault and deaths*. Media Governance and Industries Research Lab 2017 forthcoming.

Measuring Journalism Safety

Methodological challenges¹

Sara Torsner

The effectiveness of any measures taken to address the problems of journalism safety ultimately depends on our ability to understand the complex nature and dynamics of risk to journalists. Mapping the scale of the problem through the systematic collection of data on threats over time is therefore a crucial step toward establishing an empirical evidence base that can serve to tailor interventions aimed at safeguarding journalists and their work. Doing so requires us to examine the occurrence of a wide range of threats to a diverse community of journalists within a varied set of hostile environments. Importantly, it challenges us to explore how the multidimensional nature of risk to journalists should be measured.

The need to talk about journalism safety in a more complex way
Developed in response to the growing dangers to journalists around the world, international standard setting frameworks such as the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity (UN Action Plan) (UN 2012) and the subsequent Journalists' Safety Indicators (JSI) (UNESCO 2015) have contributed in important ways when it comes to recognizing the complexity of the journalism safety problem. Accordingly the following aspects should be considered when trying to measure journalism safety:

- The need to operate with a definition of journalists that includes even actors who do journalism without becoming 'journalists' as such, and in this way extend protection to those who exercise a range of journalistic functions that facilitate the production and dissemination of public interest news and informed opinion.
- The need to understand safety as a distinct category including physical, digital, psychological and impunity dimensions (UNESCO 2016: 11) and as a prerequisite for freedom of expression and the press (UN 2012: 1).
- The need to measure a wide range of threats against journalists reflecting that a safe environment for journalists can be identified as the absence of killings and physical assaults on journalists; impunity in relation to crimes against media professionals; incarceration and arbitrary arrest; exile to escape repression; harassment (both legal and economic); self-censorship in media platforms and the internet; and the destruction or confiscation of equipment and premises (UNESCO 2014: 83).

- The need to understand the role of various actors (state and non-state) as stakeholders in the protection of journalists and the role of different categories of perpetrators of crimes against journalists.

Focus on measuring the killing of journalists

Current data-collecting approaches show a prioritisation of measuring the killing of journalists. This has meant the following:

- The killing of journalists is the single violation most commonly measured by monitoring organizations. While representing the most ultimate form of censorship killings constitute the proverbial tip of the iceberg of a whole range of different types of threats.
- The number of killed journalists vary between different organizations since different case verification processes, definitions of who is categorized as a journalist, and views on the circumstances under which a death of a journalist is to be recognized as work-related are adopted.² See table 'Recorded figures on journalist killings between 2006 and 2015' below for a comparison of the figures of journalist killings recorded by various organizations.
- The data gathering and verification is further complicated by the necessity of having to gather data from volatile and often conflict ridden societies where the judicial resolution of cases of killings is rare (see, e.g., IFEX 2011: 20-22).
- Institutionalized local mechanisms for data collection may be under development or completely absent in many contexts³ (see, e.g., UNESCO 2015a; UN 2015: 14-17; UNESCO 2016: 10; Pöyhtäri 2016: 177). Moreover, country level data collected by local NGOs is rarely compiled into a common repository of data that can be used for structural cross-country comparison or the domestic analysis of trends and cases to prioritise for judicial investigation.⁴
- Considering the differing figures between organizations it is likely that the problem of journalist killings is more extensive than what is currently officially recorded (IFEX 2011: 24, 29). For example, the records of organizations such as the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), the International News Safety Institute (INSI), the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), the International Press Institute (IPI), the Press Emblem Campaign (PEC) and Reporters Sans Frontières (RSF) and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) only include cases of killed journalists, which have been verified by the organizations.⁵

Table 1. Recorded figures on journalist killings between 2006 and 2015

Organization	CPJ	INSI	IFJ	IPI	RSF	PEC	UNESCO
Year							
2006	57	173	155	100	85	96	84
2007	70	173	135	93	88	115	66
2008	42	109	85	66	60	91	46
2009	75	133	113	110	75	122	77
2010	44	97	94	102	58	110	65
2011	48	124	101	102	67	107	62
2012	74	152	121	133	87	141	124
2013	73	134	105	120	79	129	90
2014	61	105	118	100	72	138	98
2015	72	111	112	116	81	135	115
Tot 2006-2015	616	1311	1139	1042	752	1184	827

Source: The websites of the respective organization.

Recording killings may be necessary, but not sufficient

Although different organizations cover different time periods, the data consistently indicates that the situation when it comes to killings of journalists has grown increasingly problematic since the 1990s.

Counting how many journalists are killed on a yearly basis certainly is a relevant and important measurement, particularly if the data is disaggregated as to cause of killings (e.g. targeted for murder and caught in cross-fire), the type of journalist killed (e.g. local or international reporter), the type of media outlet the journalist was working for (e.g. broadcasting, newspaper and on-line publication) and the type of perpetrator (state or non-state actor). Such data is for instance used by UNESCO to solicit member state responses on whether there is judicial follow-up that ensures that killers of journalists do not operate with impunity. However, while this is useful for advocacy about the need for the state to fulfil its duty in providing protection and prosecuting the perpetrators of fatal attacks on journalists, this alone has its limitations if the goal is to try to understand the nature, dynamics and consequences of threats (some of which culminate in killings) and to describe shifting trends in journalism safety.

A country level count can tell us in a generic way whether the problem of killings is getting worse or if it is improving from year to year, but the figures themselves tell us little about the reasons behind these shifting trends. We risk simplifying the picture of journalism safety for the following reasons:

- A decline in killings could be interlinked with a silencing trend where journalists are engaging in self-censorship as a result of previous killings or threats.

- A drop in the number of killings could be connected to an increase instead in other types of attacks on journalists, such as harassments or imprisonments (see, e.g., Pöyhtäri 2016: 178).
- Killings are sometimes simply unreported.

Approaches to gathering and analysing data related to killings must therefore enable us to describe and understand the complexity of trends in risk to journalism in a more comprehensive way.

Current initiatives to measure risk beyond killings

The following currently reflect international and regional attempts of recording threats to journalists beyond killings:

- 1) The CPJ tally over journalists imprisoned (2000-2015)⁶ and exiled (2010-2015)⁷.
- 2) The Press Freedom Barometer compiled by Reporters Sans Frontières records the number of killed journalists, netizens and media assistants on a yearly basis as well as corresponding figures on imprisonments.⁸
- 3) The Journalists' Safety Indicators, developed by UNESCO's International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC), is a tool that assesses the situation for journalism safety in various countries. Meant to serve as a baseline against which changes related to the UN Action Plan can be tracked, the JSI framework combines quantitative indicators covering count data on different types of threats against journalists and qualitative assessments of the related actions undertaken by a range of actors (state institutions and political actors, civil society and academia, the media and intermediaries, the EU and other international organizations) when it comes to safeguarding journalists (UNESCO 2015).⁹
- 4) The UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) agenda has recently generated debate regarding the potential systematic monitoring and measuring of journalism safety as an indicator of target 16.10, which aims to *'Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements.'*¹⁰ One of the indicators of target 16.10 is proposed to measure the *'Number of verified cases of killing, kidnapping, enforced disappearance, arbitrary detention and torture of journalists, associated media personnel, trade unionists and human rights advocates in the previous 12 months.'*¹¹
- 5) The Council of Europe (COE) online 'Platform' alert system, which records a variety of attacks on journalists¹² among their member states¹³.
- 6) The Mapping Media Freedom project, which is operated by the Index of Censorship in partnership with the European Federation of Journalists, Reporters Sans Frontières and the European Centre for Press and Media Freedom, and with support from UNESCO/IPDC, identifies threats, violations and limitations influencing journalists throughout the European Union, including also membership candidates and neighbouring countries.¹⁴

- 7) The Regular Report to the Permanent Council of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) by the Representative on Freedom of the Media (see, e.g., OSCE 2016).

As a universal agenda, the SDGs have the potential of allowing for the monitoring of a wider range of threats against journalists in all societies across the globe. The draft indicator has been accepted by the UN Statistical Commission, but not yet by the UN General Assembly. While the indicator covers physical violence attacks on journalists, it does not include for example cyber-abuse. Such threats to safety could plausibly still be measured because of their intimidatory impact on public access to information and fundamental freedoms, and their potential to escalate into physical attacks. At the same time these types of more comprehensive data collection beyond killings raises some methodological challenges:

- 1) The conceptual is an issue – particularly with the definition of what would constitute arbitrary detentions. There is also the question at what point limitations on journalists are less issues of safety and more issues of a lack of press freedom in a given country. UNESCO is on record as arguing that although there is a linkage between these two considerations, there are societies where press freedom exists and yet journalists do not enjoy safety, just as there are societies where journalists are not attacked in the safety sense, but where they are not free to exercise their profession without running into legal limits. In other words, attacks on safety and restrictions on press freedom are conceptually distinctive, but the difficulty is in the intersections that are often found in empirical situations.
- 2) The empirical measurability of the proposed SDG safety indicator and any supplementary assessments (such as cyber-harassment).
- 3) The availability of reliable quality data.
- 4) The need to address whether current monitoring mechanisms adequately capture the multi-layered characteristics of risks to journalists.

While regional initiatives such as the COE 'Platform' alert system and the Mapping Media Freedom project record abuses against journalists beyond killings, corresponding initiatives on the international level are lacking.¹⁵ It can also be noted that while journalism safety is commonly included as a variable in indices concerned with media freedom and media development more broadly, such as the Freedom of the Press Index compiled by Freedom House (FH)¹⁶ and RSF's Press Freedom Index¹⁷, such indices are generally geared towards serving advocacy purposes. And whilst they are invaluable as such advocacy tools they are commonly not designed to generate the type of raw data on threats that would be required to analyse journalism safety trends.

Applying the same methodology as the UNESCO Media Development Indicators (MDI), which assess the state of media development more broadly (IPDC 2014: 1-2) the JSIs are particularly valuable when it comes to viewing journalism safety as a multi-layered problem and as an approach combining qualitative and quantitative informa-

tion gathering from various sources (UNESCO 2015). While providing a valuable country level in-depth analysis and an important point of departure for discussing challenges to the safety of journalists, the JSIs could be further complemented with longitudinal data collection that would enable the description of trends. Currently, the JSI reports are largely descriptive and varying methodologies make comparisons between different types of environments hostile to journalists difficult. At the same time, it is the ambition for the JSI reports to be repeated every few years, which would enable comparison with the baseline as to issues of progress or regress.

In addition to recording cases of killed journalists, the following also monitor the issue of impunity:

- 1) As noted above, UNESCO requests member states to report on a voluntary basis on the actions taken to prevent impunity in cases of journalist killings (UNESCO 2016: 7). The answers from the member states are recorded in the categories: no information received so far, on-going/unresolved and resolved.
- 2) CPJ has recorded cases of impunity in relation to cases of journalist killings since 1992. Calculating the number of unsolved journalist murders as a percentage of each country's population, CPJ's Global Impunity Index further analyses the lack of judicial follow up in countries with five or more unsolved cases (no conviction) between September 1, 2005 and August 31, 2016 in more depth.¹⁸

Allowing for country ranking and comparison, the CPJ impunity index interestingly shows that while a significant proportion of the countries listed are experiencing conflict or widespread violence (e.g. Somalia, Iraq and Syria), the majority of the countries ranked are in fact nominally democratic and relatively stable societies (e.g. the Philippines, Russia, Brazil, Mexico and India). The fact that impunity is widespread in both conflict and non-conflict situations in this way indicates that we need to understand the societal drivers of impunity within a diverse set of contexts. Doing so requires us to not only record the judicially resolved versus unresolved rate, but also to consider how to identify the societal circumstances, beyond generalized statements concerning deficiencies in the rule of law and judicial independence etc. that allow impunity to flourish and what is involved in securing the scarce number of cases that are in fact resolved (at least at the level of the direct killers if not the instigators).

Towards a more comprehensive understanding of risk to journalists

While the killings of journalists can be described as the most serious manifestation of danger, there exists a whole range of different types of risks that impact the safety of journalists. What merits attention here is the normative argument that journalism should not be intrinsically be understood as a high-risk profession. Military personnel inherently face risks in the nature of their work, but for journalists these are contingent on their status, the culture of the society they work in, the willingness of the state to enforce zero-tolerance of crimes against journalists, etc. It is in the nature of certain forms of journalism – such as critique of vested interests or views, exposure of corruption, or reporting on conflict that they may become targets of attack. But not all

journalism deals with these kinds of ‘hornets nests’, and even where this is the case, it is evident that many societies are able to ensure that the journalists involved enjoy protection if not an immunity from actors who fail to actively value their lives or who deliberately take action to threaten them and their families. In short, the issue of risks is not identical to the issue of threats (implied or implemented), and neither should be accepted as ‘part of the job’ if we are to understand journalists as, *inter alia*, public exercisers of the universal right to legitimate freedom of expression.

As has been outlined here, the range of threats targeting journalists is currently not being monitored and analysed systematically at both the local and the international level. In order to understand the nature and dynamics of risk to journalists a first crucial step is to map the scale of the problem. The following should therefore be considered:

- The methodical tracking and analysis of various types of on-line and off-line harassments and intimidations. These can range from threatening emails, letters and phone calls to face-to-face death threats and a range of physical attacks, including also attacks on the family members of journalists, journalistic sources and media facilities and equipment.
- Addressing as far as possible the practical challenges of measuring and verifying attacks and abuses.
- The exploration of how different types of threats interrelate. Research already indicates that harassments and surveillance often precede more violent forms of attacks, including killings (see, e.g., Heyns and Srinivasan 2013: 311; Pöyhtäri 2016: 178), and a more methodical study of how various types of threats interrelate could potentially enable us to examine if certain types of threats can be identified as warning signs of a situation where threats are likely to intensify.

The fact that our understanding of the societal circumstances that allow risk and impunity to spread is fairly limited points toward a need also to find out more about the range of contexts in which different types of threats occur. Such considerations would need to include the following:

- Understanding the way societal contexts produce certain types of threats which is illustrated by the fact that the countries where journalists are killed are not necessarily the same countries where journalists are imprisoned.
- Understanding that the existence of high general levels of societal violence, corruption and poor governance does not always signify that journalists are targeted for murder in a particular country or territory.
- Understanding that there are significant subnational/regional variations in risk to journalists and that all journalists within a country do not face the same level of risk (see, e.g. Waisbord 2002).¹⁹
- Understanding that different categories of journalists do not face the same level and types of threats and that the risk of being targeted for murder depends for

instance on the type of news medium the journalist works for, the beat covered or if the journalist is local, foreign and/or freelance.²⁰

- The exploration of what societal mechanisms or conditions allow threats against journalists to escalate.
- A better understanding of the range of responses when journalists are attacked (for instance from families, peers, media executives, civil society and states) and the effectiveness of these in the face of specific risks and safety protection more broadly.

Addressing these issues would enable us to facilitate more timely responses that can prevent a situation from escalating and effectively protect journalists.

Conclusions

Gathering data on threats against journalists for the purpose of understanding and addressing the problems of journalism safety poses two distinct but related challenges. First, we need to consider how to capture the complexity of risk and threat to journalists as is increasingly acknowledged. These dangers to journalists have become extended, involving not only killings and a wide range of other types of direct threats preventing journalists from carrying out their work, but also are taken to have consequences such as self-censorship and a more general chilling effect on freedom of expression within societies where crimes against journalists continue to go unpunished. In addition, in order to capture the subtleties of risk and threat, more sophisticated methods of measurement are required. Secondly, we need to build on existing as well as design new methods of collecting data on killings and other forms of violations and to consider how to further our understanding of the societal circumstances that allow for environments hostile to the safe exercise of journalism to develop, and to be measured more comprehensively.

References

- Heyns, C. and Srinivasan, S. (2013). Protecting the Right to Life of Journalists: the Need for a Higher Level of Engagement. *Human Rights Quarterly* (36): 304-332.
- IFEX (2011). *Journalists Killed Methodology Research Project*. <https://www.ifex.org/campaigns/2012/01/04/journalistskilledresearchfinaldec2011.pdf> (accessed 2016-11-23).
- IPDC (2014). *Agenda item: UNESCO'S Indicators for Media Development, Media Sustainability, Gender and Media, Safety of Journalists, Media and Information Literacy, and Internet Development*. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002300/230046E.pdf> (accessed 2016-11-23).
- OSCE (2016). *Regular Report to the Permanent Council for the period from 27 November 2015 through 9 March 2016*. FOM.GAL/3/16/Rev.1.10 March 2016. <http://www.osce.org/pc/227291?download=true> (accessed 2016-11-23).
- Pöyhkäri, R. (2016). The (Un)safe Practice of Journalism. An Analysis based on UNESCO's Journalists' Safety Indicators assessments, pp. 175-182 in Carlsson, U. (ed.). *Freedom of Expression and Media in transition. Studies and Reflections in the digital age*. Gothenburg: Nordicom.
- UN (2015). *UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity. Implementation Review Report for the Period 2013-2014*. http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/import/ReviewReportUNPlan_of_Action_on_Safety_of_Journalist_Fin.pdf (accessed 2016-11-24).

- UN (2012). *UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity*. CI-12/CONF.202/6. http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/official_documents/UN-Plan-on-Safety-Journalists_EN_UN-Logo.pdf (accessed 2016-11-24).
- UNESCO (2014). *World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development*. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002270/227025e.pdf> (accessed 2016-11-22).
- UNESCO (2015). *Journalists' Safety Indicators*. <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/freedom-of-expression/safety-of-journalists/journalists-safety-indicators/> (accessed 2016-11-23).
- UNESCO (2015a). *Journalists' Safety Indicators: National Level. Based on the UNESCO's Media Development Indicators*. http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/images/Themes/Freedom_of_expression/safety_of_journalists/JSI_national_eng_20150820.pdf (accessed 2016-11-24).
- UNESCO (2016). *The Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity. Report by the Director-General to the Intergovernmental Council of the IPDC (Thirtieth Session)*. http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/IPDC/ipdc_council_30_4_en_02.pdf (accessed 2016-11-22).
- Waisbord, S. (2002). Antipress Violence and the Crisis of the State, *Press/Politics* 7(3), p. 90-109.

Notes

1. This article is based on conclusions from on-going PhD research on the design and structure of Journalism Safety Trends data sets and does not necessarily reflect the views of UNESCO and its Division for Freedom of Expression and Media Development. The project is a collaboration between the Centre for Freedom of the Media (CFOM) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and is funded through a White Rose DTC ESRC Collaborative Studentship award.
2. For instance INSI includes accidental work-related deaths in their statistics while CPJ only reports cases where journalists have been targeted for murder as a result of professional activities. CPJ reports killings where the motive is unconfirmed as a separate category.
3. This is for instance reflected through recent UNESCO initiatives to progress data collection on threats within various national contexts. These include countries where JSI assessments have been carried out (Pakistan, Nepal, Kenya, Guatemala, Honduras. JSI assessments are also ongoing in Afghanistan and Iraq. A regional JSI assessment is also ongoing in Rwanda, South Sudan and Uganda) and initiatives launched in the pilot countries for the implementation of the UN Action Plan (Iraq, Nepal, Pakistan and South Sudan).
4. Crucial to improving data collection on a range of threats to journalists is to build and strengthen local monitoring mechanisms that enable the reporting, verifying and recording of killings and other threats to journalists over time. See data-collecting initiatives such as those run by Fundación Para La Libertad de Prensa (FLIP): <http://flip.org.co/en/cifras-indicadores> (Colombia) (accessed 2016-11-24), the Knight Center for Journalism in America: <https://knightcenter.utexas.edu/blog/new-knight-center-map-pinpoints-threats-against-journalism-mexico> (Mexico) (accessed 2016-11-24)
5. See for instance CPJ. *Journalists Killed. Methodology*. <https://cpj.org/killed/methodology.php> (accessed 2016-11-23) and RSF. *Violations of Press Freedom Barometer*. <https://rsf.org/en/barometer> (accessed 2016-12-20)
6. CPJ. *2015 Prison Census*. <https://cpj.org/imprisoned/2015.php> (accessed 2016-11-23)
7. CPJ. *452 Journalists Forced Into Exile since 2010*. <https://cpj.org/exile/> (accessed 2016-11-23)
8. RSF. *Violations of the Press Freedom Barometer*. <https://rsf.org/en/barometer> (accessed 2016-12-20)
9. The JSI tool is available on both a national and international level, but has not been applied on the international level yet.
10. *Sustainable Knowledge Platform. Sustainable Development Goal 16*. <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg16> (accessed 2016-11-19)

11. SDG Indicators. Global Database. <http://unstats.un.org/sdgs/indicators/database/?indicator=16.10.1> (accessed 2016-11-22)
12. The platform also records cases of impunity.
13. COE. *Platform to promote the protection of journalism and the safety of journalists*. <http://www.coe.int/en/web/media-freedom/home> (accessed 2016-11-23)
14. *Mapping media freedom*. <https://mappingmediafreedom.org/#/> (accessed 2016-11-22)
15. RSF keeps a tally of abuses against journalists and media outlets for the purpose of the organization's Press Freedom Index. The abuse category includes violations such as the number of deaths, imprisonments, kidnappings, exiled journalists, arrests and other types of aggressions. While the abuses are included in the analysis for the Press Freedom Index the data on abuses are not publicly available.
16. FH. *Freedom of the Press 2016*. <https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-press> (accessed 2016-11-24)
17. RSF. *2016 World Press Freedom Index*. <https://rsf.org/en/deep-and-disturbing-decline-media-freedom> (accessed 2016-11-24)
18. CPJ. *Impunity Index. Getting Away with Murder*. <https://www.cpj.org/reports/2016/10/impunity-index-getting-away-with-murder-killed-justice.php#index> (accessed 2016-11-23)
19. This study shows that the local and national press in Latin America face different types of threats and that local journalists tend to be targeted for murder more often, while members of the national press are more frequently targets of verbal and non-physical intimidation.
20. CPJ. *Journalists killed* (statistical analysis). <https://cpj.org/killed/> (accessed: 2016-12-20)

Research Articles

Introduction

Explorations in an Emerging Research Field

Ari Heinonen

When discussing the safety of journalists, it is quite natural that the focus is foremost on practitioners: those professional journalists, citizen journalists and other media workers who report about incidents, processes and their consequences from troubled sites around the world. Their accounts of the dangers and problems encountered in their work are important evidence on which efforts to improve the situation can be based. But it is not sufficient, indeed not right, to leave practitioners alone in this struggle. One resource that could make a valuable contribution is research. But what is or could be the role of researchers in the context of improving the safety of journalists? Why should the research community include this topic in their research agenda?

Perhaps the main argument can be derived from the Finlandia Declaration, which was accepted on the UNESCO World Press Freedom Day in Helsinki in May 2016. It states, among other things, that “the right to information is critical for informed decision-making” (Finlandia Declaration 2016). The Declaration of course refers to what professional and citizen journalists and other media workers are doing, but at the same time, this statement actually applies to what scientific research can do: accumulate reliable and accurate information about the obstacles to exercising the right to information. In this respect, journalists’ work and researchers’ studies on journalists’ work complement one another and serve the same purpose, that of making our world a better place for citizens.

On the other hand, we can also consider the safety of journalists to be an important and scientifically intriguing new challenge for scholars, in academia and elsewhere. It is noteworthy – and, in retrospect, a lamentable omission – that the Finlandia Declaration fails to directly mention research as a resource in endeavours to promote the right to information. Admittedly, civic society and citizens at large are invited to this project and scholars are, of course, included in this call. However, as experts in designing projects that adhere to scientific principles, such as transparency and peer review, and that provide trustworthy findings, scholars can be an important asset in this regard as well. As a research topic, journalist safety may still be largely in the periphery of scholarly interests, but as this volume also shows, there is at present considerable interest in formulating research agendas around this topic.

Variety of research designs is required

We are by no means talking about an established, well-defined research field at this point. UNESCO has made an effort to outline possible research areas for academic research on safety and impunity issues and has introduced ten broad areas (Towards a research agenda... 2015). These range from issues concerning rights, societal and legal issues to digital and educational issues. Thus, the variety of possible topics for studies is great, and rightly so. From a research perspective, the topic 'safety of journalists' should be considered in relation to the right to information. In this sense, research should focus not only on actual practitioners of journalism and their treatment, but also take into consideration contextual factors that have an impact on each individual's right to information, such as media economics, technological infrastructures, and legal and other regulatory instruments.

In any of these and other relevant research areas, there are a number of possible research designs that offer opportunities for many disciplines. In the aforementioned UNESCO draft of a research agenda, it was wisely pointed out that the topics are related to several different established research perspectives. Naturally, many topics concern media and communication scholars who have traditionally been interested in issues such as freedom of expression, journalists' professional role and identity, and journalistic working practices, all of which are relevant when discussing the safety of journalists. However, studies on the effects of working under constant danger and on the conditions that enable or hinder journalists in carrying out their work would benefit greatly from the expertise of scholars of psychology and even medicine, while legal studies experts are able to scrutinize issues related to their field of competence. And in the current communication landscape, it is vital that the problems of digital communication technology also be taken into account.

If approaches to studying the safety of journalists originate from different research areas, the research methodologies will likewise vary. As the phenomena to be analysed are very different and the contexts vary, it is necessary for researchers to be sensitive to the requirements of each and every research setting. Both qualitative and quantitative methods may well be applicable, depending on the research questions and data. And depending on the scientific traditions of different research approaches, the data to be studied will take various forms – from documents to human informants and technical specifications, and more. The field is open to all disciplines and a multitude of research designs. If a multi-disciplinary approach is used, studies in this field will offer a multi-dimensional view on the topic, which can form a solid basis for concrete actions aimed at improving journalists' safety.

Research ethics is crucial

Although research designs, data and methodologies may represent many different approaches, certain aspects of research practice need to be considered in all areas of this field. One of them is undoubtedly research ethics. Naturally, the weight of ethical considerations will vary when, for example, analysing publicly accessible documents as compared to interviewing practising citizen journalists in times of social crisis. When

conducting research that involves potentially vulnerable humans, any researcher will encounter delicate problems, and this dimension is inherent in the field of the safety of communicators. How can researchers design data collection procedures that informants can trust to guarantee informants' anonymity? What is the researcher's responsibility towards her/his collaborators, such as research assistants who are engaged in fieldwork? What are the procedures for archiving original data in a secure manner? Moreover, while protecting informants, collaborators and data, researchers must nonetheless comply with the scientific principles of transparency and verification of research work. In some cases, ethical considerations may require more profound contemplation than the research itself. In fact, at future conferences in this field, research ethics is a topic that is worthy of discussion among scholars.

Related to the question of ethics is the question of researchers' position. This may involve at least two aspects. One is the relationship of the researcher to the study topic and/or objects. The premises of studies on the safety of journalistic communicators are openly normative in the sense that the aim is to improve the safety of agents promoting the right to information, but this does not contradict the conventions of scientific work. Sound research requires that scholars be transparent in explaining their possible connections to the issues, institutions and people involved in one way or another in their research projects. Similar to the products of journalism, the findings of research can all too easily be disputed and ignored if there is any room for doubt as to the integrity of those carrying out studies.

Another aspect is the safety of researchers. Many of the topics that require empirical research may put scholars in harm's way, even the gravest of harm. Gathering first-hand data on professional and citizen journalists' working conditions and practices can be almost as dangerous as the journalistic work itself. Again, how can scholars guarantee that their collaborators and they themselves can work safely without compromising their integrity as scholars? Perhaps in this age of digital and mobile communication, the joint efforts of human sciences scholars and technology experts could result in fresh ideas for the new research tools needed in this field.

Impact by dissemination

If the aim of research is to have an impact in the field under study, the research findings must be widely distributed among actors in that field. The Finlandia Declaration repeatedly takes up the need to raise awareness about the right to information. Scientifically sound and at the same time practice-oriented research is a valuable means of helping to achieve this goal. This adds another important dimension to the research work: It is not enough to carry out studies and report findings to the research community – although that is, naturally, important. Instead, the task of popularizing findings should also be an integral part of all research projects.

Apart from scholarly journals and other academic platforms, there are many other possible ways to disseminate research findings and recommendations based on these findings. Articles in the mass media, dedicated blogs as well as online publications, workshops and other events – even lobbying – should all be considered. Researchers

need to tell decision-makers, international organizations and citizens about their studies: what they have discovered, what the situation is concerning different aspects of journalist safety, what the recommendations are for improving situations, and so forth. By doing also this, the research community can play a crucial role in joint efforts to promote safer and, thus, improved communications practices.

Final words

The following articles based on original research projects constitute an excellent collection of examples of how research can be both revealing and constructive. One can learn from reports about concrete cases in which journalists' safety is in jeopardy, but the journalistic work is still being carried out. Articles also outline solutions for improving conditions, both on the level of doing journalistic groundwork and on the policy level. This collection of articles can also be read as a showcase of different solutions regarding research settings, methodologies and other factors to be considered while conducting research work in this field. As a whole, these articles demonstrate that a new important interdisciplinary research field is emerging.

References

- Finlandia Declaration (World Press Freedom Day, 3 May 2016). Access to Information and Fundamental Freedoms - This Is Your Right! http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/WPFD/WPFD2016_Finlandia_declaration_3_may_2016.pdf (accessed 2016-10-31).
- Towards a research agenda on the safety of journalists. Draft document by UNESCO 28 July 2015. http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/images/Themes/Freedom_of_expression/safety_of_journalists/Draft_Research_Agenda_Safety_of_Journalists_06_2015.pdf (accessed 2016-10-31).

Research Articles

1. Threats and Violence against Journalists,
and Its Effects

Tribal Journalists under Fire

Threats, impunity and decision making in reporting on conflict in Pakistan

Syed Irfan Ashraf and Lisa Brooten

Abstract

This study investigates the challenges faced by local journalists caught between the global “war on terror” and its local consequences in Pakistan’s Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Threats and impunity are commonplace in this buffer zone bordering Pakistan and Afghanistan, compelling scores of native journalists to flee with their immediate families to the relative peace of nearby Peshawar, where they continue to report on issues back home. In-depth interviews with local journalists reveal how threats and impunity work as structural constraints that affect reporting. Working under the logic of neoliberalism, media outlets extract what they can out of these reporters, but the risks are often considered journalists’ personal responsibility and add to their dependence on colleagues. This chapter offers valuable insight into the concerns of local journalists, and demonstrates how they resist the power holders in Pakistan and adapt to the complicated intersections of state, militant and foreign interests.

Keywords: threats, impunity, terrorism, conflict reporting, neoliberalism, self-censorship

The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan are among the world’s most dangerous places for journalists, due to the high-tech drone warfare being waged there, militancy and the impunity of local officials. In this buffer zone between Pakistan and Afghanistan, local journalists find themselves caught between the global ‘war on terror’ and its inhibiting local consequences. In this chapter, we investigate the challenges faced by local field reporters in this conflict zone. Of the approximately 38 journalists killed since 2005 in northwestern Pakistan, fourteen hailed from FATA. As a result, over one hundred tribal journalists have left this border zone to settle in the adjacent city of Peshawar, and have continued reporting on FATA in their state of displacement.

Threats to journalists in FATA stem not only from militants, but from the Pakistani state itself, which is widely believed to be supporting some militant groups in the interests of its foreign policy objectives. The state allegedly encourages these non-state militant groups, including those they call the “Good Taliban,” to attack NATO and Afghan forces who threaten them. Journalists find themselves sandwiched between the militants and the Pakistani state in this complicated situation, in which Pakistan is, on the one hand, a frontline US ally in the war on terror, receiving funding from the

US Coalition Support Fund and, on the other, allegedly using militants as proxies to pursue its regional foreign policy interests.

This chapter explores the impact of this complicated intersection of state, militant and foreign interests on the working lives of journalists in FATA. The war on terror has been fought in this area for the past 15 years, threatening the local population, and journalists function as the only source of information about this situation to the outside world. This war is unusual in that the state is willingly sharing its monopoly on violence with the militants. Providing the perspectives of displaced local journalists, this chapter offers valuable insight into how they resist the power holders in the region, and respond and adapt to the complexities of the situation.

FATA: The margins of a colonial state

The approximately five million ethnic Pashtun people living in FATA are a continuation of the population of the adjacent Pakhtunkhwa province, which explains how its main city, Peshawar, has become a second home for displaced Pashtun journalists. Pashtuns are the second largest ethnic group (17 per cent) next to the politically dominant Punjabi ethnicity (45 per cent) out of Pakistan's total 180 million population. With the partition of India and Pakistan following the departure of the British in 1947, FATA became part of Pakistan. Yet colonial history continued to influence this buffer zone, which was established in 1893 following the British Raj's annexation of a border strip between Afghanistan and what was then United India. Giving it semi-autonomous tribal status, the British used this buffer zone mainly for surveillance purposes to keep a check on the Russian influence from the north.

Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) was the sole regulatory framework put in place, making FATA a form of military cantonment. This status continues today, denying local people their political and legal rights. The state strikes here with impunity due to the absence of any constitutional protection or citizenship rights. Under FCR, tribal identity is a substandard existence; residents are neither included in nor excluded from the state; they are living beyond the law, in a precarious relationship to law itself (Agamben 1995; Mbembe 2003). This juridical ambiguity defines the ambiguous territorial status of FATA and reinforces uncertainty as a central character of life. Tribal journalists, for example, have no legal protection against violence, which is often rooted in top policy decisions.

In 1979, the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan to prop up the incumbent communist government. In response, and with active US logistical help and Saudi petrodollars, Pakistani Dictator General Ziaul Haq used FATA as a springboard to launch Islamic militants into Afghanistan to fight the communists. These extremist Islamic militants, known as the mujahideen, helped the US-led western world defeat the Soviets in 1989, but the US-supported Pakistani strategy encouraged religious radicalism in FATA. One consequence was the creation of al-Qaida in 1989, followed by an onslaught, in the early 1990s, against the mujahideen by the Taliban, who then established their rule over Afghanistan. In 2001, the US attacked Afghanistan to dismantle Taliban rule for refusing to hand over Osama bin Laden. Again FATA became

an international flash point. Escaping US jets, thousands of al-Qaida terrorists and their affiliated Taliban militants crossed over from Afghanistan into this Pakistani border zone. Despite initiating counterterror operations, Pakistan was accused by the US of playing a double game by purporting to be with the US, but actually supporting the Afghan Taliban. By continuing to treat FATA as a marginal zone in its efforts to control Afghanistan, the post-colonial state of Pakistan has promoted a dictatorial order in FATA. Violence and impunity in this marginal zone lead to uncertainty regarding people's rights and responsibilities, resulting in a chaotic environment, in turn legitimizing further state intervention.

Media in FATA

The war on terror has caused an increase in militant attacks in FATA and the gradual spread of violence further down country, turning terrorism into a staple diet for private media. Since 2010, military operations have increased the forced displacement of the tribal population. For over one hundred displaced tribal journalists, Peshawar emerged as their new center of activity from which to report on FATA's breaking news. The focus of private media has limited reporting mainly to hard news concerning the strategic and ideological nature of regional power brokers' interests.

The government of Pakistan has issued over 90 TV licenses and about 150 FM radio licenses to the private sector, but media concentration in mega cities has deprived marginalized areas, such as FATA, of their own means of mediated symbolic representation. The vacuum is filled either by foreign broadcasts from bordering Afghanistan or local homemade pirate radio launched by banned Taliban militants, preaching the Taliban ideology and its affiliated hate speech (Intermedia 2011: 7). In 2010, the authorities in FATA seized about 180 illegal FM pirate radio stations (Hussain 2010).

Given the situation, tribal journalists are the only independent information source on FATA, yet their working conditions are highly problematic. Local power brokers deny local journalists their democratic political rights, including freedom of expression, and reduce their labor to an appendage to capital. In FATA, any local journalist is considered qualified to report on terrorism and is expected by the national media to do so.

Conflicts and wars: Ignoring the local perspective

War and crisis reporting has always attracted scholarly attention, but there is a lacuna in the existing body of research regarding those local journalists and fixers who support international news production, and their perceptions of the reporting process in conflict areas. This gap is especially problematic, as neoliberal pressures on the global organization of news production have resulted in cutbacks in the newsroom and field operations, reducing the role of foreign correspondents and increasing reliance on local labor (Murrell 2014; Pendry 2011; Erickson and Hamilton 2006; Palmer and Fontan 2007). This has increased anxiety about the newsroom's loss of centralized control and introduced new complications in addressing the concerns and needs of local journalists and fixers.

The 9/11 attacks have also challenged the utility of the existing literature on news production in conflict zones, clarifying the need to incorporate insights from other fields. Stressing the need to connect organizational routines to larger structures such as the ‘field,’ media sociologist Rodney Benson (2004) notes that “the dominant models are either too micro-oriented or too macro-oriented... leading researchers to look in the wrong places for explanations” (p. 311). Despite increasing scholarly interest in understanding war and conflict, wartime journalism is still associated with the “normative professional ideal of Anglo-American journalism” (Deacon 2008: 58). A multi-disciplinary approach is necessary in order to better understand journalism from local perspectives that move beyond dominant Western approaches (Schlesinger 1990) and to connect news making with the material conditions of its production, especially in the case of conflict reporting.

Despite the complicated role many local journalists play in frontline news production, the available literature identifies the ‘fixer’ as the predominant form of local labor (Murrell 2014; Paterson et al. 2012; Pedelty 1995; Pendry 2015). In this research, the stress is on the logistical role of fixers, while their editorial role is either ignored or undermined (Erickson and Hamilton 2006; Palmer and Fontan 2007; Pendry 2011). The fixers’ role is also defined primarily in terms of their relationship with foreign journalists, mostly western war correspondents, which too often obscures the agency of local journalists (Paterson et al. 2012; Palmer and Fontan 2007; Kramp and Weichert 2014; Murrell 2014).

The dangers and challenges faced by local journalists remain untheorized, reinforcing the argument that labor has become a blind spot in media research (Mosco 2011; Garnham 1990). Moreover, the academic understanding of media labor has traditionally emphasized professionalism, a western approach most useful in politically stable countries where job routines are broadly defined or at least agreed upon within established legal and occupational parameters. The predominant focus of this research is on newsroom practices and hierarchies, professionalism, framing and other editorial policies, and is problematic in its media-centrism (Garnham 1990: 215; Schlesinger 1990).

Journalism in a state of war is an altogether different story. Extreme precarity causes uncertainty to become a central feature of conflict-sensitive reporting, making the life of a media worker contingent on field dynamics. A focus on local reporters in the conflict zone of FATA drives this study in a critical direction, away from a focus on the newsroom to instead privilege field conditions, taking into account the agency of local journalists and their experiences of precarity, their labor value and its exploitation, and the relations of production, power struggles, and material conditions they face.

Method

From December 2013 through January 2014, the first author conducted and subsequently transcribed seven in-depth qualitative interviews with displaced reporters, one from each of the seven FATA districts, locally known as agencies: Khyber, Mohmand, Orakzai, Kurram, Bajaur, North Waziristan and South Waziristan. This study uses a purposive sample in which sources are selected based on the researcher’s assessment

of their ability to provide data appropriate to addressing the research question. The interviewees are all married males with graduate level education, between 30 to 35 years of age, living with their spouses and children in the relative peace of Peshawar. Their distant family members, however, still live in FATA. Their average duration of reporting experience ranges from 4 to 12 years. Four of them report for foreign news organizations (radio and websites), and the remaining three work for national television channels.

The conditions under which they consented to participate provide insight into the local context and the inherent risks facing local journalists. In 2014, a few weeks after the primary author landed in Peshawar to conduct this research, the Taliban militants issued a fresh *fatwa* (edict) in which they warned journalists of dire consequences for criticizing them. Given the risky situation, the names of participating reporters have been withheld by mutual consent.

In addition to these qualitative, in-depth interviews, the primary author's 15 years of experience as a journalist in Peshawar anchors his position as a participant observer. He employed his personal insights to assist in identifying emerging themes from these interviews that provide a rich set of data with which to better understand the complicated reality of journalism in FATA.

Tribal journalists under fire

Three primary recurrent themes arose from the interviews. First, impunity has given rise to risks that turn journalism into a tightrope walk. Second, the pervasiveness of direct and indirect threats means journalists cannot reach independent decisions without fearing for their lives and their families' safety. Third, those with power cause immense emotional strain for journalists, including through the death of colleagues and threats to their families. All of these factors influence reporters' choices about what to report.

The culture of impunity

Tribal reporters rate impunity as the worst threat, reinforced by institutional apathy and entailing social and individual consequences as journalists negotiate with local power brokers to survive in the conflict zone, often by cooperating with militants – not ideologically, but strategically. “We start our day picking carefully our battles, understanding well that nobody will protect us but ourselves,” said the journalist reporting on Momand Agency. One tribal reporter said, “informing the police is useless.” When asked why, the reporter quoted a police official who had asked “If the well-equipped military couldn't defeat the Taliban, how can the police force do this?” Reporters avoid risks by staying alert and not underestimating the power of militants and other threats.

Embodied in passive official responses, institutional apathy reinforces the effectiveness of militants' threats and requires reporters to use flexible strategies. Journalists report a sense of disposability they attribute to the lack of state protection. The state's institutional passivity and ‘defeatist’ approach toward the militants have overarching personal consequences for these journalists, such as sleep disorders or use of drugs

for stress relief. Despite the dangers to their health and safety, reporters discuss these consequences as though they are routine rather than unusual, and address them using various strategies. The reporter from Momand Agency explained that to reduce the physical threat, for example, “I stop working for a while and, sometimes, ask colleagues to intervene [by contacting the Taliban for reconciliation]”. Absent in his statement is any reference to reliance on state institutions for intervention or assistance. Three tribal journalists working with the national media said they do not officially report the threats they receive; the four reporters associated with international media said they are officially bound to report such intimidation to their organizations, but not to the state.

In 2006, Hayatullah Khan was the first well-known local journalist killed in FATA. His death was allegedly the consequence of his investigative reporting on drone strikes in the tribal belt, which he maintained are carried out by the US with the consent of the Pakistani military. This challenged Pakistan’s official version that the Pakistani military were in fact responsible for these strikes. Khan’s revelation not only exposed President Pervez Musharraf’s deception, but also motivated human rights activists to pressure the US to stop their drone strikes. Publication of the story, however, cost Khan his life. The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ 2006) writes:

December 5, 2005, five gunmen ran Khan’s car off the road, abducting the journalist as his younger brother Haseenullah watched helplessly. Six months passed amid a swirl of rumors about Khan’s fate before the phone rang at his family’s home... A Pakistani intelligence officer... said Khan’s body had been dumped in Miran Shah’s marketplace. With that, the officer said, his responsibility to the family had ended. (para, 2)

A few months later, the vocal wife of the slain journalist was also killed and “suspicion again fell on the intelligence agencies” (Hussain 2010: 81).

In its special report on Pakistan, the CPJ (2013) notes that “the perfect record of impunity has fostered an increasingly violent climate for journalists. Fatalities have risen significantly in the past five years, and today, Pakistan consistently ranks among the deadliest countries in the world for the press” (p. 6). Out of the approximate 80 to 90 local journalists killed in Pakistan since 2001, only one case has gotten through the courts, that of Geo TV reporter Wali Khan Babar, concluded in 2014.¹ Geo TV is a privately owned mainstream news and entertainment channel, whose reporter, Babar, was killed in 2011 in Karachi. Subsequently, the perpetrators charged in Babar’s killing killed five eyewitnesses and one investigating police official. The lack of accountability in this case in Karachi adds to journalists’ insecurities elsewhere in the country. The journalist from Bajaur asked “Nowhere are journalists safe in Pakistan, how can we expect to be better?”

Despite their concern about the lack of institutional protection, two of the journalists said they often put a ‘critical spin’ on news, reporting clearly what actually happened whenever possible in a form of calculated risk, arguing that challenging the status quo becomes inevitable sometimes. “I don’t want simply to be a stenographer,” said a journalist from the Kurrum Agency. Similarly, the journalist from Orakzai Agency said, “Usually my producer motivates me to do something different” than report mili-

tants' routine statements. He includes recorded actualities and critical scripts with his stories. In 2013, this reporter from Orakzai Agency received a call from remote Mas-sozai Valley, where about 50 protesting girls were demanding a school – a risky story because the Taliban discourages girls' education. "While sitting in the relative safety of Peshawar how can I ignore young girls protesting daringly for their rights next to the Taliban's hideouts?" the journalist asked. It does not seem wise to report on anti-Taliban protests, especially if a reporter's family still lives in FATA. Nevertheless, "I can't not feel the pain of my own people," explained the reporter from Bajaur Agency. Pressured by his media organization to remain objective in his reporting of this story, he admitted being unsure as to whether he had achieved this, but argued that "I have to report on victims who happen to be from my own community," in spite of the risks.

Navigating direct and indirect threats

Tribal journalists reported facing two kinds of threats: direct and indirect. Direct threats are communicated without involving intermediaries, usually through text messages, emails and untraceable calls. With indirect threats, militants warn reporters who do not tow the line by contacting their colleagues, family members and friends. "Journalists' regular interaction with combatants helps them sense danger for themselves or colleagues," one of the journalists explained. Unlike in a city, it is not difficult to collect information on the whereabouts of a rural journalist and his family members, particularly if militants and journalists belong to the same locality. Indirect threats are sometimes unfounded, exaggerated or perhaps concocted by friends or family members fearing for the reporter's safety. "I take indirect threats as merely a colleague's concern for me," said the reporter from North Waziristan. Though the difference between rumors and genuine threats is usually understood, fear of the unknown increases pressures on journalists.

The threats journalists face provoke different responses. In 2008, the first author participated in a journalists' delegation from Peshawar that had been invited to North Waziristan to meet Baittullah Mahsud, the chief of the militant organization Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). Waiting for the TTP chief to arrive, the first author noticed some militant commanders asking the visiting journalists about the whereabouts of a secular-minded reporter from Peshawar, whom the Taliban had accused of working for the state and the US. Once back in Peshawar, senior members of the visiting team communicated the Taliban's message to the journalist in question, advising him about what to do next to remain safe. This type of timely caution is invaluable and strengthens group solidarity among journalists in the field, who rely on each other to survive.

Five of the seven reporters interviewed here said they prefer to report 'safe' news, or the news the militants or military want them to report, arguing that 'independent' or 'critical' reporting, as understood in western media, is not possible amid pervasive violence. As the interviewed reporter from North Waziristan was explaining that his main priority is to feed his family, a phone call diverted his attention. After he hung up, he explained that it was a Taliban spokesman who had called. "They have killed a top cop of Karachi," he said, looking away. For the next five minutes he was busy with

his phone and the interview was later interrupted three times. Finally, the reporter explained, “this is the way we do journalism: after reporting the news to my channels I then shared it with colleagues,” adding that “sometimes all reporters release news at the same time to minimize the risk factor.” In this kind of journalism, he said, reporters don’t have much choice other than to edit down to sound bites the long versions of statements released by the militants. Their media organizations typically do not require them to verify such statements or critically evaluate militants’ claims, such as hitting a high value target, in this case a police official. “Our channels flash such statements instantaneously on their screens,” he said, implying that deviating from the militants’ script is potentially risky. “Reporters in FATA do not expect to live long,” he chuckled.

Three of the journalists working for international media outlets explained how they are supported by their parent organizations to leave their workstations in case of threats, while two others working for local media said that such threats cause them to be more careful about keeping their addresses confidential. Following the 2014 release of the 29-page TTP edict mentioned earlier, in which the Taliban warned journalists of dire consequences for critical reporting on militancy, at least two international organizations in Peshawar instructed their reporters to stop working from their offices. The tribal reporter from Orakzai Agency was asked to move to Islamabad. “I kept my movements secret enough that only my close friends knew about this. On reaching Islamabad, however, I received a call from the TTP spokesman, cautioning me not to run away,” he said, adding, “after this incident I am scared of my close friends even.” During his stay in Islamabad, the reporter’s children inquired if they would go back to meet their friends in school again. “Reporting is not fun anymore,” he told me. Many journalists, he explained, have either left their profession or stopped reporting on terrorism. With the exception of two reporters who work for foreign media organizations and are protected and earn a relatively good salary, the rest interviewed here reluctantly continue their journalistic work due to financial insecurity and lack of alternatives. “Any armed person coming my way is a threat. I fear for my family and myself but I don’t know what I will do to earn a living if I quit this profession,” said the journalist from North Waziristan.

Emotional strain

These threats create ongoing emotional strain for local journalists, which is then reflected in the choices they make. “I prefer Internet over land-line,” said a journalist from South Waziristan, demonstrating how avoiding local means of communication prevents a reporter from being traced or having his messages intercepted. At times, these efforts to navigate the risks also compromise the content of news. One reporter offered the parody of a lead sentence to exemplify the kind of information reporters keep out of their stories: “Unknown people from an unknown place fired an unknown number of rockets killing an unknown number of people at an unknown place.”

The reporter from Orakzai Agency said that because his story once antagonized the Pakistan military’s spokesman, he was called to military headquarters three hours from

Peshawar, where he was taken from one room to another before the military officer made him appear before a Brigadier in his dusky office. The initial cordiality in the official's behavior began to change. "In the most threatening part of the meeting, the Brigadier welcomed somebody into the room, asking me not to turn around. I noticed that the person behind me talked to the Brigadier in a language I never heard before," said the reporter, adding, "It was a nerve stretching exercise. My back got uneasy as the official used one psychological tactic after another to prolong my torture." Four reporters, three of them working for foreign media, reported having received various direct threats from military officials. The remaining three said they had been indirectly contacted, as one put it, "to get in line or be prepared for the stick". Such threats are all too often very real.

Dead colleagues: Message with a body

Reporters usually remember their dead colleagues by discussing them in their formal and informal gatherings and hanging their pictures on the walls of local press clubs. Mukkaram Khan, a prominent tribal journalist killed in 2011, was often cited by the local journalists interviewed here. Working for the Voice of America (VOA), Khan reported on US air strikes against two outposts at the border zone of Salala in Mohmand Agency, causing the deaths of 24 Pakistani soldiers (Malik 2012:45). Soon after, Khan was recording a live broadcast in which he mentioned that the proximity of these posts to a Taliban hideout might have caused the allied attack. As the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ 2013) writes, "known as a careful and savvy reporter, Khan might have never intended to mention the proximity of the Taliban...But the live two-way exchanges are not always in the control of the field reporter" (p. 20). Some local journalists hold VOA's newsroom insensitivity responsible for Khan's death, by engaging him with questions that placed him in danger. Most reporters in Peshawar believed the Pakistani military were responsible for Khan's death, but were taken by surprise when the Taliban's spokesman admitted to killing Khan for not extending them coverage (CPJ 2013; Nazish 2013), indicating the complexity of the local situation and the myriad dangers facing local journalists. Ensuring coverage for a source is often beyond a reporter's capacity; journalists back in the newsroom sometimes write on a conflict without inviting any input from concerned field journalists (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1991:119). In a conflict zone, however, militants have access to field reporters and therefore hold them accountable for their complaints about media outlets. "They kill one of us to self-discipline others," said a reporter from Momand Agency. "A colleagues' body received once in a while is the answer to remind reporters of their helplessness," said another reporter. Such threats are also made against reporters' families.

Threats to family

In reporting on FATA, journalists must often travel away from home, and even with relatively safe assignments, it becomes hard for them to convince their near and dear why they must do what they do. Every journalist in this study has been internally displaced, moving away from his extended family and a simple rural lifestyle to live and survive in urban areas. This requires them to do extra work to meet the added expenses

and to contribute financially to their extended families back home. One journalist explained that he feels he is missing the chance to see his children grow. He leaves in the morning when they are still sleeping, only to come back late at night.

But the most threatening aspect of displaced journalists' lives relates to physical attacks on or threats to family back home. The radio journalist from Kurrum Agency said his extended family back home in FATA was targeted twice after he refused to interview a militant commander. He describes one such attack in 2012 as "scary." "Six schoolchildren from my family were injured after the TTP commander Fazal Saeed planted a bomb near the main gate of our house," the reporter said, adding "my bosses in Washington asked me to report the incident the way I report other civilian atrocities." This takes its toll, and he describes feeling helpless as a result.

Grace under fire

Since 2001, the US led war on terror has turned Pakistan into a frontline state, and the focus on FATA has invited global media attention. But the ambiguity in the status of FATA creates a zone of impunity that restricts the independence of reporters' news making decisions and increases the risks they face. The lack of official state protection against threats and impunity has naturalized violence, and it obscures the local political power structures responsible for perpetrating violence against local journalists. Threats to a reporter's life become expressions of social control. Journalists in such a militarized conflict zone are socially and professionally forced to make risky and calculated choices. In other words, what to report and what to leave out are not just dependent on standard occupational practices; journalists also have to taken into consideration different situational factors with unpredictable twists and turns. Moreover, media organizations' preference for hard news favors the status quo and consists of factual presentations of short-lived events without analysis of their destructive consequences for journalists and other local people. The neoliberal approach also enables media outlets to extract the best out of reporters, while shifting onto them the responsibility for their own and their families' safety and welfare.

Major decisions affecting journalists remain out of their hands. When and where to attack in the US war on terror, for example, are questions lying in official domains – the outcome of mutual understanding among sovereign powers. Despite their cultivated image as two opposing powers, the Pakistan military and militant groups use identical methods when it comes to dealing with local journalists: both work to maintain their social and political control over FATA through the strategic use of fear. For reporters, death is not the only threat; living with the fear of death is equally challenging. And threats do not need to be genuine to be effective.

Journalists believe that what they write and say comes with a price, and while they do conduct their work under heightened fear caused by militants' edicts and mainstream news organizations' expectations, they also resist these constraints. Mainstream commercial media, both national and international, expect their workforce – tribal reporters – to follow standards of objectivity in their coverage of civilians, who also often include their family and friends, yet they are not expected to similarly verify state-

ments or claims by military or militants. Nonetheless, a complex mix of compelling ethnic and communal affinities drives reporters to report critically in spite of the risks. As a reporter from Orakzai Agency said, “instead of me visiting the field, the field visits me,” meaning that telephone calls from relatives and other sources in the community keep reporters updated and compel them to take the side of the victims or the community, or at least to not ignore what is happening. Such concerns complicate the nature of the threats and pressures a field journalist confronts daily, and challenge the common understanding of journalists as objective, detached professionals. Along with regular occupational pressures (such as newsroom demands, deadlines, and competition for a scoop), the social and family pressures local journalists face cannot be ignored.

Because they cannot rely on the state or media organizations for protection, journalists face dangerous forms of structural insecurity and are left to depend on group solidarity and traditional means of conflict resolution. In all of the interviews we conducted, journalists who had been threatened or who had lamented the death of their colleagues tended to blame themselves or their dead colleagues for their fate. The threats have become such a common occurrence that journalists rarely mention the perpetrators of violence or the state’s responsibility for their protection. In the face of significant threats, tribal reporters’ dependence on group solidarity is based on the principle of reciprocity – the expectations and obligations that bring tribal journalists together as they work to navigate the complicated and dangerous intersection of state, militant and foreign interests.

References

- Agamben, G. (1995). *Homo Sacer: Sovereignty and Bare Life*. Stanford University Press: California (CA).
- Benson, R. (2004). Why Conceptual Models and “Big” Institutions Matter: A Response to David Altheide, Nina Eliasoph, William Gamson and Todd Gitlin. *Political Communication*, 21: 311-314.
- CPJ Report (2006). *Hayatullah Khan: Free Lance*. Retrieved From: <https://cpj.org/killed/2006/hayatullah-khan.php>.
- CPJ special Report (2013, May). *Roots of Impunity: Pakistan’s Endangered Press And the Perilous Web of Militancy, Security, and Politics*. Retrieved from: <https://cpj.org/reports/CPJ.Pakistan.Roots.of.Impunity.pdf>.
- Deacon, D. (2008). *British News Media and the Spanish Civil War: Tomorrow May be Too Late*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Erickson, E. and Hamilton J. M. (2006). Foreign Reporting Enhanced by Parachute Journalism. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 27(1): 37-47.
- Gamson A. W. and Wolfsfeld, G. (1991). Movement and Media as Interacting Systems. *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 528: 114-125.
- Garnham, N. (1990). *Capitalism and Communication*. Sage: London, UK.
- Hussain, I. (2010, December 19). Pakistan to Establish 11 New Radio Stations in FATA. *Central Asia Online*. Retrieved from http://centralasiaonline.com/en_GB/articles/caii/features/pakistan/2010/12/29/feature-02http://h.
- Hussain, Z. (2010). *The Scorpion’s Tail: The Relentless Rise of Islamic militants in Pakistan*. Free Press. New York, NY.
- Intermedia Report (2011, November). *Mainstreaming of FATA into Pakistani Media Legal Framework: Why Political Reforms in FATA Will Not Work Without Media Reforms*. Retrieved from http://www.fes.de/themen/menschenrechtspreis/pdf/mrp2012/fata_briefing_paper_1.pdf.
- Kramp, L. and Weichert, S. (2014). Covering the World in Despair: A Survey of German Crisis Reporters. *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, 7(1): 18-35.

- Malik, A. R. (2012). The Salala Incident: Implications for the Pakistan-United States Ties. *Strategic Studies*, 32/33 (4/1): 45-60.
- Mbembe, A. (2003). *Necropolitics*. Libby, trans. *Public Culture*, 15(1): 11-40.
- Mosco, V. (2011). *The Political Economy of Communication*. Sage: London, UK.
- Murrell, C. (2014). *Foreign Correspondents and International News Gathering: The Role of Fixers*. Routledge: News York, NY.
- Nazish, K. (2013, January 2). Fundamental Objections: Reporters in Pakistan's Lawless Tribal Areas are Under Threat, Underpaid, and Overwhelmed. *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved from http://www.cjr.org/feature/fundamental_objections.php?page=all.
- Palmer, J. and Fontan, V. (2007). "Our Ears and Our Eyes": Journalists and Fixers in Iraq. *Journalism*, 8(1): 5-24.
- Paterson, C., Anderson, K. and Hoxha, A. (2012). The Manufacture of an International News Event: The Day Kosovo was Born. *Journalism*, 13(1): 103-120.
- Pedelty, M. (1995). *War Stories: The Culture of Foreign Correspondents*. Routledge: New York, NY.
- Pendry, R. (2011). Sub-contracting Newsgathering in Iraq. *The International Journal of Communication Ethics*, 8(3-4). Retrieved from http://journals.communicationethics.net/free_article.php?id=00003.
- Pendry, R. (2015). Reporter Power: News Organizations, Duty of Care and the Use of Locally-hired News Gatherers in Syria. *Ethical Space*, 12(2): 1-12: Retrieved from http://journals.communicationethics.net/free_article.php?id=00079.
- Schlesinger, P. (1990). Rethinking the Sociology of Journalism: Source Strategies and the Limits of Media-Centrism, p. 61-83 in Marjorie Ferguson (eds.) *Public Communication*, Sage Publications: London, UK.

Note

1. The reported number of journalists killed in the line of duty since the start of the war on terror in 2001 varies according to the organization reporting. The discrepancy is due to differences in definitions of "killed in the line of duty."

How Journalists Survived to Report

Professionalism and risk management in the reporting of terror groups and violent extremism in North East Nigeria

Umaru A. Pate and Hamza Idris

Abstract

The Boko Haram terrorism and violent extremism that ravaged North East Nigeria and Republics of Chad, Niger and Cameroons from 2009-2015 exposed weaknesses in the safety policy and protocols for local journalists in times and zones of tension in Nigeria. Boko Haram terrorists killed 30,000 people and destroyed property worth billions of dollars. In the midst of the violence and killings, journalists demonstrated their resilience to report, with severe consequences for their safety and professional integrity. Some were killed, many injured, and most were threatened by the terrorists and the authorities. Pressure mounted on journalists and media houses from the public, the terrorists and the security agencies. This chapter explains the dangers, risks and challenges encountered by Nigerian journalists and media and the safety options they adopted to maintain professional correctness in reporting terror and violence in hostile circumstances.

Keywords: Boko Haram, journalists reporting challenges

The Boko Haram terrorism and violent extremism that ravaged North East Nigeria and some parts of the Republics of Chad, Niger and Cameroons from 2009-2015 had exposed weaknesses in the safety policy and protocols for local journalists in times and zones of tension in Nigeria. Throughout the period of the active Boko Haram insurgency in the country, journalists who covered the zone demonstrated their great resilience to major risks, threats and deaths, with severe consequences for their freedom and professional integrity. At the height of its reign of terror, Boko Haram bombed, killed and perpetuated violence; thousands of people of all classifications were killed and maimed, and towns and villages were devastated. The group killed peasant farmers, fishermen, teachers, women, children, students, politicians, traditional leaders, clerics, traders, professionals and security operatives. For the five-year period of the insurgency, individual journalists were largely responsible for their own personal and professional safety.

Indeed, at no other time had journalists experienced such high level risks and faced dangers to their personal, professional and institutional safety in Nigeria as they did during the period 2009-2015, when the terror group *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunnah Lidda'awati Wal Jihad*, also called Boko Haram (Western Education is Sinful), launched a war of

terror against the Nigerian state. From 2009-2015, Boko Haram was rated the deadliest terror group in the world. It captured a chunk of the North East region of Nigeria with about 25 million inhabitants and unleashed violence and terror on citizens. It was in the latter part of 2015 that the terrorists were halted and defeated by the governments of Nigeria and the neighbouring countries of Chad, Cameroun and Niger.

About 30,000 to 50,000 people have been killed in Boko Haram-induced terror attacks during the five-year period in Nigeria (*The Guardian*, February 26, 2016). The World Bank revealed, in a Preliminary Validation Report on the impact of the insurgency, that Borno State alone, the epicentre of the crisis, had lost 20,000 citizens and suffered property damage amounting to \$5.9 Billion (N1.9 Trillion) (*Daily Trust*, March 21, 2016). Similarly, 9000 police personnel and 600 classroom teachers had lost their lives in the Boko Haram insurgency. Furthermore, 2.5 million people have been displaced, towns and villages devastated and property worth billions of dollars destroyed (*Daily Trust*, Oct 5, 2015; *The Guardian*, Nov 12, 2015).

But, while most people kept away from the zone at the height of the violence, bombings and killings in the region, Nigerian journalists remained active in reporting the events. They risked dangerous situations, braved real threats and used multiple precautionary measures to survive in order to report. Without insurance coverage and training in safety skills, compounded by poor and irregular salaries and incentives, journalists in the theatre of the Boko Haram conflict became an endangered group. Some were killed, many were injured, and most were threatened by the terrorists as well as the authorities. Media houses and their staff were subjected to multiple and conflicting pressures from the public, the terrorists and the security system. "Each segment had its expectation on what the media should be doing which left the media in a quandary either to black out the activities of terrorists or risk warning the public about danger to their security and safety, or reporting them and getting into friction with security agencies" (Mu'azu 2015). One can add that local mind-sets concerning ethnicity, religion, regionalism, politics, corruption and government ineptitude, which often coloured Nigerians' perceptions and understanding of reality, also impacted how journalists investigated, covered and reported the war as well as affected their individual professional integrity and personal safety.

This chapter recounts the professional strategies adopted by journalists and media houses to endure the assaults and deadly threats of Boko Haram terrorists, the suspicions and subtle intimidations of security agencies and the pressure of a critical and fearful public, while they were reporting on the terror and extreme violence that enveloped some parts of Nigeria and parts of Chad, Cameroun and Niger during the period 2009-2015.

Based on the protocols for protecting the media and information concerning attacks on journalists coupled with interviews with some of those directly involved, the chapter explains the gaps in the safety protocols for the media and captures the experiences of some of the journalists concerning how they survived, in most cases escaped, and reported the Boko Haram violence. It concludes by recommending some steps to strengthen the safety cover for journalists in the country.

Professionalism and risk management among journalists

Journalists require autonomy, independence, flexibility and credibility to investigate issues that may be dangerous to their safety. As ‘watchdogs’, their actions may offend groups or individuals, with repercussions for their personal and institutional safety. Their levels of vulnerability may be higher in situations of violent conflicts and terrorism. However, irrespective of the circumstances, journalists have to fulfil their professional mandate of informing and educating the society through reporting.

Increasing evidence exists on threats and assaults as well as survival techniques among journalists globally. The President of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), Jim Boumelha (2016) lamented that, “the world is becoming more dangerous for journalists. Around 2700 journalist were killed in the past 25 years; an average of two journalists per week”. Ten countries have been listed at the top as regards censoring the media and media professionals in 2015. These are: Eritrea, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia, Azerbaijan, Vietnam, Iran, China, Myanmar and Cuba. Imprisonment, repressive laws and restrictions of access to the Internet remain the most prevalent forms of intimidation and harassment against journalists (CPJ 2015a). In 2015 alone, about 105 journalists were killed on duty worldwide, while many more were threatened, imprisoned or kidnapped as reprisals for their work (RWB and UNESCO 2015). The deaths occurred across countries. For instance, five journalists were killed each in Iraq, Brazil, Bangladesh, South Sudan, and Yemen. From the 105 killed in 2015, 40 per cent were killed by Al-Qaeda, Al-Shabab and Islamic State. More than two-thirds of the total were singled out for murder (Beiser 2015). Similarly, the 2012 global statistics on murdered journalists showed that 63 per cent and 50 per cent of those killed covered politics and war, respectively (CPJ 2013). Evidently, violence against journalists and repression of freedom of expression as a form of human right violation are widespread and occur globally, particularly considering that about 2,432 journalists were jailed during the past 15 years, of which 199 were jailed in 2015 across the world.

The Nigerian case

The legal basis for journalism practice in Nigeria is enshrined in section 39 (1) and (2) of the 1999 constitution, which states: ‘Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference,’ though in section 45, the constitution has provided that the freedom of the media can be set aside by any law ‘reasonably justifiable’ in a democracy. According to subsection 2: “Without prejudice to the generality of subsection (1) of this section, every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinions.”

The constitution has assigned the media the responsibility of upholding the fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy as well as of ensuring that the government is held accountable. However, the constitution does not accord journalists any specified safety and protection framework, except that like every other citizen, “all journalists in principle benefit from the right to life, and the prohibition against forced disappearance and torture. The right to life and freedom of expression include posi-

tive duties such as the duty to investigate and prosecute perpetrators if a journalist is victimised” (Soremekun 2013). The nearest official position on the safety of journalists is contained in the mandate of the Nigerian Press Council, which directs the Council to “ensure the protection of the rights and privileges of journalists in the lawful performance of their duties” (NPC Website). Similarly, the Freedom of Information (FOI) Act offers an element of protection, which is consistent with the public interest and the protection of personal privacy from adverse consequences for disclosing certain kinds of official information without authorization and established procedures for the achievement of those purposes.

Nigerian journalists have relied and still rely on the strength of their union and other national and international civil society organizations that guarantee their rights, and on the basis of need, react against impunity directed at them. As a member of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and other multilateral agencies, Nigeria is also committed to protecting and promoting the rights and safety of media professionals. But, that notwithstanding, journalists are still vulnerable to psychological harm, physical abuse and death (including murder). Commonly, they encounter acts of impunity like indiscriminate arrests and detention without charge; intimidation and harassment by security operatives; threats of arrest, and seizures of publications and working tools such as cameras, computers and machines. Other acts include: closure of offices by the police or Department of State Security; abductions and kidnappings by militant groups; violence, battering and killing; bombing of offices and prevention from carrying out duties especially in public places; exploitation and abuse of judicial processes against journalists and judicial harassment (Wilson 2015). Journalists working in conflict zones like the North East and politically volatile areas remain highly vulnerable to attacks without investigations or arrest of perpetrators, except for condemnations that usually follow from the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ), the most visible media pressure group.

Methodology

In preparing this chapter, journalists and stakeholders in the media sector in North East Nigeria were interviewed during the first quarter of 2016. Respondents comprised twenty journalists and ten senior managers in media houses of different classifications who had covered the insurgency at various times. In all, five broadcast and four print media managers and an official of the national news agency were interviewed. For the journalists, twenty of those who reported from the zone for local, national and international media houses were interviewed. Of these twenty, seventeen are male and three female; they represent different media organizations. Also interviewed were officials of the Nigerian Union of Journalists. The majority of the interviewees hold the first degree and above and work as middle-level managers and senior officers in their respective organizations. Five of them hold the diploma qualification. All of them have long years of experience and belong to the Nigerian Union of Journalists. The ownership of the media houses they represented varied, with all newspapers being private, while the broadcast media reflected private and public ownership.

Findings

Attacks and threats against journalists by Boko Haram terrorists

The outbreak of the Boko Haram crisis in 2009 in Maiduguri marked the first experience of Nigerian journalists in reporting terrorism, insurgency or major internal uprisings. Journalists witnessed the battles as they unfolded; they observed closely the deafening sounds of heavy weapons, bomb explosions, advancement of troops, arrival of reinforcements; the killings and destructions of the population and their properties; the resistance of the terrorists and the overrun of their enclave as well as the capture and extra-judicial killing of Boko Haram leader, Muhammad Yusuf. The events terrified many of the journalists; they were frightened, threatened and hounded, yet they gathered the news as the events unfolded. It clearly took a combination of knowledge, bravery and passion to cover the terror war that devastated North East Nigeria in 2009-2015.

Boko Haram, publicity and the media

Like most terror groups, Boko Haram had, from the onset, realized the importance of communication. The group used multimedia channels to publicize its ideologies, issue threats to the public and recruit new members. In its earlier days, the leader of the group, Mohammed Yusuf, and his officers used interpersonal contacts to recruit followers particularly “the young, the poor and the dispossessed” (Mua’zu 2015). Recruits contributed resources and gave their lives “in the service of God”. The group used open-air preaching, recorded audio and videotapes and made extensive use of the Internet. Later, when it transformed into a full terror cluster, it called “journalists and media organisations asking them to report attacks it carried out... several journalists received calls to report the killings of persons. Some correspondents fled Maiduguri for their safety. Indeed, the Boko Haram did trace how they were covered by the media because they were dictating how the group should be reported” (Mua’zu 2015).

The group contacted and offered interviews to international broadcast media houses like the Hausa Services of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Voice of America (VOA), DeutscheWelle (DW) and Radio France International (RFI). Often, they sent audio and video messages to international news agencies for international publicity. The group also distributed letters, leaflets, pamphlets and booklets containing warnings, threats and ideologically oriented messages in the villages and heavily populated areas in the towns. Such publications became the topic of discussions among the people, who were trying to understand the group’s philosophy, ideology and objectives.

Killings of journalists

At the height of their terror activities, Boko Haram terrorists spared no one whom they felt could be an obstruction to their mission. They killed everyone and destroyed everything. Specific media houses and journalists were obviously among their targets. For instance, from 2009 to 2015, the group killed four Nigerian journalists. In October 2011, terrorists of the sect shot dead Zakariyya Isa, a cameraman with the Nigerian

Television Authority (NTA) in Borno State, “for working against the interests of the sect”. The sect said it killed Isa on the suspicion that he fed security officials with information about their activities. Similarly, in January 2012, Enenche Akogwu, the Kano state correspondent of Channels Television, was killed shortly after multiple bomb blasts at the farm centre police station, Kano. Akogwu was trying to learn the details of the attack from bystanders when the terrorists emerged, shot him three times in the chest and pumped an additional three bullets into his stomach. The terrorists also killed Fara Malah Modu, the information officer of Bama Local Government Area, when the group invaded Bama, while another journalist, Audu Madugu, on staff at Borno State Ministry of Information, was killed in error by the military when they were exchanging fire with fleeing terrorists.

Attacks on media houses

Specific media houses were consistently threatened by Boko Haram on allegations of misrepresenting the sect. As confirmed by one correspondent, “often, they called us individually and accused one or two newspapers and radio stations of misrepresenting what they said”. They actualized their threat when the premises of *ThisDay* newspapers were bombed simultaneously in Abuja and Kaduna in April 2012. The Abuja attack killed an employee, three passers-by and the suicide bomber, while the Kaduna blast damaged the offices of *Moment* and *Sun* newspapers. Following the incidents, *ThisDay*’s reporter in Maiduguri (Michael) fled and remained in hiding for a long time. *ThisDay* Director, Eniola Bello said, “one of the reasons Boko Haram gave to justify their attack on our Abuja office was that we were not giving their activities front page prominence. They wanted to create panic.”

The terrorists threatened Voice of America (VOA) prompting its reporter for Borno/Yobe States, Haruna Dauda Biu, to hide. The local correspondent of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Bilikisu Babangida, also fled Maiduguri after receiving a series of threats. Hamza Idris of the *Trust* newspapers recalled that in July, 2012, two terrorists disguised as customers visited their office and “asked of me and three of my colleagues working in the administration department. Luckily, all of us were out of the office. I later received a phone call that they would kill us. We had to stay away from Maiduguri for two months...”. The Chairman of the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ) in Borno State confessed that, at the height of the attacks, “journalism practice in Maiduguri was almost put on hold as many journalists were labelled by security agents and government officials as sympathisers of Boko Haram whose style of reporting allegedly celebrated the destructive acts of the terrorists. On the other hand, the terrorists had repeatedly accused journalists of spying for security agents”. Because of the risks that characterized their operations, media houses devised safety strategies like reducing hours of broadcasts, avoiding investigative and data-driven reporting, and resorting to self-censorship. In many cases, individual media houses operated in fear of attacks by the terrorists or harassment by security officials and several relocated or disguised their premises without notice and enforced tight security measures.

Threats against journalists

At the beginning of the crisis, journalists in Maiduguri had the non-committal assurances of the terrorists that they would not harm them because they needed journalists, too; but along the way, they reneged, on the excuse that journalists were not treating their stories fairly. Their perception of distortion of facts and misrepresentation of stories from or about them by some journalists attracted their hostile attention. As the conflict intensified, threats and attacks on the media increased to the extent that every journalist had received one form of threat or harassment from the terrorists or security agencies. The correspondent of the *Trust Newspapers*, perhaps the most authoritative newspaper in the region, reported that, "I was threatened more than 30 times by Boko Haram and the Nigerian military, a development that forced me to relocate my family to a safer location and hardly stayed in the office for fear of the unknown; I used different cars and dressed in uncommon patterns to beat predators". A reporter of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria recounted that soldiers were very difficult to relate with in the early days of the war; Journalists had a very tough time getting the authorities' version of stories of human rights abuses perpetrated by soldiers; speculative reports therefore became the norm. "Most of us were threatened as a result."

In the neighbouring Cameroun, two journalists, Djamo Haman and Ebenezer Akanga of the Cameroun Radio Television (CRTV), narrowly escaped Boko Haram attacks, including one in which the terrorists attacked a Chinese road construction company in their presence. They were saved by the quick intervention of the Cameroonian military. Akanga said they were scared when they learnt that they had been declared wanted by the leader of Boko Haram. In his words, "Our photographs were found in their (Boko Haram fighters) hands by Chadian soldiers when they attacked the town of Bagar. We missed many attacks from Boko Haram" (CPJ, 2015). In extreme cases, journalists received death threats, like in the case of Akinremi of *This-day Newspaper*, who investigated killings by the terrorists and the plight of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Apparently angered by his write-ups after the investigations, Boko Haram sent him an email warning that: "We have seen your hand against us... you will die like other infidels that we captured." Continuously, the terrorists pressured and threatened individual journalists to report their activities. A senior reporter in one of the newspapers confessed that they had received several calls from Boko Haram informing them of attacks in locations, and how they wanted to read the story in the next edition of the papers. He recalled an instance when his newspaper, the *Daily Trust*, used the picture of the killed leader of Boko Haram, Mohammed Yusuf, shown wearing trousers, without a shirt. The report and the picture angered the leadership of the group, who said the picture was in bad taste and rattled the reporter through a phone call from terrorists spokesman who told him: "Be ready to die; we would kill you...We know where you are, you cannot escape".

Detentions and imprisonment

The challenges faced by journalists were further complicated by the hostile attitude of the security agencies, which detained and frequently issued unfriendly invitations to reporters. Such anti-media hostilities intensified during the Boko Haram crisis. Few

of the cases were publicly highlighted, while most were quietly resolved by individual employers and the Journalists Union. One case that received global attention was that of two Aljazeera correspondents detained by the military on March 26, 2015 in Maiduguri. The military spokesman said the two journalists, Ahmed Idris and Mustafa Ali, were “found to have been loitering around areas where military operations are ongoing in the northeast and have been restrained in Maiduguri”. The statement said they were “noted to have been moving around various locations including restricted areas in Yobe and Borno states (and) were also operating without any protection, accreditation or due clearance”. However, Al-Jazeera countered the military’s claim saying that the two had been “officially detained...They have all the relevant paperwork to report”. After ten days of detention in their hotel rooms, the two were released (<http://www.premiumtimesng.com>). The reporter of the *Trust* also said that on 21 August, 2014, soldiers attempted to arrest him but “out of anger over their inability to arrest me, they stormed my office in Maiduguri, whisked my manager to the Army base, because I reported an incident in which, citing lack of fighting equipment, troops refused to travel to villages to confront invading Boko Haram terrorists”.

Security agencies

Similarly, security agents often denied journalists access to the scenes of bomb blasts, attacks or health facilities where corpses were deposited or injured victims taken for treatment. Journalists were often compelled to rely on eyewitness accounts, security sources, hospitals contacts and even Boko Haram sources for details. The relationship between journalists and security officials during the period definitely experienced turbulent moments, particularly at the onset of the crisis and as it intensified. The level of trust between journalists and security outfits like the Police, Military and the Secret Service was low.

The agencies related harshly with individual journalists. For example, one of them complained that, “our privacies have been repeatedly violated as our telephone lines have been breached. The Secret Service invited me to their office where they said they know I talk with Boko Haram elements and that I should cooperate with the authorities to arrest them. Obviously, the request was beyond my professional calling but the Service got to the extent of ‘soft threat’ by alluding that I had a relationship with the Boko Haram, just because they wanted to coerce information from me”. He confessed that, “at one time, too, a senior military officer told a colleague that they were looking for me because I had certain video tape that portrays the Nigerian Army in a bad light, an allegation that wasn’t true”.

Another journalist covering the crisis suggested that because the Boko Haram insurgency was “the first major experience of handling insurgency, most of the policemen were visibly nervous and so terrified that they treated everyone as enemies. Even with the identity stickers on our vehicles and our identity cards, security men blocked the roads and denied us passage...” Security operatives used the excuse of night and day curfews in some specified areas of violence to block journalists, notwithstanding that official curfews often excluded journalists and some professionals. Using the excuse of

the curfew, soldiers treated many journalists roughly; some were beaten, detained and had the tyres of their vehicles deflated.

Confiscation of prints

The authorities also seized publications to punish newspapers for undeclared reasons. On June 6, 2014, soldiers seized thousands of major Nigerian newspapers being distributed across the country. Defence Headquarters and State Security Service (SSS) operatives acting on “orders from above” seized and destroyed consignments of *Leadership*, *The Nation*, *Vanguard*, *Punch*, *The Guardian* and *Daily Trust* newspapers edition of that day. The forceful seizures were carried out when their distribution vans were stopped and searched at different points in the country (premiumtimesng.com, June 6, 2014).

Survival tactics

For most Nigerian journalists, covering and reporting on the Boko Haram insurgency from 2009 was the first instance of directly reporting terrorism. None of them was previously involved in reporting upheavals of that nature and scale. To compound the situation, none of them had received prior training in reporting terrorism or violent conflicts. The Boko Haram explosion caught them ill prepared for the challenges of covering and reporting on the unfolding violence because “insurgency came suddenly upon our country; It has not always been there, so no one was prepared for it. Even those in the military didn’t prepare for terrorism, let alone the journalists” (Akinremi in *Daily Trust*, Aug 2, 2015). Accordingly, dictates of the moment and instincts of survival forced them to create precautionary modes that guaranteed professional reporting of the violence, mindful of the threats posed by the terrorists and the unpredictability of the security agencies. Arguably, the period of the study was professionally challenging and threatening to the media and media personnel in the Borno-Yobe axis and the North East region.

Identity concealment

Journalists were never embedded with the troops and did not have access to protective gear; they lacked bulletproof jackets and helmets. Their employers could not provide such essential gear, but that did not intimidate them. Individually and collectively, they took the risks and reported the horrors perpetrated by Boko Haram. In doing so, they adopted innovative precautionary strategies that reduced their vulnerability to the bullets of the terrorists and the assaults of the security agencies. Most of the journalists disguised their identities and movements. Many of them abandoned their official vehicles and slept in multiple places (hotels, schools, friends’ places, etc.) to avoid being traced. They used numerous telephone numbers and took extra care in responding to unknown calls. All of them admitted relocating their families out of the conflict zone or in few cases relocating them from one part of the town to another. But to be sure, they all relocated their families to anonymous addresses to avoid reprisal attacks.

On their parts, individual media outfits changed their pre-crisis office locations to relatively safer sites at higher costs. They removed signs that could reveal their identity or presence and beefed up security around such new premises. They stepped up security around their entryways and erected barricades. As the chairman of Trust revealed, “Boko Haram threatened newspapers by name. All of us took measures to protect ourselves. We fixed controls and metal detectors at the entrance to offices”. In many ways, such measures cost money and inconvenienced staff and visitors.

The Code of Ethics and the Union

The Code of Ethics also helped. Journalists revealed that they adhered strictly to professional elements of balance, language use, factuality, and verification in reports. This practice minimized accusations against individual reporters and media houses from the public, security agencies and the insurgents. Instances of perception of bias or ill feeling in reports had attracted threats from the different sides, which gave individual reporters and media houses sleepless nights. They maintained a very close relationship with the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ), which had given them an umbrella and guaranteed their safety. The Union had intervened in cases involving journalists and the security agencies. It provided crucial safety information to members, solidified cohesion among journalists and acted as a buffer between them, government and security agencies. The collective strength of the NUJ protected and boosted the spirit of the members in many respects. As a rule, they avoided going to places or responding to invitations individually. They agreed on meeting points that included the press section of the government house where the security was fortified and went for assignments in groups, often in the company of security cover.

Network of sources

Because of the volatility and unpredictability of the situations, the reporters also established networks of many sources that served as eyewitnesses in several locations, especially the volatile areas. Such unnamed sources provided instant information to reporters via telephone and, in many cases, granted interviews to radio stations on what they had seen without disclosing their real names and locations. For the most part, security agents denied journalists access to the scenes of bomb blasts, attacks or health facilities; their only alternative was to rely on eyewitness accounts, security and hospitals contacts as well as Boko Haram sources. Although that system helped reporters when they were denied access to the scenes of explosions, attacks and battles, the possibility that third-party sources might have provided incorrect information could not be ruled out.

Avoidance of dangerous spots

In many cases, reporters were advised to avoid dangerous spots during the conflict. Kabir Yusuf, chairman of Media Trust Ltd said: “Our main weapon was avoidance. We tried not to be too heroic.” He explained that news was often gathered after the terrorists left an area, when the threat was lower. Journalists who covered the Boko Haram were encouraged to alert the armed forces and make contingency plans for emergency

assistance. In worse cases, media houses removed their journalists from hazardous situations, as *ThisDay* Newspaper did by removing its reporters from Borno State when the paper received threats.

Conclusions

Based on the foregoing experiences of Nigerian journalists, one can suggest that media professionals should be encouraged to ensure that they adhere strictly to the professional code of ethics as a safeguard against reprisals and excuses for assaults from aggrieved sources. Similarly, the Journalists Union and all stakeholders should liaise with relevant agencies to evolve specific safety measures that are contextually sensitive to media professionals in the country. With the increased cases of violent conflicts in the country, stakeholders should promote campaigns for Nigeria to domesticate and implement Resolution 29, adopted by the 29th UNESCO General Conference in 1997, which condemns violence against journalists and calls on Member States to uphold their obligation to prevent, investigate, and punish crimes against journalists; they should always uphold 'The Medellin Declaration (2007)' on 'Securing the Safety of Journalists and Combating Impunity' in conflict and non-conflict situations (UNESCO 2014).

NUJ's current initiative for group life insurance for journalists is inadequate and restrictive. Even at that, many of them operate without it. Purchasing individual insurance is out of reach for most journalists because their pay is generally low and irregular. Employers should, therefore, be encouraged to invest in the fund to enhance the premium and make it mandatory for all employees.

Currently, the curriculum on training of media professionals does not contain issues of safety and survival. Now, it is apparent that at the rate conflicts, violence and terror activities are erupting in the country, upcoming journalists need to be equipped with safety skills as part of the training on reporting conflicts. Equally, safety and survival skills for working journalists should be accorded increased attention at the institutional and professional levels. The dynamics are changing daily, and so should the tricks. Journalists should take advantage of the increased interest in human rights and improved relations with civil society on the part of the various security outfits to improve their understanding of the agencies regarding the need to have positive relations with the media.

The welfare of Nigerian Journalists is generally poor. Their economic security is particularly dismal. This may be part of the current drive for a special media salary scale to ensure that journalists are fairly remunerated and legally covered to safely report in all circumstances. Specific sanctions should be applied on employers that fail to pay salaries or neglect welfare issues.

Finally, as the country prepares for rehabilitating the victims of the insurgency, there should be increased cooperation between government and the media on rehabilitation and reconstruction issues: With the defeat of Boko Haram and the recapturing of occupied territories, attention now shifts to post-conflict issues like rehabilitating internally displaced persons, reconstructing destroyed infrastructure and areas, catering to the injured, mopping up light weapons, generating employment for youth and

promoting reconciliation between communities. The media should be able to play multiple roles in the process.

This chapter identified the challenges of reporting the terror and violent activities of the Boko Haram group in North East Nigeria. The outbreak of the violence caught Nigerian journalists ill prepared to report on terrorism and extreme violence. It was a ruthless phenomenon that the journalists reported on to warn the public about the dangers of the group as well as to inform the world about the conflict. Reporting was deadly, risky and costly, but they did it. In the course of duty, they struggled between the desire to stick to the code of ethics and threats of hanging made by the terrorists, the pressures of security agents and the expectations of the public. Arguably, the current experience has offered the Nigerian media numerous lessons that should inform evolving developments in protecting, promoting and projecting the safety of media professionals in the country.

References

- Beiser, E. (2015, December 29). *Syria, France, most deadly countries for the press*. Retrieved January 29, 2016, from <https://cpj.org/reports/2015/12/journalists-killed-syria-france-most-deadly-countries-for-the-press.php>.
- Committee to Protect Journalists. (2015a). *10 most censored countries*. Retrieved 29 January, 2016, from <https://cpj.org/2015/04/10-most-censored-countries.php>.
- Committee to Protect Journalists. (2015b). *2015 prison census: 199 journalists jailed worldwide*. Retrieved January 29, 2016, from <https://cpj.org/imprisoned/2015.php>.
- Committee to Protect Journalists, <https://cpj.org/x/64f5>.
- Daily Trust, Newspaper, Abuja, Nigeria.
- Gachie, J. (2013). *Safety and Protection of Kenyan journalists: Is it common sense or common cents?* A National Baseline Report. Nairobi: Hivos.
- Kindzeka, M. E. (2016). Journalists Share Experiences Reporting on Boko Haram, in CPJ Committee to Protect Journalists, <https://cpj.org/x/64f5>.
- Leadership* Newspaper, Abuja, Nigeria June 7, 2014.
- Mua'zu, A. (2015). Media Use by Insurgents and the Application of Media to Counter Boko Haram. In Isola, OO and Popoola, M (eds). *Journalism Practice and Terrorism in Nigeria: Issues, Trends and Techniques*. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Limited.
- Pate, U. A. and Dauda, S. (2015). The Media, Responsibility and Conflict-Sensitive Reporting in Nigeria. In Obiora, Ike and Udeze, Sunny (eds). *Emerging Trends in Gender, Health and Political Communications in Africa. A Book in Honour of Professor Ike Ndolo*. Enugu: Rhyce and Kerex Publishers. Pp. 214-228.
- Report by the Director General. (2014). *The Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity* CI-14/CONF.202/4 Rev2. Paris: UNESCO.
- Soremekun, O. (2013). *Framework for the protection of the right to life and safety of journalists*. Paper presented at the World Freedom Day Celebration Organised by UNESCO, Abuja on May 3, 2013.
- Wilson, D. (2015). *Keynote Address at the Workshop on Safety of Journalists organised by UNESCO and NUJ in Calabar*, Cross River State, March 27.
- World Bank report. (2016). Borno lost N1.9trn to Boko Haram. In *Daily Trust*, March 21.

Newspapers

- The Daily Post*, Lagos, Nigeria.
- The Guardian* Newspaper, Lagos, Nigeria
- The Nation* Newspaper, Lagos, Nigeria.
- Thisday* Newspaper, Lagos, Nigeria.
- Premium Times <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/>.
- Vanguard* Newspaper, Lagos, Nigeria.

Safety Concerns in the Nigerian Media

What gender dynamics?

Lilian Ngusuur Unaegbu

Abstract

This chapter focuses on gender dynamics in media safety in Nigeria. It critically examines the safety challenges journalists in Nigeria face in executing their duties in a country that has experienced different forms of conflicts, ranging from political instability, organized crime, terrorism, and communal conflict. It analyses these challenges in relation to gender. To achieve this, the researcher made use of primary data generated from interviews with journalists. The chapter discloses issues of gender-based discrimination, sexual and violent harassment, abuse at work and outside work, murder, and unwarranted arrest and intimidation, showing they are among the challenges journalists face. It identifies some gender-specific safety concerns among the journalists interviewed. Importantly, it finds that safety challenges such as sexual harassment are hardly reported and when reported, they are usually trivialized, most times re-shaming the victim(s) and causing the victim to shy away from reporting future occurrences.

Keywords: safety, media, gender, Nigeria, journalist, media practitioner

Journalists, including those working in the new forms of communication, typically have the same rights to life as all other civilians do, even when reporting on conflict situations. Importantly, media practitioners deserve added protection because, as Llanos and Nina (2011) posited, they are citizens who report on current affairs and events, provide frameworks for interpretation of laws and policies, and mobilize citizens with regard to various silent issues. In addition, they reproduce predominant culture in the society and entertain the people. These duties are not only essential, but also beneficial in a sound society. As Okunna (2000) suggested, the growth of the mass media has a significant impact on the lives of 'everyone.' This means that the information produced by media practitioners knows no national boundaries, especially with the advent of new media, and shapes perspectives. It therefore holds that the media play important roles in society and that media practitioners require all the protection necessary for them to effectively carry out these 'important social responsibilities'.

Unfortunately, records across the globe indicate the continuous and growing incidences of unlawful and dehumanizing attacks on journalists. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) (2014) report, of the 370 cases of journalist murdered in different countries between 2004 and 2013, 333 cases remain for which not a single person has been convicted. The Nigerian story is no different. Journalists are constantly made victims of various forms of threat, intimidation and harassment. This

is corroborated by the global impunity against journalist index, where Nigeria is ranked 13th globally (and 3rd in Africa after Somalia and South Sudan). Till today, there are five (5) unresolved cases of journalist murders within the period in Nigeria (CPJ 2015). Moreover, there are numerous incidences of unlawful arrest, mob attack, undue intimidation, closure of media outlets, seizure of tools, etc., directed at journalists.

The cases of impunity against journalists stretch from the military era, when impunity against journalists was at its peak and hardly talked about, to the present day (even with the signing of the Freedom of Information Act into law in May 2011). In the past, the killing of Dele Giwa – Journalist, editor and founder of Newswatch magazine – in 1985 by a parcel bomb in his home sent shock waves throughout Nigeria. That was the first time a journalist had been killed in such a manner. Since then, there has been one killing, harassment, and arrest after the other. In recent times, the case of Bayo Ohu – news editor of The Guardian newspaper who was shot dead in front of his home in 2009 (for reporting on local politics) – readily comes to mind. The three suspects initially arrested for the murder were acquitted of the crime in 2012 when the Nigerian Police failed to produce any evidence. There is also the case of Zakariya Isa, a reporter for the state-owned Nigeria Television Authority (NTA); he was killed in 2012 by Boko Haram terrorists who claimed he was spying for the state security agencies.

Based on the above instances of journalist murder, and many others, there would seem to be a gender undertone. Only male journalists have been reported murdered in the line of duty. What is the reason for this pattern? Is it because the hot beats are primarily covered by male journalists? Is it because society considers women as weak and thus as posing no threat? The foregoing discussion suggests a gender-specific safety concern.

Another pertinent question is why none of the perpetrators of these crimes against journalists have been brought to justice? This is of concern considering the significant legal documents that protect journalists in Nigeria. Yusuf (2013) suggested that many of the perpetrators of impunity against journalists in Nigeria are government officials and their ‘thugs’ as well as officers working for security agencies. Thus, it may not be out of place to suggest that the continuous and unresolved impunity against journalist results more from the lack of political will to enforce these frameworks and less from the absence of laws. Moreover, this complete lack of political will to act appropriately comes as little surprise, given that the phrase ‘protect your own’ holds.

While it is understood that the very nature of the journalism profession makes practitioners vulnerable, Unaegbu (2015) suggested that the safety of journalists in Nigeria has a lot to do with the societal conditioning and framing, which has gender undertones. Female journalists face peculiar safety challenges in relation to their male counterparts; according to the Global Media Monitoring Project (2010), this often times leads to increased restriction of women from reporting on the ‘hot beats’ of politics and conflict. In other situations, female journalists, in conforming to societal conditioning, rather focus on lifestyle, entertainment and public relations news reportage. But there is a danger associated with this. With fewer women in ‘hot beats’ reporting, there is a possibility of inadequate gender-sensitive reportage, considering the societal norms and traditional practices in many parts of Nigeria. A Hausa adage, which translates

to “only a woman truly understands a woman’s problems”, supports the argument for more women involvement in all kinds of news beats.

Beyond the common challenge inherent in the journalism practice, female journalists face specific threats in relation to their gender – threats that can impede broader perspectives on issues. This chapter tries to establish the major safety concerns in relation to gender (if any) and to put them in perspective. It uses primary data to understand the specific safety issues that concern female journalists and attempts to establish a threat pattern for female journalists on duty. Moreover, to understand safety issues in Nigeria, the chapter takes a brief look at the legal framework protecting journalists.

Legal framework for journalist safety in Nigeria

Looking at the law, the Nigerian journalist can be said to be protected. Section 14 (2b) Chapter II of the 1999 constitution (Fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy) declares that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of the government”. The question, however, is why this has not been the case? Why have government officials and security agents (supposed custodians of the constitution) failed to put this into practice? From a human rights perspective, again the constitution (as amended) in Chapter IV, Section 33 (1) stipulates that “every person has a right to life, and no one shall be deprived intentionally of his life”. In Section 34 (1) it states that “every individual is entitled to respect for the dignity of his person, and accordingly (a) no person shall be subject to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment...”.

The primary legal framework for the practice of journalism in Nigeria is captured in Section 39 (1) of the 1999 constitution (as amended), which states “every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference”. Furthermore, Section 22 stipulates that “the press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in this chapter (Chapter IV: Fundamental rights) and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people”.

This section recognizes that “absolute power corrupts absolutely”. And to break such power, the section makes use of two keywords ‘at all times’ and ‘free’. This means limitless freedom to seek, collect, verify, analyse, interpret and disseminate information concerning the government to the people. By virtue of this provision, constitutional power has been given to the press to help government achieve the fundamental objectives and directives of state policy, as contained in the constitution. They are also expected to hold the government accountable on behalf of the people. In other words, the constitution recognizes the duties of the press as a watchdog of both government activities to help promote good governance as well as its nation building potential and overall development.

While Section 22 empowers the media, other sections of the constitution like Section 39(3) (a-b) state that “nothing in this section i.e. ‘freedom of expression and the press’, shall invalidate any reasonable law that is justified in any democratic society for

the purpose of preventing the disclosure of information that is classified as confidential or official matter". This creates a lacuna even with the constitutional empowerment of the media as the fourth estate in the realm, as government officials are still restricted from disclosing some information they are privileged to.

This gap in the constitution seems to be what the Freedom of Information (FOI) Act aims to fill. The 'Act' makes public records and information more freely available. It also provides for public access to public records, protects public records to the extent consistent with public interest, and protects the disclosure of personal information. Moreover, it provides a time frame (within 7 days) for granting or refusing an application. Where denial to information is the case, the public institution is expected to quote the section of the Act under which denial is made. It gives the right to any person seeking information under the Act to institute legal proceedings against a public institution for compliance. It also protects serving public officers from adverse consequences for disclosing certain kinds of official information without authorization and establishes procedures for the achievement of these purposes and related purposes thereof (Aminu et al. 2011: 81).

Thus, by the provisions in the FOI Act, Section 22, and a number of other sections in the constitution, Nigeria can be said to possess a comprehensive legal framework that guarantees freedom of the press and protection of journalists. The question becomes: Why is reality so far from the ideal? Why do we see the continuous maltreatment of journalists with impunity?

Safety of journalists in Nigeria: A conceptual framework

The safety of media personnel and property is crucial to safeguarding a democratic and informed society. Attacks on journalists and media outlets harm more than just the individuals targeted; attacks have a ripple effect throughout the entire media community, and where the media act as a public mouthpiece, silencing the media means gagging public opinion. In Nigeria, attacks on media take many forms. Journalists may be explicitly censored through withdrawal of licenses, physically or verbally harassed or assaulted, killed, kidnapped, imprisoned, hammered with publication bans, among other means. Given these attacks, media practitioners also feel pressured to increase self-censorship by adjusting the content of coverage, or by choosing not to cover events or issues entirely. Some of the common, although frequently un-reported, attacks on the media take place through simply firing, or threatening to fire, and harassment (sexual harassment, especially of female journalists).

A look at the safety of journalists in Nigeria seems to indicate a downward trend. Between November 2014 and April 2015 (the period preceding the 2015 general election and shortly after), 47 journalists were attacked (IPC 2015). Sadly, most of the intimidation and harassment of journalist is usually perpetrated by security agents, political thugs, security details of government officials and unknown armed men (Unaegbu 2015: 45). This is why most of the perpetrators of these horrendous crimes against journalists – professionals who shape public opinion and keep the people informed – go unpunished. The saying 'absolute power corrupts absolutely' is very

useful here, as punishments are not enforced against the perpetrators of these heinous crimes. In essence, when a complaint or report against a perpetrator who is a politician, government official, security agent (mandated enforcers of the law) reaches the perpetrator or fellow officer, it is likely that this complaint or report will be swept under the carpet, without apology. Inherent human selfishness will prevent an offender from prosecuting him-/herself or an ally. When this is the case (as it mostly is), there is hardly any thorough prosecution of suspects. Therefore, linking the continued attacks and unresolved journalist murders in Nigeria to powerful perpetrators may be warranted.

During conflict situations, the issue becomes even more disturbing. With Nigeria facing her worst nightmare following the over 7-year-long Boko Haram crisis, the vulnerability of journalists is soaring. They are exposed to attacks perpetrated by terrorists who do not appreciate the concept of journalism as well as by military who see journalists as an obstacle to the discharge of their duties. Due to these unsafe conditions, editorial staff and reporters themselves become more restrictive in sending people to or covering beats from these conflict regions, but instead rely on second-hand reports from security agents or ‘acclaimed’ eye witness on phone.

Table 1. List of journalists murdered with impunity between 2004 and 2013 in Nigeria

S/No	Names	Gender	Organization	Circumstance	Date
1	Bayo Ohu	M	The Guardian	Shot by unknown gunmen as he answered a knock at the front door of his house in Lagos; retaliation for reporting on local politics.	September 20, 2009
2	Sunday Gyang Bwede	M	The Light Bearer	Bwede and Dabak were stabbed by a mob of Muslim youths reacting to the discovery of a slain Muslim individual near a church in Jos.	April 24, 2010
3	Nathan S. Dabak	M	The Light Bearer		
4	Zakariya Isa	M	Nigeria Television Authority	Killed by the Boko Haram terrorist group, which claimed he was spying on them for Nigerian security agencies.	October 22, 2011
5	Enenche Akogwu	M	Channels TV	Shot by unidentified gunmen as he interviewed witnesses of terrorist attacks in the city of Kano.	January 20, 2012

Source: CPJ, IPC

What becomes even more disturbing is the fact that gender perspectives on threats against journalists are not taken into consideration and that the existing framework has no form of gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming requires improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes to ensure gender issues are adequately incorporated into all policies at all levels and stages by actors involved in policy design (Koutselini, Papastephanou and Papaioannou 2006). The concept of gender mainstreaming is a strategy that will ensure that women's as well as men's safety concerns and experiences are integral dimensions of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of media policies focused on the safety of journalists. This study focuses on understanding how safety issues affect both female and male journalists in Nigeria.

Analysis of the cases of impunity (murder without conviction) against journalists indicates that most victims are male journalists. This prompts the following question: Why are male journalists the predominant victims of these heinous crimes? In answering this question, three very important factors come to play. First, there is a general understanding that the journalism profession is dominated by men. While there has been an increase in women working in journalism, the male dominance in terms of ownership and management of media outlets and reportage of 'hot' beats still applies to a great degree. Second, research has shown that many editorial staff and media outlet management are most restrictive about sending women to cover 'hot' or 'sensitive' beats involving politics and violence conflict (Høiby and Ottosen 2015: 70). The issue of sexism is still big in Nigeria. Women are seen as weak and in need of protection (they should not come home late, engage in work-related travel or work too hard). In some cases, women themselves share these sentiments and prefer not to cover such beats, owing to family concerns and societal conditioning. Third, research has also shown that most women would rather not speak about the threats, intimidations and harassments they suffer while carrying out their duties (International Women Media Foundation 2014). The report also indicated that almost half have been subjected to sexual harassment and over 20 per cent of them to physical violence. If a list of female journalists who have suffered from sexual harassment were to be made, it would be an endless one. Sadly, female journalists cover up these acts of impunity to prevent their colleagues from tagging them as weak or editorial staff from pulling them out of such beats.

Thus, with more and more women pursuing journalism as a career in Nigeria and choosing to focus on investigative reporting, coverage of political issues, human rights violations and related 'hot' topics, they daring to venture into a territory that society deems restrictive and highly volatile. Even so, they become targets of sexual harassment (within and outside the workplace) and, like their male counterparts, face other threats, including intimidation and physical violence. The culture of silence among female journalists regarding the threats they face in the course of doing their duty exposes them to psychological trauma. They must deal with this trauma by themselves, which can be disastrous. Given these challenges, the need to take a gender-sensitive approach to journalist safety becomes paramount.

Research methodology

The paper made use of independent primary data collected from a questionnaire administered to a number of practicing journalists. Each of the informants selected has considerable years of experience in journalism practice and has covered conflict, human rights or crime-related stories. To comply with ethical considerations, the names of the informants are kept confidential.

The questionnaires were mainly administered in the form of a semi-structured interview that took about 15-20 minutes to complete, on average. Some of the questionnaires were emailed. The questionnaire collected demographic characteristics of respondents, their perceptions and experiences on the job with respect to safety concerns. It is designed to evaluate safety concerns in relation to beats covered and gender. It also looks at how restrictive editorial staffs are with relocating (or otherwise) a journalist (especially female) under threat and the institutional routines in place to deal with these safety concerns.

The coding process for responses was rather complicated. The 18 questions had a mix of one answer, multiple answers, open-ended answers and additional comments. The research results are more qualitative than quantitative owing to the open-ended questions. Analysis of the quantitative data was done manually using MS Excel. Using this method, the research findings emerged, and the author became more familiar with the distribution figures. In all, 50 questionnaires were sent out and 38 were returned that were adequately completed, giving a response rate of 76 per cent.

Respondents' demography

A total of 38 questionnaires were returned completed by 20 male and 18 female respondents. This gender distribution of respondents does not in any way represent the gender distribution in the Nigeria media. According to the 2010 Global Media Monitoring Project, there is a huge gender disparity in the Nigerian media; 81 per cent of reporters are male, while only 19 per cent are female. Respondents were mostly (29; 76 per cent) reporters, (7; 19 per cent) editors of a section or department and (2; 5 per cent) show presenters. Television had the majority with 18 (47 per cent) respondents, 16 (42 per cent) from print media, and 4 (11 per cent) from radio. The age distribution shows a very young journalist population in the Nigerian media: 35 (92 per cent) are 40 years or below. This bias may be the result of the large number of reporters (lower cadre officers) interviewed. Again this research confirms that most journalists in Nigeria are employed full time by one media outlet or another. Of the respondents, 33 (87 per cent) are on full-time employment, while 1 (3 per cent) was freelance, and 4 (10 per cent) on contract employment.

Table 2. Respondents' Demographic Distribution

	Frequency (n=38)	Percentages (per cent)
GENDER		
Male	20	53
Female	18	47
AGE		
25-35	22	58
36-45	14	37
46-55	2	5
56-65	0	-
POSITION		
Editor-in-chief	0	-
Editor of a section	7	19
Reporter	29	76
Others (show presenter)	2	5
MEDIA OUTLET		
Newspaper	16	42
Internet	0	-
Photo	0	-
Television	18	47
Radio	4	11
Others	0	-
EMPLOYMENT STATUS		
Full time	33	87
Short-term contract	4	10
Freelance	1	3

Source: Questionnaire survey.

Results

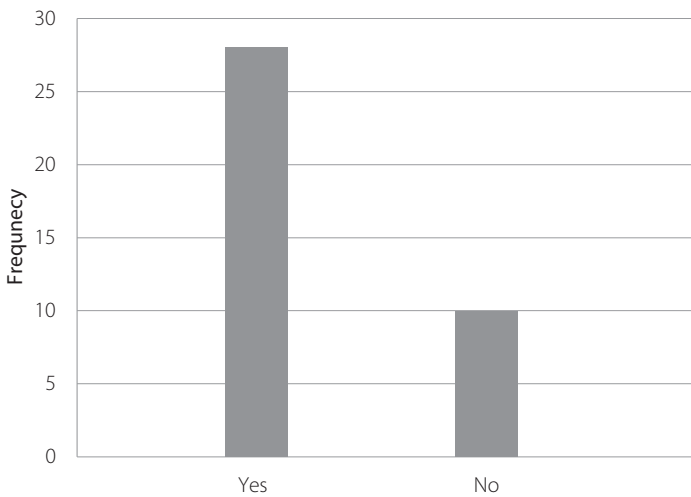
Threats to journalists

Of the 38 respondents, 28 (74 per cent) indicated that they have faced threats in the discharge of their duties, while 10 (26 per cent) indicated otherwise. This confirms that journalists, given the nature of their profession, are vulnerable. By gender, 16 male respondent and 12 female respondents indicated that they have faced threats. Meaning that both male and female journalist face danger. While only 6 (1 male and 5 female) respondents agreed that the attack on them was as a result of their gender, 25 (14 male and 11 female) indicated that it resulted from the beats they covered. Most of those who indicated this cover politics, conflicts, elections, news, and sports. These beats

can easily be categorized as ‘hot’ beats. Five (5) others did not perceive threats from either a ‘gender’ or a ‘beat’ perspective.

Further analysis shows that journalists face gender-specific threats. To understand the specifics, the questionnaire used open-ended answers. All male respondents, including those who have not faced threats in the line of duty, listed ‘physical harassment by security operatives’ (including the Police, Military, Para-military etc.) as the major source of threat in the discharge of their journalistic duties [15 respondents]. This prompts the question: Are the physical attacks on male journalists as a result of their masculinity? This would seem to be a pertinent question for future research.

Figure 1. Distribution of journalists who have faced threats or otherwise in the line of duty



In contrast, female respondent mostly listed sexual harassment (in and outside the office) [12 respondents] and late closing hours (especially considering the security situation in the country and their inability to fight off attacks mostly committed by men) [10 respondents] as the major threats in the discharge of their duties. Again the questions here are: Is the mention of late closing hours a sign of female journalists throwing in the towel? Does this justify editorial staff increasing restrictiveness for female journalists covering the hot beats of politics, elections and conflicts? While these questions beg for answers, it becomes evident that the traditional role of women as homemakers with numerous domestic duties affects their professionalism and success. This traditional conditioning affects the psyche of women to such an extent that it seems to lower the professional expectations of female journalists, considering that journalism is a time-consuming profession.

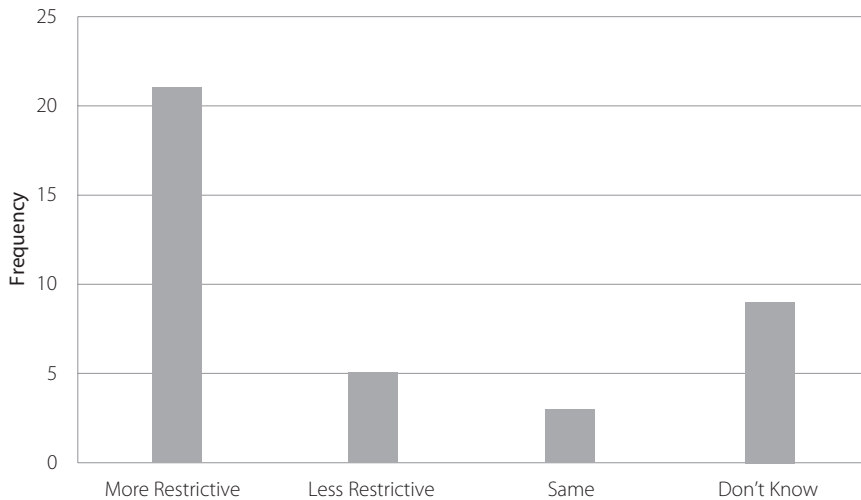
Other safety concerns for male respondents include seizure of working tools [3 respondents], apprehension and detention [13 respondents], transportation accidents [2 respondents], dangerous coverage of bombing scenes without requisite training

[3 respondents], maltreatment by mob [7 respondents] and murder [6 respondents] (which no female respondent raised as a concern). This may not be unrelated to the trend of murdered journalists being men, with no record of female journalists having been murdered in Nigeria. For female respondents, the other safety concerns raised include verbal attacks by men [5 respondents]; public harassment and hostility during interviews [3 respondents]; rape [2 respondents]; kidnapping [4 respondents]; handbag snatching [1 respondent]; theft of working tools such as cameras, etc. [3 respondents], and harassment by security agents [1 respondent].

Organizational parameters

Furthermore, the research shows that editorial staffs are more restrictive of female journalist covering beats with security concerns. Twenty-one [21] respondents (55 per cent) confirmed this, 5 respondents (13 per cent) indicated otherwise, 9 (24 per cent) said they did not know, while 3 respondents (8 per cent) indicated that restrictions have remained the same.

Figure 2. Distribution of editorial staff restriction to female journalist covering high risk beats



While the objective of this research is to find out whether there are specific gender-related safety issues, it also aims to discover whether there are established routines set up by media outlets to deal with journalist safety by asking for simple responses: 'Yes' 'No' or 'Don't Know'. The fact that eighteen (18) and eight (8) respondents indicated 'No' and 'Don't Know', respectively, is of grave concern and only goes to show the poor safety culture in the media industry in Nigeria. Even where it is acknowledged

that routines exist, these routines do not seem to be well-defined and appear largely superficial. For example one respondent said:

...report through internal memos or direct discussion with editor(s) concerned

Another said:

...call or text your departmental head or editor-in-chief, in addition notify any close colleagues

Both statements reveal the absence of a robust institutional platform or routine to deal with the hazards associated with the job. Even with such a poor hazard management platform, the issue of poor private sector remuneration, which Unaegbu (2015) listed as a major constraint for journalists, limits journalists' ability to pay for necessary help.

Discussion of findings

Based on the review of existing laws, there would seem to be a sufficient legal framework, from the constitution to the FOI Act, for empowering journalists to effectively discharge their duties without fear, however implementing and enforcing these laws have been a challenge. One major factor driving poor enforcement is that mandated prosecutors of crimes against journalists seem to be the major perpetrators of these heinous crimes, which they commit with impunity. This poor enforcement of laws against crime against journalist is evident in the fact that no convictions of perpetrators of journalist murder have been made in the country. They walk the streets free, probably seeking their next victim. As sad as this may be, journalists still have to do this all-important job of informing the people about the truth. While it is understood that journalism as a profession is endangered, punishment of journalist harassment, attacks and murder would lessen the restraints editorial staff have put on reporters and reporters' lack of willingness to effectively discharge their duties.

On the other hand, analysis of the informants' responses clearly shows that there are gender-specific threats and concerns for male and female journalists. While a few female respondents mentioned 'harassment by security agents' among their safety concerns, no male respondent mentioned sexual harassment or late closing hours (which was the most popular among female respondents) as a safety concern, but mostly indicated 'harassment by security agents'. In the same vein, while a number of male journalists listed 'murder' as a concern, no female journalist did. The fact that no female journalist mentioned 'murder' as a safety concern may not be unconnected to the trend of 'all male murdered journalists' and 'zero female journalist murders' in the country. The record of 'only male' journalists being murdered does not only confirm the dominance of men in the media, but also their almost total control over coverage of high-risk beats like politics, elections and conflicts. Thus, while murder seems to worry male journalists because of their exposure, female journalists feel unconcerned. While a gender-specific safety concern trend has been established, it is important to understand what this means for journalists (male and female).

To be sure, the nature of the job – exposing the truth that many powerful people want to keep secret – makes journalists easy targets; they become even more vulnerable with beat. In Nigeria, beats like general elections (which are usually marred with violence) and armed conflicts (from the Boko Haram insurgency to the herdsmen-farmers clashes) heighten the risk for journalists. While Nigeria's rating on the World Press Freedom Index have improved from 162 in 2010 to 116 in 2016 (Reporters Without Borders 2016), the practice of journalism leaves much to be desired. In addition to the direct safety issues Nigerian media practitioners encounter, they have had to endure the closure of printing presses, seizure of entire newspaper print, and the abrupt end of a live programme on state-owned television upon the order of 'political lords'.

Also of concern is the continued discrimination against female journalists, something that is very much evident till this day. Answering the questionnaire, one male respondent asked:

What are the expectations of female journalists who never live up to the confidence placed on them as a result of domestic issues?

The above response is an obvious attack on female journalists and does not consider that not fulfilling assignments is not the exclusive preserve of female journalists, but their male counterparts also disappoint from time to time owing to domestic issues. This kind of perception only goes to confirm a female journalist's response that:

...I sometimes have to put in twice the effort compared to my male colleagues just to be recognized

This statement clearly shows that, beyond the specific safety concerns they have to deal with, female journalists also have to deal with discrimination that calls into question their professional capability and capacity.

I face sexual harassment almost every day, it is very common not regarding what beats you cover but I never consider it as a safety issue. I had experiences where I'm trying to get an interview from a source and the person (a man) is asking me to meet him in a hotel or follow him to Dubai for the interview...

These statements show how sexual harassment against women is trivialized in our society (even among educated women who are supposed to know better). They come to view such violations as normal.

Conclusions

The role of journalists in keeping society informed is a fundamental one, and as such it requires 'special' protection. However, the Nigerian journalist is highly endangered. The journalist endangerment in Nigeria is evident in the zero conviction rate for many journalist murderers and the unabated and continued intimidation and harassment taking place. Understandably, the nature of the profession itself makes journalists sub-

ject to heightened risks, but the complete lack of convictions indicates a clear lack of political will and is, as such, a huge source of concern. Reviewing the legal framework for protection of journalists in Nigeria, it is clear that the major obstacle hindering their right to life and freedom of expression is not the insufficient scope of existing legal frameworks enshrined in the Constitution and the FOI Act, but rather how these laws are implemented or enforced. Furthermore, this right to life and freedom of expression include the duty of security agents to investigate and prosecute perpetrators of journalist harassment and murder. Sadly, many of the perpetrators of impunity against journalists are themselves the thugs of political office holders and security agencies, including the police and military, who are supposedly mandated prosecutors.

While media practitioners understand that the risks they face are associated to a great degree with the beats they cover, safety concerns (though not absolute) show some gender parallels that have a cultural and historical dimension. This confirms the notion that traditional practices and historical trends give shape to human thought processes. It was revealed that female journalists' primary safety concerns were late closing hours and sexual harassment in and outside the workplace. In contrast, male journalists' major safety concerns are harassment and intimidation perpetrated by security agents as well as murder. Given these contrasting gender-based safety concerns, it holds that mainstreaming these concerns into threat management routines and safety trainings is necessary for better dealing such concerns. Given the deadly nature of violent conflicts and the 'do-or-die' attitude of politicians and their cohorts in the country, it is clear that journalists will continue to face heighten risk. Unfortunately, my research indicates that while many of the media practitioners interviewed appreciate these risks, there are largely no clear routines for handling issues of harassment and threats to journalists. The value placed on journalists can be compared to that of burner phones. This lack of any threat management routines leaves journalists to deal with such concerns personally, and thus many journalists do not bother to report threats. This is not good for journalists' well-being and job motivation, and what results is information of poor quality.

For future research, it would be interesting to try to understand whether the physical attacks on male journalists are a result of their masculinity, considering that the perpetrators are also male. The following recommendations are made to ensure better safety for journalist in the discharge of their duties.

Given the vital role the media play in ensuring an informed society, it is essential that media practitioners be provided the tools, knowledge, and resources needed to best protect themselves in the line of duty. It is also paramount that as Nigeria becomes more volatile, with increasing numbers of conflicts and terrorism, journalists must understand that they have the right to decline risky assignments.

- There is an urgent need to mainstream gender into existing frameworks and to develop additional media policies with strong gender perspectives.
- Tips on how to lower the risk of being sexually harassed or assaulted should be provided to female journalists. It is also worthwhile for editors to always be fully aware of what is going on with their reporters, especially women, in respect to their safety.

- While physical protection of journalists may be more difficult, especially in cases of conflict or public protests, law enforcement officials should nonetheless be instructed as to their responsibility to protect journalists against attacks, using physical force if necessary.
- Nigeria has existing legal frameworks on media practice. What is ultimately required, however, is concerted advocacy and dedication on the part of all stakeholders to ensure the frameworks are implemented.
- While the research reveals variation in the safety concerns of female and male journalists, it is important for journalists to note that safety does not know masculinity or femininity, it affects everyone, and differences in concern may be the result of biological or cultural factors affecting both genders.

References

- Adaja, T. A. (2012). Nigerian Journalism and Professionalism: Issues and Challenges. *New Media and Mass Communication*, Vol 5, <http://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/NMMC/article/view/2793/2817> [Accessed: 06/03/ 2016].
- Aminu, A. A., Malgwi, Y. Y., Kagu, B. and Danjuma, I. (2011). *Nigeria Freedom of Information Act 2011 and its implication for records and office security management*. International Conference on Information and Finance, 78-84.
- CPJ (2014). *The road to justice: Breaking the cycle of impunity in the killing of journalists*. New York, https://www.cpj.org/reports/road_to_justice2014-english.pdf [Accessed: 07/03/2016].
- CPJ (2015). *Getting away with murder*. <https://cpj.org/reports/2015/10/impunity-index-getting-away-with-murder/> [Accessed 03/03/2016].
- Dunu, I. V. (2015). *Media Handling of Gender Issues in Contemporary Nigerian Conflicts*. A Paper Presented for International Press Center for Experts' Meeting on Media and Emerging Issues in Conflict in Nigeria, 11th March 2015.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999). *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria (2011). *Freedom of Information Act*.
- Høiby, M. and Ottosen, R. (2015). *Journalism under pressure: A mapping of editorial policies and practices for journalists covering conflicts*. Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, Norway 88p.
- International Press Centre (2015). *Safety and Security of Journalists and Emerging Issues from Conflicts in Nigeria*, UNESCO Nigeria, Lagos.
- International Women Media Foundation (2014). *Violence and Harassment against Women in the News Media: A Global Picture*. <https://www.iwmf.org/executive-summary/> [Accessed: 08/03/2016].
- Koutselini, M., Papastephanou, M. and Papaioannou, M. (2006). *Gender mainstreaming in mass media: European and global gender profile*, in Ross, A. (ed.) *Citizenship Education: Europe and the World*. London: CiCe, pp 665-678.
- Llanos, B. and Nina, J. (2011). *Election Coverage from a Gender Perspective: A media monitoring manual*, UN Women.
- Reporters Without Borders (2016). *2016 world press freedom index*. <http://rfsf.org/en/ranking/> [Accessed: 11/08/2012].
- Unaegbu, L. N. (2015). Country report: Nigeria in Høiby, M. and Ottosen, R. (ed.). *Journalism under pressure: A mapping of editorial policies and practices for journalists covering conflict*. Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, Norway, 40-47.
- Yusuf, B. (2013). *Ending Impunity and Promoting the Safety of Journalists and Media Workers*. Paper presented at the World Freedom Day Celebration Organised by UNESCO, Abuja, May 3 2013.

The Psychological Wellbeing of Iranian Journalists

Anthony Feinstein and Bennis Pavisian

Abstract

Objectives: To determine the emotional wellbeing of journalists who work in Iran.

Methods: A website was established and journalists in newsrooms in Iran and the Diaspora were given information to access the site. Responses were received from 114 journalists (76 per cent). The mean age was 37.8 years and 57 per cent were male.

Primary outcomes measures: Impact of Event Scale-revised for posttraumatic stress disorder, Beck Depression Inventory-II for depression.

Results: Stressors included arrest (41.2 per cent), torture (19.3 per cent), assault (10.5 per cent), intimidation (51.4 per cent) and family threatened (43.1 per cent). Eighty-nine (78.1 per cent) journalists had stopped working on a story because of intimidation. Arrest, torture, intimidation and family threatened were associated with more PTSD symptoms and assault and intimidation with more depressive symptoms. Almost a third used barbiturates, with use correlating with symptoms of intrusion, avoidance, arousal and depression.

Conclusions: Iranian journalists confront an extraordinary degree of danger. Self-medication of emotional distress with barbiturates gives additional cause for concern.

Keywords: Iran, journalism, PTSD, diaspora

Assessments of how the Islamic Republic of Iran treats its journalists are consistently discouraging across numerous media watchdog reports. On the index of press freedom, created by Reporters without Borders, Iran is ranked 173rd out of 180 countries (jplus-plus.org 2015). Iran has been labeled by the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) as one of the worst jailers of journalists in the world ("Canadian Journalists for Free Expression" 2015). Since 1979, Iran has imprisoned, tortured and killed hundreds of journalists and internet activists. Further measures of censorship have been carried out by the government in the form of banning publications, harassing relatives of exiled journalists, and interfering with internet access throughout the country ("Canadian Journalists for Free Expression" 2015).

Although there is a strong consensus on the struggles of journalism in Iran, it is unclear as to what degree these state-sponsored measures affect the psychological wellbeing of Iranian journalists. This is an important question to ask because previous literature has noted that throughout the past decade journalists endure psychological difficulties when working in an environment that exposes them to threat. One comprehensive study in particular has shown that prominent symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder and depression in journalists are linked to the frequency of exposure to life-threatening events (Feinstein and Nicolson 2005). Guilt may be part of the clinical picture as well (Browne, Evangeli and Greenberg 2012).

Recent studies have changed the geographic focus of the journalist-trauma literature from western countries to other parts of the world. One particular study focused on Kenyan journalists and found prominent symptoms of emotional distress still remained from ethnic violence that took place in the 2007 General Election. This was especially true in those who were directly affected by the violence (Feinstein, Wanga and Owen 2015). These results mirror those reported in a UNESCO funded study of journalists in Mexico who were exposed to drug related violence (Feinstein 2012). In this study, there was a strong association between PTSD and depressive symptoms and direct threats made at the families of journalists by drug cartels. One of the most significant findings from this study is one in four journalists discontinued working on a story because they were too afraid to carry on with their work.

Given the similarity of work environments of Mexican and Iranian journalists, namely, a hazardous work environment in their respective countries, we can provide an informed hypothesis on the state of emotional wellbeing of Iranian journalists is. However, given that Mexico and Iran are different countries, caution should be taken when extrapolating data from one country to the other. It is, however, reasonable to hypothesize that in the presence of significant threat, symptoms of distress are likely to occur in journalists exposed to violence, regardless of environment. It is from this hypothesis that we undertook an explorative study of the emotional wellbeing of Iranian journalists.

Methods

Sample Selection. The Iranian government could not be approached for assistance with the current study probing the psychological health of journalists harassed by the same government. This affected our sample selection to outside of mainstream media inside the country. Since the Iranian secret service monitors journalists, there were a small number of independent journalists that cover politics without towing the party line. These independent journalists have established virtual group (n=451) to offer each other support when needed. The current study selected every third name in the sample for a total of 150 journalists for inclusion in the study.

An encrypted website was created for the study. Participants were assigned unique case identification numbers and log-in information to access the site. Surveys were administered in Farsi and results were translated into English. The following data were collected:

Age, gender, marital status, and level of education were collected for demographic information. Years employed as a journalist and types of journalism were collected for work related information. Journalists were asked if they resided in or outside of Iran. Data pertaining to potential stressors that they may have been exposed to in their line of work, such as intimidation, arrests, torture, assaults, or if their families have been threatened, was also collected.

A subjective measure of degree of stress associated with work as a journalist was collected on a simple analogue scale (zero = no stress; 10= severe stress).

Two self-report psychometric questionnaires were administered to obtain behavioural data. They are robust and validated measures for recording psychopathology that can be acquired following traumatic events. The scales were:

The Revised Impact of Events Scale (IES-R) contains 22 questions that resemble the DSM-IV criteria for posttraumatic stress disorder. Participants were instructed to choose symptoms that had occurred during the past 7 days only and related to traumatic events that had taken place in their journalist work in Iran. The Persian version of the IES (Ghezeljeh, Ardebili, Rafii and Hagani, 2013) and the Revised version (Panaghi and Mogadam 2006) have been validated and used in previous studies. There are three sub-scales within the IES that measure intrusiveness, avoidance, and hyperarousal. Intrusiveness measures the frequency of 're-experiencing' the traumatizing events. Avoidance rates to what degree the individual is avoiding remembering or facing the traumatic event. The hyperarousal subscale helps to measure symptoms such as anger, irritability, heightened startle response, difficulty concentrating and hyper vigilance. There is a choice of 5 responses for each question, which are scored 0 = Not at all; 1 = A little bit; 2 = Moderately; 3 = Quite a bit; 4 = Extremely respectively. Each total subscale score is divided by the number of questions in the subscale to give a mean score that equates with the individual ratings as described above. For example a mean score of < 1.0 equals a 'little bit', scores between 1.0 and 1.99 reflects 'moderately', 2.0-2.9 equals 'quite a bit' and > 3.0 equates with 'severely'.

The validated Persian version of the Beck Depression Inventory Revised (BDI-II) was used to measure depressive symptomatology (Vasegh and Baradaran 2014). The 21 questions were scored a Likert way, meaning the participant responded to each question with a 0-1-2-3 scale and the responses were summed to give an overall depression score. A score from 0-13 were deemed minimal, 14-19 mild, 20-28 moderate and > 28 severe.

Past psychiatric history was collected, including whether journalists had received psychological treatment and the reason treatment was needed. Amount of alcohol consumed on a weekly basis was recorded, with a unit of alcohol defined as either a regular sized bottle of beer, glass of wine, or shot of spirits.

Ethics: The study received approval from the Research and Ethics Board at Sunnybrook Health Sciences Centre, affiliated to the University of Toronto.

Results

Demographic and work data

Of the 150 journalists asked to participate, 114 (76 per cent) completed the questionnaires. The mean age of this sample was 37.8 years with 65 (57 per cent) males. In regard to their marital status, 64 (50 per cent) were married, 37 (28.9 per cent) were single, and 12 (9.4 per cent) were divorced. The sample as a whole had an average of 14.8 years of work experience in journalism. Thirty nine (30.5 per cent) of the sample were living in Iran at the time they answered our questionnaire, 75 (65.8 per cent) in the diaspora, and 14 (10 per cent) preferred not to share their location.

The journalists in our study were subject to specific threats. There were as follows: arrest (41.2 per cent); torture (19.3 per cent); intimidation (which can be defined as threat in the absence of torture, assault or arrest) (61.4 per cent); assault (10.5 per cent); and family threatened because of work done by a journalist (53.1 per cent). Eighty nine (78.1 per cent) of journalists stopped working on a story in direct response to

either intimidation, assault, or torture. 70 journalists (63.1 per cent) reported having been placed under surveillance by the state at some point. Multiple threats were also common in our sample. Of all 114 participants in this study, only three journalists stated no form of threat was made to themselves or their families.

Psychiatric data

The average rating on the stress scale was 7.72. In terms of PTSD comparisons (intrusion, avoidance, and arousal) and depressive symptoms, there was a moderate to high correlation for those who were victims of arrest, torture, and intimidation and reporting higher scores in the intrusion and arousal PTSD type symptoms. Journalists who were assaulted or intimidated reported higher depression scores, while threats made against journalist's families lead to more intrusion symptoms. The journalists who lived in the diaspora portrayed more avoidance PTSD symptoms. 21.9 per cent of the journalists in this sample reported moderate depression, while 14.9 per cent reported severe depression.

The average weekly consumption of alcohol for males was 4.18 units and for women 2.31 units. Only 2.7 per cent of the sample uses cannabis, 1.8 per cent cocaine, 1.8 per cent LSD, 2.3 per cent heroin and 30.6 per cent barbiturates. Those who used barbiturates showed increased intrusion, avoidance, arousal symptoms on the Impact of Events scale and the depressive symptoms on the Beck Depression Inventory.

Sixty-one (53.5 per cent) journalists sought treatment for their symptoms through either a psychiatrist or a psychologist. Of these, 37 (60 per cent) revealed that what they had experienced as a journalist was the reason why they sought help.

Discussion

The amount of threat endured by Iranian journalists, whether it was assault, arrest, torture, or intimidation was the most stirring result from the current study. These threats extended to journalists' families, while the rate of threat to families increased for journalists who had moved out of the country. The result of threat to journalists yielded high levels of intrusion and arousal PTSD symptoms. A third of the journalists reported having depressive symptoms that was moderate to severe. The rate of depression increased in those who were victims of threat or assault.

The results of this study reinforce the mounting evidence that journalists experience high emotional stress when exposed to war zones and threatening environments (Feinstein, Owen and Blair 2002; Pyevich, Newman and Daleiden 2003). The threats recorded in the current study varied from intimidation to torture. However, the data is consistent in that the frequency and severity of these stressors correlated with the magnitude of the stressor. In other words, someone who was intimidated reported their symptoms to be less severe than someone who was tortured (Johannesson et al. 2009). This was also seen in the present study with Iranian journalists. We found that among the threats, arrest and torture were the most harmful to the journalist's emotional wellbeing. This data is strengthened by data from populations outside of journalism as well (Başoğlu, Paker, Özmen, Taşdemir and Şahin 1994).

The data also suggests that the avoidant symptom of PTSD was higher in those journalists that fled Iran. This may not come as a surprise as the act of leaving the country was an avenue to avoid any threats to themselves or families, as well as decrease the chance of remembering associations with those threats. There is another explanation here that the journalists in the diaspora are cut off from any emotional support, friends, and family and are therefore more susceptible to a state of emotional vulnerability (Sayed, Iacoviello and Charney 2015).

The rate of barbiturate use in our sample was striking. Barbiturates in the West were widely used in the 1950s and quickly fell out of common practice with the introduction of benzodiazepines in the 1960s due to increased safety with its use. Barbiturates are unsafe because they are highly addictive and can be fatal in overdose. This is why it is rarely prescribed in western countries anymore (Peplow 2013). Conversely, it is still available and widely used in Iran, or at least Iranian Journalists. This use is probably due to the sanctions that have been imposed on the country, namely the Iranian pharmaceutical industry, and the effects of an academic boycott on the practice of contemporary medicine in Iran. The use of barbiturates is associated with all four components of PTSD and depression, which suggests that there is an attempt to self-medicate the feelings of distress. This self-medication leads to a sedation that may provide temporary relief of symptoms, but it cannot solve the issue in the long term. Interestingly, the Iranian journalists that fled Iran continued using barbiturates, giving credence to the addictive quality of the drug.

As with all descriptive studies, the question is how these results can be extrapolated to the general population. Response rate is an important indicator to determine if results of a study are valid. Response rates to studies with email driven methodology must meet a threshold of 40 per cent to be considered acceptable, 50 per cent good and anything higher than 60 per cent to be very good. The response rate of the current study stands at 76 per cent, which is beyond the standards describe above (Hamilton 2003). A good response rate alone does not ensure that the sample population studied is representative of the broader group. In order to obtain a sample population that is representative of the broader group, we would need to collaborate with the mainstream media of Iran. As it stands today, this option is not a viable one. In order to collect the data for the present study, we were forced to collect the data anyway we could, which was to look to smaller groups of journalists. This methodology may introduce a bias in our sample, however, the strength of that bias is not clear. Suffice it to say that the rank of 173 out of 180 on the world index of press freedom does not give much wiggle room in assessing how well the Iranian government treats its journalists.

The cultural influence on data like this cannot be overlooked. Both the rating scales used in this study, the IES-R and BDI-II, were developed in the United States and have since been translated to several languages, including Farsi. The Persian versions of these two scales have been validated. This isn't to say that there aren't limitations to the scales, in particular ignoring local influences due to culture that are not taken into account in the translation of these scales. However, it has been shown that the use of the IES-R and its translated versions have yielded consistent and reliable results (Weiss 2007).

The present study has uncovered the state of the emotional wellbeing of Iranian journalists, which shows they are subject to a wide range of threats which are associated with clinical symptoms of depression and PTSD, as well as barbiturate substance abuse. We have also shown that these Iranian journalists are not receiving the proper treatment for their distress. With all this in mind, what can be done to help the journalists in need? It is naïve to think that the working environment of these journalists will change anytime soon, so we direct our attention to spreading the message of this study, as well as offer hope that these conditions are treatable, through the channels used to recruit the journalists. Our hope is that if the information is provided, the emotional distress these journalists suffer will not be ignored.

References

- Başoğlu, M., Paker, M., Özmen, E., Taşdemir, Ö. and Şahin, D. (1994). Factors related to long-term traumatic stress responses in survivors of torture in Turkey. *Jama*, 272(5), 357-363.
- Browne, T., Evangelini, M. and Greenberg, N. (2012). Trauma-related guilt and posttraumatic stress among journalists. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 25(2), 207-210.
- Canadian Journalists for Free Expression. (2015). Retrieved from <https://cjfe.org>.
- Committee to Protect Journalists. (2015). Retrieved from <https://cpj.org/mideast/iran/>.
- Feinstein, A. (2012). Mexican journalists: An investigation of their emotional health. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 25(4), 480-483.
- Feinstein, A. and Nicolson, D. (2005). Embedded journalists in the Iraq war: Are they at greater psychological risk? *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 18(2), 129-132.
- Feinstein, A., Owen, J. and Blair, N. (2002). A hazardous profession: war, journalists, and psychopathology. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 159(9), 1570-1575.
- Feinstein, A., Wanga, J. and Owen, J. (2015). The psychological effects of reporting extreme violence: a study of Kenyan journalists. *JRSM Open*, 6(9), 2054270415602828.
- Ghezjeljeh, T. N., Ardebili, F. M., Rafii, F. and Hagani, H. (2013). Translation and psychometric evaluation of Persian versions of Burn Specific Pain Anxiety Scale and Impact of Event Scale. *Burns*, 39(6), 1297-1303.
- Hamilton, M. B. (2003). Online survey response rates and times: Background and guidance for industry. *Tercent, Inc*, 298.
- Johannesson, K. B., Michel, P.-O., Hultman, C. M., Lindam, A., Arnberg, F. and Lundin, T. (2009). Impact of exposure to trauma on posttraumatic stress disorder symptomatology in Swedish tourist tsunami survivors. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 197(5), 316-323.
- jplusplus.org. (2015). 2015 World Press Freedom Index. Retrieved November 24, 2015, from <https://index.rsf.org/#/>.
- Panaghi, L. and Mogadam, J. A. (2006). Persian version validation in impact of event Scale-Revised. *Tehran University Medical Journal*, 64(3), 52-60.
- Peplow, T. (2013). A history of the barbiturates: the lure, the controversy, the poison. *Pharmaceutical Historian*, 43(3), 59-66.
- Pyevech, C. M., Newman, E. and Daleiden, E. (2003). The relationship among cognitive schemas, job-related traumatic exposure, and posttraumatic stress disorder in journalists. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 16(4), 325-328.
- Sayed, S., Iacoviello, B. M. and Charney, D. S. (2015). Risk factors for the development of psychopathology following trauma. *Current Psychiatry Reports*, 17(8), 1-7.
- Vasegh, S. and Baradaran, N. (2014). Using the Persian-Language Version of the Beck Depression Inventory-II (BDI-II-Persian) for the Screening of Depression in Students. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 202(10), 738-744.
- Weiss, D. S. (2007). The impact of event scale: revised. In *Cross-cultural assessment of psychological trauma and PTSD* (pp. 219-238). CHAP, Springer.

Violence against Indigenous Journalists in Colombia and Latin America

Roy Krøvel

Abstract

This chapter explores mechanisms and causes that put indigenous journalists at risk in Latin America. It seeks to explain the nature of 'indigenous journalism' as well as the differences and similarities between 'indigenous journalism' and the journalism found in mainstream media in Latin America. It analyses measures taken by indigenous journalists and indigenous communities to improve the safety of those who work in the indigenous media. Indigenous journalists are particularly likely to be engaged in struggles involving local communities resisting outside dominance. Therefore, indigenous journalists continue to be vulnerable to many types of threats and violence. The international community has so far paid little attention to the safety of indigenous journalists.

Keywords: indigenous peoples, journalism, communities, Colombia, violence

Indigenous journalists in Latin America play an increasingly vital role in uncovering the vast scale of legal and illegal exploitation of natural resources, forests and land in the region. At the same time, they have informed national and international audiences about abuse and exploitation of indigenous peoples. However, for these and other reasons, indigenous journalists have made powerful enemies.

In recent years, individuals and groups wanting to silence journalism in Latin America have exposed numerous indigenous journalists to threats and violence. Violence against indigenous journalists is intimately connected to the general problem of violence against indigenous activists and leaders. These leaders and activists were often deeply engaged in production and dissemination of information through channels such as radio, blogs, online news media and other forms of media in order to defend and protect indigenous autonomy. Nonetheless, this type of journalism and thus the safety of these indigenous journalists have received little attention from international bodies that strive to improve the safety of journalists.

This chapter intends to analyse indigenous journalism and the mechanisms and causes that put indigenous journalists at risk. The chapter will introduce the problem by discussing a selection of prominent cases where indigenous media have been targeted. Further, the analysis draws on 76 short structured interviews with indigenous or community journalists from Colombia, Ecuador and Nicaragua in addition to focus group sessions with indigenous journalists working with the Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC) in Colombia.

The term 'indigenous journalism', however, is disputed. Most 'indigenous journalists' would themselves prefer to be referred to as 'communicators' instead of 'journalists'. Similarly, outside observers do not always agree on the use of the term 'journalism' to describe this particular type of information production. Therefore, the paper also seeks to shed light on the nature of 'indigenous journalism' as well as the differences and similarities between 'indigenous journalism' and the journalisms found in the mainstream media. A deeper understanding of 'indigenous journalism' is necessary in order to enhance the safety of indigenous journalists in Latin America.

Existing literature on indigenous journalism and safety issues

Gema Tabares has introduced the concept of 'indigenous journalism' to encompass the relatively new form of journalism that is developing mostly around radio stations and online news sites connected to indigenous organizations and communities in Latin America. According to Tabares, Indigenous journalism is a 'collective work' of 'thinking and action' for indigenous communication (Tabares 2012b). The use of the 'collective work' concept seems particularly appropriate, as the imaginary of an 'indigenous journalism' has grown out of communitarian action at the local level mediated at meetings, discussions and networks at national and continental levels, for example the two Cumbres Continentales de Comunicación Indígena del Abya Yala (Continental Summits of Indigenous Communicators of Abya Yala¹). 'Indigenous journalism' bears many of the hallmarks of 'traditional journalism': it is connected to a community of journalists continuously engaged in discussions about issues such as norms, values and ethics. It is disseminated through media channels and is imagined as existing for the benefit of the audience.

Tabares and others have discussed the possibility of using the better-known concept of 'alternative journalism' or 'community journalism' instead of 'indigenous journalism' (Dario Buitrón 1996; Graván 2011; Tabares 2012a). Using 'alternative' would underline the similarities with journalisms elsewhere that offer alternative perspectives to those of the mainstream media. Often, alternative journalism would also seek to foster greater popular participation in the production of journalism. Employing the term 'community journalism', meanwhile, would underline the intimate relationship between those producing information and the communities they belong to. While the indigenous journalists participating at the continental summits certainly belong to a community of communicators, it would be mistaken to see them as belonging to an autonomous sphere within indigenous communities in the way we might do in the case, for instance, of European journalism.

Nevertheless, the phenomenon Tabares seeks to capture with the term 'indigenous journalism' is different from the types of journalism commonly labelled 'alternative journalism' or 'community journalism'. The difference is most salient in the many traditions, rituals, institutions and procedures that integrate individual journalists into indigenous communities and organizations. From an indigenous perspective, 'occidental' journalism is seen and criticized as a phenomenon that has emerged from a process of increasing individualization in the 'occidental' world. 'Occidental' media

are similarly understood by indigenous activists as having contributed to accelerating individualization (Maldonado 2010; Muñoz 2015; Quiroga 2014).

The emerging norms and values of indigenous journalism explicitly oppose individualization and call for journalism and media to not only serve indigenous communities but also be a part of these communities. Tabares, for example, finds three aspects of indigenous journalism to be crucial (Tabares 2012a). First, indigenous journalism must respond to the needs of indigenous peoples. Second, the communication must highlight the crisis of the ‘Occident’ and revalue the knowledge and life forms of indigenous peoples as a viable alternative. Three, the technologies underpinning the media must be placed at the service of indigenous life and culture. This understanding of journalism is not obviously reconcilable with norms of ‘objectivity’ and ‘balance’ held by many in the mainstream media.

Several instances of violence, threats and hate speech related to indigenous issues and peoples are discussed in the literature dealing with freedom of the press and safety of journalists. The UNESCO report *World trends in freedom of expression and media development. Special digital focus 2015* (Gagliardone 2015) does mention one case of hate speech online related to indigenous peoples in Australia (p. 48). However, there are no instances of journalists identified as indigenous being mentioned in the main report. Nonetheless, diversity in media and journalism is underlined as a key value several places in the report. The “UN Secretary-General’s Global Education First Initiative (...) aims to equip learners of all ages with those values, knowledge and skills that are based on, and instil respect for, human rights, social justice, diversity (...)” (Gagliardone 2015: 51). The report also underlines the importance of diversity in media audiences (p. 51) which depends on linguistic diversity (p. 67).

Reporters Without Borders (RWB), meanwhile, has published information on a substantial number of cases involving indigenous journalists and indigenous issues over the last ten years. The online database contains more than 80 news items and background articles related to indigenous issues.

In “Officials prevent indigenous radio station from reopening”, RWB is “alarmed by the continuing persecution of community radio stations in Guatemala” (Reporters Without Borders 2015d). RWB connects the murder of a community radio station director on 14 April in the south of Mexico to indigenous struggles in the region (Reporters Without Borders 2015b). In 2015, RWB reported ten cases of missing journalists to the United Nations, among them the case of Borja Lázaro from Colombia who had been missing since 2014 when he was producing reports on indigenous cultures (Reporters Without Borders 2015a).

In 2012, RWB found that a newly adopted law discriminated against indigenous community media in Guatemala (Reporters Without Borders 2012). In 2010, RWB welcomed the acquittal of a Chilean filmmaker who had been working with Mapuche indigenous activists (Reporters Without Borders 2010b). The majority of cases, however, are related to indigenous struggles in Colombia. The Cauca region seems to be a particularly unsafe region for indigenous journalists. Titles such as “Journalism in Valle del Cauca – terror, economic pressure and self-censorship” (Reporters Without Borders 2015c), “Airwaves against bullets – indigenous radios stations in Cauca”

(Reporters Without Borders 2012a), “Cauca’s indigenous community radios appeal for help” (Reporters Without Borders 2012b), “Paramilitaries threaten 11 journalists and 11 indigenous radio stations – vice-president asked to intercede” (Reporters Without Borders 2011) and “ChuzaDAS: Media targeted by intelligence services” (Reporters Without Borders 2010a) make it clear that violence and threats against indigenous journalists in Cauca cannot be seen as isolated episodes. They should instead be understood as structured assaults that over time serve to limit indigenous people’s freedom of speech.

Freedom House has reported on restrictions on freedom of speech for indigenous peoples, for instance the Mapuche in Chile (Freedom House 2006). The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) provides valuable research on the intimate relationship between indigenous struggles for autonomy and violence against indigenous journalists as well as non-indigenous journalists covering indigenous issues.

Although the struggle for indigenous rights is an underlying issue that needs to be interpreted in the context of Latin America as a whole, this paper will gradually zoom in on the safety of indigenous journalists in Cauca, Colombia.

The safety of indigenous journalists in Colombia is connected to the overall dynamics of violence, power struggles, conflict and war in Colombia. Colombia presents a number of contradictions. The country has a long tradition of civilian-led stability that stands out in Latin America. Colombia also has a tradition of respect for the independence of the judiciary. The constitution of 1991 strengthened judicial protection of human rights, promoted non-discrimination and diversity, and reinforced the democratic mechanisms of citizen participation. Indigenous organizations participated in the production of the new constitution, which established a number of formal measures to protect indigenous culture and autonomy. Thus, in some respects, Colombia appears to be a well-established and advanced democracy. In other areas, however, “severe shortcomings” seriously undermine the extent of democratic rule in the country (Freedom House 2011). The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) in 2014 stated that Colombia, “embodies hope, but also shows the long road that must be travelled to reach justice” (Witchel et al. 2014). Since 1992, the CPJ has documented 45 journalists killed because of their work in Colombia, in addition to 33 killings in which the motive is not clear. Impunity prevails in 88 per cent of the cases. However, the situation has improved significantly since 2008.

The improvement seems to have little to do with justice as most of the murders still go unpunished. While Colombia does have a programme in place for protection of journalists that provides security details or helps relocate threatened journalists, CPJ believes the improvement is mostly due to the general abatement of the war since 2008. There is probably a causal relationship between the advancing peace process and improved safety for Colombian journalists.

In the case of indigenous journalists, however, this causal relationship appears debatable. The violence against all types of indigenous leaders has continued at a very high level despite the ongoing peace process. According to the indigenous organizations, the armed parties and others are trying to create ‘facts on the ground’, positioning themselves for future control over and exploitation of the abundant natural resources found

on indigenous territories. Attacks against indigenous leaders and journalists seem to be coming from all sides, including paramilitaries controlled by elite groups, the state security apparatus and Marxist guerrilla organizations.

Methodology

This research has been undertaken as part of the Norhed-funded master and research project NORHED RUIICAY². Twenty master students contributed to this investigation by conducting 76 semi-structured interviews with indigenous and community journalists in communities in Ecuador, Colombia and Nicaragua. For reasons of comparison, the interviewers asked questions used by the investigators connected to the Worlds of Journalism project. Henry Caballero Fula of UAIIN (Colombia) organized focus group interviews with indigenous journalists in Cauca. Vicente Otero contributed with his extensive experience as the organizer of several national and continent-wide summits of indigenous communicators. Gerardo Simbaña of Pluriversidad Amawtay Wasi (Ecuador) has systematized resources on indigenous media in South America, while Gema Tabares has provided input on the most relevant cases in Mexico and Central America. Finally, the paper builds on research done in connection with the project *Journalism under Pressure: A mapping of editorial policies and practices for journalists covering conflict* (Høiby and Ottosen 2015). Nonetheless, I bear the full responsibility for everything in this paper article.

The first step of the investigation was to systematize existing literature on the safety of journalists related to indigenous issues in order to better understand mechanisms and causes. Second, the paper builds on the 76 semi-structured interviews with indigenous and communitarian journalists with the aim of contributing to the understanding of norms and values of indigenous journalism compared to mainstream journalism. With the help of Caballero and Otero, the investigation employed focus groups consisting of experienced indigenous journalists in Cauca, Colombia to discuss the safety of indigenous journalists and the measures undertaken to protect the safety of indigenous journalists.

The research should be seen as a small first, albeit necessary, step in the process of producing reliable knowledge about safety for indigenous journalists in Latin America.

Why are indigenous journalists exposed to threats and violence?

With researchers from the RUIICAY³, we have searched for literature and attempted to systematize some of the information on the safety of indigenous journalists that has been published. Too little has been published on the patterns of causes and mechanisms behind violence against indigenous journalists. In the following, I will use a few selected cases to begin a more systematic examination of possible causes and mechanisms behind the violence. While some aspects of these cases, such as the identity of the intellectual authors of reports on violent crimes, are still contested, the underlying conflicts are well documented.

The murder of Honduran indigenous environmentalist Berta Cáceres illustrates the problems of demarcating the border between journalists and non-journalists. Cáceres

succeeded in rallying the indigenous Lenca people behind a grassroots campaign to pressure the largest dam builder in the world to pull out of the Agua Zarca. While Caceres is usually described as an ‘indigenous leader’ and ‘environmentalist’, the organization she co-founded, the National Council of Popular and Indigenous Organizations of Honduras (COPINH) founded and ran three radio stations. Independent media and indigenous journalism played a pivotal part in the struggle for indigenous rights. In fact, a photo published by the Goldman Prize after Caceres won the Goldman Environmental Prize in 2015 pictures her in a studio working on a report for Radio Guarajambala.

The case illustrates several phenomena commonly found in cases of violence against indigenous leaders and journalists: Indigenous activists engaged in struggles against corporations seeking to exploit natural resources are also founders of media channels (for instance radio stations), and use the media to produce and disseminate information to audiences both inside and outside the indigenous communities. There is no clear line of distinction between activism and journalism, which is why scholars of indigenous journalism often compare indigenous journalism with ‘alternative journalism’ and ‘community journalism’. In the case of Berta Caceres, the Honduran state was obliged to provide protection to Caceres after the United Nations special rapporteur for indigenous rights, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, raised the issue with the Honduran president. In other cases, conflicts arise precisely because states decline to give indigenous communicators and journalists the same type of judicial protection as other forms of journalism.

Whether or not journalists are recognized as such is not of purely academic interest. In many Latin American countries, recognition as journalists is crucial for the right to protection, for gaining access to the airwaves as well as numerous other issues related to freedom of expression. In Mexico, for instance, the Second National Congress of Indigenous Communication (CNCI) consequently demanded a share of “the radio electronic spectrum” to be reserved for “broadcasting indigenous radio” in such a way that “the migration of commercial stations from AM to FM does not impede the rights of indigenous peoples to information.” At the same time, the congress denounced the Federal Telecommunications Commission for discriminating against indigenous media (Segundo Congreso Nacional de Comunicación Indígena, CNCI, 2008).

The Permanent Peoples’ Tribunal has investigated numerous cases related to “free trade, violence, impunity and the rights of the peoples of Mexico” (Tribunal permanente de los pueblos 2014). The tribunal documented 11 assassinations of journalists during a period of 20 months in the southeast and northeast of Mexico. Additionally, the tribunal found 180 cases of violence against female journalists. Public officials or the police were responsible for more than 60 per cent of the cases. The tribunal calls on international institutions to “denounce the systematic abuses of rights” and “demand that the state guarantee the work of the communicators of the communitarian radios” (Tribunal permanente de los pueblos 2014).

Similarly, in Colombia, indigenous organizations and communicators “reject threats and demand access to freedom of expression” (Minga Social Indígena y Popular, Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia ONIC, Consejo Regional Indígena

del Cauca-CRIC, and Asociación de Medios de Comunicación Indígena de Colombia-AMCIC 2013). After presenting a long list of crimes against indigenous communicators, the signatories demand that the state should investigate the crimes and punish the perpetrators. Despite several calls from Colombian indigenous organizations and international bodies, the government has so far ‘failed to take action’ to protect the communicators.

In Argentina, the Argentine Forum for Journalism (FOPEA) examined the arrest of three indigenous radio journalists at a protest against rally Dakar in 2014 (El Foro de Periodismo Argentino, FOPEA, 2014). The investigation once more highlighted some key issues found in all the cases analysed here: first, local authorities and police failed to recognize the radio journalists as ‘real’ journalists deserving protection; second, the radio journalists were engaged as leaders and activists in their respective indigenous communities; third, the indigenous activists protested against the use of their land for commercial purposes without prior consultation. According to Myrna Cunningham, member of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII), the social gains of indigenous peoples in Latin America have unleashed “a violent reaction against” indigenous communities (Cunningham 2013).

In many ways, indigenous peoples have won important concessions from governments over the last 25-30 years. New constitutions recognize countries as being ‘multinational’ or ‘multicultural’ and provide indigenous peoples with particular rights to education, language and so forth. International conventions, such as the International Labour Organization’s (ILO) “Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention” (No. 169) from 1989, grant indigenous peoples permanent rights to territories. An increasingly vocal and strong indigenous movement is standing up against states, corporations and armed groups wanting to exploit indigenous territories without the consent of indigenous peoples. However, the conflicts arising from these struggles are claiming countless victims all over Latin America.

How is indigenous journalism different from other journalism?

The cases quoted above indicate that the communicators that I refer to here as ‘indigenous journalists’ do not necessarily adhere to commonly held norms of journalism, such as the norm of objectivity. Objectivity is generally understood as ‘balance’, ‘independence’, ‘detachment’, or ‘disinterest’. In the cases cited here, the indigenous journalists are not detached or independent from the communities. Instead, they see production and dissemination of information as integral parts of the struggle for indigenous autonomy. To understand better the norms and values of indigenous journalism, we have interviewed indigenous journalists and some non-indigenous journalists working in communities with a high proportion of indigenous peoples.

First, following the Worlds of Journalism Study⁴ template, we asked, “how important is it” to be an “absolutely detached observer”.⁵ On a scale from 1 to 5 (5 meaning extremely important), the mean value of all answers was 3.95 with almost no difference found between indigenous and non-indigenous journalists. This places indigenous journalists well within the range of typical values found among professional journal-

ists in countries as diverse as Australia, the USA, Uganda and China. A question about “providing citizens with the information they need to make political decisions” as a goal for journalism, revealed a slightly greater divergence between indigenous journalists and most professional journalists (WJS). The mean result for the group of indigenous journalists was 3.88 while WJS found 4.38 to be the mean among all journalists interviewed. Conversely, indigenous journalists are much more likely to be willing to “advocate for social change” than journalists in the USA, Europe and Australia (mean of 3.81 among indigenous journalists versus 2.50 in the USA). Although the responses vary within the group of indigenous journalists interviewed, the typical respondent is much less likely to agree with the statement “I think that facts speak for themselves” than journalists from any country included in the Worlds of Journalism Study (mean value of 3.19 among indigenous journalists versus 3.91 for the USA).

The results from the semi-structured interviews help us understand the norms and values of the emerging indigenous journalism. Contrary to our expectations, many indigenous journalists do see themselves as ‘independent’. In focus groups, many expressed a need to continue working for a greater autonomy for journalists as a group in the struggle for indigenous autonomy. Some indigenous journalists clearly wish to develop a journalism that is more critical towards indigenous authorities. As one of the indigenous journalists stated: “Independent journalism is needed to criticize leaders of communities and organizations. People need independent information.” Nonetheless, the group of indigenous journalists is resistant to defining “providing citizens with information” as a goal. The focus group sessions indicate that one reason lies in the histories of racism and exclusion in Latin America. Indigenous journalists do not believe that majority rule will necessarily end racism in Latin America. In the group sessions, the journalists would question the meaning of ‘citizens’ and engage in debates on the notion of ‘information’ that can be simply ‘provided’. According to many participants, the information provided by journalists in the mainstream media is far from being simply out there, ready to be ‘provided’. Instead, they see it as socially constructed based on, for instance, existing social structures. That is perhaps why indigenous journalists are more willing to identify with the goal “to advocate for social change”.

Colombia and the safety of indigenous journalists

According to the interviews, most indigenous journalists have experienced serious threats or some sort of violence related to their work. The group interviews, meanwhile, shed light on the many measures indigenous journalists as well as indigenous communities and organizations take to protect themselves.

The indigenous journalists’ movement in the region of Cauca, Colombia was moulded in a context of constant danger and violence. The threats come from all parties in the long civil war. The attacks have sometimes been aimed directly at indigenous journalists, while the indigenous media have sometimes been affected indirectly. At all times, however, indigenous journalists have had to rely on organized communities for protection. The growth of indigenous media has consequently been inseparable from the growth of the indigenous movement since the Regional Indigenous Council

of Cauca (CRIC) began to use silkscreened posters systematically to distribute information at meetings and other events in the 1970s. Later, the CRIC founded a newspaper “indigenous unit” and circulated the newspaper to all communities. The network Association of Indigenous Media in Colombia (AMCIC) was founded in 2004 and is currently composed of 24 communication collectives in the Department of Cauca.

A long list of attacks on the indigenous media has been documented by the indigenous communicators and activists. On 9 July 2011, for example, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) exploded a bomb placed on board a bus outside the police station in Toribio, causing severe problems for the civilian population. Radio Nasa was damaged and a journalist was seriously injured when the equipment fell on him. Likewise, the radio mast of Nasa Estéreo was installed on a hill belonging to the community, but it has not been possible to repair damage to the antenna because the army has installed a military base on the hill against the will of the community (La Otra Cara 2015). Rodolfo Maya Aricape, an indigenous community journalist of the Network School of Communication, was killed in the northern district López Adentro de Caloto in 2010 (Monroy Gomez 2011). The crime remains unsolved. Vicente Otero has repeatedly been threatened in times of social mobilization. He was imprisoned on charges the state could not support and had to leave the country for more than six months (Sulé 2013). Several radio stations have been damaged in guerrilla attacks on police stations. Radio Libertad de Totoro, for example, was damaged because the Colombian army had entered the station during an attack. Radio Nasa in the Paez municipality was damaged when the police directed “shots at the station, damaging some of the equipment” during a confrontation with the guerrillas (Caballero Fula 2015). The journalists fear losing the support of the communities more than threats or attacks.

The violence against indigenous journalists in Cauca is typically related to the coverage of protests against exploitation of natural resources on indigenous territories. Covering such issues tends to expose indigenous journalists to the risk of making powerful enemies among international businesses and local elites. The risks to indigenous journalists’ safety is sometime directly linked to conflicts between indigenous peoples and the Colombian state.

While Colombia faces a number of challenges related to the safety of journalists, the challenges facing indigenous journalists do not necessarily follow the same pattern or have the same causes as threats to mainstream journalists. Instead, they need to be assessed and tackled in the context of indigenous struggles for territories and autonomy.

Indigenous journalism needs to be recognized

Indigenous journalism poses some serious questions related to the professionalization of journalism in Latin America. According to Silvio Waisbord, professionalization is “about the specialization of labor and control of occupational practice. These issues are important, particularly amidst the combination of political, technological and economic trends that have profoundly unsettled the foundations of modern journalism” (Waisbord 2013).

This notion of professionalization as specialization is in conflict with indigenous imaginaries of a good life and a good community (Buen Vivir). According to indigenous holism, a good community can come into being when the members know the different roles and functions of the community. Broad experience is highly valued. Therefore, members of a community will normally learn by circulating between different roles. Division of labour and consequently greater specialization is not seen as a good thing.

The indigenous journalists do not themselves understand 'journalism' as a social activity that ought to be performed by specialists belonging to a clearly demarcated profession. Indigenous journalists will typically have served as community leaders or have held various roles in indigenous organizations before becoming 'journalists' for a limited period of time.

My hypothesis is that academics and journalist organizations sometimes have problems recognizing indigenous journalists as being 'real journalists' because of this aversion to professionalization and specialization. This is further complicated because indigenous journalists as a group have somewhat negative attitudes towards mainstream journalists and the journalism they observe around them. Many indigenous journalists claim that mainstream media are "owned by small elite groups" and consequently reflect existing social and economic hierarchies. Most argue that mainstream journalism tends to exclude and devalue minorities. Mainstream media are thus accused of "representing hegemonic ideologies, norms and values" (all quotes taken from group sessions and interviews).

Nevertheless, many aspects of indigenous journalism are familiar to the student of the history of journalism. The Norwegian journalism that emerged in the late 1800s, for instance, was created by organizations deeply embedded in local and national communities, such as political parties, trade unions, the small peasant movement, and important in the case of Norway, the movement to construct a Norwegian language. Norwegian journalism in the late 1800s was not seen at the time as being independent from organizations and communities, but rather as embedded within them, much like the indigenous journalism in Latin America today.

Measures to protect the safety of indigenous journalists

Many of the qualities of indigenous journalism described above serve to protect indigenous journalists. The circulation between roles and responsibilities, for instance, ensures that individuals will not remain in an exposed and vulnerable position for extended periods of time.

Many of the indigenous leaders will have a background from indigenous journalism and thus intimate knowledge of the potential dangers to the safety of journalists. Organizations and communities have therefore established a number of mechanisms to protect the journalists. CRIC, for instance, has developed a communication policy and provides support to the network of communication collectives and radio stations. The networks and collectives effectively disseminate information about threats, dangers and violence through established channels within and outside the indigenous move-

ment. The movement is highly effective when it comes to organizing public protests involving tens of thousands of well-organized participants.

Perhaps the most astounding feature for an outside observer is the unarmed but well-trained and highly organized indigenous guard that will confront any aggressors in order to protect indigenous journalists and indigenous leaders (Dudouet 2014; Piñeros 2006). The indigenous guard represents a daunting opponent for any aggressor, even if heavily armed, as seen during the confrontation between FARC and indigenous guards in Toribio in November 2014. Even though the FARC soldiers killed two unarmed guards, they eventually had to surrender to the local authorities.

If needed, indigenous organizations have the ability to remove indigenous journalists from dangerous localities and place them in more secure environments until it is possible to return home. This was the case when Vicente Otero had to leave Colombia because of continuous threats and persecution based on false information (Cultural Survivor, Undated).

The very aspects of indigenous journalism that sometimes make it difficult for outside observers to identify this type of journalism as 'real journalism' are the same aspects that help guarantee the safety of indigenous journalists in times of extreme violence.

Conclusions

This has been a first step towards a systematic analysis of the safety of indigenous journalists in Colombia and elsewhere in Latin America. I have argued that threats and violence against indigenous journalists constitute a real and widespread problem that has so far received inadequate consideration from the international community. This is most likely because "indigenous journalism" is not easily recognizable as 'journalism' to 'Northern' observers.

While many journalists in places that are hostile towards critical journalism prefer to see themselves as 'objective' and without personal interests in the issues they cover, indigenous journalists explicitly put the tools of journalism to work to serve communities struggling for indigenous autonomy. This has put indigenous journalists in a particularly precarious position. The problems of indigenous journalists have been compounded by the fact that Latin American justice systems in general have been influenced in so many ways to support the powerful over the poor and excluded. Additionally, mainstream journalists in Latin America have been slow to recognize the importance of the work indigenous journalists do, probably because so many indigenous journalists do not adhere to the norms and values that many Latin American journalists consider important to protect journalists and build acceptance for the profession of journalism.

However, the close integration of indigenous journalists within indigenous communities and organizations serves to protect their safety. As a result, the norms and values of indigenous journalism have emerged and continue to be socially constructed as integral to the struggles of the indigenous communities.

It is essential to recognize the invaluable contribution of indigenous journalism to society. Indigenous journalists deserve to be fully recognized as journalists and consequently considered when measures to protect the safety of journalists is being discussed.

References

- Caballero, H. F. (2016). Intercultural Indigenous Communication of the Indigenous Communities of Cauca in the Context of the Armed Conflict. In Kristin Skare Orgeret and William Tayeebwa (eds.), *Journalism in Conflict and Post-Conflict Conditions Worldwide Perspectives*. Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Cultural Survivor. (Undated). Colombian Activists Arrested. *Cultural Survivor*.
- Cunningham, M. (2013). Alertan en ONU sobre violencia por avances indígenas en Latinoamérica. In *Notimex* 2013-05-30.
- Darío Buitrón, R. (1996). Periodismo comunitario: más preguntas que respuestas. *Chasqui* (56).
- Dudouet, V. (2014). *Civil Resistance and Conflict Transformation: Transitions from armed to nonviolent struggle*. New York: Taylor & Francis.
- El Foro de Periodismo Argentino (FOPEA). (2014). *Violenta represión de comunicadores indígenas en Argentina*. Buenos Aires: El Foro de Periodismo Argentino (FOPEA).
- Freedom House. (2006). *Freedom of the Press 2006*. Washington: Freedom House.
- Freedom House. (2011). *Countries at the Crossroads. Colombia*. Washington: Freedom House.
- Gagliardone, I., Gal, D., Alves Pinto, T. and Martínez Sainz, G. (2015). *World trends in freedom of expression and media development: special digital focus 2015*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Høiby, M. and Ottosen, R. (2015). Journalism under Pressure: A mapping of editorial policies and practices for journalists covering conflict *HiOA rapport*. Oslo: HiOA.
- Lamuedra Graván, M. (2011). Medios de Servicio Público, Periodismos Alternativos y Esfera Pública Deliberativa: hacia un nuevo consenso sobre el rol del periodismo en la era digital. *Chasqui* (113).
- Mancilla Maldonado, C. (2010). Occidentalización de la práctica curativa indígena a través de la instauración de farmacias mapuches en Chile. El caso de la farmacia Makelawen (Westernization of the indigenous healing practices through the opening of Mapuche drugstores in Chile. The case of the Mekelawen drugstore). *Tercer Milenio* (21).
- Minga Social Indígena y Popular, Por la Defensa de Vida, el Territorio, Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia ONIC, Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca-CRIC, & Asociación de Medios de Comunicación Indígena de Colombia-AMCIC. (2013). *Comunicadores Indígenas rechazan amenazas y exigen derecho a Libre Expresión*. Bogotá: Minga Social Indígena y Popular, Por la Defensa de Vida, el Territorio.
- Muñoz, L. (2015, 17.12.). La revolución de las 'wayúu' *Picara Online Magazine – Entrevista a Jazmín Romero Epiayú, Pikara*.
- Piñeros, N. (2006). *Resistencia indígena: alternativa en medio del conflicto colombiano*. Cali: Pontificia Univ. Javeriana Cali, Grupo Problemas Políticos Globales, Department de Ciencia Jurídica y Política.
- Reporters Without Borders. (2010a). *ChuzadAS: Media targeted by intelligence services*. Paris: Reporters Without Borders.
- Reporters Without Borders. (2010b). *Court acquits filmmaker who was working with Mapuche indigenous*. Paris: Reporters Without Borders.
- Reporters Without Borders. (2011). *Paramilitaries threaten 11 journalists and 11 indigenous radio stations – vice-president asked to intercede*. Paris: Reporters Without Borders.
- Reporters Without Borders. (2012). *Newly adopted law discriminates against indigenous community media*. Paris: Reporters Without Borders.
- Reporters Without Borders. (2012a). *Air waves against bullets – indigenous radios stations in Cauca*. Paris: Reporters Without Borders.
- Reporters Without Borders. (2012b). *Cauca's indigenous community radios appeal for help*. Paris: Reporters Without Borders.
- Reporters Without Borders. (2015a). *Cases of missing journalists in ten countries referred to UN*. Paris: Reporters Without Borders.
- Reporters Without Borders. (2015b). *Community radio director gunned down in Oaxaca state*. Paris: Reporters Without Borders.
- Reporters Without Borders. (2015c). *Journalism in Valle del Cauca – terror, economic pressure and self-censorship*. Paris: Reporters Without Borders.
- Reporters Without Borders. (2015d). *Officials prevent indigenous radio station from reopening*. Paris: Reporters Without Borders.

- Segundo Congreso Nacional de Comunicación Indígena (CNCI). (2008). *Declaración del Segundo Congreso Nacional de Comunicación Indígena (CNCI)*. México, D. F.: Delegaciones acompañantes en el II CNCI, Guatemala, Francia, Uruguay.
- Suárez Quiroga, M. (2014). La otredad indígena en el discurso mediático colombiano. *Lengua y Literatura Indoamericana* (16), 67-89.
- Tabares, G. (2012a). Periodismo indígena, una propuesta desde las cumbres de comunicación de Abya Yala. *Chasqui* (120).
- Tabares, G. (2012b). *Periodismo indígena: la minga de pensamientos y acciones sobre la comunicación indígena*. Quito: FLASCO Ecuador.
- Tribunal permanente de los pueblos. (2014). *Dictamen de la audiencia "Desinformación, censura y violencia contra los comunicadores"*. Rome: Fondazione Basso.
- Waisbord, S. R. (2013). *Reinventing professionalism: journalism and news in global perspective*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Witchel, E., Gongadze, M., Simon, J., Otis, J., Milashina, E., Agren, D. and Khan, S. (2014). *The Road to Justice. Breaking the Cycle of Impunity in the Killing of Journalists*. New York: Committee to Protect Journalists.

Notes

1. Many indigenous organizations use the term Abya Yala to refer to the American continent.
2. More information on the programme: <https://www.norad.no/en/front/funding/norhed/projects/ruii-cay-hioa-intercultural-communication-linkage-programme/>
3. Red de Universidades Indígenas Interculturales y Comunitarias de Abya Yala (The Network of Indigenous Intercultural and Community Universities of Abya Yala). Many indigenous leaders and activists prefer to use "Abya Yala" instead of "America".
4. For more details see <http://www.worldsofjournalism.org/>
5. "5 means you find it extremely important, 4 means very important, 3 means somewhat important, 2 means little important, and 1 means not important at all."

The Dangers of Sports Journalism

Kirsten Sparre

Abstract

According to The Committee to Protect Journalists, 2 per cent of all journalists killed since 1992 worked on the sports beat. At present, however, we have limited knowledge of the specific dangers faced by sports journalists. This chapter presents findings from exploratory research on 78 reports of violations of the media freedom or personal safety of sports journalists. Threats to media freedom include being banned from press conferences or events, the seizure of passports or denial of accreditation. The personal safety of sports journalists is compromised through verbal abuse, assaults, attacks, personal and social media harassment, detention, legal pressure, and killings. The key perpetrators identified in the sample were fans, athletes and coaches, owners and officials of sports clubs and national associations, international sports federations, and authorities in authoritarian regimes hosting sports mega-events.

Keywords: sports journalism, safety, media freedom, sports fans, sports

The potential dangers of being a sports journalist were brought home to me for the first time in 2005 at a conference organized by Play the Game - an international conference and communication initiative aiming to promote democracy, transparency and freedom of expression in sports. During the opening ceremony, sports editor Fillipos Syrigos from the Greek newspaper *Eleftherotypia* described how he had been beaten and stabbed four times in the back by unknown assailants one day in October 2004. He linked the attack to three major sports scandals he was reporting on at the time, although neither he nor the police ever found out who the perpetrators were (Sparre 2006).

At the time, I worked for Play the Game as a news coordinator and I decided to compile and publish reports on assaults, threats, deaths, and legal actions against sports journalists to draw attention to the violations, but also as a means to understand the extent and severity of the problem (Sparre 2008).

The list kept growing, but was later neglected when I left the organization. Moreover, none of the press freedom organizations working with UNESCO or other inter-governmental bodies on protecting journalists has paid specific attention to the issue of sports journalist safety either. However, research from the Committee to Protect Journalists shows that 2 per cent of all journalists killed since 1992 worked on the sports beat (Committee to Protect Journalists, no date), and an Internet search on “sports journalist” and terms such as ‘harassment’, ‘death threat’, ‘assault’ or ‘detention’ quickly turns up disturbing examples. In the present article, I will open up this

neglected area of research by introducing the findings of exploratory research into a 78-strong sample of reports detailing one or more incidents in which sports journalists were obstructed in their work, threatened or suffered bodily harm.

However, before presenting the findings of the research, it is useful to consider the relationship between journalism and the sports world.

The links between journalism and the sports world

Sports constitute a major part of the global economy. According to research from the management consultancy firm A.T. Kearney (2014), the global sports market generates between 600 and 700 billion US dollars in revenues annually, which is roughly 1 per cent of the global gross domestic product (GDP). Looking at the sports events market alone, it experienced an annual growth of 7 per cent between 2009 and 2013, which means that the sports event market grows faster than GDP in nearly every country and many times more in markets such as the US, Brazil, the UK, and France. Growth rates are expected to continue, with football being the main driver (Kearney 2014).

As Boyle, Rowe and Whannel (2009) point out in their extensive review of literature on sports journalism, economic developments within the sports industry have had profound implications for what we understand as sports journalism. For much of the 20th century, 'sports' was considered a specific form of news separate from the political, economic and social concerns that shaped the rest of the news. Sports journalism lived in its own sections in newspapers and broadcasting programmes, but today "sport as a subject has found itself spreading beyond the confines of sports journalism, and indeed, often beyond the territory of sports journalists themselves" (Boyle et al. 2009: 250).

Today, journalism about sports can be found in print, digital and broadcast media, on social media and blogs, in specialist media and public service media, and it deals with many aspects of sports, from events on the playing field and celebrity sports stars to business, finance and politics. However, as the following analysis will show, three groups of journalists are most at risk for having their media freedom or safety violated, namely journalists working on traditional sports beats, investigative journalists undertaking a watchdog function in relation to sports and society, and journalists who cover sports mega-events such as the Olympic Games and FIFA World Cups. Some of these journalists consider themselves to be sports journalists, and others do not.

Journalists working on traditional sports beats

Journalists working on traditional sports beats make up by far the biggest group of journalists working in the field of sports, and they are employed by print, digital and broadcast news organizations the world over.

The coverage of everyday sports is remarkably similar in media organizations across the world. A 2011 international survey of sports journalism based on articles from 80 newspapers in 22 countries on five continents showed that the vast majority of news items – 77.7 per cent – were related directly to competitions and sports performances in the form of match reports, comments on performances and previews of upcoming

competitions or matches. Whilst the specific types of sports covered differed according to national interests, football was the only world media sport, and the topic accounted for more than 40 per cent of all articles in the sample (Horky and Nieland 2011).

The survey also showed that 60 per cent of the sources quoted in the articles were athletes, coaches, spokespersons or representatives of clubs or teams and representatives of sport organizations (*ibid.*), which confirms previous findings by other researchers, such as Rowe (2007). Access to athletes is often carefully managed by sports organizations through press conferences and media events, and as a result sports journalists can find themselves tied to sports bodies or administrators (English 2016). This reliance not only leads to increasing commercialization of sports news, where journalists agree to mention sponsors or advertisers to get interviews with athletes, but also promotes self-censorship, as journalists fear being cut off from key sources if they are too critical (*ibid.*).

Another key development in daily sports journalism has been the emergence of digital and social media. Moritz (2015) examined the impact of digital and social media on the practices of American sports journalists. Based on in-depth interviews with 25 editors and sports journalists, he concluded that storylines and sources continue to be the same in the digital age. The changes relate mainly to daily routines where sports journalists are expected to cover multiple beats, use digital and social media to post short news updates and be active on Twitter, including interacting with readers and sports fans (Moritz 2015).

Investigative journalists undertaking watchdog functions within sports

The international survey of sports journalism mentioned above also showed that newspaper journalists generally paid very little attention to issues related to sports and society and rarely undertook investigative reporting that could expose wrongdoing such as corruption, match fixing and doping (Horky and Nieland 2011).

There are a number of explanations for this state of affairs. As Rowe (2007) pointed out, news items covering sports are often economically important in drawing in mostly male readers to news publications, and thus such items have the authority of their own popularity. But it is exactly this popularity and belief in what works for the target group that leads the majority of sports journalists away from covering the problems in the social world of sports (Rowe 2007). English (2016) pointed to fewer financial and human resources within news organizations as one reason for less sports scrutiny and also the fear of being cut off from sources that are key to producing everyday stories.

Nevertheless, some investigative journalists are looking at the world of sports – often from a position as freelance journalists – and they have played important roles as watchdogs. For instance, freelance journalists have been instrumental in exposing two of the most recent scandals in the sports world, namely the widespread corruption within the International Football Federation, FIFA, and the systematic doping of athletes in Russia. In the case of FIFA, investigative journalists such as Jens Weinreich and Andrew Jennings have tirelessly documented mismanagement within FIFA for many years to an extent that finally caught the eye of the American FBI (Jennings 2015b;

Sparre 2011). In the case of the Russian doping scandal, it was a documentary made by freelance journalist Hajo Seppelt and broadcast on the German TV station ARD that set the ball in motion. The documentary alleged that up to 99 per cent of the Russian Olympic team used doping and that a network of corruption had been put in place to cover up positive tests (Oltermann 2014). A new documentary by Seppelt released in March 2016 contained more allegations of malpractice by the Russian Anti-Doping Agency (WADA 2016).

Exposures by investigative journalists also make it more legitimate for journalists on regular sports beats to engage with corruption and doping issues. Numerato (2009) argued that many media organizations passively tolerate corruption in sports, but that the situation can change when a corruption scandal is exposed by a freelance journalist or by official sources. When an event becomes newsworthy in this way, a journalist reporting on a sports transgression will not fear losing access to sources because he or she will not be alone in reporting on the topic.

Journalists covering sports mega-events

Very few journalists specialize in covering sports mega-events such as the Olympic Games, Commonwealth Games and world championships. The importance of mega-events in this context lies in the fact that coverage of global sporting events involves a very large number of journalists, even those from outside the sports beats. Moreover, journalists are often interested in covering issues that go beyond the sporting activities themselves and include social, political and environmental matters related to the event.

Research from the Danish Institute for Sports Studies shows that, since 2010, the biggest sports mega-events such as the Olympic Games, World Cups in football, Formula 1 and international tennis tournaments have increasingly moved away from democratic countries in Europe, the US, and Japan to other countries in Asia, the Middle East, South America and Russia (Bang 2011). Grix and Lee (2013) argued that hosting mega-events is an exercise in public diplomacy, where emerging states such as China and Brazil seek to project and boost their soft power in the international system. That argument applies to authoritarian states such as Qatar and Russia as well (Weinreich 2011), and therefore journalists covering sports mega-events in the future are increasingly likely to come up against stakeholders and political regimes that rank very low when it comes to protecting human rights or media freedom.

Methods

The objective of exploratory research is to identify questions for further research, and the approach is used to address subjects about which there is little prior knowledge (Andersen 2009). In this case, it is important to find out what kinds of threats sports journalists are experiencing, what actors are behind the threats, and how the threats are linked to the practices of sports journalism.

The empirical data consist of 78 different reports of violations of the media freedom or personal safety of sports journalists in the period from 2010 to April 2016. The reports were collected from a number of different sources: Websites of organiza-

tions concerned with media freedom and the safety of journalists (Mapping Media Freedom, Committee to Protect Journalists, Reporters Without Borders, European Council, IFEX, and the Media Foundation for West Africa), websites of organizations concerned with sports journalism and/or the role of journalism in sports, and news organization websites. All websites not belonging to news organizations were searched using the word “sport” and/or “journalist” to capture as many reports as possible. Reports from news organizations were identified in broad internet searches using the words ‘sports journalist’ combined with terms such as ‘threat’, ‘assault’, ‘attack’, ‘killed’ or ‘detention’.

Seventy-eight reports would seem to be a sufficient number for exploring and identifying some of the issues related to the safety of sports journalists, but the sample is unlikely to include all potential problems. Moreover, for a number of reasons, it is highly likely that the 78 reports only represent the tip of the iceberg when it comes to the safety of sports journalists.

First, several of the reports stress that the incident in question was preceded by a number of similar incidents. For instance, the BH Journalists’ Association in Bosnia-Herzegovina reported an attack on a TV crew after a football match in 2015, stating that attacks on journalists and media crews are frequent especially in games involving a “higher risk” (Mapping Media Freedom 2015b). In the UK, a Channel 4 news report in 2012 about the Rangers Football Club in Glasgow included an interview with a representative for the National Union of Journalists who had been contacted by more than 30 journalists in Scotland with concerns for their safety after working on the story about the Rangers’ economic collapse (Thomson 2012). And from Bangladesh, ESPNcricinfo reported about an assault on a journalist by officials at an international cricket game and added: “Incidents such as these have been a regular feature of international cricket in Bangladesh in recent years” (Isam 2015). Moreover, a number of articles produced by the searches were excluded from the sample because they dealt with the issue at a general level rather than detailing specific incidents.

Second, the presence of accessible reporting mechanisms is likely to play a role in making violations against sports journalists more visible. In the present sample, 27 of the 78 reports come from the Mapping Media Freedom project. Co-funded by the European Commission and operated by Index on Censorship in partnership with the European Federation of Journalists and Reporters Without Borders, the project has allowed individuals as well as organizations to submit their own reports of attacks on press freedom since 2014 (Mapping Media Freedom n.d.). The high number of reports from the Mapping Media Freedom website is interesting considering that reports from other media freedom initiatives, such as Committee to Protect Journalists, the European Council, IFEX, and Reporters Without Borders, only make up a total of 13 in the sample.

Third, 30 of the reports in the sample stem from news organization websites. Journalism is an unreliable monitoring system, as all events are subject to an elaborate gatekeeping system, where publication depends on whether the item is considered newsworthy and the competition it faces on a given day.

Finally, the searches were only conducted in English and searches in other languages are likely to turn up further incidents involving sports journalists.

Following data collection, the reports were coded at a very basic level for the country in which the incident occurred, the year it occurred, the type of violation, the perpetrator indicated in the report and the type of sports the incident was connected to.

The who, what, and where of safety violations

In the 78-strong sample, incidents happened in 35 different countries on six different continents. In terms of political regimes, all four types from the Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index (2015) were represented: Full democracies, flawed democracies, hybrid regimes and authoritarian regimes. In other words: Violations against media freedom and the personal safety of sports journalists can and do happen anywhere in the world.

The catalogue of violations in the sample was fairly broad. Violations of media freedom included being banned from press conferences, stadiums or events, and the seizure of passports or denial of accreditation when trying to enter a country to cover a sports event. The personal safety of sports journalists was compromised through arrests and detentions; physical and verbal assaults; abductions; attacks; physical, verbal and digital threats of violence or death; legal actions; damage to property; personal and digital sexual abuse; and killings.

With respect to geography and types of violations, the situation of sports journalists may not be different from that of other journalists. What sets sports journalism apart are the stakeholders and dynamics that are specific to the world of sports. Key perpetrators identified in the sample were fans, athletes and coaches, owners and officials of sports clubs and associations, and international sports federations. Police and political authorities also feature prominently amongst the perpetrators, particularly in relation to mega-events. Even the Islamic terrorist group Al-Shabaab in Somalia is on the list. The group specifically targets sports journalists calling them "journalists of evil" who glorify "satanic sports", and in 2012 alone, 14 sports journalists were killed (Dorsey 2015; DiManno 2012).

The actions of different types of stakeholders in sports will be examined in more detail below.

Threats, intimidation and attacks by fans

In the sample, fans emerged as one of the key perpetrators of violations against sports journalists, although the placing of blame in a (news) report cannot always be taken at face value. Most of the reported incidents took place in connection with football and involved physical assaults and attacks on journalists and/or their property as well as verbal or digital threats of violence or death. The presence of so many reports on football in a relatively small sample could be an indication of the special status of football in the sports world. As a key economic driver in sports, football is covered intensively by the media globally, which could also lead to more attention to fan violations against

football journalists than in other types of sports. Conversely, it could also be an indication that there is a special problem with football fans that warrants further research.

The incidents can be divided into two groups: One group of incidents took place in relation to situations of newsgathering, and the other group included reactions to the contents of journalistic products. A number of cases from Italy illustrate the point.

Newsgathering: In March 2016, two fans attacked a freelance reporter outside the football stadium Campo Tinto Onorato, Italy, hitting him in the face and taking his phone. Meanwhile, other spectators reportedly chanted “Journalists are pieces of shit” (Mapping Media Freedom 2016a). In September 2015, approximately 50 fans of the football team Sanbenedettese blocked Vera TV journalists from accessing a studio for over two hours while shouting threatening remarks. The journalists were on their way to film a show about a rival team (Mapping Media Freedom 2015a).

Reactions to content: In March 2016, 50 fans from the Atalanta football club gathered outside the offices of La Gazzetta dello Sport newspaper in Milan, where they threw smoke bombs, chanted offensive chants and singled out one journalist for an article he had written about a football leader placed under police watch (Mapping Media Freedom 2016b). In April 2015, in response to an article about fan behaviour during football practice, fans of the Atlanta football club also threatened a freelance contributor to Gazzetta dello Sport by putting up a banner outside the stadium that called the journalist “a worm” (Mapping Media Freedom 2015c).

Italy is heavily represented in the sample, but the sample also includes incidents from several other countries. In Scotland, fans of the Rangers football club in Glasgow have been intimidating journalists for a very long time, and in 2013 the International Federation of Journalists called on Scottish authorities to bring those behind the threats to journalists to justice (Haggerty 2013).

Misogyny: Hate and sexist trolling against female sports journalists

Several reports as well as a number of articles by journalists and academics have described how male fans are inundating female sports journalists with threats and sexual abuse, particularly on social media. For instance in 2014, American sports radio host Amy Lawrence criticized the short suspension of an NFL player who had been caught on camera beating up his fiancée. Immediately her phone lines, her Facebook page and her Twitter feed were flooded with insults:

I was called bitch, gold-digger, hack, idiot, dumb broad, delusional, ugly, clueless, and the worst host on CBS Sports Radio among other things. I was sexually harassed and called names I would never speak or print. In my 10 years of network radio, that was the worst it's ever been (Laird 2014).

In Australia, Channel Nine sports journalist and Footy Show presenter Erin Molan resigned in 2015 after being asked how many sportsmen she had had sex with and whether she had had a breast augmentation (Reynolds 2016).

A 2016 report prepared for UNESCO by the International Women's Media Foundation pointed out that digital harassment is an increasingly frequent phenomenon

that has forced many journalists to abandon a story or even the profession (IMWF 2016). Research from the British think-tank DEMOS (2014) showed that female journalists and TV news presenters receive roughly three times as much abuse as their male counterparts.

The research presented above does not focus on sports journalism in particular, but the question is whether the trend is exacerbated within sports journalism, as many men consider sports to be a male domain where women should not interfere (e.g., Rowe 2016). For instance, Jemele Hill, co-host of a daily sports programme on ESPN2, believes that she has been targeted for online harassment because she and other women “are supposedly infiltrating a space that has been decidedly male” (DiCaro 2015).

Working in the mixed zone: Athletes and coaches

As mentioned above, most sports journalists rely heavily on athletes and coaches for quotes in the run-up to and aftermath of a sports event. However, tempers often flare in the mixed zone shared by athletes, coaches and journalists, typically when an athlete or a coach is unhappy with the questions asked by a journalist or the contents of previous reporting. The differences are expressed either in the form of verbal abuse or as physical assaults. For instance, in July 2015 the manager of Mexico’s national football team, Miguel Herrera, was sacked after he threatened and subsequently hit a sports reporter for Mexico’s TV Azteca at Philadelphia’s airport (Hill 2015).

Again, female sports journalists experience difficulties because of their gender. In January 2016, cricket player Chris Gayle faced severe criticism in Australia for sexist and inappropriate comments he had made to Channel Ten reporter Mel McLaughlin live on air. Three other female sports journalists came forward to reveal what they called ‘creepy’ and ‘intimidating’ advances that the player had made against them in recent years (Noble et al. 2016).

This incident took place in public, but is symptomatic of problems that female reporters have experienced for many years when they have entered the locker rooms of male athletes in order to obtain post-game quotes (for an extensive literature review, see Bruce 2002). These problems persist today. In an article in *Sports Illustrated* headlined “Sexual harassment toward female sports reporters is far too common”, Richard Deitsch provided a long list of examples of recent sexually abusive behaviour by athletes, coaches and players’ agents towards female journalists. The women asked for anonymity when telling their stories, which Deitsch granted them because “in the real world, there are repercussions, among colleagues, employers and especially with the teams they cover, for naming names” (Deitsch 2015).

Clubs and national sports federations

Clubs and sports federations at the national level also have a strong interest in how their organizations and activities are covered by journalists, and in some cases they employ heavy-handed measures to achieve more favourable coverage. The measures range from banning individual journalists from attending press conferences and legal action to threats, violent attacks and assassination.

In July 2012, the Brazilian sports journalist, Valerio Luiz de Oliveria, was shot dead by a masked man on a motorbike. An 8-month-long police investigation found that Oliveira's assassination was motivated by "Oliveira's strong criticism and harsh statements" about the management of the local football club, Atlético Clube Goianiense (Mortensen 2014). Also in Brazil, two sports journalists have been convicted of defamation of a club owner and the president of the Brazilian football association, respectively. This widespread use of defamation laws to stifle critical reporting has been condemned by the Committee to Protect Journalists (Committee to Protect Journalists 2015, Jennings 2015a).

The sample also includes an incident from Serbia where B92 TV, in March 2015, decided to postpone the broadcasting of a new episode of the Reporter investigative journalism programme about corruption in football clubs due to security issues. According to the Independent Association of Journalists of Serbia, a campaign against the author of the show had been going on for days, and officials of sport clubs as well as people from sports fan organizations were openly threatening reporters (Mapping Media Freedom 2015d).

International sports federations and confederations

The sample includes two cases in which international sports federations and confederations have tried to interfere with the rights of sports journalists to publish information that exposes wrongdoing on the part of the sporting organizations. In both cases, the threats were of a legal nature.

Over the course of 2015, investigative journalist Hajo Seppelt, who exposed the systematic doping abuse in Russian athletics, received three letters from lawyers acting for the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) advising him that it was monitoring his comments on matters relating to athletics and doping, and was reserving the right to take legal action (Walsh 2016).

Meanwhile, in 2012, sports journalist and blogger James M. Dorsey was ordered by a Singapore court to reveal his sources for a report on an audit of suspended Asian Football Confederation (AFC) president Mohammed bin Hammam and his management of AFC's finances. The decision was later overturned by the Singapore Court of Appeal (Dorsey 2012).

Investigative sports journalist Jens Weinreich pointed out that court cases are an efficient means for sports organizations to silence investigative sports journalists, who are often freelancers:

Financial risk is the biggest problem. As a freelance journalist in Germany, I have no financial safety net when it comes to legal clashes. So opponents always know how they can threaten and silence freelance journalists – even if the journalists make no or only minor errors (Andersson 2014).

National authorities

The sample contains a number of incidents in which national authorities have detained, imprisoned and even tortured sports journalists, such as the case of sports journalist

Faisal Hayat from Bahrain (International Association of Sports Journalists 2011, Bahrain Center for Human Rights 2011). For instance, in June 2011, the Iranian photo journalist Maryam Majd was arrested one day before a planned trip to Germany to photograph the 2011 Women's World Cup in football. She was imprisoned until 17 July 2011. No reason was given, but Majd was a passionate campaigner for women's right to attend sports events in Iranian stadiums (Safe World for Women n.d.).

However, most of the incidents in the sample have taken place in Russia in the run-up to the 2014 Olympic Winter Games in Sochi, in Azerbaijan, which hosted the inaugural European Games in 2015, and in Qatar, which won the right to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup.

Azerbaijan barred journalists from at least five different media organizations, including *The Guardian* and *Radio France International*, from entering the country to report on the European Games and its human rights situation (Paton 2015). Authorities in Qatar have arrested and interrogated TV crews from Switzerland, the UK and Germany and prevented them from leaving the country for days to stop them from covering the living and working conditions of migrant workers building sports facilities (Bauer 2015; Lobel 2015; Committee to Protect Journalists 2011). And in 2013, a Norwegian TV crew reporting on the preparations for the Sochi Olympics were detained and questioned six times in three days (Human Rights Watch 2013).

Research undertaken by The Committee to Protect Journalists showed that both official repression and self-censorship had restricted coverage by the local and national Russian media of sensitive issues in the run-up to Sochi:

In theory, the Olympics should be the main topic for Sochi journalists. Yet almost all local media – state and privately owned – report only those news events that have been officially cleared for coverage, according to local journalists (Milashina and Ognianova 2014).

Conclusions

Sports journalism has often been referred to as “the toy department of the news media” (Rowe 2007), but as this article documents, reporting on events related to sports is not only fun and games. Sports journalists are subjected to threats against media freedom and personal safety by perpetrators who belong to a fairly wide range of stakeholders in sports, such as fans, athletes, sports officials, and national and international sports federations.

The analysis hints at some of the dynamics that lead to violations against sports journalists; these include violent fan cultures, misogyny, a mixed zone full of tensions between athletes and reporters, economic interests, corrupt sports organizations, doping abuse, and the use of sports by authoritarian regimes to project soft power. However, more research is needed to determine the exact nature of the problems, their extent, their impact, how they should be handled, and who should be involved in protecting sports journalists from harm or (self)-censorship.

Media and journalism are integral parts of a sports world fuelled by strong economic interests and high emotions, where a wide range of stakeholders are monitoring

and trying to affect how journalists cover issues dear to them. The high number of stakeholders is a key feature of this specific subfield of safety of journalists, just as it is interesting to note that coverage of sport events by everyday beat reporters appears to attract more violations than investigative journalism on high profile issues such as doping or corruption in sports. These findings indicate that when it comes to protecting sports journalists, it is important to pay special attention to understanding in what ways emotions affect and drive how fans, athletes and sports officials behave towards sports journalists.

References

- Andersen, I. (2009). *Den skinbarlige virkelighed* (The Incarnate Reality). Copenhagen: Forlaget Samfundslitteratur.
- Andersson, L. (2014). The truth cannot be concealed. *Play the Game*. 2014-07-07 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Bahrain Center for Human Rights (2011). Sports Journalist Faisal Hyat speaks of torture at Bahrain detention center. www.bahrainrights.org (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Bang, S. (2011). Western countries are losing the race for major sporting events. *Play the Game*, 2011-04-05 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Bauer, F. (2015). Detained and interrogated in Qatar. *Deutsche Welle*, 2015-11-05 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Boyle, R., Rowe, D. and Whannel, G. (2009). 'Delight in Trivial Controversy'? Questions for Sports Journalism, pp. 345-355 in Allen, S. (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to News and Journalism*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bruce, T. (2002). Supportive or Hostile? Teasing or Professional? Women Sportswriters Categorize Locker Room Interaction. *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal*, 11(2): 49-76.
- Committee to Protect Journalists (2015). CPJ calls on authorities to release imprisoned Brazilian blogger. www.cpj.org 2015-09-15 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Committee to Protect Journalists (2011). Two Swiss journalists barred from leaving Qatar for 13 days. www.cpj.org 2015-04-19 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Committee to Protect Journalists (no date). 1210 Journalists Killed since 1992. www.cpj.org (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Deutsch, R. (2015). Sexual harassment toward female sports reporters is far too common. *Sports Illustrated*, 2015-08-16 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Demos (2014). Demos: Male celebrities receive more abuse on Twitter than women. www.demos.co.uk 2014-08-24 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- DiCaro, J. (2015). Threats. Vitriol. Hate. Ugly truth about women in sports and social media. *Sports Illustrated*, 2015-09-28 (accessed: 2016-09-23).
- DiManno, R. (2012). Al-Shabaab is executing Somali journalists for the crime of reporting on sports. *Toronto Star* 2012-10-04 (accessed: 2016-09-23).
- Dorsey, J. M. (2015). *Soccer vs. Jihad: A Draw*. RSIS Working Paper, no. 292. S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies.
- Dorsey, J. M. (2012). Singapore court orders journalist to reveal sources. *The Turbulent World of Middle East Soccer*. (Blog post 2012-09-29) from <http://mideastsoccer.blogspot.dk/2012/09/singapore-court-orders-journalist-to.html> (accessed 2016-09-23).
- English, P. (2016). Big business blurs sports journalism's critical eye, pp. 347-351 in Sweeney, G. (ed.), *Global corruption report: Sport*. Transparency International and Routledge.
- Haggerty, A. (2013). International journalism body calls for action over threats and intimidation of journalists covering Rangers crisis. *The Drum*, 2013-09-13 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Hill, T. (2015). Mexico coach Miguel Herrera sorry for 'painful incident' that led to firing. *The Guardian*, 2015-07-29 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Horky, T. and Nieland, J. (2011). *ISPS 2011: First Results of the International Sports Press Survey 2011*. Paper presented at the Play the Game conference, October 3-6, 2011, at the German Sports University, Cologne.

- Human Rights Watch (2013). Russia: TV Crew Reporting on Sochi Olympics Harassed. *www.hrw.org* 2012-11-05 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- International Association of Sports Journalists. (2011). Bahraini sports journalist among hundreds arrested in government crackdown. *www.aipsmedia.com*, 2011-04-15 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Isam, M. (2015). BCB apologises after security personnel assault journalist. *www.ESPNcrinfo.com*, 2015-07-04 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Jennings, A. (2015a). Brazil Judges Jail Hero Reporter. *Transparency in Sport*. (Blog post 2015-02-16). http://transparencyinsportblog.blogspot.dk/2015_02_01_archive.html (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Jennings, A. (2015b). How FIFA were nailed by last act of revenge of a dying man. *The Mail on Sunday*, 2015-05-30 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Kearney, A. T. (2014). *Winning in the Business of Sports*. Authors: Collignon, H. and Sultan, N.
- Laird, S. (2014). Sports Media Misogyny: What Is Fans' Problem With Female Commentators? *Mashable*, 2014-08-01 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Lobel, M. (2015). Arrested for reporting on Qatar's World Cup labourers. *BBC News*, 2015-05-18 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Mapping Media Freedom (n.d.). About. *www.mappingmediafreedom.org* (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Mapping Media Freedom (2016a). Italy/Italia: Reporter assaulted by fans outside football field. *www.mappingmediafreedom.org*, 2016-03-09 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Mapping Media Freedom. (2016b). Italy/Italia: Football fans target Gazzetta dello Sport journalists, *www.mappingmediafreedom.org*, 2016-03-05 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Mapping Media Freedom (2015a). Italy/Italia: Fans threaten journalists filming TV programme, blocking access to studio. *www.mappingmediafreedom.org*, 2015-09-14 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Mapping Media Freedom (2015b). Bosnia: TV crew pelted after football match. *www.mappingmediafreedom.org*, 2015-05-30 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Mapping Media Freedom (2015c). Italy: Sports journalist targeted by football fans. *www.mappingmediafreedom.org*, 2015-04-11 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Mapping Media Freedom. (2015d). Serbia: After threats, B92 postpones airing of investigative programme. *www.mappingmediafreedom.org*, 2015-03-09 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Milashina, E. and Ognianova, N. (2014). *Media suffer winter chill in coverage of Sochi Olympics*. Committee to Protects Journalists.
- Moritz, B. (2015). The story versus the stream: Digital media's influence on newspaper sports journalism. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, 8(4): 397-410.
- Mortensen, A. (2014). Voices in Danger: The son of an assassinated sports journalist fights for justice in Brazil. *The Independent*, 2014-06-20 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Noble, F., Quinn, L. and Piotrowski, D. (2016). 'It's a little bit disappointing'. *Daily Mail*, 2016-01-05 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Numerato, D. (2009). The Media and Sports Corruption. An Outline of Sociological Understanding. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, 2: 261-273.
- Oltermann, P. (2014). Russia accused of athletics doping cover-up on German TV. *The Guardian*, 2014-12-03 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Paton, C. (2015). European Games in Azerbaijan: Is this the most censored sporting event of 21st Century? *International Business Times*, 2015-06-12 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Reynolds, E. (2016). It's not just Erin Andrews: Horror stories of female sports reporters. *News.com.au*, 2016-03-12 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Rowe, D. (2016). The game is changing, baby: Chris Gayle and sexism in cricket. *The Conversation*, 2016-01-04 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Rowe, D. (2007). Sports journalism: Still the 'toy department' of the news media? *Journalism*, 8 (4): 485-405.
- Safe World for Women. (no date). Iran: The Disappearance of Maryam Madj. *www.asafeworldforwomen.org* (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Sparre, K. (2011). Jens Weinreich and Andrew Jennings win 2011 Play the Game Award. *www.playthegame.org*, 2011-09-06 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Sparre, K. (2008). The Dangers of Sports Journalism. *www.playthegame.org*, 2008-01-05 (accessed 2016-09-23).

- Sparre, K. (2006). Stabbed in the back for exposing sports scandals. *Play the Game Magazine* 2005, pp. 26-27.
- The Economist Intelligence Unit. (2015). *Democracy Index 2015. Democracy in an age of anxiety.*
- The International Women's Media Foundation (2016). *An Overview of the Current Challenges to the Safety and Protection of Journalists.*
- Thomson, A. (2012). Threats and intimidation at the hands of Rangers' 'fans'. *Channel 4 News*, 2012-10-26 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Walsh, D. (2016). IAAF's legal warning to doping scandal hero. *The Sunday Times*, 2016-01-03 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- Weinreich, J. (2011). The new power holders in world sport. *www.playthegame.org*, 2011-05-05 (accessed 2016-09-23).
- World Anti-Doping Agency (2016). WADA dismayed by latest doping allegations in Russian athletics. *www.wada-ama.org*, 2016-03-07 (accessed 2016-09-23).

Current Research Highlights

Unwarranted Interference, Fear and Self-censorship among Journalists in Council of Europe Member States

Marilyn Clark and Anna Grech

Abstract

Journalists may be exposed to a number of risk factors for unwarranted interference. This is often compounded by a culture of impunity. The extent of unwarranted interference, the experience of fear associated with such interference, and the consequent possibility of self-censorship among journalists still ask for more investigation, since there are few systematic studies on this topic. This research explores the prevalence of unwarranted interference, perception of likelihood/fear of such interference and possible self-censorship amongst a non-probability convenience sample of 940 journalists in the 47 Council of Europe member states. The study adopts a quantitative approach and utilizes an anonymous self-report questionnaire. The preliminary results presented here show how unwarranted interference is experienced to a significant degree among journalists in Council of Europe member states¹.

Keywords: Council of Europe, journalists, risk, fear, self-censorship

Article 10 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms secures the right to freedom of expression and information fundamental to any democratic society. In the field of freedom of expression, the values of the Council of Europe translate into action to promote media freedoms in order to preserve the vital role of the media in democracy. When journalists are interfered with, fundamental rights of citizens to access information, active citizenship and engagement in public debate are jeopardised.

In 2013, The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe and the Conference of Ministers responsible for media and information society called for further action to ensure the safety of journalists and expressed support for the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity.

The opening statement in the Council of Europe Recommendation CM/Rec (2016)4(1) of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on the protection of journalism and safety of journalists and other media actors reiterates that:

It is alarming and unacceptable that journalists and other media actors in Europe are increasingly being threatened, harassed, subjected to surveillance, intimidated, arbitrarily deprived of their liberty, physically attacked, tortured and even killed because of their investigative work, opinions or reporting.²

Such interference is furthermore often compounded by impunity.

Recommendation CM/Rec(2016)4[1] proposes that member states fulfil a number of obligations for the prevention of violence against journalists, the protection of journalists, the prosecution of perpetrators and the promotion of information, education and awareness-raising.

Effective prevention strategies require comprehensive understanding of the magnitude and shape of unwarranted interference. The collection of trustworthy statistics on unwarranted interference amongst journalists constitutes an irreplaceable tool for the implementation of strategic planning towards the safety of journalists and the issue of impunity, one of the key priorities for the Council of Europe. Against this background, this study explores experiences of unwarranted interference, seeking to uncover impediments contributing to self-censorship, which interfere with journalists' role as public watchdogs.

Methodology

The study measured the extent of self-reported unwarranted interference in a sample of journalists in the 47 Council of Europe member states and documented the extent and experience of fear of unwarranted interference and its impact on self-censorship. Unwarranted interference is taken to include attacks on the physical and psychological integrity of journalists, the harassment of journalists, the experience of impunity, threats to journalistic sources as well as all measures and acts having a chilling effect on media freedom.

The study utilised an anonymous self-report email questionnaire with 44 items organised around 7 sections. It was available in English, Russian, Serbian, Turkish and French. The choice of languages reflects language proficiency in the different regions of the 47 member states of the Council of Europe. The sample consisted of a non-probability sample (convenience sample) of journalists recruited mainly from members of five major journalists' and freedom of expression organisations. These are:

- Association of European Journalists
- European Federation of Journalists
- Index on Censorship
- International News Safety Institute
- Reporters without Borders

A number of other entities, contacted through the partners on the online Platform to promote the Protection of Journalism and Safety of Journalists (<http://www.coe.int/en/web/media-freedom/the-platform>) were involved in the recruitment of the sample. Since it is not certain how many journalists received the call to participate, a response rate cannot be calculated.

The final research tool was disseminated by email via Survey Monkey in April 2016. The data collection time frame extended to the 15th July and a number of reminders were sent out to the entities in question after which the questionnaire was closed.

Results/Discussion

Sample demographics

A total of 940 journalists participated. 509 (54 per cent) were male and 431 (46 per cent) were female. The majority of respondents (74 per cent) were aged between 21 and 50. 46 per cent had a journalistic career spanning over 16 years. The most common medium used for reporting was newspapers (32 per cent), closely followed by the Internet (31 per cent), and the most common topic reported on was 'Politics and Governance' (32 per cent) followed by 'Domestic News' (11 per cent) and 'Human Rights' (11 per cent). The majority (69 per cent) of the respondents worked as full-time journalists and 69 per cent were members of a journalistic union or association. The majority (62 per cent) were employed on a contract basis, 29 per cent were self-employed or freelance journalists and the remaining 9 per cent did not specify their terms of employment. The journalists were of diverse nationalities and in the last three years were engaged in journalistic activities in various Council of Europe member states. For the purpose of analysis, the country reporting from, has been divided into five main regions: EU and non-EU Western Europe, Eastern Europe, South Caucasus, South-East Europe and Turkey.³

Table 1. Distribution of sample by region reporting from⁴

EU and non-EU Western European countries	Eastern European countries	South Caucasus countries	South-East European countries	Turkey
78.3%	23.3%	6%	24%	13%

Experiences of Unwarranted Interference

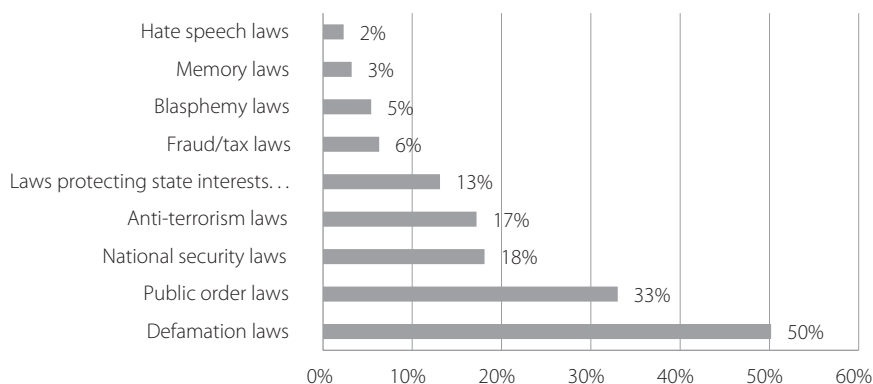
Respondents reported being subjected to significant levels of unwarranted interference. Utilising a three-year time frame and in relation to their pursuit of journalistic activities, 46 per cent had been threatened with force, 31 per cent claimed that they had experienced physical assault, 21 per cent had experienced robbery/confiscation/destruction of their property and 19 per cent non-contact personal theft. 13 per cent reported experiencing sexual harassment and/or violence.

69 per cent reported experiencing psychological violence, mainly at the hands of public authorities. From those who reported experiences of psychological violence, these included primarily intimidation by public authorities (56 per cent), belittlement and humiliation by public authorities (48 per cent), threats of being hurt by public authorities (41 per cent) and slandering or smear campaigning by public authorities (43 per cent) and also by other journalists (28 per cent). Smaller, yet nonetheless significant percentages reported belittlement and humiliation by their management (24 per cent), intimidation by their management (19 per cent), threats of being hurt by interviewees

(19 per cent). Again, within the time frame of three years, 50 per cent reported having experienced intimidation at the hands of interest groups, 43 per cent by political groups and 35 per cent by the police.

221 journalists (23 per cent) experienced judicial intimidation. Diagram 1 documents under which laws these 221 journalists reported having been arrested, investigated, threatened with prosecution or actually prosecuted.

Diagram 1. Arrested, investigated, threatened with prosecution or actually prosecuted under laws (N=221, 23 per cent)



Over a third of respondents (39 per cent) reported being subjected to targeted surveillance and a significant 76 per cent did not feel sufficiently protected against such surveillance. 53 per cent reported experiencing cyberbullying in the last three years with the nature of the abuse most commonly related to the content of the article (63 per cent). 48 per cent felt that their ability to protect their sources was currently compromised.

Perceived Likelihood / Fear of Unwarranted Interference

Significant proportions reported it would be likely or highly likely that they would become victims of unwarranted interference. Respondents feared that they would become victims of both psychological (60 per cent) and physical (41 per cent) violence. 57 per cent feared that they would become victims of cyber bullying. The fear of intimidation from various sources was also experienced by a large number of respondents: 51 per cent feared intimidation by individuals, 45 per cent by interest groups, 42 per cent by political groups, 37 per cent by media owners, 33 per cent by police, and 33 per cent by criminals/ delinquents. A significant proportion reported concerns about personal safety (38 per cent) and safety of friends/family (37 per cent).

Responses to and Consequences of Unwarranted Interference

Despite this high rate of unwarranted interference, which 40 per cent claimed was bad enough to affect their personal lives, 35 per cent did not feel that they had, at

their disposal, mechanisms for reporting interference. Of those who had experienced unwarranted interference, 28 per cent did not report the unwarranted interference to the company in which they worked, 57 per cent did not report it to the police and of those who did report it, 23 per cent were not satisfied with the police response. Among those who belonged to a union, 40 per cent failed to report to their union.

A significant proportion of respondents (67 per cent) reported having been negatively impacted by unwarranted interference, experiencing a number of psychological repercussions. 40 per cent claimed an impact on their personal life/private activities. 37 per cent of survey respondents claimed that the unwarranted interference impacted the way they went about their work. With regards to self-censorship, Table 2 below, highlights the significant impact of fear of unwarranted interference on self-censorship. Significant percentages reported having toned down sensitive, critical stories, abandoned sensitive, critical stories, reported content in a less controversial manner, been selective on what items to report, framed content as acceptable discussion⁵, withheld information and shaped stories to suit company's/editor's interests. However 36 per cent also stated that the experience made them more committed to not engaging in self-censorship.

Table 2. Impact of Fear of Unwarranted Interference

The experience of fear of unwarranted interference has conditioned me to:	%
Become even more committed to non-self-censorship	36
Be selective on what items to report	33
Tone down sensitive, critical stories	31
Report content in a less controversial manner	30
Withhold information	23
Frame content as acceptable discussion	20
Shape story to suit company's/editor's interests	19
Abandon sensitive, critical stories	15

Conclusions

Preliminary findings reported here indicate high levels of experiences of unwarranted interference, fear of future experiences of interference and consequent self-censorship throughout the 47 Council of Europe member states.⁶ Despite this, a large number of journalists are resilient and committed in their role as public watchdogs.

The findings highlight the need to develop strategies to prevent unwarranted interference and safeguard journalists. This study also opens a number of avenues for further analysis of data.

References

Recommendation CM/Rec (2016)4[1] of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on the protection of journalism and safety of journalists and other media actors, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/freedom-expression/committee-of-ministers-adopted-texts> (accessed 2016-08-02). This work was commissioned by the Information Society Department, Council of Europe and supported by the following entities: Reporters without Borders, Association of European Journalists, Index on Censorship, International News Safety Institute, International Federation of Journalists and the University of Malta.

Notes

1. The full results, discussing differences by region and other relationships between variables, will be presented in the Council of Europe report of this study, the publication of which is expected for April 2016.
2. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016806415d9#_ftn1 accessed on 2016-11-15
3. Regional Distribution
EU and non-EU Western European countries: Belgium, UK, Romania, France, Sweden, Italy, Finland, Greece, Slovakia, Germany, Norway, Spain, Slovenia, Hungary, Lichtenstein, Cyprus, San Marino, Bulgaria, Croatia, Switzerland, Czech Republic, Denmark, Monaco, Estonia, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Iceland, and Andorra; Eastern European countries: Ukraine, Russia, Moldova, and Belarus (not a COE member state); South Caucasus countries: Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia; South-East European countries: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, FYR of Macedonia, Montenegro, and Albania; Turkey.
4. Percentages do not add up to 100 because respondents were asked to list three (3) countries in which they had carried out their journalistic duties.
5. Framed content in such a way that it would be more likely to be positively received by editors and readers.
6. Further analysis of unwarranted interference by region will be presented in the Council of Europe report of this study, the publication of which is expected for April 2016.

Internal Threats and Safety of Journalists

A study from India

Sriram Arulchelvan

Abstract

Journalists face numerous threats from different stakeholders. In developing countries, internal threats coming from inside media organizations – threats that have a serious impact on the professional, economic and psychological lives of journalists – are less researched. This research is an attempt to identify the various internal threats faced by journalists and the implications of these threats on their daily lives. It was conducted among Indian journalists during March and April of 2015. Results revealed that sudden suspension, dismissal from the service, de-promotion, non-allocation of work, transfer of department and place of work are some of the internal threats faced by the journalists.

Keywords: journalist safety, press freedom, internal threats, Indian media

One of the indicators of true freedom in a country is the level of freedom of expression that its citizens enjoy. The concept of freedom of expression is closely entwined with freedom of the press and journalists' right to inform the public. Therefore any measure/ action that place a journalist under duress and prevent them from carrying out their duties are perceived as a threat. Such threats are becoming increasingly common, and freedom of the press is being endangered. Journalists today work in a constant atmosphere of danger.

According to the Journalist Association of India (1994), there is a hierarchical structure within Indian media organizations that engages in 'gatekeeping'. For a number of reasons, editors can arbitrarily decide what story is chosen for publication and what is rejected, which angle is highlighted and which is hidden, etc. Owners, editors and managers in India misuse their 'gatekeeping' powers as a tool to control their journalists. Gatekeeping therefore becomes a tool for manipulating subordinates within their organizations, which most often constitutes a threat to journalistic freedom. This is not, however, the only way in which journalists are threatened within an organization. Various forms of intimidation, harassment and personal attacks make up the other types of internal threats that journalists face in their daily lives. Journalists therefore have been forced to practice self-censorship, even if it is against the very values of free press that they are supposed to uphold. This has resulted in a serious underreporting of important issues and a failure to highlight the multiple opinions and viewpoints in society (Muralidharan 2011). Therefore, in order to find solutions, it is important to understand the various problems that journalists face while reporting and how they are impacted (UNHR 2014).

Aim and objectives

The aim of this study is to critically analyze and study the threats faced by journalists today in India with special reference to internal threats (see explanation above). The objectives are: 1) To enumerate the different threats faced by journalists 2) To explore the perceptions of journalists about internal threats 3) To analyze the effects of internal threats on journalists.

Methodology

In this study, interviewing was used as the primary method for data collection from the journalists. A purposive random technique was used to select the sample (n = 45), drawing from the population of all journalists working in Tamil Nadu, South India. The study was conducted during March and April of 2015.¹

Among the sample population, 47 per cent were working in the television media, 22 per cent for newspapers, 18 per cent worked in magazines, and 9 per cent for radio stations. In this study, most of the respondents (83 per cent) were full-time journalists, 17 per cent were freelancers and part-time journalists. The beats covered by the journalists were as follows: 40 per cent worked on politics and governance issues; 33 per cent on human rights; 24 per cent on arts and entertainment; 20 per cent on education; 18 per cent on accidents; 16 per cent on crime issues; 9 per cent on city news and health news; 7 per cent on judicial/court issues, as well as sports and technology; and 4 per cent were mainly writing about other news. Thirty-eight per cent of respondents had 2-5 years of experience, one fourth had less than 2 years of experience, 18 per cent had 10-15 years of experience, 6 per cent had 5-10 years of experience, and 4 per cent had been working for 15-20 years.

Results and discussion

The interviewed journalists faced different kinds of safety issues, ranging from threats to their personal or family safety, employment (income generation), to information and source safety, etc. Forty-six per cent of respondents were worried about their personal safety and 27 per cent feared for their family's safety. Another 40 per cent were frightened about employment safety, because it gives income for their livelihood. The same levels of respondents also feared for their information sources. Twenty-nine per cent of journalists were concerned about the safety of their colleagues. They said that their friends/ colleagues had faced worse threats than themselves. More than half of respondents (54 per cent) had faced threats at least once during their professional lives. More than half of respondents (57 per cent) expressed that they were currently facing some threats.

Internal threats that journalist face within the organization

Among the respondents, 18 per cent of the journalists revealed that they had been dismissed from their organization for simple reasons like not obeying their owners' orders regarding some news item. Twenty-four per cent of the journalists had suddenly been transferred to remote places without being given enough time for the move. Around

15 per cent said that “we have been abused by the editors and owners through verbal abuse and work assignment”. Promotions and increment of salary had been denied to 16 per cent of the respondents. One fourth of respondents had strongly opposed the organization’s attitude on killing of news stories. They expressed that “If they have any difference of opinion, administrative issues, editors or chiefs of news bureaus simply kill off news stories and waste hard work. This hurts us and creates more depression”.

How journalists are affected by the threats

Each of the threats affects the journalists in different manners. About 47 per cent said that their mental stress had increased, while 40 per cent of respondents felt that their physical health had been affected. Thirty-seven per cent said that their work performance levels had gone down and that they could not concentrate on their work. About 33 per cent were affected by a loss of promotion/bonus, 27 per cent had been transferred to different beats, 10 per cent had been asked to go on leave and a few persons had been dismissed from their jobs.

Ways in which threats are normally overcome

One of the ways to overcome internal threats for journalists is to change their organization. About one third (31 per cent) of respondents had moved to other organizations due to internal threats within one or two years of service. About 15 per cent had changed organizations due to internal threats after several years of service. A few respondents said that they were ready to move to other organizations. But they had not done. The reason behind is that their current employer would only give them a poor reference that would not impress any prospective employer. So, it would affect their future career.

Each and every profession has different kind of threats and problems. But, in this profession, threats are not simple. Outsiders do not believe that journalists face any problems. So journalists continue to keep calm and carry on reporting. They accept whatever happens within their organization. If journalists resist, they face strong actions from the organization, such as transfers or dismissal. If they resist the disciplinary action, they have to leave the organization.

Conclusion

This study contributed new insights into how journalists manage their lives and the problems they face at work. The interviews revealed that many journalists working in India face internal rather than external threats. These internal threats should be studied more extensively. A better and secure working environment should be provided to journalists so as to ensure that their right to freedom of expression is not threatened.

References

- Journalist association of India (1994). <http://www.jaoi.org/about-us>.
- Muralidharan, S. (2011). *Strengthening Journalist Safety and Media Rights Monitoring Initiatives in Insurgency Prone Areas of India*. IPDC Projects database. <http://www.unesco-ci.org/ipdcprojects/content/strengthening-journalist-safety-and-media-rights-monitoring-initiatives-insurgency-prone>.
- UNHR (2014). *Safety of Journalists*. <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewYork/Stories/Pages/Safetyofjournalists.aspx>.

Note

1. The author is based in the state of Tamilnadu. Therefore journalists from this state made up the sample. Journalists from all media outlets with various years of experience made up the sample. The diverse nature of the sample ensured that we could record diverse and unbiased opinions. Regarding the sample selection, a master list of active journalists in the state was generated. Then the names were filtered on the basis of criteria such as location, experience, beats, availability, etc.

Australian News Photographers, Safety and Trauma¹

Fay Anderson

Abstract

This chapter illuminates new understanding about the dangers experienced by Australian news photographers on international and domestic assignments. Using oral history methodology, the interviews with 60 present and former Australian newspaper photographers revealed a litany of psychologically and physically hazardous aspects of their work, and the safety training available. Despite the implementation of trauma counselling and hostile environment courses, press photography continues to be a highly dangerous and precarious vocation.

Keywords: newspaper photography, trauma, PTSD, safety

Australian newspaper photographers have been exposed to danger and suffering when photographing war, crime, traffic fatalities, political protests, and disaster since 1988. They have to engage with vulnerability and malevolence, and at the same time negotiate with editors who expect and reward a closeness to danger. Using oral history methodology, the chapter will present the findings on the psychological and physical ramifications of photographing suffering and violence and the support Australian press photographers are afforded. It argues that due to the necessity of getting close and the corresponding exposure to danger, Australian news photographers have always been vulnerable and are increasingly more so. The current industrial turmoil has done little to alleviate their stress.

The literature

Trauma and the recognition of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) first attracted scholarly attention during the 1990s. The relationship between war journalism and PTSD has been a primary consideration since 2002 (see Feinstein 2006; Feinstein, Audet and Waknine 2014; Feinstein, Owen and Blair 2002; Feinstein and Owen 2002). Parallel research has documented the exposure and rates of PTSD from other news beats (see among many Dworznik 2006; Feinstein 2013; McMahon 2001; Marais and Stuart 2005; Newman et al. 2003; Pyevich et al. 2003; Simpson and Boggs 1999). Academic scholarship on media safety has only recently received greater scrutiny though advocacy groups have committed significant resources to press freedom and protection (see Cottle, Sambrook and Mosdell 2016; Filer 2010; Simpson and Cote 2006; Smith, Newman and Drevo 2015; and Tumber and Webster 2006).

Oral history methodology

This chapter is drawn from oral history accounts produced for a larger project (see Anderson and Young 2016). The ‘whole of life’ testimonies involved 60 past and present staff and freelance photographers who ranged in age from 32 to 95. The male and female news photographers were selected, because they all worked for Australian broadsheets and tabloid newspapers and reflected generational change and geographical diversity.

Working staff photographers	Retired	Redundant	Redundant since 2012 and changed careers	Redundant since 2012 and now freelance	Resigned and now freelance	Always worked as a freelance photographer
20 out of 60 photographers	19 (incl. 4 since 2012) out of 60	4 out of 60	2 out of 60	3 out of 60	9 out of 60	3 out of 60

Safety and trauma were not the primary focus of the project, but every interviewee reflected on the working culture, occupational hazards and issues of safety and trauma. Oral history methodology permitted the time, intimacy, trust and space, for the photographers to ruminate on personal stories. Their miasmatic accounts of danger, PTSD, resilience, and depression, emerged without prompting.

“Sometimes you’ve got to take a bit of a risk to get the best picture”
(interview with Phelan 2014)

The Australian press culture sometimes compromised the photographers’ security and mental health. Fifty-eight photographers evoked the gendered culture, which espoused ideals of masculine stoicism and emotional detachment and expectation in a competitive industry that photographers should simply confront danger with impunity.

Eighteen photographers covered war and unsurprisingly it was identified as the most physically dangerous assignment. Three freelancers recounted harrowing experiences of injury, death threats and kidnapping. Ten interviewees acknowledged that embedding had been a safer option but working as a unilateral ensured diverse access and ‘better pictures’.

Over the course of their careers, every photographer we interviewed had witnessed violence and at least on one occasion had been physically unsafe. They had experienced intimidation, arrest, imprisonment, censorship, threats, and or injury, 93 per cent on domestic beats. Despite the interviewee’s age and the institutional recognition of trauma and duty of care, the physical hazards have not diminished. Several also conceded they now take greater risks because censorship or occupational health and safety legislation constrain access to the frontline, crime scenes, and disaster sites.

"The danger is mental" (interview with Geraghty 2015)

Our study also revealed the magnitude of psychologically stressful aspects of the photographers' work – photographing crime, mass shootings, suicide, car accidents, anguished families, and disasters; all were a 'part of the day's work'. Specialising in Australia did not commonly occur, and news photographers 'did everything'. Even seemingly prosaic assignments could become unpredictable and treacherous.

It is difficult to ascertain how many of the photographers we interviewed had been psychologically affected by their work. Twenty per cent experienced depressive episodes or had been diagnosed with PTSD. More compelling was 75 per cent discussed the psychological risks when exposed to natural disaster, most prominently fires; car accidents and bridge collapses caused emotional responses in 22 per cent of the photographers; 52 per cent described the psychological consequences associated with crime photography, and 28 per cent attributed their depression and trauma to war assignments. The Asian Tsunami and the Bali bombing caused extensive psychological damage.

There were more surprising revelations. Photographing refugees in mandatory detention and political protests triggered on-going depression for some of the most experienced photographers. Another two seemingly routine assignments caused trauma: a photo op in 1968 when a helicopter crashed killing three people including a young cadet, and the death of Phil Hughes at a cricket match in 2014. For regional newspaper photographers, the familiarity with and sometimes threats from the local community created disquiet and episodes of PTSD.

By the late 1990s, there were significant gains made in the institutional awareness of counselling and hostile training. Communications and welfare check systems; security, emergency and evacuation planning; first aid training; risk assessments; and education in international humanitarian law were initiated. In 2009, news organisations finally adopted the Australian News Media Safety Code, which standardised training and support. Paradoxically photographers are not safer or less traumatised.

This is partly due to the fracturing of the newspaper industry, the diminished working conditions and shrinking budgets. Reflecting the global trend, by 2015 over three-quarters of Australian staff photographers have been 'purged' or accepted redundancies. News budgets invest less in the training and support of their staff photographers (hostile environment courses cost in excess of \$AUS2000 and insurance is exorbitant). Nor did the interviewees collectively agree on management's commitment to mental health and the effectiveness of the available counselling. For freelancers who now take up the slack, newspapers do not have to accept responsibility for their wellbeing or support.

The photographers' vulnerability permeate the interviews even for those who have left their profession. They also revealed the relentless pressure to perform. Working photographers are assigned to more stories and the time to debrief is vanquished.

Conclusion

This study demonstrated that every Australian news photographer interviewed has experienced personal danger and witnessed violence. The effects are profound and enduring. But an equally urgent issue to emerge from the interviews is the diminution of newspapers on photojournalists' welfare and safety. One of the most traumatic

aspects of the photographers' lives is the demise and devaluing of their profession, the collective loss of colleagues and mentors and the greater reliance on freelance photographers devoid of support. It is deserving of greater consideration not only because of the historical neglect, but the newspaper industry is experiencing seismic institutional change, and the safety of photographers has become more compromised and precarious.

References

- Anderson, F., and Young, S. (2016). *Shooting the Picture: Press Photography in Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing.
- Cottle, S., Sambrook, R. and Mosdell, N. (2016). *Reporting Dangerously: Journalists Killings, Intimidation and Security*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dworznik, G. (2006). Journalism and Trauma: How Reporters and Photographers Make Sense of What They See. *Journalism Studies*, 7(4): 534-553.
- Feinstein, A. (2006). *Journalists Under Fire: The Psychological Hazards of Covering War*. Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Feinstein, A. (2013). Mexican Journalists and Journalists Covering War: A Comparison of Psychological Wellbeing. *Journal of Aggression, Conflict, and Peace Research*, 5, 77-85.
- Feinstein, A., Audet, B. and Waknine, E. (2014). Witnessing images of extreme violence: a psychological study of journalists in the newsroom. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*: 1-7.
- Feinstein, A. and Owen, J. (2002). Journalists, war and posttraumatic stress disorder. pp. 305-315 in Danieli, Yael (ed.), *Sharing the Front Line and the Back Hills: International Protectors and Providers: Peacekeepers, Humanitarian Aid Workers and the Media in the Midst of Crisis*. Amityville, NY: Baywood Publishing Co, Inc.
- Feinstein, A., Owen, J. and Blair, N. (2002). A hazardous profession: War, journalism, and psychopathology. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 159: 1570-1576.
- Filer, S. (2010). Responsible media: Learning to survive the world's difficult, remote and hostile environments. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 16(1): 125-132.
- Marais, A. and Stuart, A. D. (2005). The role of temperament in the development of Post-traumatic stress disorder among journalists. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 35(1): 89-105.
- McMahon, C. (2001). Covering Disaster: A Pilot Study into Secondary Trauma for Print Media Journalists Reporting on Disaster. *Australian Journal of Emergency Management* 16: 52-56.
- Newman, E., Simpson, R. and Handschuh, D. (2003). Trauma exposure and post-traumatic stress disorder among photojournalists. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 58(1): 4-13.
- Pyevech, C., Newman, E. and Daleiden, E. (2003). The Relationship Among Cognitive Schemas, Job-Related Traumatic Exposure, and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in Journalists. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 164: 325-328.
- Simpson, R. and Boggs, J. (1999). An Exploratory Study of Traumatic Stress Among Newspaper Journalists. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, 1(1): 1-26, March.
- Simpson, R. and Coté, W. (2006). *Covering Violence: A Guide to Ethical Reporting About Victims & Trauma*. NY: Columbia University Press.
- Smith, R., Newman, E. and Drevo, S. (2016) Covering Trauma: Impact on Journalists, Dart, 2015-07-01 (accessed 2016-08-15).
- Tumber, H. and Webster, F. (2006) *Journalists under Fire*. London: Sage Publications.

Interviews

- Geraghty, K. (2015). Interview with Fay Anderson, 2015-02-01.
- Phelan, T. (2014). Interview with Nikki Henningham, 2014-11-28.

Note

1. This work was supported by the Australian Research Council under Grant LP120200458, with support also provided by the National Library of Australia and the Walkley Foundation. I wish to thank Reeta Pöyhkäri and Ulla Carlsson for their guidance and advice.

Risk and Resilience among Journalists Covering Potentially Traumatic Events

Trond Idås and Klas Backholm

Abstract

Journalists covering crises are at high risk of experiencing potentially traumatic events. This chapter presents a study with 375 journalists who covered the 2011 terror attack in Norway. The purpose was to investigate whether social support (SS) was related to psychological distress (posttraumatic stress symptoms, PTSS) or to personal post-traumatic growth (PTG). Results showed that 9 per cent ($n = 33$) were at risk for a posttraumatic stress disorder diagnosis. Journalists who perceived organized SS to be beneficial reported fewer symptoms. Receiving recognition from colleagues and managers promoted PTG. The study shows that newsrooms that implement openness to stress as a natural post-trauma reaction support resilience among their journalists.

Keywords: journalists, social support, posttraumatic stress, posttraumatic growth

Owing to their role as the watchdogs of the public, news journalists may be exposed to potentially traumatic events and be at risk for developing psychological reactions such as posttraumatic stress symptoms (PTSS). One paradox is that, among journalists reporting high scores on PTSS after an assignment, almost all are still glad they took part in the coverage. The project presented below investigated this paradox by studying the prevalence of PTSS and personal posttraumatic growth (PTG), as well as how social support (SS) affected wellbeing, in a sample of journalists working during the Norwegian terror attack in 2011. The study also focused on whether PTG is the direct opposite of posttraumatic stress or whether the two can co-occur given the right circumstances. It is one of the first studies to focus on factors promoting PTG in a journalist sample.

What do we know about post-assignment stress and growth in journalists? Overviews by Aoki et al. (2013) and Smith et al. (2016) show that journalists have an increased risk of developing PTSS. Symptoms may include avoidance of reminders, physical hyperarousal or intrusive re-experiencing, such as flashbacks of the assignment. Between 0-35 per cent of journalists report distress severe enough to be diagnosed as posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD)¹. Studies investigating the role of SS as a protective factor against PTSS have shown that journalists with a well-functioning social network generally have a lower risk of developing symptoms.

Experiencing something that disrupts one's worldview may also result in positive changes, e.g. spending more time with loved ones or developing new spiritual beliefs. In psychotraumatology research, this is called PTG. Research on the manifestation of PTG among journalists is scarce. McMahon (2016) showed that working with a more

severe assignment, or experiencing more distress during the coverage, was related to PTG in Australian journalists.

Methodology

Norwegian journalists ($N = 375$; 228 males, 61 per cent) participated in a web-based survey after the 2011 terror attack in Norway. The gender distribution roughly corresponds with that of Norwegian journalists in general, as about 55 per cent of members of the Norwegian Union of Journalists are men. It is common that males are somewhat overrepresented in samples of individuals working with crisis- or crime-related journalism. PTSS was measured using the Impact of Event Scale-Revised (Weiss 2004), and PTG using the Posttraumatic Growth Inventory (Tedeschi and Calhoun 2004) and items developed for the present study². Three subtypes of workplace SS (received coordinated support, received unofficial recognition, and perceived benefit of support) were measured using the Social Support Scale (Thoresen 2007) and items developed for the present study.

Results and discussion

Nine per cent ($n = 33$) reported PTSS severe enough to be classified as being at risk for PTSD. Roughly 40 per cent ($n = 142$) reported significant PTG, i.e. indicating experiencing a positive or very positive change towards growth on the majority of PTG-related items. The predictive effects of PTSS subtypes (intrusion, avoidance, hyperarousal) on PTG were investigated using regression analysis (Table 1).

Table 1. Regression analyses of posttraumatic stress (PTSS) as a predictor of posttraumatic growth (PTG), and of workplace social support as a predictor of PTSS and PTG

Predictor	PTSS	PTG
PTSS intrusion subtype	-	.324*** ¹
PTSS avoidance subtype	-	-.032
PTSS hyperarousal subtype	-	-.023
Received coordinated social support	.013* ²	-.016 ³
Received unofficial social recognition	.068	.345***
Perceived benefit of social support	-.167**	.016

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. All analyses controlled for gender and work experience ($N = 375$). Regression coefficients are standardized betas (β).

¹ $R^2 = .174$, ² $R^2 = .084$, ³ $R^2 = .216$

Intrusion had a positive significant effect on PTG. This link may be explained by the fact that invading memories, dreams and similar intruding reactions promote reflection on how the person handles a traumatic situation. Intrusive reactions can be described as a learning process, resulting in experience and, sometimes, positive growth.

Roughly 80 per cent of respondents ($n = 311$) had received at least one kind of SS at work. Analyses investigating the predictive effect of the SS subscales on PTSS and PTG showed that received support was related to more PTSS, while perceived benefit predicted lower levels of posttraumatic stress (Table 1). This shows that the quality rather than the amount of provided support is of importance. Analyses also showed that more recognition from managers and colleagues was associated with more PTG. Thus, unofficial SS was of key importance to personal growth.

Conclusions

Having perceived support as beneficial was associated with less PTSS. More PTG was related to recognition and intrusive symptoms. What perceived support, recognition and intrusion have in common is that they indicate that newsrooms with a culture marked by recognition and openness to stress as a natural reaction, and where spending time on discussion and reflection concerning the coverage is promoted, diminish the risk for health problems and support resilience and posttraumatic growth among employees.

References

- Aoki, Y., Malcolm, E., Yamaguchi, S., Thornicroft, G. and Henderson, C. (2013). Mental illness among journalists: A systematic review. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 59(4): 377-390.
- McMahon, C. (2016). *An Investigation into Posttraumatic Stress and Posttraumatic Growth among Trauma Reporting Australian Journalists* [Doctoral thesis]. Melbourne: Swinburne University of Technology.
- Smith, R., Newman, E. and Drevo, S. (2016). *Covering Trauma: Impact on Journalists*, <http://dartcenter.org/content/covering-trauma-impact-on-journalists> (accessed 2016-08-12).
- Tedeschi, R. and Calhoun, L. (2004). Posttraumatic growth: Conceptual foundations and empirical evidence. *Psychological Inquiry*, 15(1): 1-18.
- Thoresen, S. (2007). *Mestring og stress hos innsatspersonell og journalister mobilisert til Tsunamikatastrofen* [Resilience and stress in rescue workers and journalists working with the Tsunami disaster]. Oslo: Nasjonalt kunnskapssenter om vold og traumatisk stress.
- Weiss, D. (2004). The Impact of Event Scale – Revised, pp. 168-189 in Wilson, John and Keane, Terence (eds.), *Assessing Psychological Trauma and PTSD*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Notes

1. The PTSD prevalence figures vary considerably across studies due to the varying nature of the included samples. While some researchers have investigated journalists after a specific crisis assignment, others have studied samples of news journalists in general.
2. The Impact of Event Scale-Revised is one of the most widely used PTSD self-report scales, and indicates levels of three subgroups of PTSD symptoms (intrusion, avoidance, and hyperarousal) as well as overall level of PTSD using 22 items. Likewise, the Posttraumatic Growth Inventory is a well-established and thoroughly validated scale, measuring five possible subtypes of growth following trauma (e.g., spiritual change) using 21 items.

Research Articles

2. Protection of Journalists and Sources

What's Wrong with War Journalism?

Why and how legal aspects of conflicts need better reporting

Stig A. Nohrstedt and Rune Ottosen

Abstract

This chapter deals with whether war journalism in mainstream media is fit to take a fourth estate role in reporting the new wars, from the end of the Cold War in 1989 to the present war against the so-called Islamic State. In particular, it is a critical study of shortcomings when it comes to providing the public with relevant information about the legality and legitimacy of the ways in which the humanitarian operations under the UN declaration on the “Responsibility to Protect (R2P)” are pursued. However, in almost all respects, journalism is a national institution with competence deficits in the field of international law and humanitarian rights. The new and asymmetric wars – in which established distinctions, e.g., between civilians and soldiers, between embedded reporters and combatants as well as between war and peace are blurred – make such shortcomings a growing and severe democratic problem. A global journalism with higher professional standards in this field is important as one of several correctives in order to reverse the current threat spirals that jeopardize our collective security.

Keywords: new war journalism, global journalism, mediatization, fourth estate role

Of course there is nothing wrong with war journalism – provided it fulfils the democratic-liberal needs of accurate and relevant information that are the grounds for the media's institutional role to serve as a fourth estate and to achieve political accountability. Without going into too many details, war journalism research indicates that much is wanting in this field, in particular with reference to the new demands and needs resulting from the development of recent violent international conflicts. So, what are the particular new challenges for journalists covering the new wars?

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse war journalism challenges in relation to some major trends that affect implementation of high-quality war journalism. We will thus deal with the following developments in the field: globalization of conflicts and the effects on human rights and international public laws (IPLs); the development of military and political conflict strategies and the consequences for war reporting, here discussed in relation to the twin concepts ‘mediatization’ of war and ‘martialization’ of journalism; critical shortcomings in recent war journalism in reporting legal aspects of military conflicts since the Gulf War of 1990-91 until the Libya War of 2013 and the on-going war in Syria; and finally the drone war as an example of how military technology facilitates a warfare designed to avoid critical journalism. In the Conclu-

sions section, we try to present the general lessons from the analysis, with a view to improving the quality of war journalism as a fourth estate.

Is the fourth estate role a relevant notion in war journalism?

We suggest that a modified definition of how the fourth estate role is defined in the media sustainability index (MSI) reports may be applicable (Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2017). Basically, promotion of free speech and public access to relevant and accurate information from multiple sources, together with editorial and professional independence in relation to external interventions and pressures, are the main criteria used in that definition. Additionally, we would like to suggest here that the adversarial dimension is emphasized. After all, the critical role in relation to power-holders in public agencies as well as in private companies and on behalf of the general public is crucial and resilient, but also fluid historically speaking (cf. Schultz 1998).

However, transferring the idea of a fourth estate from the national to the international – or global – level should be a topic of debate. Theoretically, it means extending the normative ideal of a public sphere (Habermas 1991) to international/global politics, where there is nothing equivalent to democratic governance – not to mention anything like a consensual public opinion. One cannot even talk about information flows reaching in principle all concerned “citizens” of the so-called “international community”. Ingrid Volkmer (2014) argues that the theory of a global public sphere should elaborate on that notion more in the direction of trans-nationalized micro-spheres in “spatial networks” beyond the nation-states and local societies. In her view, the concept of a global public sphere must be “de-coupled” from the national-local bounds that come with the Habermasian theoretical tradition. “Linear media” or old media and journalism are, in Volkmer’s perspective, of less importance for norms, legitimacy and political accountability at the global level than the “subjective, personal networked structures linking individuals across the world regions” (p. 1) – after all, according to her analysis, mainstream media and journalism constitute “*only one* constituency in the symbolic landscapes of public interdependence” (p. 137: italics added).

Yet it is difficult to reject the argument that the fourth estate ideal is also potentially a very important critical-analytical tool in studies of war journalism. First, the implementation of IPLs, U.N. Security Council resolutions and the international community’s conflict resolutions strategies are by and large handled through inter-national political processes, where the key actors are nation-states, and not primarily by networks of individuals across national boundaries. Second, precisely because mainstream journalism is much more limited by national bounds than the micro-spheres Volkmer studies is an argument why it is particularly relevant to analyse what the media’s relations to the nation-states imply for global discourses on conflict strategies and their legitimacy. Because, also in the broader theoretical take on the global public sphere that Volkmer suggests, traditional media and news journalism are of course import agents in the formation of global “public horizons” (p. 189). Therefore, we argue that the fourth estate concept provides the normative foundation on the basis of which it is reasonable to demand a war journalism that emphasizes humanitarian values and citizens’ (of the world) interests rather than various nation-states’ or businesses’ interests.

War journalism with a fourth estate role should, independent of the conflicting parties, provide the public with accurate and relevant information about at least two aspects that are critical in all war propaganda, namely (a.) the legality of the military operations and (b.) the consequences for the civilian population. Through all times and from all sides, war propaganda portrays one's own side's violence as self-defence, hence legal, and the enemy's as aggression, hence illegal. With respect to conduct, one's own military forces are depicted as making all possible efforts to avoid civilian casualties, whereas the enemy troops are accused of pursuing terror warfare and targeting civilians. For war journalism to take on a fourth estate role, it must be equally critical and thorough in scrutinizing the accuracy, relevance and objectivity of all the conflicting parties' information, claims and accusations. In particular, the new wars have made it mandatory for war journalism to be alert to false or inflated humanitarian motivations for military interventions made under the pretext of protecting civilian populations from threats and aggressions.

In our view, that is probably the only efficient game-changer – and regrettably a dangerous one for journalists – in the ever darker humanitarian situation that has emerged from the history of wars during the past century. The table below shows that two trends are notable in the history of war during the past century: (a.) in relative numbers the ratio of civilians killed compared to soldiers is increasing and from WWII and onwards civilians have made up more than half of all casualties; (b.) the absolute numbers of killed journalists are growing rapidly, particularly in the so-called new wars after 1989.

Prelude: Short war history in figures

Conflict	Civilian casualties	Killed journalists
World War I	40 %	2
World War II	60-67 %	68
Iraq War 2003-2011	80 %	150+54

The figures are approximate and generalizations from various estimations and several reports, some mentioned by Wikipedia under “Civilian casualty ratio” and some published by NGOs such as the Red Cross, IFJ, Journalists Without Borders and the Committee for Protection of Journalists. The exact numbers are uncertain, in particular the statistics from WWI are probably rather poor, but the trends are as reliable as one can get (see Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2017 for casualty figure flaws as reported by media in the drone war). The horrifying conclusion seems to be that the more civilians who are war casualties, the more journalists who are killed while reporting on the new war realities. Thus, protection of civilians tends to go hand-in-hand with the safety of journalists. In causality terms, the effects go both ways: 1. If the belligerents avoid targeting civilians, it is less risky for journalists to report from the battle zone; 2. If

the safety of journalists is guaranteed, it is more risky for belligerents to commit war crimes against civilians.

From this prelude of war history, let us now narrow our focus to the new wars of the past two decades and the challenges that war journalism faces in realizing its fourth estate role.

Current trends of warfare, media development and war journalism

Globalization and a crisis for human rights

The international political system changed dramatically after the end of the Cold War. This is not only because the bipolar world has been replaced by a multi-polar political structure with many competing regional powers and one superpower, but also because the sovereignty of the nation-states has gradually decreased. While upholding the international collective security previously based on treaties and co-operations between nation-states that (usually and officially) respected each others' control and jurisdiction within territorial borders, today the policies for global security often include demands for protection of populations in another country's territory, i.e. "humanitarian missions" under the principle of "responsibility to protect", adopted in 2009 by the UN Security Council in Resolution 1674. By and large this means that current conflicts immediately become transnational and potentially globalized. At the same time, the implementations of IPL become fluid and contested, and international politics increasingly tend to have repercussions at national and local levels. All in all, for the general public to be part of the globalizing processes, it is required that conflict and war journalism, as well, develop more global perspectives to meet the challenges of the new wars.

The global situation for human rights and the international system that is meant to protect them are under threat because many governments around the world treat them with "utter contempt", according to Salil Shetty, Secretary General of Amnesty in the annual report for year 2015/16. She continues: "Not only are our rights under threat, so are the laws and the system that protect them. More than 70 years of hard work and human progress lies at risk". The role of the UN as defender of collective security and human rights has never been more critical, says Shetty: "The UN was set up to 'save succeeding generations from the scourge of war' and to 'reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights' but it is more vulnerable than it ever has been in the face of enormous challenges". The report estimates that at least in 19 countries "war crimes or other violations of the 'laws of war' were committed by governments or armed groups" in 2015, and it further expresses concern about repression of those who engage in human rights issues (Amnesty 2015/16).

New wars

Experts in the development of international conflicts and military technology seem to agree that important changes have occurred during the past two-three decades. There are different terms – "new wars", "hybrid wars", "asymmetric wars" et cetera – but the arguments are similar: changing conflict politics, military strategies, battlefield tactics

and technical means have created a dramatically new situation for our international collective security, with unpredictable security risks and threats. Although many such analyses place a great deal of importance on new military technology, e.g. cruising missiles, anti-missile systems, information warfare and drones, some emphasize the more long-term, historical and social-political development. This is done by, for example, Mary Kaldor, who in her study of the 1990s Balkan wars underlines how instability and insecurity spread in the former Eastern block due to changing economic and social conditions. And how, in the former Republic of Yugoslavia, the political institutions lost legitimacy and authority, which caused people to seek security in traditional clans and ethnic groups. The new wars that followed were marked by a new pattern with regular troops on one side and militias and other loosely organized armed groups on the other (Kaldor 1999).

This new pattern, deviating as it does from conventional warfare between regular armies on both sides, is even more accentuated in the more recent wars following on the terrorist attacks on the US of 11 September 2001. The 9/11 massacre of around 3000 civilians was in itself, of course, far from conventional war, and the “War on Terror” response by the US and its allies in Afghanistan in 2001 and in Iraq in 2003, and perhaps even more so the Syria War from 2011, made it clear that the new wars are not a passing phenomenon. While the conflict between the superpower the US and the terrorist organization Al Qaida exemplified the asymmetric character of the new wars to the extreme, the more recent enemy to the international community in the Middle East, the IS or Daesh, adds another element: an Islamist and fundamentalist terrorist organization with state-building ambitions (Napoleoni 2014). The turmoil in the region in the wake of the Iraq War left a security vacuum that opened a window of opportunity for the promoters of this extreme and, in some respects, medieval politico-religious organization to claim that they represent security and peace for Sunni Muslims in the coming Islamic Caliphate. Hence the Middle East has been torn apart by a process along similar lines as in the Balkan wars, but with accentuated radicalization and more extreme forms of war and terror.

The media played an important – and destructive – role in the advent of the Balkan wars according to several researchers (e.g. Findahl 2000, Malesic 1993, 1996), but the emphasis on the media's and journalists' importance for the ways in which wars are fought is even more critical in Martin Shaw's study *Western Way of War* (2005). According to Shaw, intense media coverage together with continuous attention from human rights organizations has resulted in a new type of warfare: the ‘risk-transfer war’. The leading Western countries' conduct of war is designed to make the physical dangers – as well as the political, economic, and moral hazards – the burden of the enemy alone. This assumes that the warfare of one's own side is portrayed in the media as legal, legitimate, and in accordance with humanitarian principles. Media are thus part of the historical merging of aid and security policies under the Western foreign policy of a ‘liberal peace’, as analysed by Mark Duffield (2001/2014: 9 ff.). The legitimating formula for the Western way of war can then be spelled “military humanism” (cf. Chomsky 1999).

However, if one wants the media and journalists to realize the ideal of a fourth estate, i.e. a critical institution in democratic society that facilitates public debates about policies and requires accountability of decision-makers, then the long-run sustainability of war journalism is in question in the new wars. The background of this pessimistic view can be sketched out in terms of two parallel and related trends in the field of war journalism: mediatization of war and martialization of journalism. We will first briefly elaborate on the distinction between ‘mediation’ and ‘mediatization’, and second on the notion of ‘martialization’ of war journalism.

Mediatization of war

The two concepts ‘mediation’ and ‘mediatization’ have been discussed recently by media scholars in general as well as more specifically regarding the field of war journalism (Cottle 2009, cf. Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2014, 2015). The first notion refers to the increased importance of media reporting in the fields of politics, economics, social relations and warfare. For example, when Martin Shaw analyses the new wars in *The Western Way of War* (Shaw 2005), he argues that the intensive media attention paid to recent conflicts has changed the risk calculus for the policy makers when it comes to raising support from the general public. Proliferation of international, transnational and Internet-based media has made it increasingly difficult, but also more crucial, to control the information disseminated by the media, for example concerning military successes and setbacks, one’s own losses, civilian casualties, et cetera.

It seems fundamental to realize that mediatization is a concept with ontological implications. Consequently, it is not just a term that refers to the increased influence of journalism on another social institution or field, e.g. politics or military operations. The point of making a distinction between ‘mediation’ and ‘mediatization’ is to highlight the different consequences of expanding media attention for (a.) inter-institutional dependency and (b.) blurred or imploded institutional borders, e.g., between journalism and the military. As Simon Cottle wrote: “Increasingly the news media do not only communicate or ‘mediate’ the events of war; they enter into its very constitution shaping its course and conduct. In this sense, war becomes ‘mediatized’” (Cottle 2009: 209). Also according to him: “...news media constitute a battleground of images and information, spectacle and spin” (ibid.: 110).

Ontologically and contextually, this has crucial and wide-ranging implications of a concrete and material nature. However, as important and relevant as it is to consider the implications of media development for how wars are waged and military operations conducted, it is also crucial to understand what implications the mediatization of war has for the conditions and practices of journalism. It is literally a matter of journalists’ life and death, because they are becoming targets, as we have discussed in more detail elsewhere (Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2014). The most important point here is not that the media have become a battleground for information warfare in the new wars, but that they are being dragged into the wars, that in practical terms they have become part of the military operations too – irrespective of legal and territorial borders.

In sum, the ‘mediation’ of war refers to media reporting from violent conflicts, something that has grown enormously with the rapid increase of the number of media

channels and the Internet as a new media platform. When media attention has consequences for the *modus operandi* of the military forces, 'mediatization' is at hand. For example, this could involve: efforts to ensure that only military objects are targeted on the enemy side, psychological operations (PSYOPS) to improve the image of a country's own military forces (such as the toppling of the statue of Saddam Hussein during the invasion of Baghdad in The Iraq War of 2003), censoring the number of casualties among a country's own troops or obstructing reports about a country's own troops killing innocent civilians – including journalists. When warfare spills over into the journalism institution, we can talk about the other conceptual twin, the 'martialization', of conflict journalism.

Martialization of war journalism

According to IPLs, journalists should be free to report violent conflicts as long as they are not taking part in the military battles. But in reality, that freedom is severely restricted in many instances. The belligerent parties make great efforts to control the content and frames of the media reports and to adapt them to suit their propaganda interests. Hence, journalists are sometimes even treated as 'enemy combatants'. Terrorist warriors such as those supporting the IS or Al Qaida have a record of kidnapping and killing journalists.

Considering regular military forces, one typical example of how journalists have been controlled by the military in the new wars is the system of 'embedded' journalists. The trade-off here is that the reporting is 'guided' by the soldiers, while the journalists in return are given access to media attractions, such as live images from the actions on the battlefield, and – not least important – physical security. Another more sinister example is the series of indications that the media and journalists have been frequently targeted by the US and/or NATO armed forces at least since the Balkan Wars in the 1990s up to the Libya War of 2011. For example – to mention the most discussed incidents – the television building in Beograd in 1999, the Al Jazeera premises in Kabul in 2001 and in Baghdad in 2003, and the Libyan television building in Tripoli in 2011 (for details see Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2014).

This sequence of military attacks on media establishments and journalists working in the field should be understood in the context of a continuous and transnational battle of media frames in the new wars. The globalization of compassion (Nohrstedt, Höijer and Ottosen 2002, cf. Höijer 2004) has led to increased media attention being paid to civilian casualties – also on the 'other side' of the conflict lines – meaning that the one-sided focus of war propaganda solely on 'worthy' victims is being contested by media workers and journalists who are trying to defend their professional integrity. Because this jeopardizes the propaganda objectives of Western countries, which claim that their military interventions are humanitarian operations intended to protect the civilian population – whether in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya or Syria – the risks faced by war correspondents and freelancers are increasing. The propaganda stakes are growing, and it is reasonable to regard at least some of the frequent military attacks on media and journalists as deliberate attempts to stop the messengers – although this is of

course denied by the involved authorities, because it would be tantamount to confessing crimes against IPL (Knightley 2004).

These two examples of warfare practices that drag journalism into the new wars are only the tip of the iceberg. But the consequences can be far-reaching anyway. Suffice it to say that there are some obvious implications of the increased threats to war journalism in the new wars: the media may abstain from sending correspondents to conflict zones due to the risks involved; reporters and editors may develop self-censorship of information that could be disadvantageous to their own country's side; the media may even hesitate to report cases in which press freedom is infringed upon by the authorities (cf. Høiby and Ottosen 2015).

Shortcomings in media reporting of legal aspects in the new wars

Military conflicts do not 'only' entail casualties on the battlefield, but also major threats to civilized rules and conduct in social and political relations between individuals, countries and cultures. One particularly crucial aspect of this is the consequences of the new wars for human rights and freedoms. Universal human rights are never absolute, fixed or – indeed – 'universal' in practical terms. They are ideals and norms, at least partly codified in covenants and laws, i.e. recommendations for conduct between states, authorities and citizens, and among groups and individuals. They are guiding principles and, as such, interpreted differently depending on context, which leads to varying implementations globally.

That, however, does not imply that each interpretation is acceptable and legitimate from a democratic point of view, nor from the perspective of our collective global security. On the contrary, the historical fact that states and regimes have bent implementations of the IPL to suit their own interests is one essential reason – in our view – why we already in 2001 – before the 9/11 terrorist attacks – in a book about media coverage of the Gulf War of 1990-91 warned that that conflict "will haunt us for decades or perhaps centuries to come" (Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2001: 13). Now, twenty-five years after that war and fifteen years after the prediction, the consequences are common knowledge also in mainstream media. The Gulf War not only intensified ethnic conflicts between the West and the Muslim world (al-Umah), it was also the starting point for revisions of how IPL is interpreted and practiced (see below) - revisions that were later fully articulated in connection with the Kosovo conflict in 1999, the Afghanistan War in 2001 and so on.

We have criticized a number of shortcomings in the way mainstream media report legal aspects of international conflicts from the Gulf War of 1990/91 until the Libyan War of 2013 (Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2014). Below we present a short summary of these critical points as a foundation for our argument that war journalism is in great need of increased competence when it comes to reporting and investigating legal matters in the new wars. In particular, the implementation of two central principles in IPL regarding wars, the *jus ad bellum* (right to war) and the *jus in bello* (right conduct in war) principles (Ahmad 2016: 27) are rarely properly scrutinized in the media.

1. *Humanitarian military interventions that transform into regime change, without a UN mandate, are not analysed regarding their legality.* Here a series of five cases are worth mentioning: The *first* example is when the US, the UK and France, after the intensive battles had ended in the Gulf War of 1990-91, declared “no-fly” zones in the Northern and Southern parts of Iraq. This decision was followed up by military force, operations that continued without specific UN sanctions until the Iraq War in 2003, which led to the toppling of the Saddam Hussein regime (for details see Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2014: 18-20). The *second* example is the Kosovo conflict, when NATO attacked Serbian forces accused of pursuing ethnic cleansing against the Kosovo-Albanian Muslim majority and the armed resistance force, the KLA. Only in retrospect did the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in Resolution 1244 offer a pseudo-legitimation of the development when UN troops (KFOR) took control over Kosovo. That this resolution stated that Kosovo should be a part of Serbia was not implemented, and the Beograd regime lost all its federal power over the province (ibid.: 20-21). The *third* example is the Afghanistan War starting in 2001, which also implied that both Norway and Sweden are involved in a process where a UN-sanctioned humanitarian mission (ISAF) merged with the unilateral US-UK Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) and transformed into outright war against resistance forces. The US decision to intervene militarily as an act of self-defence after the 9/11 terrorist attacks was accepted in retrospect by the UN, but the prolonged occupation and regime change has been questioned from a legal point of view. The general public has been kept ignorant, for example in Sweden where it was never officially said that the mission had changed into a counterinsurgency war (ibid.: 21-24, 109-111: based on Agrell 2013).

A *fourth* case of disputable claims of a UN-sanctioned military intervention by the US and the UK was the Iraq War of 2003. After an intensive international political process, including a dramatic Security Council meeting on 5 February 2003, the US and an “alliance of the willing” attacked Iraq on 20 March 2003 without support from the UN. The US administration had accused the regime in Baghdad of hiding weapons of mass destruction as well as of having supported the Al Qaida attacks on 9/11 2001 – accusations later proven to be entirely false. The Security Council voted against the proposal and the Iraq War was described as a crisis for NATO (Agrell 2013). The *fifth* example is the Libya War of 2011, which started as a rebellion against the Muammar Gaddafi regime in the backwash from the Arab spring protests in the neighbouring countries of Tunisia and Egypt and developed into a full-scale civil war with international intervention in the air from NATO. The regime was accused of massive military assaults on civilians in its attempts to stop the rebels. The Security Council in Resolution of 1973 called for an immediate ceasefire, declared a “no-fly” zone over Libya and allowed use of “all necessary means” to protect civilians. According to the UN Charter, military means to stop a violent conflict are only legal after all possibilities to resolve it peacefully have been attempted. But in the Libyan case, a prepared mission by the African Union to stop the escalation was effectively precluded by the NATO air attacks that started immediately after the Resolution was adapted. Civilian

government premises were also targeted by the NATO air forces and eventually Gaddafi escaped, but was caught and killed by a group of rebels (Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2014: 138 ff).

In all these instances of twisted implementations of the Security Council's resolutions, and hence of IPL, from humanitarian missions to regime changes, the mainstream media either ignored or gravely underreported the legal controversies involved. Consequently the general, global public was denied the possibility to form an informed opinion about them. But these are not the only shortcomings in the reporting of legal aspects. There are at least four additional types of cases that leave a great deal to be desired from the mainstream media.

2. *Extra-judicial killings are being described as legal.* The killing of Gaddafi is one clear case when the international community let an extra-judicial execution pass without legal consequences. Another well-known instance was when Osama Bin Laden was shot in Pakistan and dumped into the Indian Ocean. Mainstream media reported these events, but mostly without raising any serious critique of the legality of these actions (see Hersh 2016 for a critical investigation).
3. *Military attacks on civilians are selectively reported and sometimes ignored or excused.* For example, in the Gulf War of 1990-91, the mainstream media disseminated and sometimes promoted the war propaganda from the US and the coalition's political and military leaders about what they called "clinical" warfare on their side. It was only years after the war ended that the general public could learn that only approximately seven per cent of the weapons used were of the so-called "smart" type, which meant that the collateral damages, i.e. dead civilians, could be counted in the tens or hundreds of thousands (Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2001). Another more recent instance is the drone warfare pursued by the US in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Yemen (see below).
4. *In some cases, the mainstream media claim competence to define an act or a situation as jus ad bellum, i.e. a just war, without proper and relevant evidence.* This happened, for example, in 2013 in connection with the gas attacks in the outskirts of Damascus during the Syrian War, when the leading Swedish quality newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* argued in an editorial 12 October that the Bashar Al-Assad regime was clearly responsible. This occurred in spite of what the very same newspaper had reported in its foreign news a month earlier, i.e. 18 September, namely that the OPCW investigations did not prove who was behind the gas attacks (*Dagens Nyheter*; see also Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2014: 157-160).
5. *Killing of journalists is underreported and not put in context.* Although it should be obvious that risks and threats directed towards journalist are also a danger to democracy (Nohrstedt 2016), the increased killing of journalists in the context of the new wars has not received much media attention. In particular the rising numbers of killed, kidnapped and harassed journalists published by IFJ, Reporters without Borders, and other NGOs are not put into a historical context. Elsewhere we have tried to redress the lack of contextual analysis by describing both the impli-

cations of the new wars for war journalists' security and the historical line of attacks on war correspondents since the War on Terror was launched by the US in 2001 (Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2014). Unless journalists themselves make this topic an important issue, it will be very difficult for the general public and media audiences to be aware of the threats to both journalism and democracy – not to mention global mobilization to promote the safety of both (Høiby and Ottosen 2015).

Conclusions and recommendations

Returning to the ideal of media and journalism playing a fourth estate role, we stated in the introduction that it is crucial to subject two aspects in particular to critical scrutiny: (a.) the legality of the military operations and (b.) the consequences for the civilian population. Above, we have also argued that the combination of globalization of violent conflicts and the military and political strategies used in the new wars places dramatically higher demands on conflict journalism to develop global perspectives than before, because IPL has become contested terrain to a degree not seen previously. This is not only because legal disputes about whether cases of mission creep from “humanitarian intervention” to regime change can be justified with the “responsibility to protect” (e.g., Afghanistan War 2001-2014, Libya War 2011, Ukraine conflict 2014), but also because the new wars trespass territorial borders and cultural domains as well as affect domestic politics and social conditions, e.g. immigration policies and growing right-wing populism, worldwide.

The number of international conflicts that we have studied from the Gulf War of 1990 until the Syria War in 2011, and the examples mentioned above, indicate that war journalism is far behind in recognizing the two main criteria for a war journalism with a fourth estate role. Already in 2014, we argued that journalism education programmes around the world, in cooperation with UNESCO, should address the legal issues, both concerning the safety of journalists and concerning the relevant aspects of IPL (Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2014: 197). Agencies like UNESCO and Reporters without Borders are trustworthy partners in a joint effort to make a difference when it comes to establishing journalism as an important contributor to international norm-setting and to raise the profession's ethical standards with regard to reporting violent conflicts (*ibid.*).

Such a development is urgently needed – particularly given the historical trends presented in this chapter. Globalization of conflicts and the new wars are essential threats to international law enforcement and the protection of human rights, including freedom of speech and journalists' safety. Two historical trends are crucial here, namely the mediatization of warfare and the martialization of conflict journalism. Their combined consequences infringe upon journalism and its role as a fourth estate institution that critically investigates the implementation of IPL and defends human rights in a global public sphere. War journalism has been deprived of its independence and integrity – a trend that is further accentuated when the safety of journalists is attacked from all sides and the war criminals are not punished. The protection of innocent civilians in future wars requires both increased safety of journalists in battle zones as well as a war journalism fit to fulfil the promises of the fourth estate ideal.

References

- Aftenposten* (2014). Syria splitter verdens ledere, 7. September.
- Aftenposten* (2015). Enøyd fra Tvedt om Libya, 19. September.
- Agrell, W. (2013). *Ett krig här och nu. Sveriges väg till väpnad konflikt i Afghanistan*. (A war here and now. Sweden's way to armed conflict in Afghanistan). Stockholm: Atlantis.
- Ahmad, M. I. (2016). The magical realism of body counts: How media credulity and flawed statistics sustain a controversial policy, *Journalism*, 17(1): 18-34.
- Amnesty (2015/16). Amnesty International Annual Report 2015/2016, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/research/2016/02/annual-report-201516/>, [accessed April 5].
- Becker, J. and Bennett, K. (2016). Clinton, Smart Power and a Dictator's Fall, *The New York Times*, February 28, 2016.
- Bokova, I. (2011). UN official deplores NATO attack on Libyan television station (UN News Center, August 8. <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=39255#UkKORxxYUXR> [accessed September 25, 2013].
- Chomsky, N. (1999). *The New Military Humanism. Lessons from Kosovo*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press.
- Cottle, S. (2009). *Global crisis reporting: Journalism in the global age*. Maidenhead: Open University.
- Discussing Drones at the UN Headquarters, 2015, <http://www.un.org/disarmament/update/20151027/> [accessed 6 March, 2016].
- Duffield, M. (2014). *Global governance and the new wars: The merging of development and security*. London: Zed Books. (Original work published 2001).
- Findahl, O. (2000). Kan vi lita på medierna? Om medierapporteringen i krigsliknande situationer, in Lidskog, R., Nohrstedt, S. A. and Warg, L.-E. (eds.) *Risker, kommunikation och medier. En forskarantologi*. (Risks, Communication and Media. A Research Volume) Lund: Studenlitteratur.
- Habermas, J. (1991). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Hellestveit, C. (2015). Syria-krigen og folkeretten, *Klassekampen* 15. Desember 2015.
- Hersh, S. M. (2016). *The Killing of Osama Bin Laden*. London: Verso.
- Høiby, M. and Ottosen, R. (2015). Journalism under pressure. A mapping of editorial policies and practices for journalists covering conflict. *Report Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences*, no. 6.
- Höijer, B. (2004). The Discourse of Global Compassion: The Audience and Media Reporting of Human Suffering, *Media, Culture and Society*, 26(4): 513-531.
- Jones, T., Sheets, P. and Rowling, C. (2011). *Differential News Framing of Unmanned Aerial Drones: Efficient and Effective or Illegal and Inhumane?*, paper at the APSA Annual Meeting 2011.
- Kaldor, M. (1999). *New and old wars: Organized violence in a global era*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Knightley, P. (2004). History or bunkum? in Miller, D. (ed.) *Tell me lies: Propaganda and media distortion in the attack on Iraq*. London: Pluto Press.
- Malesic, M. (1993). *The Role of Mass Media in the Serbian-Croatian Conflict*. Stockholm: Psykologiskt försvar.
- Malesic, M. (1996). *Propaganda in War*. Stockholm: Psykologiskt försvar.
- McKelvey, T. (2011). Covering Obama's Secret War, *Columbia Journalism Review*, May/June 2011: 44-47.
- Napoleoni, L. (2014). *The Islamist Phoenix*. New York: Seven Story Press.
- Nohrstedt, S. A. (2016). 'Mediatization' of War and 'Martialization' of Journalism. The twins threatening democracy and human rights in the New Wars, pp. 155-164 in Carlsson, U. (ed.) *Freedom of Expression and Media in Transition. Studies and Reflections in the Digital Age*. Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Nohrstedt, S. A., Höijer, B. and Ottosen, R. (2002). *Kosovokriget, medierna och medlidandet* (The Kosovo War, Media and Compassion) (Rapport no. 190). Stockholm: National Board of Psychological Defense.
- Nohrstedt, S. A. and Ottosen, R. (eds.). (2001). *Journalism and the New World Order. Gulf War, national news discourses and globalisation*. Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Nohrstedt, S. A. and Ottosen, R. (2014). *New Wars, New Media, New War Journalism*. Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Nohrstedt, S. A. and Ottosen, R. (2015). Mediatization and Globalisation: New Challenges for War Journalism, in Eskjær, M. F., Hjarvard, S. and Mortensen, M. (eds.) *The Dynamics of Mediatized Conflicts*. New York: Peter Lang.

- Nohrstedt, S. A. and Ottosen R. (2017 forthcoming). Sustainable war journalism and international public law, in Berglez, P., Olausson, U. and Ots, M. (eds.) *Sustainable Journalism* (working title). New York: Peter Lang.
- Ohl, J. J. (2015). Nothing to See or Fear: Light War and the Boring Visual Rhetoric of U.S. Drone Imagery, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 101: 4, 612-632. DOI: 10.1080/0035630.2015.1128115, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0035630.2015.1128115> accessed December 13, 2015.
- Ottosen, R. and Slaatta, T. (2015). En Libya-utredning er på sin plass, *Aftenposten*, September 25.
- Ottosen, R. and Øvrebø, S. (2016). Who's to blame for the chaos in Syria? The coverage of Syria in *Aftenposten*, with the war in Libya as doxa, in Orgeret, K. and Tayebwa, W. (eds.) *Journalism in Conflict and Post-Conflict Conditions – Worldwide perspectives*. Gothenburg: Nordicom.
- Schultz, J. (1998). *Reviving the Fourth Estate. Democracy, Accountability and the Media*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sheets, R.; Rowling, C. M. and Jones, T. M. (2015). The view from above (and below): A comparison of American, British and Arab news coverage of US drones, *Media, War and Conflict*, 8(3): 289-311.
- Study of Armed Unmanned Aerial Vehicles* (2015). [accessed <http://www.un.org/disarmament/publications/more/drones-study/drones-study.pdf> [accessed 5 April, 2016].
- Sunga, L. S. (2015). Can international law meet the challenges of today's lawless conflicts? *The Guardian*, November 14. <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2015/nov/14/international-law-yemen-syria-isis-conflict> accessed March 24.
- Tvedt, T. (2015). Den politiske eliten ante ikke hva de gjorde da de gikk inn for å sende F-16-fly til Libya | *Aftenposten*, 15. September.
- Ulfstein, G. (2015a). Folkeretten må utredes før krigføring, *Aftenposten* 22. September.
- Ulfstein, G. (2015b). Vil norsk bombing i Syria være folkerettslig, *Aftenposten* 22. November.
- UN (2013). *Safety of journalists and the issue of impunity*. General Assembly A/C.3/68/L.40/Rev.1 <http://www.un.org/en/> [accessed January 10, 2014].
- UNESCO (2012). *Report from 2nd UN Inter-agency Meeting on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2013). *Journalists' safety indicators*, <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/freedom-of-expression/safety-of-journalists/journalists-safety-indicators/> [accessed July, 24 2014].
- VG (2016). Ber Norge bidra med kampfly mot IS, *Verdens Gang*, January 16.
- Volkmer, I. (2014). *The Global Public Sphere. Public Communication in the Age of Reflective Interdependence*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Wikipedia (2016). *Civilian casualty ratio*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civilian_casualty_ratio, retrieved 26 August.

Embedded Journalism and Its Implications in the Field

Leire Iturregui Mardaras, María José Cantalapiedra González
and Leire Moure Peñín

Abstract

The Iraq War was a landmark in war reporting. The design and implementation of the embedded system enabled nearly 700 journalists to live and work alongside soldiers of the United States and British armies. Nearly 30 countries took part in the system, including Spain, one of the main supporters of the USA in its decision to start the war. This article discusses the advantages and drawbacks of the embedded system and the risks it entails for the security and protection of journalists. It offers a reflection on the challenges to be faced now that the embedded system has been consolidated as a way of covering a conflict... and has also proved to be the most economical way of doing so. This research focuses on the situation in Spain, where this debate has not been addressed by either academia or journalism. An in-depth interview method was chosen as the principal research tool.

Keywords: international journalism, embedded system, war reporting, 2003 Iraq War, Spanish reporters

Between October 2002 and January 2003, officials from the Pentagon and senior government officials in Washington met to decide how to regulate the relations between journalists and soldiers in the intervention in Iraq: This was the origin of what would become known as the “embedded system”. The resulting proposal returned to the original relationship between the press and the military during operations and their natural form of relating up until the Vietnam War: living and working alongside each other. However, on this occasion, this was accompanied by norms and regulations contained in the document “Public Affairs Guidance on Embedding Media During Possible Future Operations/Deployments in the U.S. Central Commands Area of Responsibility”, of February 2003 (US Department of Defense 2003).

We can affirm that the Iraq War was a landmark in war reporting. The design and implementation of the embedded system enabled nearly 700 journalists to live and work alongside soldiers of the United States and British armies. Nearly 30 countries took part in the system, including Spain, one of the main supporters of the US's decision to start the war. The Pentagon processed the requests to join the embedded system and decided on the number of embedded reporters according to what military units were able to cope with. The embed slots were assigned to the media, and the latter were responsible for assigning individual journalists to them. *MTV* television

network had one slot, and the magazines *People* and *Rolling Stone* each had one embedded reporter¹. Close to 300 organizations, 60 of them foreign, requested access to the system. Amongst them were reporters from the Arab *Al-Jazeera* television network, the Chinese *Xinhua* news agency, and the Russian *Itar-Tass* news agency (Bushel and Cunningham 2003).

Now that thirteen years have passed since the introduction of the system, we can confirm that it has stirred up opinions both for and against, and has given rise to a fervent debate on the risks involved for journalists in the zone of operations. Since 2003, soldiers, journalists, media executives, academics, and the embedded journalists themselves have made their experiences and opinions known in research projects and journalistic publications, particularly in the US. Criticisms have been centred on the lack of access to information (Murphy 2006; Katovsky and Carlson 2004), on the absence of objectivity (Knightley 2004) and on the submission of the embedded reporters (Avnery 2003). Positive evaluations have praised the system for providing greater access to formerly restricted information (Downie 2003; Friedman 2003). Notwithstanding their different perceptions of other aspects of the conflict, journalists, soldiers and experts agree that the embedded system has contributed notably to remedying the 'shipwreck' that Vietnam caused in trusting relationships between the press and the military as well as to re-establishing good relations between the two collectives. Although the issue of embedded journalists' protection and security has not been resolved, Article 79 of the I Additional Protocol of the Geneva Convention continues to be valid in this respect. This work attempts to cover all of these concerns, and to incorporate the viewpoints of Spanish journalists.

It is in the US that most has been written and most research done on this issue². In Spain, the government's decision to support the war provoked massive demonstrations and protests throughout the country. However, the greatest impact on Spanish public opinion was principally due to the death of two professionals in Iraq during the war: on 7 April 2003, Julio Anguita Parrado, a journalist from the newspaper *El Mundo*³, embedded with the Third Infantry Division, died; one day later, José Couso, the television cameraman from *Telecinco*⁴, was killed in the attack on the Palestine Hotel where journalists posted in Baghdad were staying. In turn, these events gave rise to a debate within the journalistic profession on the conditions in which reporters were carrying out their work in zones of conflict, as both were freelancers.

Nonetheless, no debate has taken place in Spain on embedded war reporting: not in the journalistic field (there is not even a survey of the Spanish journalists who took part in the system), the armed forces (Spain has not accepted embedded reporters and has not followed NATO doctrine on this matter until 2012) or in the academic field (there is very little research on war reporting, even less on the relations between journalists and soldiers, and there are barely any publications on embedded reporting)⁵. This article is intended to fill this gap.

Through in-depth interviews, an attempt has been made to uncover what the experience of the Spanish embedded journalists was like: under what conditions they carried out their work while living with military units, their access to information, the freedom with which they could send off their reports, as well as their relationship with

the soldiers. On the other hand, there have been other interviews with Spanish military with experience on the field. On the basis of these findings, the risks the system entails for the security and protection of journalists in the system started in Iraq are then discussed. Particular attention is paid to the challenges faced thirteen years after the creation of the system of embedded reporters, now that it has been consolidated as a way of covering a conflict... and has been proved to be the most economic means of doing so.

Methodology

In Spain there was no survey of the embedded reporters from Spanish media who had taken part in the system. The first step of the research process therefore consisted of establishing how many Spanish journalists had taken part. To this end, an analysis was made of the study by Richard K. Wright and William H. Harkey (2004), together with the data on embedded reporters in Iraq from the Poynter Institute (2003). Based on this information, a database was created with the details of all the reporters in the embedded system to find out how many embedded professionals each country had sent. This revealed that Spain was seventh on the list of countries with the most embedded journalists in the Iraq war, with seven professionals assigned to military units.

For the purposes of the present study, six of these journalists were contacted⁶, as well as two Spanish military with experience on the field. Given the aims of the study, the in-depth interview method was selected as the principal research tool. A standardized script of questions, similar for all if the journalists, was designed with the topics and sub-topics of interest; the questions were structured in two main blocks. The first block was dedicated to obtaining the interviewee's biographical profile: details relating to age, training, career and professional situation at the time of embedding. The second block concentrated on their experience as embedded reporters: three main sections were established for this purpose, centred on their access to information, the freedom they had to inform, and what their relationship with the soldiers was like, respectively. These dimensions were chosen based on an analysis of the relevant literature.

With the military, an in-depth interview was made in November 2011 (authorization for which was granted after one year of negotiations), and other interviews have been conducted between 2012 and 2014 to follow the evolution of the changes experienced in this field.

Results and discussion

The quantitative analysis allows us to conclude that 144 US media had 514 embedded reporters, making up 73 per cent of the total; that is, three out of four embedded reporters were from the US media. The country's five main television networks⁷ and the five newspapers with the biggest circulation⁸ accounted for a total of 184 embedded reporters, 35 per cent of the US media and a quarter of the total number of embedded reporters.

Table 1. Number of embedded reporters in Iraq in 2003 by country

Country	Number of embedded reporters
United States	514
United Kingdom	61
France	25
Japan	19
Germany	15
United Arab Emirates	9
Spain	7

Source: Compiled by the researchers from a study by Richard K. Wright and William H. Harkey (2004).

The non-US media had 187 embedded reporters from 27 countries. The country ranking was led by the United Kingdom, the principal ally of the US during the Iraq War; fifteen British media led by the *Reuters* agency had 61 slots for embedded reporters, 33 per cent of the total number of the non-US embedded reporters. Spain, with seven slots, occupied the seventh position: Mercedes Gallego was the correspondent for the *Grupo Correo*; Julio Anguita Parrado worked for *El Mundo*; Alfonso Bauluz for *EFE* agency; journalists José Antonio Guardiola and Ángel Orte and cameramen Evaristo Canete and Miguel Ángel de la Fuente for *TVE* (Spanish public television). The youngest journalist, Mercedes Gallego, was thirty-three years old; the most veteran, Ángel Orte, turned fifty in Iraq. All of the reporters were journalism graduates, and the majority had had a professional career that included covering wars, conflict-ridden countries, or human dramas. Iraq was the first war for three of them, and the two with most experience were the television cameramen.

All of the Spanish embedded reporters were on the staff of a news medium at the time of being embedded – except one: Julio Anguita Parrado, who was a freelancer. He was also the only one to die in the war. With respect to their working conditions, the employees of the publicly owned mass media organizations worked under very different conditions, and *TVE* was, without doubt, the organization offering the best working conditions at the time.

Working conditions in the area of operations

As mentioned above, most of the criticisms of the effects of the embedded system have been centred on the lack of access to information, on the absence of objectivity or on the submission of the embedded reporters; positive evaluations have praised the system for providing greater access to information that was formerly restricted. This section considers the conditions under which the Spanish embedded reporters in Iraq carried out their work, with a focus on their access to information, on the freedom with which they were able to report, and on their relations with the soldiers.

Access to information

The document containing the norms regulating the embedded system designed for Iraq had established that embedded reporters “will live, work and travel as part of the units with which they are embedded to facilitate maximum, in-depth coverage of U.S. forces in combat and related operations”. The journalists thus had little freedom of movement, being dependent at all times on the movement of the troops. The Spanish embedded reporters agreed that this lack of free movement had a very direct influence on the logistical aspects of their work and, especially, on their access to sources, as these were restricted to people they encountered in the places the convoys passed through, and to the soldiers themselves.

With regard to the type of information they had access to, the embedded reporters had access to official information, such as the press conferences organized by generals where information on strategies and balances linked to an operation was given. The British army also made daily briefings available to the embedded reporters of *TVE*, in which Public Information Officials (PIOs) made a distinction between information ‘on the record’ and what should be considered ‘off the record’; similarly, embargoed information was disclosed to them – an option contained in the document regulating the system, point 4E – so that the journalists could be kept informed about the development of the operation, although they could not publish their reports until the order arrived.

Freedom to report

Points 4F and 4G of the “Public Affairs Guidance” contain a general list of what information the embedded reporters could publish directly and what information they needed to be extremely careful with. Thus, amongst other questions, it was forbidden to report on the specific number of troops in the units, their localization, information on future operations, or to disseminate images of the installations. During the interviews, the Spanish embedded reporters assured us that they had not observed any censorship other than the restrictions contained in the “Public Affairs Guidance”.

With respect to control of the content of their reports or war dispatches, the majority confirmed that they had respected the ‘off the record’ stipulation and the norms that they had subscribed to at all times. They did perceive greater supervision of which images were disseminated, especially via television cameras. The support of the Spanish government for the US decision to go to war might have influenced this ‘freedom’ and ‘trust’. However, they insisted that some limitations were upheld; for example, they were not allowed to record, or even see, a dead US soldier.

Relations with the soldiers

One of the aims sought by the US in setting up the embedded system was to re-establish the relation between the press and the military and to recover the trust that had been broken in Vietnam. The experiences of the Spanish embedded journalists vary according to the unit they were assigned to. For some of them it was complicated: “The nature of the journalists’ work was not understood; we were seen as a dangerous leak about to occur, which would endanger the security of the soldiers and might even

cost them and their comrades their lives". Others had a very different perception and considered the relation with the US Marines to have been "very good", although they admitted that the fact that many of them were Hispanic contributed to that. Some described their behaviour as "fantastic, impeccable".

With regard to this question, there has been discussion as to whether journalists are able to maintain a distanced perspective from the unit they live with. Dillow, who was a soldier in Vietnam and an embedded journalist in Iraq, points to the risk that the embedded reporter will not only sympathize with the soldiers he is living with, but might even come to feel himself as one of the group: "The biggest problem I faced as an embed with the marine grunts was that I found myself doing what journalists are warned from J-school not to do: I found myself falling in love with my subject. I fell in love with 'my' Marines" (Dillow 2003: 33). The Spaniards interviewed admit that there were embedded professionals who did not know how to keep a 'healthy distance', but they deny that this was so in their case. They recognize that the fact that many of the soldiers were young and found themselves in very difficult personal situations resulted in a certain familiarity being established with some of them. They stress that they perceived keeping that distance to be a kind of life insurance, as argued in the following.

Protection and security of the embedded journalist

However, to what degree can a distance be kept during a war, when one is eating, travelling and sleeping with soldiers, even dressing like them on occasion? In this respect, a debate concerning two fundamental questions arises: the risk run by the journalist of losing his status as a non-combatant, and the controversy over whether journalists should or should not be armed.

Amongst the Spanish journalists, the question was raised of whether the fact of living and working together with one of the sides in the conflict makes one become part of it, at least in the eyes of the 'enemy': "The danger of being on one side is that the other side comes along. Because there's no doubt about your being on one side: you're dressed like them and you're with them. And if the opponents come along, they're gonna fuck you up" (Miguel Ángel De la Fuente, personal communication March 2008).

The Geneva Convention and the Additional Protocols are the references on the protection of journalists in conflict situations in International Public Law; Article 79 of the I Additional Protocol grants journalists the status of non-combatants "provided that they take no action adversely affecting their status as civilians"⁹. There are those, like Ben Saul, who understand that it continues to be a valid scheme: "If 'embedded' journalists are authorised to accompany armed forces, then they are 'war correspondents' under the 1949 Third Geneva Convention, with civilian status and an entitlement to be treated as POWs upon capture" (Saul 2008: 46). However, the Judge Advocate of the U.S. Army, Major Douglas Moore, states that the new system might represent a threat to the protection that Protocol I had offered until now: "The role and use of today's embedded journalist in international armed conflict poses a direct threat to their civilian protections under Article 79 of Protocol I" (Moore 2009: 28).

Thomas Kunkel underlines the courage of the embedded reporters engaged in a form of work where they place their lives at risk in order to fulfil their duty: “As valiant as are our fighting men and women [...] the journalists go into battle armed with cameras, laptops and maybe even pencils. We pray for their safety” (Kunkel 2003).

But were these the only arms employed by the embedded reporters in Iraq? Some authors claim that there were Marines who gave the correspondents arms, including grenades, leaving it up to them whether or not they would use them (Dillow 2003). The Spanish embedded journalists are categorical on this point: none of them ever carried arms or considered the possibility of doing so.

But if the embedded journalists run the risk of losing their non-combatant status, as a consequence of being considered as being part of one side and, therefore, the ‘enemy’ in the eyes of the other side, how is it to be avoided that some of them decide to carry arms, claiming legitimate self-defence? And if there are journalists who decide to carry weapons and dress as soldiers, how does this decision affect the protection they are afforded by Article 79 of Protocol I?

This raises the question of whether it is necessary to revise the legislation currently in force to guarantee the security and protection of journalists in zones of conflict, especially now that the embedded system has been consolidated as a way to cover one side of a conflict.

Consolidation of the system... with different rhythms (Spain)

As of 2003, the US army and NATO have a permanently open procedure for immediately responding to journalists from all over the world who wish to work with operational units. Any reporter can request, through the website of the International Security Assistance Force, to be assigned to a military unit involved in operations in which NATO is taking part. To this end, they must sign a document that contains certain ground rules to be respected; these are similar to those established by the Pentagon in 2003, although there are some modifications. In addition, an inscription form is available where the journalist’s contact details must be included. After analysing the request, the reporter is contacted and informed of when his embeddedness will begin and in which unit of which army.

However, one of the Spanish conditions was exceptional in relation to other countries’. The first official embedments with Spanish troops took place in Afghanistan in March 2012. For the first time, journalists were requested by the Ministry to sign the relevant NATO protocol. The change of government and defence ministry responsible for this marked a turning point in the relationship between journalists and military during operations. Journalists and military both confirm that there has been remarkable progress in relations between them. Lieutenant Colonel Manuel Rodríguez states that the “military itself demanded this openness”. Until 2012 only one journalist, Mikel Ayestarán, has officially worked while embedded with the troops; this was in 2009 in Afghanistan. For three days, he ate, slept, travelled, and worked with them.

Working conditions under debate

The Iraq War had a significant repercussion for the Spanish journalistic profession. Moreover, Iraq touched on the most delicate point of the profession: following the death of Julio Anguita Parrado and Jose Couso, there was a public debate about the conditions of reporters' work in zones of conflict. Both were freelancers, and theirs was not an exceptional case, as job insecurity has been a traditional characteristic of the journalistic profession in Spain (Cantalapiedra et al. 2000; Madrid Press Association 2015). On 12 April 2003, the board of the Federation of Journalist Labor Unions (FeSP) published a communiqué titled "Parrado and Couso, a bleeding reality", in which they denounced the work conditions of these professionals during the war: "In spite of the undeniable importance of the events that they were covering and the responsible work they had been doing for their respective companies for many years, their labour situation was not their rightful one" (FeSP 2003). The FeSP stressed that "this is how about 47 journalists work in Spain".

The Iraq War therefore marked, as all the interviewees stressed, a turning point in the conditions under which journalists work in an area of operations. After Iraq in 2003, the Spanish media equipped themselves with bulletproof vests, NBC protective equipment and helmets, and agreements were reached with the labour unions to provide a special reimbursement for working in war zones, with special insurance policies and extraordinary bonuses for the danger involved.

However, the progress achieved after Iraq in 2003 now seems to have been no more than an exercise in spin by Spanish media: at present, the hiring of freelance professionals with experience and solid knowledge of the terrain is an increasingly frequent fact. It is the Spanish freelance journalists themselves who bear the costs of food and lodging, the necessary translations and logistics on the ground, work and safety equipment, and their life insurance policy. Also, they often decide to request a slot as embedded reporters: a system that guarantees them access to information at zero cost, a fundamental factor, especially in times of crisis. This has resulted in numerous freelance journalists and graphic reporters from all over the world living embedded in units of the US army, in both Afghanistan and Iraq, for periods as long as six months.

Conclusions

Spain had seven embedded professionals in Iraq. All the reporters were journalism graduates and all were on the staff of news media except one, who was a freelancer. He was also the only Spanish embedded journalist to die. In relation to their working conditions in the area of operations, journalists agreed that, due to their lack of free movement, their sources were restricted to people they encountered and to the soldiers themselves; they mainly had access to official information, and they had not observed any censorship other than the restrictions contained in the "Public Affairs Guidance". Positive evaluations of embedded journalism have praised the system for improving relations between soldiers and journalists. The experiences of the Spanish embedded journalists vary: for some of them it was "complicated", but others considered the relation with the US Marines to have been "very good" or "fantastic". The fact that many

of the soldiers were young and found themselves in very difficult personal situations resulted, for some of the embedded, in a “certain familiarity” being established with some of the soldiers. In this regard, it might be pertinent for future research to analyse how this familiarity affects journalistic principles, such as the writer’s independence, impartiality and equity.

No debate has been proposed as yet in Spain on the effects of embedded journalism on professional practice. Following the death of two Spanish professionals in Iraq, discussion has been exclusively centred on the conditions under which journalists (unilateral or embedded) cover a war. The deaths of the two journalists led to improvements in the labour agreements for journalists sent to operation zones. At the time of the war, the best working conditions were those offered by the publicly owned television. After Iraq in 2003, agreements were reached with the labour unions to provide a special reimbursement for working in war zones, with special insurance policies and extraordinary bonuses for the danger involved. Nonetheless, these advances are now no more than an anecdote, because the Spanish media are increasingly opting to hire freelance journalists to cover international conflicts. The Spaniards who have taken part in embedded processes following Iraq have, with few exceptions, been freelancers. The freelance journalists themselves bear the costs of food and lodging, the necessary translations and logistics on the ground, work and safety equipment, and their life insurance policy.

We can certainly say that, thirteen years after it was first implemented in the Iraq War, the embedded system is a consolidated practice; NATO has a permanently open procedure for journalists from all over the world to work with military units of the countries involved in its missions. Spain adopted this protocol more than ten years later. Some Spanish journalists affirmed that the fact of living and working together with one of the sides in the conflict causes one to become part of it. This point raises an important issue: the implications of this system regarding protection and security for journalists in zones of operation. Although embedded journalism guarantees the journalist’s safety on the ground, it can jeopardize the protection provided by Article 79 of the I Protocol of the Geneva Convention. We should also not ignore the fact that embeddedness is the most economical way of practising war reporting; this is an especially dangerous combination in a journalistic context where the number of freelancers has increased considerably, and it might explain why there are freelancers who live embedded for as long as six months. This ensures that they can sell their stories without incurring the costs of lodging, transport or food.

Thirteen years on, therefore, the consolidation of the embedded system demands not only a review of its possible implications concerning the protection, under international law, of journalists who decide to cover a war embedded with military units, but also a reflection on some of their motives for deciding on this novel – and at the same time ancient – form of war reporting. These motives could touch upon the very core of journalistic ethics, insofar as economic criteria might take priority over journalistic criteria in the decision of a news medium, or journalist, to recur to the embedded system for informing their public about what is occurring in a war.

Acknowledgements

This research has been carried out with the support of the Basque Government (Consolidated Research Group IT1081-16), the research project CSO2014-56196-R and the University of Basque Country UPV/EHU. The authors are grateful to the journalists who were interviewed for their accessibility and contribution towards this work.

References

- Aukofer, F. and Lawrence, W. P. (1995). *America's Team. The Odd Couple. A Report on the Relationship Between the Media and the Military*. Nashville: Freedom Forum First Amendment Center.
- Avnery, U. (2003). A crooked mirror, Presstitution and the Theater of Operations. *Counterpunch*. <http://www.counterpunch.org/avnery04032003> (accessed 2016-02-04).
- Bauluz de la Iglesia, A. (2004). 'Empotrados' pero libres (Embedded but Free), *Cuadernos de Periodistas*, 1: 45-56.
- Bauluz de la Iglesia, A. (2015). *El manejo de la prensa por el Pentágono: análisis de los recursos empleados para modular la narración de los periodistas empotrados con las tropas estadounidenses en las guerras de Irak y Afganistán. (How the Pentagon Manages the Press: Tools to Modulate the Stories of Journalists Embedded with US Military in the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars)* PhD. Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Bauluz, A. (2008). Interview with the Spanish embedded journalist, 2008-03-08.
- Beckerman, G. (2007). The Importance Of 'Seeing' The War, *Columbia Journalism Review*, 2007-03-02 (Accessed 2016-04-02).
- Bushell, A. and Cunningham, B. (2003). Suddenly the Pentagon Grants Access to the Action, But the Devil's in the Details, *Columbia Journalism Review*, March/April 2003, p.18.
- Cantalapiedra, M. J., Coca, C. and Bezunartea, O. (2000). 'La situación Profesional y laboral de los periodistas vascos' (Professional and Labour Situation of Basque Journalists), *ZER. Revista de estudios de comunicación*, 9 (12). <http://www.ehu.es/zer/hemeroteca/pdfs/zer09-12-cantalapiedra.pdf> (Accessed 2015-05-10).
- Carlsson, U. (ed.) (2016). *Freedom of Expression and Media in Transition*. Göteborg: Nordicom. University of Gothenburg.
- Cottle, S., Sambrook, R. and Mosdell, N. (2016). *Reporting Dangerously. Journalist Killings, Intimidation and Security*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dalmau, V. (2010). Interview with the Spanish Lieutenant Colonel, 2010-11-03.
- De la Fuente, M. Á. (2008). Interview with the Spanish embedded cameraman, 2008-03-08.
- Department of Defense (2003). *Public Affairs Guidance (PAG) on Embedding Media During Possible Future Operations/Deployments in the U.S. Central Commands (CENTCOM) Area of Responsibility (AOR)*. <http://www.defense.gov/news/feb2003/d20030228pag.pdf> (2012-06-03).
- Dillow, G. (2003). Grunts and Pogues: The Embedded Life, *Columbia Journalism Review*, May/June 3.
- Downie, L. Jr. (2003). Covering the War in Iraq, *The Washington Post*, 2003-03-20. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/liveonline/03/special/iraq/sp_iraq_downie032003.htm.
- Edwards, D. L. (2005). *Embed or in bed? Building the agendas of the newspaper coverage of Operation Desert Storm and Operation Iraqi Freedom*. Chapel Hill: UMI Microform.
- Federación de Sindicatos de Periodistas (2003). Parrado y Couso, una precariedad sangrante (Parrado and Couso, a Bleeding Precarity). <http://www.fesp.org/comunicados2.php?id=7> (Accessed 2011-05-11).
- Friedman, P. (2003). TV: A Missed Opportunity, *Columbia Journalism Review*, May/June 3.
- Gallego, M. (2003.) *Más allá de la batalla (Beyond the Battle)*. Madrid: Temas de hoy.
- Gallego, M. (2008). Interview with the Spanish embedded journalist (by mail).
- Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos (2011). *Conflictos, opinión pública y medios de comunicación. Análisis de una compleja interacción (Conflicts, Public Opinion and Media. The Study of a Complex Interaction)*. Madrid: Ministry of Defense.
- International Federation of Journalists (2003). *Manual de Protección para Periodistas*. (Handbook for the Protection of Journalists) <http://www.ifj.org/pdfs/NoticiasenVivo20Screen.pdf> (Accessed 2011-05-11).

- Iriondo, J. (2003). *Palestina Hotela*, (Palestine Hotel). Bilbao: Elea.
- Iturregui Mardaras, L. (2011). *Origen y evolución de la relación entre periodistas y militares en operaciones. El sistema de empotrados Irak 2003*. (Origin and Evolution of the Relations between Journalists and Military. The Embedded System in Iraq 2003) PhD. Leioa: Universidad del País Vasco UPV/EHU.
- Iturregui Mardaras, L., Cantalapiedra González, M. J., Moure Peñín, L. and Martín Sabarís, R. (2014). War correspondents on the battlefield: an approach to their relationship with the military from Crimea to Iraq. *Historia y Comunicación Social*, special issue, February, 645-654.
- Journalists of the EFE agency (2003). *Objetivo Bagdad. 12 reporteros en la guerra de Irak (Objective Bagdad. 12 Reporters in the Iraq War)*. Madrid: Agencia EFE.
- Katovsky, B. and Carlson, T. (2004). *Embedded: The Media At War in Iraq*. Guilford, Connecticut: The Lyon Press.
- Knightley, P. (2004). *The First Casualty. The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Iraq*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Kunkel, T. (April 2003). In Harm's Way. The importance of war reporting, *American Journalism Review*. April, 1.
- Laurence, J. (2003). Embedding: A Military View, *Columbia Journalism Review*. March/April 2.
- Mijallo, Ó. (2004). Viejos y nuevos 'empotrados', testigos de excepción (Old and New Embeds, Exceptional Witnesses). *Cuadernos de Periodistas* 1, 57-65.
- Ministry of Defense (2011). *XVIII Curso Internacional de Defensa. Medios de Comunicación y operaciones militares (XVIII International Conference of Defence: Media and Military Operations)*. Madrid: Ministry of Defense.
- Mooney, M. J. (2004). *Live from the Battlefield: An Examination of Embedded War Correspondents' Reporting during Operation Iraqi Freedom (21 March-14 April 2003)*, Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School Monterey CA.
- Moorcraft, P. L. and Taylor, P. (2008). *Shooting the messenger. The political impact of war reporting*. Washington: Potomac Books.
- Moore, D. W. (2009). 'Twenty-First Century Embedded Journalists: Lawful Targets?' *The Army Lawyer*. July, 1-46.
- Murphy, D. (2006). The Embeds. Reporting Iraq. 2003-2006. An Oral History, *Columbia Journalism Review*. November/December 6.
- Nies, G. and Pedersini, R. (2003). Freelance Journalist in the European Media Industry, *European Federation of Journalists* <http://www.ifj.org/assets/docs/251/142/9d877fb-224c58e.pdf> (Accessed 2010-09-15).
- Orte, Á. (2008). Interview with the Spanish embedded journalist, 2008-03-08.
- Paul, C. and Kim, J. J. (2004). *Reporters on the Battlefield. The Embedded Press System in Historical Context*, California: RAND Corporation.
- Peregil, F. (2003). *Reportero en Bagdad* (Reporter in Baghdad), Barcelona: Planeta.
- Porch, D. (2001). 'Media/Military Relations in the United States', *Occasional Paper* 10. URL: <http://www.pdgs.ar/porch.htm>.
- Porch, D. (2002). No Bad Stories: the American media-military relationship, *Naval War College Review*.
- Poynter Online (2003). Media Map of Iraq. http://www.poynter.org/content/content_view.asp?id=27071 (Accessed 2008-02-14).
- Project for Excellence in Journalism (2003). Embedded Reporters. What Are Americans Getting?, *Pew Research Center*. <http://www.journalism.org/node/211> (Accessed 2008-03-23).
- Rodríguez, M. (2010; 2012). Interview with the Spanish Lieutenant Colonel, 2010-09-28, 2012-09-27.
- Rodríguez, O. (2004). *Aquí Bagdad. Crónica de una guerra* (Here Baghdad. Chronicle of a War). Madrid: Velecio Editores.
- Sahagún, F. (2004). Corresponsales de guerra: de la paloma a Internet (War Reporters: from the Dove to Internet). *Cuadernos de Periodistas* 1: 33-44.
- Saul, B. (2008). The international protection of journalists in armed conflict and other violent situations, *Australian Journal of Human Rights* 14(1).
- Seib, P. M. (2005). *Media and conflict in the twenty-first century*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Sistiaga, J. (2004). *Ninguna guerra se parece a otra* (Every War is Unlike Every Other) Barcelona: DeBolsillo.

- Suevos, R. (2003). Algunas Reflexiones sobre la Comunicación Pública en Operaciones (Some Reflections on Public Communication in Operations), *Ejército de tierra español. Revista de las armas y de los servicios* 748.
- Taylor, P. (1998 / 1992). *War and the media*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
- Wright, R. and Harkey, W. H. (2004). *Assessment of the DoD Embedded Media Program*, Virginia: Institute for Defence Analyses.

Notes

1. References in this respect have been found in several works: Sistiaga (2004), Carr (2003) Wright and Harkey (2004).
2. The report drawn up by Wright and Harkey (2004) for the US Defense Department following the war contains in its annexes more than two hundred articles published on the embedded system; prestigious centres like the Poynter Institute (2003) or the Project for Excellence in Journalism (2003) have published monographs on the issue; Phillip Knightley (2004), an author of reference in war reporting, updated his historical work to include the Iraq experience; other authors like Katovsky and Carlson (2004), Edwards (2004), Paul and Kim (2004) or Murphy (2006) have published books focusing on the new system.
3. The newspaper with the second largest readership, after *El País*.
4. The Spanish television channel with the second largest audience at that time, after the first channel of the public television, TVE1.
5. This is also the opinion of the journalists interviewed for the study and of the members of the Spanish armed forces consulted. In the field of the relations between the media and the armed forces, the Spanish Institute of Strategic Studies (2011) has published a study on the question, the Ministry of Defense (2011) organized a conference and the authors of this paper published a PhD (Iturregui, 2011) and several articles (Iturregui et al. 2014). Concerning embedded journalism, the Association of Journalists of Madrid published the journal *Cuadernos de periodistas* in 2004, containing articles by Bauluz (2004), Mijallo (2004) and Sahagún (2004) on the Iraq experience; Bauluz, a journalist embedded at Iraq, referred to this question in his PhD (Bauluz, 2015). The majority of the Spanish journalists who covered the war published autobiographical books detailing their experiences (Gallego 2003, Rodríguez 2004, Peregil 2003, Sistiaga 2004, Journalists of the EFE agency 2003, Iriondo 2003, etc.).
6. The seventh, Julio Anguita Parrado, died in an attack close to Bagdad on 7 April 2003.
7. *CNN, NBC, CBS, FOX* and *ABC*. These are considered to be the principal television networks by the Project for Excellence in Journalism (2003).
8. *USA Today, Wall Street Journal, New York Times, Los Angeles Times* and *Washington Post*. Identified as the principal newspapers in PAUL and KIM (2004: 80).
9. Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I).

The Protection of Citizen Journalists during Armed Conflicts

A legal approach

Mariateresa Garrido Villareal

Abstract

Digital technologies are changing the way in which journalism is performed. Today, reports by citizen journalists (CJs) are extremely relevant when traditional journalists cannot access hostile and dangerous areas. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, 90 per cent of murdered reporters were locals (CPJ 2015). CJs are among the most affected journalists because they are locally based; therefore, their protection is essential. This article explores the legal instruments available to protect CJs during armed conflicts, and how distortions in the interpretation of norms can put them at risk. First, I present the legal arguments supporting the simultaneous application of International Humanitarian Law and International Human Rights Law, and the protection mechanisms available for the legal protection of CJs. Second, I highlight the problems that arise when CJs are identified as combatants (spies), rather than as civilians, and discuss the effects this has on the conflict.

Keywords: citizen journalism, protection mechanisms, armed conflict, journalists, safety

Digital technologies present new challenges to journalism. The ubiquity of Internet-based platforms means we are receiving more information than ever before, and yet journalists face more risks every day. War journalist Jon Lee Andersen argues that the Internet makes journalists more vulnerable to murder and, in fact, an increasing number of digital reporters are killed every year (Lee Anderson 2013). In 2015, 31 out of 72 murdered journalists were Internet reporters, up from 27 in 2014. Some 90 per cent of them were locals (CPJ 2015). Citizen journalists (CJs) are local journalists who are also affected by this situation. They play an important role in publishing breaking news in an accurate, timely manner, and their reports shape how readers perceive conflicts, which makes protecting CJs essential.

It is undeniable that the new media landscape has given rise to a new group of journalists that deserve equal protection; nonetheless, the safety of CJs is a topic that has received little attention from academic circles. This is partly because we lack a clear definition of what constitutes a CJ. For the purposes of this article, I define CJs as locally based, unpaid people with no formal training who gather and disseminate information through Internet-based platforms. Because they are not paid profession-

als, CJs momentarily play the role of traditional journalists. They rely on journalistic tools, such as observation, inquiry and data verification and analysis, to gather and analyse information. They do not filter their work through an editing process, and they usually report on local events.

This article explores the legal instruments that protect CJs during armed conflicts, revealing how distortions in the interpretation of norms can put them at particular risk. It reviews the sources of international law and, by following a legal methodology, identifies the legal frameworks and mechanisms available to CJs. It will also present some of the safety issues that that CJs face.

In the first part, I start with a review of the legal arguments supporting the simultaneous application of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and International Human Rights Law (IHRL). I specify the reasons why both legal frameworks apply during armed conflicts and the special circumstances in which IHL or IHRL prevail. Because CJs are using Internet-based platforms, I also discuss the norms applicable to digital media.

In the second part, I evaluate the protection mechanisms provided by IHL. I differentiate between the legal regimes for war correspondents and civilians and present the reasons why CJs are considered civilians journalists. I conduct a legal analysis of customary norms and applicable treaty law. Considering these arguments, I highlight the problems that arise when CJs are identified as combatants rather than civilians and discuss the effects this has on the conflict. I will look at digital surveillance programmes that identify people as either journalists or as combatants and show the how this distinction affects their protection and treatment.

Although some recommendations are made throughout the article, the main purpose of this study is to explore protection mechanisms used during armed conflicts. It calls for an evaluation of the legal arguments that contribute to the safety of journalists during armed conflicts, specifically for the inclusion of CJs in debates related to the protection of journalists.

Simultaneous applicability of IHL and IHRL

There is consensus around the coexistence of IHL and IHRL during armed conflicts.¹ But every conflict is different, and in order to apply the proper norm, it is necessary to analyse each unique situation. The safety of journalists is a special circumstance and subject to specific regulations. There is on-going debate as to which norms are the proper ones. Some scholars argue that this decision should be made through application of the *lex specialis derogat legi generali* principle,² while others say that it should consider the complementarity of both regimes.³

In non-conflict situations, there is no doubt that the applicable norm is IHRL. This legal framework indicates that any person has the right to hold opinions and to seek, receive and disseminate information.⁴ Journalism entails the continuous exercise of these rights, and states are therefore obligated to respect, protect, and guarantee that reporters can do their job. Additionally, in cases related to journalists' safety, states must comply with specific obligations, such as condemning any attack on journalists, investigating cases against them and prosecuting those responsible for the crimes.

While IHL protects journalists against problems that may arise while they are working, such as being detained or killed, it does not guarantee their fundamental right to report (Dörmann 2007; Gasser 2003: 368). Journalists play a crucial role during armed conflicts because “accurate, impartial media reports conveyed from conflict zones serve a fundamental public interest” (ICRC 2010). This leads to the simultaneous application of IHRL and IHL. IHRL applies as *lex specialis* when the right to freedom of expression is restricted, while IHL is used to protect a journalist’s physical safety as *lex specialis* (Olson and Sassóli 2008: 613-615).

As CJs are using Internet-based platforms, it is important to point out that IHRL also applies to the Internet and that states are required to comply with the obligations established in this legal regime.⁵

States are the only party allowed to restrict human rights during armed conflicts.⁶ Because they are responsible for guaranteeing, respecting and protecting human rights, any measure adopted without observing IHRL is illegal. States are therefore responsible for the violations committed.

In order to restrict the right to freedom of expression (FoE), states must comply with the legal requirements established under IHRL, including the case of limitations to the use of Internet-based platforms. Currently, the main norm regulating this scenario is Article 19 of the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). States party to this treaty facing an armed conflict cannot relax adherence to this obligation. In fact, in 2015 the UN Security Council reminded members that parties involved in conflict bear the responsibility of ensuring the exercise of the right to FoE (UNSC Res. 2222/2015).

Article 19.3 of the ICCPR indicates that legal limitations are only allowed when they are contained in a public, clear, and precise law, and are necessary to protect the rights and reputation of others, national security, public order, public health or public morals. In the case of armed conflicts, restrictions can be imposed based on arguments of national security or social unrest. Nevertheless, evaluation of the legality of these

- CJs are constantly exercising the right to FoE, and to limit the exercise of this right, states must observe IHRL. Moreover, because the right to FoE can be exercised through the use of any medium, regulations adopted to control the Internet or Internet-based platforms must respect IHRL.
- The existence of an armed conflict does not automatically authorize states to impose limitations on the exercise of journalism. In accordance with international law, states must guarantee that CJs can seek and disseminate information. Their reports serve the fundamental purpose of obtaining information about the conflict. In consequence, restrictions must be exceptional.
- IHL protects people, not human rights. For that reason, during armed conflicts CJs’ physical safety depends on the application of these norms.

measures requires performing a three-part test that considers the necessity of the limitation and the proportional achievement of an urgent goal.

States need to take into account the form of expression and the medium used to disseminate it. The existence of an immediate link between the expression and the threat is an indispensable requirement (UNHRC 2011a, paras. 34, 35). When affecting Internet-based platforms, the measure should consider the impact that it has on the general operation of the Internet. Moreover, measures cannot affect legitimate speech published on websites, links, content, or any other type of application unless a clear and full identification of the medium and the reasons to limit it is included in the norm (IACHR 2013, Chapter IV, paras. 61-63, 85, 86).

Additionally, the exercise of journalism cannot be affected by these restrictions. Limitations need to be proportional and suitable to the purpose sought. Dissemination of information during armed conflicts is essential to people in the area, the parties involved and the international community. Actually, the ICRC indicates that there is a practice to protect journalists' right to exercise their professional activities during armed conflicts, because their work is the best way to understand what is happening in the zone (ICRC, p. 117). For these reasons, limitations must be compatible with the protection of other human rights including the right to work (UNHRC 2011a, para. 26). Journalists' work can only be affected when restrictions are "strictly justified by the exigencies of the situation, [and] in line with the three-part test" (Joint Declaration 2015, para. 4.d).

In conclusion, the fact that IHL does not protect the right to FoE allows the simultaneous applicability of norms. As demonstrated, IHRL is *lex specialis* for the protection of this right during armed conflicts, while IHL is *lex specialis* for the protection of journalists' physical safety while working in these situations.

Mechanisms established under IHL to protect CJs

IHL is a legal framework designed to guarantee that people who are not participating directly in hostilities suffer as little as possible during armed conflicts. In war zones, people's protection depends solely on their identification as either combatants or as civilians. In relation to journalists, IHL protects those using Internet-based platforms in the same way that it protects those using traditional media. However, it does distinguish between two types of journalists: war correspondents and civilian journalists. This classification has a direct impact on the protection mechanisms available to each group.

Article 4.A.4 of the II Geneva Convention indicates that a war correspondent is a person who is not a member of the armed forces, but has received an authorization to accompany the group. Nowadays, embedded journalists are the ones usually recognized as war journalists (Davies and Crawford 2013: 2160).

On the contrary, Customary Rule 34 indicates that civilian journalists are those who are not war correspondents and are engaged in a professional mission. However, this requirement presents several difficulties when it comes to freelancers and CJs. They are not working for a specific media outlet and, thus, proving that they are

engaged in a professional mission is complicated. Moreover, there are no clear rules that define when the activity is part of a professional mission, leaving the decision to the parties in conflict, or to the state providing identification cards for journalists covering the conflict (Henckaerts and Doswald-Beck 2005: 660-670).

Despite this distinction, IHL contains 3 norms exclusively dedicated to the protection of journalists. In the case of international armed conflicts, Article 4 of the III Geneva Convention gives to war correspondents the status of Prisoners of War (PoW) when captured, and Customary Rule 34 indicates that they should be protected as civilians.⁷ Additionally, war correspondents enjoy some of the protections given to civilians, as in they cannot be targeted and their equipment is classified as civilian. In the case of non-international armed conflicts, journalists are protected under Article 79 of the Additional Protocol II as civilians.⁸

There are several consequences for the protection of CJs derived from this classification. First, CJs do not have the possibility of being treated as war correspondents because for them journalism is not a source of income. Under this criterion, CJs do not classify as journalists who can accompany military forces. Moreover, CJs cannot obtain an identity card because they do not work for a news medium; in consequence, their recognition as journalists depends on the parties in conflict, which affects their classification as a combatant and their protection.

Second, this classification also impacts determination of the laws protecting CJs. Although CJs are locally based journalist, they are not necessarily citizens of the state in conflict, which makes nationality an important factor to consider. In international armed conflicts, Article 4 of the Geneva Convention IV indicates that protection is granted to those who find themselves in the hands of a state of which they are not nationals. In consequence, IHL has limited application for nationals from one state in conflict (Stolte 2015: 140-141). On the contrary, in non-international armed conflicts, Article 2 of the Additional Protocol II establishes that the protection cannot depend on nationality; therefore, IHL can protect them.

Furthermore, there is a series of other legal regimes that coexist and apply to any type of armed conflict. Diplomatic protection should be available for any person who is a national from another state that is not taking part in the hostilities (Saul 2007, p. 128). Also, through observance of the jurisdiction, citizens and residents are subject to domestic law (Oxman 2007). CJs' cases should be decided by domestic tribunals, contributing to a decrease in the impunity rate for crimes against journalists. Finally, IHRL is also applicable when it gives a special protection, as in the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (OHCHR 2011: 44-45).

Third, as civilians, CJs cannot be targeted, and their equipment has the same protection. In fact, a deliberate attack against them could constitute a war crime and those responsible for the commission of such crimes could be prosecuted before the International Criminal Court or any other tribunal with jurisdiction to decide such cases. The Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, and the Additional Protocols are the applicable norms regarding the protec-

tion of civilians. These rules indicate that civilians enjoy general protection against the dangers of the military operations (art. 51 Additional Protocol I), including personal and material protection. However, it is not the purpose of this article to consider all the protections given to civilians. Only some of those related to the protection of CJs will be considered in the next part.

Finally, the distinction between international armed conflicts and non-international armed conflicts makes no difference in their treatment. CJs must be considered civilian journalists, unless they are taking part in the hostilities. If they do participate they can be treated as combatants (Henckaerts and Doswald-Beck 2005, Rule 3). Nonetheless, determining whether or not a CJ is taking part in the hostilities is complicated. Actually, there is an on-going debate on how this determination should be made, and this debate is considered in the next section.

Safety issues faced by CJs

Safety depends on the identification of risks, and during armed conflicts there are two main situations to consider: immediate physical danger and detentions by the parties in conflict (Gasser 2003: 368; Mukherjee 1995: 30-31). However, in the digital era a third case must be included: being identified as a combatant through the use of digital technologies.

CJs rely on the use of Internet-based platforms to disseminate information, and the majority of these platforms are under surveillance. If intelligence services are gathering a specific type of information, anyone disseminating this information can be part of the investigation and the information collected can serve in their identification as combatants. This situation increases risks and affects the protection of CJs. Edward Snowden's revelations demonstrated that, in the digital era, anyone can be perceived as a threat to the state and be placed under surveillance without knowing it (Williams 2015). This situation presents several problems: it affects both the observance of presumption of innocence and due process. This sets a dangerous precedent in determining who is directly participating in hostilities during armed conflicts.

All parties in conflicts need information. Even though there are several ways to obtain information, parties still rely on the use of spies. Because of this, it is common for journalists to be identified as spies. Investigative reporter David Rhode indicates that, during the war in Afghanistan, insurgents considered foreign journalists to be spies (Rhode 2014, min. 22:30). Within this context, if parties to conflicts have been identifying journalists as spies, there is no reason to believe that this will change in the near future.⁹ In fact, it can be argued that surveillance programmes, implemented by governments all over the world, could lead to an increase in cases where journalists are considered to be spies.

If CJs lose their civilian status, they can be targeted because they become combatants and the rules protecting them change. For this reason, the distinction between people taking part in the hostilities remains extremely important. During armed conflicts, it is simpler to recognize a combatant when the person is holding a weapon or is involved in any type of direct violence; nevertheless, this is not always the case,

and when we analyse the statistics on journalists killed in action, we can conclude that, on many occasions, they are seen as legal targets even when they are not actively participating in hostilities. Thus, clarifying who is taking direct part in hostilities is extremely important.

Identification of combatants

For the parties in conflict, information works in two directions. It can help them to improve their strategies, but it can also increase the risk of attacks. Hence, to determine whether the activities performed by CJs can lead to the loss of civilian protection, it is necessary to observe the presence of the elements indicated by the ICRC in 2009 in the Interpretive Guidance on the Notion of Direct Participation in Hostilities.

The Guide identifies the constitutive elements of acts that can be considered as direct participation in hostilities. They are cumulative and include: “(1) a threshold regarding the harm likely to result from the act, (2) a relationship of direct causation between the act and the expected harm, and (3) a belligerent nexus between the act and the hostilities conducted between the parties to an armed conflict” (ICRC 2008). The first element requires that the act intend to affect military operations or military capacity. Despite the fact that materialization of the harm is not required to consider the act a direct participation, in accordance with the second and third element, the existence of a causal link between the act and the harm caused to favour one of the parties in conflict is necessary.

CJs report on what they consider important to them and their audience, not to the parties in conflict. They gather information and process it in accordance with their interests. As any other journalist, they cannot control how people use the information. They are not performing these activities with the intention of affecting military operations. They simply want to inform people about what is happening in their communities. Although the published information can be used by parties to plan their military strategies, it is not possible to establish, as is required, a direct link between the publication of information and the harm caused by the attack.

Additionally, the dissemination of information through Internet-based platforms cannot favour only one of the parties. The uses of the information depend on the people who receive it and interpret it. As a result, gathering and disseminating information does not meet any of the constitutive criteria above mentioned. CJs cannot be considered combatants; and in case of doubt, they should always be treated as civilians (UNSC Res. 2222/2015, para. 3; UNGA 2010, paras. 49, 78). Yet, there are some cases that require a detailed analysis, such as espionage.

Spies or Journalists?

Espionage is a legal activity that takes place during international armed conflicts.¹⁰ It is one of the activities that intelligence services can conduct to collect the information needed to plan and make decisions during conflicts. Laws regulating this activity were established in the 19th Century, which explains why espionage is legally perceived as an activity that takes place during armed conflicts. Today, however, the reality is dif-

ferent. Intelligence services operate in peacetime and in any type of armed conflict (Demarest 1996: 331). Surveillance has become a common practice all over the world, and the information gathered is used in decision-making processes. Such information is used in particular by representatives of states involved in armed conflicts (Fleck 2007: 689-690). If this practice continues as it is, espionage in peacetime and during non-international armed conflicts can become a legal activity under international customary law. Nevertheless, in the current legal framework, parties to a non-international armed conflict cannot claim that a person is a spy. In fact, this regulation serves as a protection mechanism for journalists covering non-international armed conflicts.

Article 46 of the Additional Protocol I provides the guidance to differentiate spies from CJs during international armed conflicts. It indicates that a spy is a member of the armed forces who gathers information in the territory occupied by an adverse party “through an act of false pretences or deliberately in a clandestine manner”.

Even though spies perform the same acts as CJs, their approaches and intentions are different. Spies gather information for the state in a clandestine manner. They collect information about the enemy and that will be used in military operations. What they share is used for decision-making processes or for military strategies. The processing of that information involves intelligence services and members of the military. Spies are part of a collective operation in which information constitutes integral part of the “concrete and coordinated tactical operation” (ICRC 2008: 1022). Spies have a direct link between the activity, the harm caused and one of the parties in conflict. Hence, the person can be identified as a combatant only if he or she is part of the military and gathering information that contributes to the military strategy of one of the parties.

Customary Rule 107 recognizes that, in some cases, spies can use civilian attire to perform their job. In practice this is where the main problem lies. There are no visible differences between CJs and spies. They can not only be dressed in the same way, but also use similar tools to report. People in armed conflict situations depend on the use of smart phones or any other type of digital devices to record the facts that will be posted on the Internet. With the purpose of creating confusion and to avoid recognition, spies can even use the same networks used by CJs to deliver information. Within this context, if a person is captured when gathering and/or disseminating information, the first thing that the detaining power needs to do is to determine whether the person is a spy or a journalist.

It is important to keep in mind that the Internet does not create barriers to who posts and who receives information. If a CJ has been reporting through Internet-based platforms on a topic that is under surveillance, she and those with whom she is interacting are automatically part of the archives (Hintz 2016: 8; UN Res. A/69/397, paras. 6, 13). In these cases, if the detaining power, based on the information collected by surveillance programmes, considers that the CJ is involved in espionage, she will be considered a spy and treated accordingly.

One of the most important consequences of being identified as a spy is that the person, while considered a combatant, will not be treated as a prisoner of war. Customary Rule 107 indicates that this is a long-standing norm, included in many military manuals, and in which no contrary practice was found.

IHL allows attacks against combatants and military objectives; hence, another consequence is that they can be legally injured or killed and their equipment can be subject to attack. But if the person is detained, the detaining power must conduct a trial in which the person's right to a fair trial is guaranteed (Henckaerts and Doswald-Beck 2005: 390). In these judicial processes, domestic regulations and IHRL are the applicable law (Fleck 2007: 709).

However, it is important to bear in mind that during armed conflicts IHL provides the protection mechanisms that can be used by CJs. To avoid confusion between CJs and spies members of the armed forces should keep in mind that spies are not openly performing their activities because they act in clandestine manner. In practice, this could be an easy recognition mechanism. In principle, anyone who is openly gathering and distributing information should be considered as a journalist, not a spy.

Conclusions

This article finds that the protection of CJs depends on the application of different legal regimes. IHL regulates the manner in which hostilities can be conducted; IHRL assures that human rights are protected, while domestic norms complement these regimes at the national level. In this context, IHRL guarantees that journalists can exercise their right to FoE, while IHL provides them with mechanisms that protect their physical safety during armed conflicts.

Evaluation of the safety issues faced by CJs demonstrates that communication technologies contribute to the planning and execution of military operations. Internet-based platforms offer unlimited options for anyone to seek, receive and disseminate information, including intelligence offices. For CJs, these facts present several risks, and being considered a combatant is the most dangerous situation they can face. The utilization of information gathered through mass surveillance programmes facilitates their identification as combatants or spies. In consequence, due to the gravity of this situation, further debate on this topic is needed to create awareness about the effects of these practices, and to call for the adoption of norms to regulate them.

In addition, the majority of contemporary conflicts are non-international, and the way in which hostilities happen is changing. Civilians are creating armed groups that directly participate in hostilities. As a result, more civilians are being targeted and IHL violations are increasing. For these reasons, training on IHL cannot be limited to members of the military. Many journalists are not trained on this subject and this lack of knowledge prevents them from making a comprehensive assessment of the risks they can face and the actions they can take.

This article contributes to our understanding of the protection mechanisms available during armed conflicts. It also helps journalists comprehend how legal mechanisms work. I hope it will get the attention of other scholars who will continue doing research on these topics.

References

- Additional Protocol I. (1977). *Protocol to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts, entered into force 7 December, 1978*, 1125 UNTS 3. Retrieved from <http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/full/470?opendocument>.
- Additional Protocol II. (1977). *Protocol to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and relating to the protection of victims of non-international armed conflicts, entered into force 7 December, 1978*, 1125 UNTS 609. Retrieved from <http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/full/475?opendocument>.
- Bardoel, J. and Deuze, M. (2001). 'Networked Journalism': Converging competences of old and new media professionals. *Australian Journalism Review*, 23(2): 91-103.
- Committee to Protect Journalists. (2015). *48 Journalists Killed in 2015/Motive Confirmed*. Retrieved 20151126, from <https://cpj.org/killed/2015/>.
- Davies, K. and Crawford, E. (2013). Legal Avenues for Ending Impunity for the Death of Journalists in Conflict Zones: Current and Proposed International Agreements. *International Journal of Communication*, 7: 2157-2177.
- Demarest, G. (1996). Espionage in International Law. *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy*, 24(2-3): 321-348.
- Dörmann, K. (20071201). *International Humanitarian Law and the Protection of Media Professionals Working in Armed Conflicts*. Retrieved 20151210 from ICRC:<https://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/article/other/media-protection-article-.htm>.
- Fleck, D. (2007, Spring). Individual and State responsibility for Intelligence Gathering. *Michigan Journal of International Law*, 28: 687-709.
- Gasser, H. P. (2003). The journalist's right to information in time of war and on dangerous missions, pp. 366-388 in *Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law*. The Hague: TMC Asser Press.
- Gillmor, D. (2004). *We the Media. Grassroots journalism by the people, for the people*. Sebastopol: O'Reilly Media.
- Henckaerts, J.-M. and Doswald-Beck, L. (2005). *Customary International Humanitarian Law* (Vol. I: Rules). Cambridge: ICRC - Cambridge University Press. Retrieved 20151210, from Customary IHL Database: https://www.icrc.org/customary-ihl/eng/docs/v1_rul_rule34.
- Henckaerts, J.-M. and Doswald-Beck, L. (2005). *Customary International Humanitarian Law* (Vol. II: Practice. Part I). Cambridge: ICRC - Cambridge University Press.
- Herman, M. (2001). *Intelligence Services in the Information Age*. New York: Frank Cass.
- Hintz, A. (2016). Restricting digital sites of dissent: commercial social media and free expression. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 1-16.
- IACHR. Office of the Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression. (2013). *Annual Report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights*. Annual Report of the Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression, 2.
- ICRC. (2010, 07 27). *How does international humanitarian law protect journalists in armed-conflict situations?* Retrieved 20151210, from Interview to Robin Geiss: <https://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/interview/protection-journalists-interview-270710.htm>.
- ICRC. (n.d.). *Rule 34. Journalists*. Retrieved 20151210, from Customary IHL Database: https://www.icrc.org/customary-ihl/eng/docs/v1_rul_rule34.
- International Committee of the Red Cross. (2008). Interpretive Guidance on the Notion of Direct Participation in Hostilities under International Humanitarian Law. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 90(872): 991-1047.
- International Committee of the Red Cross. (2011). *International Humanitarian Law and the Challenges of Contemporary Armed Conflicts*. Geneva: International Committee of the Red Cross.
- Lee Anderson, J. (20130117). *Targeting the Truth: IHL and the Protection of Journalists in Conflict Zones (Live Web Seminar 50)*. (H. H. Initiative, ed.) Retrieved 20151210, from Program on Humanitarian Policy and Public Research: <http://hpcrresearch.org/events/targeting-truth-ihl-and-protection-journalists-conflict-zones-live-web-seminar-50>.
- Lubell, N. (2012). Human rights obligations in military occupation. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 94(885): 317-337.
- Manauere, A. (2011, Apr.-Jun). El pregonero digital de 140 caracteres. *Comunicación: Estudios venezolanos de comunicación*, pp. 67-81.

- Olson, L. M. and Sassóli, M. (2008, September). The relationship between international humanitarian and human rights law where it matters: admissible killing and internment of fighters in non-international armed conflicts. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 90(871): 599-627.
- Oxman, B. H. (2007, November). Jurisdiction of States. *Max Plank Encyclopedia of Public International Law*.
- Rohde, D. (20140502). *Panel Discussion: Protecting Journalists in Times of Unrest and Conflict*. International Peace Institute. Retrieved 20160218, from <http://www.ipinst.org/2014/05/protecting-journalists-in-times-of-unrest-and-conflict>.
- Ryfe, D. and Mensing, D. (2009). Citizen Journalism in a Historical Frame, pp. 32-44 in Rosenberry, J. and St John, B. (eds.) *Public Journalism 2.0: The Promise and Reality of a Citizen Engaged Press*. New York: Routledge.
- Saul, B. (2007). The international protection of journalists in armed conflict and other violent situations. *Australian Journal of Human Rights*, 14(1): 99-140.
- Simon, J. (2013, 01 17). *Targeting the Truth: IHL and the Protection of Journalists in Conflict Zones (Live Web Seminar 50)*. (H. H. Initiative, ed.) Retrieved 20151210, from Program on humanitarian policy and Conflict Research: <http://hpcrresearch.org/events/targeting-truth-ihl-and-protection-journalists-conflict-zones-live-web-seminar-50>.
- Stolte, Y. (2015). *The International Legal Framework for the Protection of Journalists in Conflict Zones: A Round Peg in a Square Hole?* (Doctoral Dissertation). The University of Edinburgh. Retrieved 20160216, from Edinburgh Research Archive [http://community3264.rssing.com/ browser.php?indx=5551218&item=21](http://community3264.rssing.com/browser.php?indx=5551218&item=21).
- UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, the OAS Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information. *Joint Declaration on Freedom of Expression and Responses to Conflict Situations* (20150504).
- UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms while Countering Terrorism (2014). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism*, A/69/397 (20140923).
- UNESCO. (2012). *UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity*. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/official_documents/UN-Plan-on-Safety-Journalists_EN_UN-Logo.pdf.
- UNHRC. (2012). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression*, Mr. Frank La Rue, A/HRC/20/17 (20120604).
- UNHRCCom. (2011). *General Comment No. 34. Article 19: Freedoms of Opinion and Expression*, CCPR/C/GC/34 (20110912).
- UNOHCHR. (2011). *International Legal Protection of Human Rights in Armed Conflict*. New York and Geneva: United Nations Publications.
- UNSC (2015). Resolution 2222 (2015). S/RES/2222 (2015) (20150527)
- Williams, N. (2015, April 28). *Index on Censorship*. Retrieved 20160304, from Mass surveillance: Journalists confront the moment of hesitation: <https://www.indexoncensorship.org/2015/04/mass-surveillance-journalists-confront-moment-hesitation/>.

Notes

1. See: International Court of Justice, *Legal consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory*, Advisory Opinion, 2004, ICJ Reports (9 July 2004). General Comment 31, Nature of the General Legal Obligations on States Parties to the Covenant, UN Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.13 (2004). UN Security Council Resolution 2222 (2015), S/RES/2222 (2015).
2. For example: Marco Sassóli, Laura Olson.
3. Such as the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the International Committee of the Red Cross.
4. Article 19 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19 ICCPR, Article IV American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, Article 13 American Convention on Human Rights, Article

- 10 European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Article 9 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.
5. See: United Nations Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Representative on Freedom of the Media, the Organization of American States Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information. *Joint Declaration on Freedom of Expression and the Internet* (01 June 2011). United Nations Human Rights Council. *Safety of Journalists*, A/HRC/21/L.6 (21 September 2012).
6. There are many debates around who has to comply with IHRL. In occupation cases, for example, the occupying power should comply with IHRL; however, it is not clear if it has the faculty to limit the exercise of certain rights (Lubell 2012). This debate also includes the role of non-state actors and corporations (UNHCHR 2011). Nevertheless, it is currently widely accepted that only states bear the duty to comply.
7. Customary Rule 34: Civilian journalists engaged in professional missions in areas of armed conflict must be respected and protected as long as they are not taking a direct part in hostilities.
8. Article 79: Measures of protection for journalists
 1. Journalists engaged in dangerous professional missions in areas of armed conflict shall be considered as civilians within the meaning of Article 50, paragraph 1.
 2. They shall be protected as such under the Conventions and this Protocol, provided that they take no action adversely affecting their status as civilians, and without prejudice to the right of war correspondents accredited to the armed forces to the status provided for in Article 4 A (4) of the Third Convention.
 3. They may obtain an identity card similar to the model in Annex II of this Protocol. This card, which shall be issued by the government of the State of which the journalist is a national or in whose territory he resides or in which the news medium employing him is located, shall attest to his status as a journalist.
9. See, e.g., U.S.A. Law of War Manual available at: http://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/DoD_Law_of_War_ManualJune_2015_Updated_May_20.pdf 10. Article 24 Annex to the Convention (IV) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land. The Hague, 18 October 1907.

How Safe Is It?

Being an activist citizen journalist in Turkey

Bora Ataman and Barış Çoban

Abstract

This study discusses how and in what ways activist citizen journalists in Turkey develop safety tactics against the repressive strategies of a neoliberal authoritarian government. By drawing on the theories of alternative new media and citizen journalism, we conducted interviews with activist citizen journalists, proponents of citizen journalism initiatives, and representatives of two related organizations (*TGS-Turkish Journalists' Union* and *RSF-Reporters sans Frontières*) to analyze their awareness and susceptibility concerning journalism safety. In short, we claim that neither our interviewees nor representatives of the involved organizations have high levels of awareness and sensitivity concerning safety. Still our interviewees are under the protection of a circle of safety thanks to networks of solidarity. We believe that to promote efforts to strengthen the relationship between media and democracy in the future, studies focusing on the safety of citizen journalists are crucial.

Keywords: alternative media, activist citizen journalist, journalists' safety, journalism in Turkey

Ever since the first newspapers were published in Turkey, journalism has been struggling to survive under censorship, threats, arrests, exile, and even assassinations. On the other hand, mainstream journalism has always served the interests of certain business groups and has remained partisan. Alternative/opposition media institutions struggle at the interface of the notion that “another world is possible” and that “another media/journalism is possible.” Being in a counterpublic discursive sphere, these media institutions exist under the shadow of military coups and unsolved murders. This stage expanded and diversified with the practice of new alternative media that emerged during the Gezi Resistance and occurred with the participation of millions in the summer of 2013.

Alternative and activist new media initiatives and those using social media for activist citizen journalism have clearly demonstrated that the paradigm of journalism in Turkey needed to be radically transformed. Meanwhile, along with the Gülen Movement¹, which is deemed responsible for the failed coup attempt on July 15, 2016, alternative (new) media entities and citizen journalists who grew more active after the Gezi Resistance became the target of a purge carried out during the State of Emergency declared after the coup attempt. Media survey reports listing threats, attacks, arrests – and charges against the journalists provided by the *Independent Communication Net-*

work (BİA); press freedom indexes and reports of *Freedom House*, *Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ)* and *Reporters sans Frontières (RSF)* on the pressures on the media, particularly after the failed coup – indicate how unsafe the country has become with regard to journalism and free speech.

Recently, most of the left-wing and pro-Kurdish media outlets were closed by the government, who uses its emergency powers to block all dissenting voices. In a country where journalism could be deemed a crime, for example for promoting terrorism, by both the president and the prime minister, journalists are easily accused of being terrorists and social media seen as a problem to be eradicated. Activist citizen journalists, who lack the protection and assurances that may be provided by media institutions, are under even greater threat. In the present study, where we draw on the theories of alternative new media and citizen journalism, we conducted in-depth interviews with activist citizen journalists and representatives of citizen journalism initiatives. The study aimed to analyze their awareness and susceptibility in terms of journalism safety. Further, we attempted to evaluate their works and efforts in the field of safety.

Alternative new media, activist citizen journalists, and safety

Alternative media initiatives that increased and came to the fore after the Gezi Resistance in Turkey have a paradigmatic difference regarding their organizational structure, internal relations, content production and distribution processes, short- and long-term goals, and even the venues and locations they prefer. In this respect, they also strictly differ not only from the mainstream media, but also from the traditional alternative media that are primarily media entities of leftist parties based on commercial and usually hierarchical organizational structures. They have been formed as grassroots organizations, directly and autonomously, in accordance with the nature of the resistance and as what can be defined as “a movement of movements” (Klein 2011) or a “networked social movement” (Castells 2012) as regards their presence in the Gezi Resistance.

Furthermore, there are activist citizens who do not have direct links or close connections to these grassroots media initiatives other than varying levels of sympathy for them. In journalism theory, they are generally called “citizen journalists” (Rosen 2006; Allan 2009; Radsch 2011; Rodriguez 2014). For instance, according to Jay Rosen, these people “formerly known as the audience employ the press tools they have in their possession to inform one another.” However, a more politically motivated definition could be similar to Radsch’s discussion on Arab bloggers and citizen journalists. She stated that “citizen journalists have emerged as the vanguard of new social movements dedicated to promoting human rights and democratic values” when they have been “using self-publishing tools to create transnational and subnational activists’ networks to draw attention to the plight of citizens still waiting for democratic access to public sphere participation” (2011: 61).

Based on alternative media and alternative journalism theories (Downing 2001; Rodriguez 2001; Langman 2005; Atton and Hamilton 2008; Forde 2011; Russell 2011; Gerbaudo 2012 and Lievrouw 2011), we attempted to create a definition of activ-

ist citizen journalist that takes into consideration the concepts of “network society” (Castells 1996) and “activist citizenship” (Isin 2009):

Activist citizen journalists are voluntary reporters acting in an internet-based, decentralized symbolic network of the resistance, following news related to the event to collect information, record it, and share reports as part of a collective consciousness and feelings of solidarity, as well as making news in their surroundings as activists and acting as news media through their accounts (web sites, blogs, micro-blogs).” Such a definition, we argue “gives emphasis to citizens as media instead of Rodriguez’s citizens’ media, and suggests discussing the place of news and reporting in the network society from a different perspective. (Ataman and Çoban 2017)

It is crucial to emphasize that this definition also complies with the wider journalism definition focusing on journalistic practices rather than the question of ‘who is a journalist?’ (see Pöyhtäri 2016: 179).

Turkey has become more and more of a desert in terms of journalism due to economic concerns and political pressures. RSF’s and Article 19’s recent reports depicting the latest status of media during the state of emergency after the coup attempt can be deemed as proof of this course of events – this desertification (RSF 2016; Article 19 2016). In addition, CPJ’s “Turkey Crackdown Chronicle” documents, on a week-by-week basis, the ongoing hostility of the authorities toward media and attacks against journalists in Turkey (CPJ 2016) such as shutting down of the alternative TV and radio channels as well as confiscation of all their properties. And for the remaining few it is now more difficult to survive since the state hostility is continuing. One result of these actions is the layoffs faced by employees at such newspapers. Given its current structure, traditional alternative media outlets are considerably weak before the hostile state.

Therefore, activist citizen journalists who act with the desire to defend and empower democracy emerge as an oasis of journalism. They are added to both traditional alternative and alternative new media and widened the alternative sphere. Based on this perspective, we claim that citizen journalism should be regarded as a vital journalism practice that supports the bond between the media and democracy and that is becoming more than just an entity aiming to strengthen such relations. This practice is taking place not only in Turkey, but in all similar democracies that are under the threat of neoliberal authoritarianism. Therefore, in such countries, where violence has become an ordinary part of daily life, the safety of alternative (new) media and citizen journalists against threats, pressures, censorship, layoffs, being taken into custody and arrested, kidnapping, physical attacks, torture, and murder is an important matter to consider in relation to the future of the democratic mediasphere.

In fact, from an international perspective it is also evident that all attacks, from petty offences to felonies, are targeting both international and local professionals and freelancers, as well as local citizen journalists (see Tait 2007; Høiby and Ottosen 2016; Pöyhtäri 2016; Cottle 2016; Sambrook 2016). In addition, it should be noted that the line between freelancers, fixers, stringers, and citizen journalists is very slippery and/or transitive (see Mosdell 2016). Therefore, with reference to the title of Hanna Nik-

kanen's (2012) article (*They shoot citizen journalists, don't they?*), we believe that citizen journalists should immediately be recognized by the relevant authorities and institutions.

However, safety is a multifaceted issue that includes national and international legal orders and institutions, such as the United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), and states, that are the protectors of this order, as well as media institutions, trade bodies and trade unions, insurance companies, academic and educational arenas, and national and international non-profit organizations working in the area of democracy and human rights (Pöyhtäri 2016; Sambrook 2016). In this respect, it has been repeatedly emphasized that safety should be considered using a multi-dimensional approach that also includes training, ethics, equipment, technology, support, assurance, and legal efforts.

Methodology

In the present study, we preferred qualitative data collection and an analysis method in line with our theoretical approach. We held in-depth, semi-structured interviews with eight representatives of the *Dokuz8* citizen journalism initiative, the volunteer reporters of *Sendika.org*, and citizen journalists who report over their individual social media accounts. In addition, we benefited from the data gathered through our participant observations, particularly from *Dokuz8* and *Sendika.org*, over the past three years. We also held an in-depth interview with *Mustafa Kuleli*, from the *Turkish Journalists' Union (TGS)*, and *Erol Önderoğlu*, the Turkey representative of *RSF*. Except for these two individuals, we did not use the real names of our interviewees. To avoid disclosing their identities, we did not include any direct quotes from them. The themes used in textual analysis – of the qualitative data we gathered – are based on official documents, decrees, researches, reports, and academic studies on the safety of journalism.

Results and discussion

The present study focuses on activist citizen journalism and the safety of citizen journalists in 'conflict zones' where the state comes to face to face with protestors, where violence prevails, and though milder than war zones, where violence rarely causes deaths, yet where there are frequent injuries and harm. We investigated the issue of safety in three stages based on the data obtained during the interviews. We called these stages pre-field (pre-factum), field (factum), and post-field (post-factum). However, it is important to note that all of these stages are both cyclical and transitive.

Pre-factum

The first stage aims to raise awareness among citizen journalists regarding the issue of safety during the training period and to provide basic information in this regard. It includes basic information on the approaches and activities of international and national journalism institutions regarding safety, in line with international and national legal norms. Training on the conflict zones, possible related physiological and/or psycho-

logical illnesses, basic therapeutic measures to be taken in case of sudden shock, and first aid training are unavoidable parts of this stage. Furthermore, the importance of procuring insurance coverage and research on such possibilities before the journalist is actually in the field should be included. Providing training on a functional risk assessment method and implementation thereof, based on problems that may arise on the field, are another part of this stage.

When the invisibility and loneliness of citizen journalists in the field are considered, the issue of safety becomes an issue of 'self-defense'. There are no media institutions standing behind and supporting them, and no occupational unions and trade organizations protecting their rights. Therefore, the citizen journalists we interviewed, who do not have great awareness about the issue of safety or useful practical information, require comprehensive training. In this respect, it is crucial to transform the safety approach and practices, developed by the citizen journalists on their own and based on solidarity within loose networks, into informed practices based on international knowledge and experiences. Among the most urgent issues in Turkey are providing safety training for citizen journalists under the leadership of alternative new media, making citizen journalism initiations in person, and creating online curriculum and content. The trainings should include subjects such as news-making, national and international legal issues, first aid, basic self-defense/self-protection techniques, protective equipment and technology and the use thereof, and digital security in conflict zones. Except for the safety training that the *Dokuz8* initiative began implementing under our leadership, we can easily assert that neither collectives nor activist citizen journalists had this perspective before.

Factum

The second stage deals with the situation in the field after the decision process. At this stage, risk assessment is vital. All possible measures should be taken regarding accommodation, transportation, transport vehicles and methods, clothing, personal protective equipment kept in the safety bag, technological equipment, etc. It is crucial to be informed about emergency contacts, whether personal or corporate, in case the need arises. Safety in the field also includes having information on the language, culture, political and economic structure, political approach, discourse, and actions of the combating sides.

For citizen journalists who are not working for a specific media institution, the uncertainty of identity and lack of security are significant problems. However, the citizen journalists interviewed here noted that they are careful to act within networks of solidarity to minimize such uncertainties in activities that occur outside of their 'own neighborhoods'. This can be considered a risk minimization method they have developed on their own. However, their responses to our questions about the negative outcomes of working with loose and uncertain networks revealed that our interviewees have not properly assessed these risks and have low awareness levels in this respect. Despite this, the citizen journalists we interviewed had acted based a spontaneous view of what they might encounter. Theirs, we could say, is only a basic risk assessment.

Regarding personal protective equipment, a majority of the citizen journalists we interviewed do not own any, not even first-aid kits. In fact, none of them has received any first-aid training. Even though gas masks and helmets are widely used, they are aware that the security forces may easily confiscate this equipment, because they are not considered journalists in any formal sense. Therefore, to use protective equipment they either present their national/international reporter IDs or state that they are freelance journalists, or do not use such equipment at all. Furthermore, even if they wanted to, they do not always have access to this type of equipment. Protective equipment belonging to news collectives is very limited, and again, not always accessible. One of our interviewees told us that he required a bullet-proof vest; after mentioning this to the loose collective with which he is associated, money was collected in solidarity and the vest was purchased immediately. The same person also listed various dangers he had encountered in extreme combat zones in *Diyarbakır* and *Rojova* and that he had no information whatsoever about hostile environment training; this was the first time he had heard of it.

Safety is also a concern for citizen journalists who position themselves as ‘journalists.’ Therefore, they prefer to receive ID cards from local or international news collectives and/or agencies. However, such ID cards might also increase the risks, due to the growing hostility authorities harbor against leftist or international media. In addition, all journalists become important targets of security forces in demonstration areas. This results in citizen journalists who are covering the news in the field being taken into legal or illegal custody or worse, as well as being harassed by security forces. In spite of this, the experiences of our interviewees indicate that such ID cards might offer at least some degree of legal protection in Turkey’s current circumstances.

Are citizen journalists safer when they expose their identities or keep them secret? There is no simple answer to this question. For example, during the Gezi Resistance, the majority of citizen journalists kept their identity secret and preferred anonymity. Now, however, citizens prefer to openly practice journalism using their own identities. Our interviewees considered anonymity to be crucial to safety in activist journalism practiced in occupied zones, as such practices could be easily connected to a criminal offence by the prosecution; they informed us, however, that the situation changed completely after the Gezi Resistance and the Occupy Movement in Turkey ended. On the other hand, one of the interviewees taken into custody while acting as a journalist was linked to the activities of an illegal organization, because he had used a ‘code name’ in the lawsuit filed afterwards. Our interviewees believe that because they are under constant government scrutiny/surveillance, they can only maintain their legitimacy by having an open identity.

Each stage of the news gathering, writing, and disseminating processes, which occur rapidly through social media, depends on the safety of journalists. Most of the time, the security of sources and that of reporters are interconnected. Citizen journalists are not only under the scrutiny of state forces, but also the protestors in the field. Social media surveillance is in real time and is constant. The mere presence of the journalist in the field is a risk, and dissemination of a careless photograph, headline, or expression might put either of the combating parties and therefore, the citizen journalist him-/

herself, in immediate danger. Our interviewees, who act according to high ethical standards and are concerned about the safety of their sources, are careless due to their lack of experience with and knowledge about the security of their digital resources, which consist of unclassified and unprocessed photos, videos, and audio recordings. They do not possess knowledge about new media tools and safety applications, and they do not carry the security equipment that would allow them to securely transfer, save, and back up the information they gather.

Citizen journalists targeted by pro-government journalists, politicians and troll accounts in the digital media also face another security threat. Through methods including digital lynching, spamming, trolling, or hacking, citizen journalists are prevented from performing their jobs, are portrayed as offenders or criminals, or are defamed. Citizen journalists being targeted on virtual platforms (e.g., being labeled as ‘terrorists’ or supporters of terrorism) may result in them becoming real targets of government or paramilitary forces in the field. As a result, digital safety information and digital defense tactics are becoming more and more vital to citizen journalists. For example, it would be beneficial for citizen journalists to receive training in how they can prevent their e-mail and social media accounts from being hacked and used for malicious purposes. In addition, they should be able to develop virtual and real anti-surveillance tactics, as they may be under the constant scrutiny of the government and malicious powers. Advanced digital safety training is crucial to being able to employ various methods such as encryption, deception, or covering one’s tracks. For example, two of the interviewees realized that their phones were wiretapped and they were digitally tracked as a result of court orders issued against them. During raids on their houses, police seized the digital archives of both of our interviewees without providing them with any official documents and through practices that cannot be deemed legal. Our interviewees also stated that they did not have copies of any of the data and that their seized archives did not have any passwords. Three of our interviewees also mentioned having had unpleasant encounters with the police, who admitted blatantly that they had been following our interviewees via social media. Additionally, they added that they were aware that troll accounts working mostly for the government were following their social media accounts and they were subject to lynching attempts by these accounts. So, our interviewees appear to be highly vulnerable, both in real and virtual spheres.

Finally, it is important to highlight that solidarity is vital to the safety of citizen journalists. Acting in solidarity and cooperation with other journalists, maintaining their bond with activist solidarity networks, not acting alone in hostile zones, and informing the individuals and institutions to which they must apply in the locations they will be traveling to are crucial. Given none of our interviewees has performed journalism in zones with intense gun battles, it is understandable that their awareness on this issue is low.

Post-factum

Issues such as providing the requisite support, as mentioned in the above paragraph, ensuring that such support is permanent, eliminating safety deficiencies, updating

security information, and pursuing a determined, legal struggle against the perpetrators of such attacks on journalists and the impunity these perpetrators enjoy are included in this stage. Therefore, the post-factum stage includes medical, psychological, legal, economic, and training support. Additionally, public campaigns are also evaluated at this stage. For example, efforts to protect journalism and journalists, such as the current social media campaign through the hashtag #journalismisnotacrime, also belong to this category, as do all other efforts to charge the perpetrators of attacks against journalists. Unfortunately, to date the perpetrators of many crimes against journalists in Turkey have not been identified. It has always been a kind of government policy to suppress journalism. However, widely used suppression methods today are mostly crackdowns, censorship, threats, battery, layoffs, terrorism charges, and imprisonment.

There are no reports of the incidents experienced by citizen journalists. Further, according to the information and observations provided by our interviewees, there is no organized support system for citizen journalists, except for a few weak attempts at helping them. For example, citizen journalists are not covered by the activity areas of the *TGS*. Furthermore, *RSF* remains distant to the issue, as it is difficult to obtain data on and define citizen journalism. Citizen journalists are largely invisible in media survey reports. Additionally, most of our interviewees noted that even though they face police raids and legal intimidation, the support they can apply for is not guaranteed and typically intermittent.

Despite all the negativity, they have succeeded in resolving, free of charge, the small injuries suffered during the protests they covered thanks to the assistance of health personnel and institutions included in their solidarity networks. Some of them have even received free psychological treatment for post-traumatic stress disorder after the Islamic State's Ankara bombing in October 10, 2015, which targeted a peace rally and killed over 100 people. From time to time, similar solidarity groups replaced damaged equipment. There are lawyers who answered their calls for help immediately. Nevertheless, they do not know what types of measures and safety precautions can be taken before, during and after a news event, or how to take them. In short, this lack of attention to and organization of support is increasing the vulnerability of citizen journalists in a country like Turkey, where it is unclear when conflicts might intensify.

Conclusion

In the present study, we examined the issue of journalism safety, which is a new theoretical and practical study area in Turkey, by focusing on alternative (new) media and activist citizen journalists. By examining Turkey, which is dominated more and more by a neoliberal authoritativeness, we have benefited from the possibilities (in-depth interviews and participatory observation) offered by the qualitative research method. As such, we were able to understand what types of tactics our respondents – who have an alternative and free voice and stance in the media, which is becoming a barren landscape – have developed to ensure their safety in this environment of pressure and violence. In addition, we have also discussed the current situation with the representatives of two institutions (*TGS* and *RSF*), which are expected to develop safety training

and support systems in the near future. In short, we can claim that neither our interviewees nor the representatives have high levels of awareness and sensitivity regarding safety. In fact, the safety of citizen journalists remains almost invisible. Most of the time, they hold on to their previous experiences as activists in order to survive in the hostile environments. Our interviewees reported that they have some protection from solidarity networks, which are irregular and weak.

In countries like Turkey, where it is uncertain when violence will escalate and, therefore, when the field (*factum*) will become a minefield, matters from theoretical and practical training about security issues to the development of pre-field (*pre-factum*) and post-field (*post-factum*) support systems are crucial and require immediate attention. We believe that, as a part of the efforts to strengthen the relationship between media and democracy in the future, studies focusing not only on professional journalists, but also on the safety of citizen journalists are required. Moreover, establishing a journalist safety platform that encompasses academia, media, NGOs, and social movements will be beneficial. All professional and academic research can be collected on this platform and again, all related trainings, support services, and solidarity can be coordinated through it. In this respect, we hope that the present study will open up a space for discussing safety issues more seriously.

References

- Allan, S. (2009). Histories of Citizen Journalism. In E. Thorsen and S. Allan (eds.), *Citizen Journalism. Global Perspectives, Vol.1*, (pp. 17-31). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Article 19 (September, 2016). *State of Emergency in Turkey: the Impact on Freedom of the Media*. London: Article 19.
- Ataman, B. and Çoban, B. (2017). The Gezi Resistance and Activist Citizen Reporters. *Communications*, 42 (1), forthcoming.
- Atton, C. and Hamilton, J. F. (2010). *Alternative Journalism*. London: Sage.
- Atton, C. (2006). *Alternative Media*. London: Sage.
- Castells, M. (1996). *The Rise of the Network Society, V.1 The Information Age*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Castells, M. (2012). *Networks of Outrage and Hope*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Committee to Protect Journalists (2016). *Turkey Crackdown Chronicle*, <https://cpj.org/blog/2016/10/turkey-crackdown-chronicle-week-of-october-2.php>.
- Cottle, S. (2016). Keeping Safe(r) in Unruly, Uncivil Places. In S. Cottle and R. Sambrook (eds.), *Reporting Dangerously*, (pp. 145-170). London: Palgrave.
- Downing, J., Ford, T., Gil, G. and Stein, L. (2001). *Radical Media: Rebellious Communication and Social Movements*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Forde, S. (2011). *Challenging the News*. London: Palgrave.
- Gaskell, G. (2007). Individual and Group Interviewing. In M.W. Bauer and G. Gaskell (eds.), *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound*, (pp. 38-56). London: Sage.
- Gerbaudo, P. (2012). *Tweets and Streets*. London: Pluto Press.
- Høiby, M. and Ottosen, R. (2016). Reduced Security for Journalists and Less Reporting from the Frontline. In U. Carlsson (ed.) *Freedom of Expression in Transition*, (pp. 183-190). Gothenburg: Nordicom.
- Isin, E. (2009). Citizenship in Flux: The Figure of the Activist Citizen. *Subjectivity*, 29: 367-388.
- Juris, J. (2008). *Networking Futures*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Klein, N. (2001). Reclaiming the Commons. *New Left Review*, May-June 2001, 81-89.
- Langman, L. (2005). From Virtual Public Spheres to Global Justice: A Critical Theory of Internetworked Social Movements. *Sociological Theory*, 23(1): 42-47.
- Lievrouw, L. (2011). *Alternative and Activist New Media*. Cambridge: Polity.

- Mosdell, N. (2016). Mapping the Parameters of Peril. In S. Cottle and R. Sambrook (eds.), *Reporting Dangerously*, (pp. 36-58). London: Palgrave.
- Nikkanen, H. (2012). *The Shoot Citizen Journalists, Don't They?* http://www.ifla.org/files/assets/faife/publications/spotlights/hannanikkanentheyshootenglishfinal_0.pdf.
- Pöyhtäri, R. (2016). The (Un)safe Practice of Journalism. In U. Carlsson (ed.) *Freedom of Expression in Transition*, (pp. 175-182). Gothenburg: Nordicom.
- Radsch, C. C. (2011). Arab bloggers as citizen journalists (Transnational). In J. Downing (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Social Movement Media*, (pp. 61-64). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rodriguez, C. (2001). *Fissures in the Mediascape. An International Study of Citizens' Media*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Rodriguez, C. (2014). A Latin American Approach to Citizen Journalism. In E. Thorsen and S. Allan (eds.), *Citizen Journalism. Global Perspectives*, Vol.2, (pp. 199-210). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Rosen, J. (2006). The People Formerly Known as the Audience. *Pressthink*. June 27, 2006. http://archive.pressthink.org/2006/06/27/ppl_frmr.html.
- Reporters sans Frontières (October 5, 2016). Turkey: "You cannot report the news under the state of emergency." <https://rsf.org/en/reports/turkey-you-cannot-report-news-under-state-emergency>.
- Russell, A. (2011). *Networked. A Contemporary History of News in Transition*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Sambrook, R. (2016). Protecting Journalists. In S. Cottle and R. Sambrook (eds.), *Reporting Dangerously*, (pp. 171-186). London: Palgrave.
- Tait, R. (2007). Journalism Safety. *Journalism Practice*, 1(3), 435-445.

Note

1. *Fethullah Gülen* is a self-exiled cleric blamed for the failed coup attempt in Turkey. He has lived in the US since 1999 and leads the global *Hizmet/Gülen* Movement.

A Story Bigger than Your Life?

The safety challenges of journalists reporting on democratization conflicts

Judith Lohner and Sandra Banjac

Abstract

This chapter investigates *safety challenges* journalists face when reporting on democratization conflicts and their *impact* on journalistic work. It builds on a comparative case study within the EU-funded project “Media, Conflict and Democratisation” (MeCoDEM), which explores journalistic work practices, ethics, roles, and working conditions across a set of democratization conflicts through interviews with journalists from *Egypt, Kenya, Serbia and South Africa*. Findings show that journalists experience *safety threats* at personal and organizational levels ranging from insults, intimidation and phone tapping to physical attacks, legal proceedings, and imprisonment. Journalists describe limitations to the professionalization of the working environment, which is perceived as providing neither sufficient *training on safety measures* nor *proper safety equipment*. Also highlighted is the psychological safety of journalists experiencing *trauma from witnessing violence*. The reported safety challenges greatly affect journalistic practices, roles and ethics. Based on these findings, the chapter outlines possible *measures to increase the safety* of journalists reporting on democratization conflicts.

Keywords: safety challenges, impact on journalistic work, democratization conflicts, comparative interview study

Transitions to more democratic forms of government are often characterized by fierce societal conflicts and even violence. *Such democratization conflicts* are continually erupting, morphing societies and journalism, and can be witnessed in the four transitional societies in focus in this chapter. Revolutions in Egypt, community protests and xenophobic violence in South Africa, ethnic tensions in Kenya, and right-wing extremism in Serbia are examples of such conflicts. On any given day, journalists in established democracies may be exposed to a variety of *safety challenges* depending on the type of journalism they engage in. For journalists reporting on democratization conflicts in transitional societies, the frequency and severity of safety threats presumably increase exponentially and arguably affect their entire journalistic performance.

As a social institution whose function is to observe society and its various fields (Luhmann 2000; Bourdieu 2005), journalism generates a public sphere for public debate and decision-making. With their agenda-setting power and ability to create interpretative frames, journalists are active shapers of democratic transitions and key

players in transitional contestations. Considering their societal clout, investigating safety threats that may hinder journalists' ability to perform, particularly in transitional societies, is essential.

Journalistic performance is informed by the following *interrelated constituents*:

- (1) Work practices – involving patterns of information gathering and investigation, logics when selecting (conflicts and other) topics relevant for media reporting, and routines when (re-)presenting and framing them (Shoemaker and Reese 2013).
- (2) Role perceptions – shaped by what the journalists consider their professional tasks while executing their job (Christians et al. 2009).
- (3) Ethical orientations – consisting of certain values, norms and principles guiding reporting, evident in perceived ethical dilemmas and decisions on handling them (Ward 2013).
- (4) (Structural) working conditions – journalism is dependent on structures in the political, economic and media systems as well as on journalism's relationship with – and political, financial and legal autonomy from – other social actors (e.g., state power and politics, economics, civil society and interest groups). Also relevant are structures of the professional field, as well as working conditions and pressures within the particular media organization (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 2012; Lohner et al. 2016).

Safety challenges are a major component of these structural constraints and may have considerable impact on journalistic practices, roles and ethics and hence journalistic performance, especially in transitional societies where journalists are most likely to confront safety challenges while reporting on democratization conflicts.

Thus far, safety has been discussed in the research on war journalism and journalism focused on (transnational) terrorism as a new form of asymmetric conflict and warfare (Cottle 2006). However, studies on journalistic actors covering war have mainly focused on foreign correspondents (Tumber 2013; Tumber and Webster 2006), and 'embedded journalism' in the post-9/11 wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (Fahmy and Johnson 2005; Boone and MacDonald 2009; Tumber and Palmer 2004).

This Western focus neglects the safety challenges facing local journalists, even when nine in ten journalists killed are reporting on their local communities (Smyth 2012). Until quite recently, reports on the safety of domestic journalists have mainly been provided by media assistance and democracy development organizations such as Reporters without Borders (RSF) and the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ). Few academic studies on the security of local journalists have been based on systematic interviews and investigation of these journalists' experiences working on the ground (e.g., Aslam 2015; Relly and Gonzalez de Bustamante 2013).

While acknowledging the various social, political, economic or religious sources, the project "Media, Conflict and Democratisation" (MeCoDEM) focuses on *democratization conflicts* as events that can be understood as "communication events that crystallize around the interpretation of events, contested values and the legitimacy of power" (Votmer and Kraetzschmar 2015: 1). MeCoDEM investigates different actors

with leverage in public communication, such as political actors, representatives of civil society and journalists.

Situated within the overall MeCoDEM framework, this paper seeks to address the aforementioned research gaps and investigates the *safety challenges* journalists face when reporting on democratization conflicts and their *impact* on journalistic work. It will present findings from a MeCoDEM study that contextually explores journalistic work practices, ethics, roles, and working conditions across a set of democratization conflicts.¹ More specifically, it will address the following *research questions*:

- Which safety threats have journalists in Egypt, Kenya, Serbia and South Africa experienced at personal and organizational levels when reporting on conflicts?
- Which actors, mechanisms, and structures of influence are involved in these safety challenges?
- How do journalists evaluate training on safety measures, safety equipment and psychological safety?
- How do the reported safety challenges impact journalistic practices, roles and ethics?
- Which measures can increase the safety of journalists reporting on democratization conflicts?

The study

This research is based on a *comparative case study* that explores journalistic work practices, ethics, roles, and working conditions across a set of democratization conflicts through interviews with journalists in Egypt, Kenya, Serbia and South Africa. Safety was investigated as one component across the different journalistic constituents.

The four *countries* were selected because they represent transitional societies experiencing various democratization conflicts and provide diverse political contexts and implications for their broader regions (Arab countries, sub-Saharan Africa and post-communist Europe).

Selecting specific conflicts allowed us to compare journalistic constituents across countries and democratization conflicts, enabling case-specific in-depth analysis within one country, across similar types of conflicts in different world regions as well as over time, considering that democratization is a dynamic, non-linear process. The relevant *types of democratization conflicts* and specific *conflict cases* selected were:

- (1) Conflicts over the distribution and control of power in the shaping of a new political order (Maspero incidents in 2011 in Egypt, community protests from 2009 to 2013, and the 2015 State of the Nation Address in South Africa);
- (2) Conflicts over different conceptions of citizenship rights by previously marginalized groups (Christian-Muslim violence in Egypt 2013, tensions between Kenya's Somali population, other ethnic groups and the government in the context of the Al-Shabab terror attack on the Westgate Shopping Mall during the period 2013-2014, the 2010 Pride Parade in Serbia, xenophobic violence in South Africa during the period 2008-2015;

(3) Election campaigns in democratizing regimes, which often revive and reshape existing social divisions and conflicts, increasing polarization and possibly facilitating violence (the 2012 and 2014 Presidential elections in Egypt, the 2007 and 2013 Presidential general elections in Kenya, the 2008 parliamentary election campaign in Serbia);

(4) Struggles over the accountability of old elites and over transitional justice (International Criminal Court's cases against Kenyan politicians Kenyatta and Ruto, arrest and extradition of former Serbian/Yugoslav president Milosevic to the ICTY in 2001).²

The research is based on *100 qualitative semi-structured interviews* with professional journalists working for different media in their respective countries and who covered the conflict cases under study.³ The sample includes junior, middle-ranking and senior-level journalists, male and female journalists, from print, TV, radio and online media, including public and private organizations. Journalists vary in age, experience, education and training, newsroom roles (reporter, subeditor, editor, editor-in-chief, etc.) and the beats they cover.⁴

The interviews employed the *reconstruction method* (Reich 2009; Flick et al. 2007). Journalists were shown a copy of a conflict story they had produced in the past to encourage them to recall and reconstruct the processes involved in its coverage while reflecting on issues of professional practice, roles, ethics and constraints inside and outside the newsroom. This method aimed at going beyond broad self-descriptions and 'socially desirable' answers – a common criticism of quantitative journalism surveys.

Data analysis and interpretation were based on *qualitative content analysis*. Interview content was categorized and interpreted in relation to theoretical concepts, and open coding techniques were applied to identify further patterns. Analysis was case-specific and in-depth (focussing on journalistic constituents in specific democratization conflicts and the specific country context) and comparative (across different types of democratizations conflicts and countries). Because the data were collected in the context of a project with a broader research interest, a secondary analysis was conducted focussing on the journalists' accounts of safety across the different journalistic constituents.

Findings

Experienced safety challenges

Safety threats in all four countries occur at the individual (personal, including family) and organizational level; they are directed at media organizations and the journalistic profession.

Individual threats

Individual threats are manifested psychologically (insults, death threats, intimidation) and physically.

Experiences of *intimidation* include being "followed", "escorted" (by intelligence agents), having one's conversations, actions and movements monitored (K1)⁵ or receiv-

ing “anonymous calls” to establish the journalist’s involvement in a case (K26). Journalists asking controversial questions are blacklisted by political fronts, excluded from press conferences and from accessing information (K1/3/13). Bribery, when refused, can lead to intimidation (K12/22) through “blackmail and indirect pressure” (K24). In line with Relly and Gonzalez de Bustamante (2013), intimidation originates most strongly from outside the newsroom, with corrupt actors infiltrating newsrooms and manipulating reporters through offers of cash and other gifts.

Death threats were experienced in all four countries, and delivered by organized crime groups in Kenya (K25/5), Pride Parade hooligans and the leader of the Serbian Radical Party (S17/25) and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt (E20). Critical stories invite *personal insults* from anti-Pride Parade right-wing organizations (S3), “public condemnation” by politicians accusing journalists of mounting a “conspiracy” (K24), or attacks via social media by “turning the spotlight” on the journalists “instead of the story” (SA13). Threats include *breaches of data safety*, with journalists suspecting their phones were tapped and conversations monitored (K1/10/24/25/26), challenging protection and retention of sources, who occasionally warn journalists that “people are coming for you” (K17).

Where journalists report *physical attacks*, these include being “slapped” by citizens for “reporting for the establishment” (K19/20) and by protesters for taking photos of killed protesters (SA15); getting “stuck in the middle of clashes, the beatings, the killings”, being “kidnapped” by political factions and “harassed” during the June 30 Revolution (E20); reporting on community protests while police fire live ammunition (SA7); and being in a police van intercepted by anti-Pride Parade rioters who want to set the van on fire (S19). Although none of the interviewed journalists reported being injured, some mentioned colleagues nearly getting killed in post-election violence in Kenya (K4) and Egyptian journalists “assassinated” during coverage of the January 25 Revolution (E20). Journalists covering the 2007 and 2013 Kenyan elections were reported to have been “injured or ejected from rallies” and some “had their equipment destroyed” (K9). As cameras are often personal property, damage or confiscation can “effectively cripple their work and livelihood” (Aslam 2015). While in conflict situations, journalists also face threats as ordinary citizens, and this compromises their professional safety (journalists’ ethnic background may prevent them from covering areas populated by other ethnic groups; K8/19/20).

Safety threats at the organizational level

Safety challenges at the *organizational level* include *legal proceedings* against media houses (by political parties, businessmen or competing newspapers) (E11) and closing of media houses when they are “about to publish something sensitive” (K11). Constant exposure to threats from political authorities and police forces means journalists cannot predict where threats may be coming from (Relly and Gonzalez de Bustamante 2013). Politically active owners, advertisers, and state influence over public service media lead to direct interference in the newsroom and enhance arbitrary human resource policies resulting in socio-economic insecurity: journalists risk being demoted or losing their jobs if coverage of media owners or associated elites is too critical. Such interference

leads to a “punishment and reward system” (K1) via *economic censorship and blackmail*, especially in Kenya where the government is the biggest advertiser (K17). This is in line with findings showing that government-backed advertising exists in the vacuum of business advertising and has led to the largely unspoken threat of “government censorship” (Relly and Gonzalez de Bustamante 2013). In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood slandered particular media and called for boycotts of these outlets, effectively reducing viewership and advertising revenue (E11), while damage to media house property occurred during Kenya’s post-election violence in 2007 (K19/20).

Directed at the entire *journalistic profession and media system*, safety challenges arise due to *media laws* that permit legal censorship, such as prohibiting publication of news on the military (Egypt) and issues deemed sensitive to national security (Kenya). The Kenya Information and Communications Amendment Act was seen as an example of the “government trying to change the law to gag the media” (K22) by introducing high fines for journalists and organizations. In Serbia, civil judges’ lack of familiarity with existing media laws is reported to have led to their incorrect use and application (S22).

When it comes to *professionalization of the working environment*, journalists noted insufficient institutionalized training, particularly on conflict-sensitive reporting and safety measures (interviewing in conflict situations, sources). This is in line with previous findings showing that news outlets lack both safety protocols and training in security awareness and survival techniques (Relly and Gonzalez de Bustamante 2013; Saleh 2015; Aslam 2015). Journalists report having been forced to develop conflict-reporting skills on their own and by learning ‘on the job’. Lack of training is further problematic, as newsrooms are increasingly staffed by young and relatively inexpensive journalists who cannot rely on any long-term experience in covering conflicts. At the same time, journalists report a lack of knowledge transfer between generations of journalists in the newsroom owing to this juniorization.

Several journalists stress the absence of *proper safety equipment*, particularly journalists covering Kenya’s Westgate Mall attack who had no bulletproof jackets (K2), confirming that many deaths in conflict reporting happen because journalists are not “equipped to work as safely as possible” (Saleh 2015). Furthermore, there are *no agreed-upon safety policies* within and across journalistic organizations. Kenyan media houses lack policies guaranteeing journalists’ emergency evacuation, rescue and insurance for injuries sustained in the field (K19/20). This corroborates existing findings indicating that organizations often offer no medical or life insurance and no disability allowance (Aslam 2015; Saleh 2015), and that some even abandon injured reporters (Relly and Gonzalez de Bustamante 2013).

Psychological safety

Psychological safety that has been eroded through repeated exposure to *trauma from witnessing death and violence* was likely to be met with inadequate or non-existent support: “the issue of trauma for journalists hasn’t been really handled” (K19/20). Interviewed journalists identified traumatic experiences as a pressing problem in their day-to-day work. Reporting the Westgate Mall attacks left one journalist “shocked” and “traumatized” (K2); another, who had been caught inside a police van that was set on fire,

said “you don’t need such trauma in your life” (S19). A journalist covering community protests describes a colleague experiencing a panic attack after witnessing a person being shot (SA7). Beyond individual trauma, Kenyan journalists spoke of a collective trauma in the wake of the 2007 post-election ethnic clashes (K19/20). Further sources of trauma emerged around the challenge of *balancing emotions* against the perceived professional obligation to remain detached. Journalists spoke of attempting “to save lives” (K19/20), confronting perpetrators of crimes (E10) and witnessing xenophobic attacks (SA24) and questioning whether to interfere and stop the violence or witness and report, while contemplating the psychological effects: “I go into conflict situations and often go home at night and cry because I didn’t do anything to help” (SA20).

Initiators, circumstances and targets of safety threats, and the structures underlying impunity

Most commonly mentioned *actors behind the safety threats* were, broadly speaking, “powerful leaders” (K10) such as government, state authorities and police (K1), organized crime groups (K10), hooligans and rioters (S2), as well as citizens (K19/20). While government interference manipulates journalists and journalistic content directly, advertisers are subtle by holding advertising revenue ransom (K9). Threats intensify during election periods and heightened political competition (K3).

Criminal behaviour and corruption (K11/17) appear to be the *riskiest topics for journalists to report*, as these usually involve “high-profile journalists and the ruling class” (K19/20). Our findings reflect that “crime and corruption are extremely dangerous beats”, as 35 per cent of journalists killed worldwide since 1992 covered these two topics (Smyth 2012: 30). Furthermore, political elections proved to be dangerous reporting assignments, as power structures become vulnerable to an upsurge in threats and conflict between opposing parties (K3/9).

Interviewees also reveal that common *media logics of topic selection and framing* that promote violence and conflict as important news values are likely to increase safety challenges. Peaceful protests might turn violent once the media come to the scene (SA1/10/16) because protesters understand that “if it bleeds, it leads” (SA1); this approach was also evident during the Pride Parade, where hooligans fashioned their communication by “creating a scandal” (S3) in order to acquire media space.

Specific journalists were exposed to particular safety challenges depending on their gender, the organization they worked for and the type of journalistic work they engaged in. *Female journalists* reporting from a protest might receive “inappropriate comments” (SA23), be held back by their families or editors and encouraged to bring along a male colleague (E15) or compile stories from material sourced by male journalists (S1). Female conflict journalists thus face a “two-fold threat” due to their sex and profession (RSF and UNESCO 2015: 14); protection kits are not designed for women and they may feel the need to take on additional risks to prove themselves in a male-dominated field, which may expose them to rape and sexual harassment (Saleh 2015; Barton and Storm 2014). An Egyptian journalist says: “I’m scared for my youth and my life (...) but you want to prove yourself and achieve your dreams” (E15). *Investigative journalists* encountered increased risks, e.g. those examining deaths associated

with the ICC trials on the post-election violence (K24). Investigative work has landed some journalists in temporary imprisonment (E18) and led to police interrogations and legal proceedings (K13/17). Aside from low salaries, *freelancers and regional correspondents* receive none of the protection occasionally afforded to staff journalists (transport, medical cover) (K21).

Lack of support for journalists is evident in the impunity of the government and police, the lack of professional solidarity, institutional support and implementation of safety policies by media organizations in response to the constant atmosphere of fear, and lastly, the lack of awareness on the part of the public of the risks journalists confront to produce news. Journalists who expose organized crime and corruption are offered *no protection by state authorities* (K10). Exacerbating the situation is a *lack of professional solidarity* to address threats through joint action: “there are times they really face threats and I don’t think we really come out together as editors or media owners or whatever to really be together and say this is our profession” (K24). Some of this might be due to the fierce competition between media brands, and technological convergence that forces journalists to meet round-the-clock deadlines, putting war and conflict journalists under increased risk (Saleh 2015). Illustrating the gap between the experienced security risks and the *lack of public awareness* of safety challenges, one journalist stresses: “They see a completed product on the TV or read it in the newspaper but that’s a fraction of what we see, smell, hear, feel on the ground every day” (SA20).

Discussion: Impact of safety challenges

Safety challenges have considerable impact on journalistic practices, roles and ethics. Some journalists minimize the influence of these safety challenges and continue to rebel and unearth wrongdoing (K3/10/11/17). Conversely, the high-risk environment in Kenya means “the media plays safe” (K19/20), and some have resigned due to security threats, avoiding coverage that could endanger them or their families (K25). Others seem to oscillate between ambivalence and resignation by putting themselves in as much danger as possible to get a good story, while negotiating their safety (SA15/20).

The impact of safety challenges was evident across *working practices*, where (perceived) security threats lead to *(self-)censorship* in the process of selecting and pursuing a topic, by omitting certain information and stories in anticipation of threats: “There are some stories you can’t run” (K1). This was especially salient in the Kenyan and Egyptian contexts, and triggered by experiences of losing major advertising revenues (or jobs) as a consequence of publishing a critical story, and by government censorship and severe physical safety threats in violent conflicts. Security challenges also impacted journalists’ attitudes towards the *protection of sources*, with journalists having to withhold sensitive information that could lead to incitement of violence against a source (E16).

During *story investigation*, journalists engaged in newsroom discussions well ahead of high-risk events such as the Pride Parade, considering security factors such as the recognizability, profile and gender of journalists, particularly those known to right-wing extremists. High-profile and female journalists were held back from reporting at the scene (S1), while others were advised to lie about the media outlet they work

for (S3). Due to the unpredictability of community protests or xenophobic attacks, journalists seldom go into the field alone (SA25), because they need to constantly assess the potential for violence (SA13). The danger of covering the Somali conflicts and Al-Shabaab meant journalists engaged in armchair reporting, thus depending on second-hand information from the Kenya Defence Forces (K23).

When it comes to the impact on *framing a story*, journalists spoke of manipulating facts to reduce the manifest importance of a topic, the goal being to avoid having the story completely discarded (S3). Safety concerns influence how likely journalists are to immerse themselves in the conflict, which affects framing: “we might not go into the thick of the protest” (SA13).

Safety challenges affect *professional role perceptions and ethics*. The role of being a journalist is challenged for one Egyptian journalist who describes having to withhold sensitive information and therefore not feeling like a “complete journalist”, but instead a “public relations officer” (E12). In line with previous research stating that increased pressure decreases the willingness and opportunity to conduct watchdog journalism (Relly and Gonzalez de Bustamante 2013), one journalist claims that in the past journalists “asked the hard questions (...) and came back with a really strong product”, but no longer generate such journalism, being “more subdued now” (SA20).

Journalists describe making *ethical sacrifices* in exchange for safety, admitting: “at times you let your ethics be rubbished by the lies that you publish (...). There is no story that is bigger than your life” (K5) or to all together boycotting a story for security purposes (E16). Such ethical sacrifices can lead to frustration and helplessness, and thus apathy (Aslam 2015). *Objective reporting* was perceived to be unattainable or unbeneficial for journalists, particularly when it necessitates including information that could be interpreted as inciting violence, such as during the 2007 and 2013 elections (K25). Insisting on objectivity by pushing for equal coverage for all political parties was perceived as sympathizing with the opposition (K19/20), and critical assessment of a candidate invited intimidation. A journalist reporting from the electoral tallying centre during Kenya’s 2013 elections recalls feeling intimidated by a paramilitary General Service Unit officer and later “controversially withdrawn” and replaced by another journalist, on accusations of having implied the election was rigged (K19/20). Some journalists claim having reported favourably for certain political groups even when risking their personal security (in favour of Egypt’s June 30 Revolution – E12). In other cases, ethical reporting was seen as a strategic defence against security threats, with integrity (K13) and truth described as: “the only way you can protect yourself”, claiming that their opponents’ conscience “tells them you said the truth” (K3).

Conclusions and recommendations: Safety measures for journalists

This paper has demonstrated that addressing safety issues is particularly relevant in conflict-driven, transitional societies. Journalists in all four countries are likely to face pressure, harassment and risk of prosecution, which lead to self-censorship and considerable ethical sacrifices and hence limit independent and comprehensive conflict reporting. However, the nature and impact of safety threats vary depending on the

type of conflict, country and stage of democratic transition. Acute violent conflicts such as community protests and ethnic and xenophobic violence elicit direct physical and psychological threats, while others evoke indirect interference and subtle pressures, creating a constant atmosphere of insecurity. Whereas journalists in more advanced democracies such as South Africa and Serbia tend to face sporadic physical and psychological violence, in Kenya and especially Egypt, journalists are confronted with more on-going interference and a 'predatory' type of physical violence and trauma. Importantly, as countries transition towards democracy over time, safety challenges may not necessarily or automatically diminish, but may be cyclical and change in nature depending on the political forces in power, overall societal attitudes towards journalism (safety) and specific conflict constellations. While Egypt is clearly a specific case, there is a considerable gap between legal provision and the actual practice of media freedom in all countries.

Against this background, the sustainable measures listed below could increase the safety of journalists reporting on democratization conflicts.

Safety measures within the working environment could be enhanced by providing journalists with "*adequate training, organisational support and capacity building*" (Aslam 2015, emphasis added), making assignments to conflict zones voluntary and reserved for experienced journalists, *providing adequate safety equipment* and *enhancing agreed safety policies* in the news organizations and self-regulation bodies. Mandatory training and retraining of staff and freelancers should include security assessments (before, during and after coverage), dealing with sources such as conflict eyewitnesses and confidential information, preventing (and how to behave in) captive situations or detention, responding to threats, and technological security (Smyth 2012). This would involve informing journalists about existing safety guides, issued by RSF and UNESCO (RSF and UNESCO 2015), and by CPJ (Smyth 2012), with gender-specific training on sexual violence risks. Additionally, long-term activities should be preferable to unsustainable 'parachute training'. Such activities could include assigning journalists to a senior mentor experienced in conflict reporting, providing long-term consultancy advice for entire newsrooms, while taking into account the specific needs of journalists, the context of each newsroom and local political and economic structures (Drefs and Thomaß 2016).

Financial compensation and protection would afford staff and freelancers adequate insurance for health, disability and death, with access to additional expenses and paid for by the media organization (Ricchiardi 2002; Aslam 2015; Smyth 2012).

In our interviews, what emerges as critical are sustainable measures to guarantee the *psychological safety* of conflict journalists: a challenge that appears to be widely neglected in the investigated countries. This could be assured through institutionalized, professional and psychological support in dealing with post-traumatic stress. While resources within media organizations are likely to be limited, especially in transitional societies, national journalist associations, as well as local and international media assistance organizations, should broaden and coordinate their measures in this regard. Where such measures already exist, efforts could be made to de-stigmatize the issue in the news business, increase awareness and encourage journalists to use voluntary and con-

fidential counselling, while also training media managers to recognize the symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (Ricchiardi 2002; RSF and UNESCO 2015).

Further measures could see the *enhancement of self-regulation bodies*, such as press councils and journalism associations, which the interviewed journalists deemed to be mistrusted and ignored. Bearing in mind the burden of competition (Tait 2007), *professional solidarity and inter-media support* within the journalistic community would alleviate some of the security challenges (Relly and Gonzalez de Bustamante 2013). Teams of journalists within the newsroom could cover conflicts jointly, media companies could organize joint safety training, psychological support and a databank of safety information (Ricchiardi 2002). “Egos, organizational rivalries, and political, ethnic, or religious identities must be set aside to pursue such collaboration”; this approach has been tested and proven “effective in diffusing the risk against any individual journalist” (Smyth 2012: 33), and was detected in Serbian media organizations that boycotted threatening and radical actors (S17).

The *implementation of national legislation* on safeguarding journalists, and measures that force states to fully *comply with international laws, declarations and resolutions* could protect journalists against interferences and minimize the impunity of violence against journalists (RSF and UNESCO 2015). Aslam stresses the need to oblige governments to offer journalists safe, speedy access to information, and train “the military and government sources in dealing with media, the media’s information needs and the need for independence” (Aslam 2015: 19).

Lastly, *enhancing public support and awareness among citizens* concerning the value of independent journalism would increase the significance of safeguarding professional prestige and trust in journalism as a public institution, potentially making attacks on journalists more visible. In this sense, measures to enhance media-community dialogue, media literacy, and audience empowerment could have beneficial side effects on journalism safety.

Several of these measures are reflected in the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity (UN 2012). All efforts are needed to continue its implementation, engaging all relevant organizations and actors in the sector in a coordinated and sustainable way.

Some measures seem to have already been taken in some of the investigated countries. According to a Kenyan Union of Journalists representative who was among our interviewees, the organization has begun negotiating better remuneration and protection of journalists, including legal aid, a safety fund, trauma counselling, safety training, promoting dialogue between media and security institutions and a web-based alert system for journalists in distress (Media Council of Kenya 2015; Hivos Kenya 2013; Nyabuga and Mwangi 2016).

Academic research should assist the development of safety measures by providing in-depth and up-to-date knowledge on safety challenges and their impact in different countries, world regions, conflicts and for certain groups of journalists, as well as by evaluating existing safety measures and developing new approaches.

Pursuing and developing further safety measures is especially important because conflicts in the countries under study here, but also in other parts of the world, are

still underway. Moreover, digitization and the decline of traditional media business models are likely to challenge the safety of journalists in the future. Many new, online media networks engage journalists as stringers, without institutional support, including insurance and legal backing (Smyth 2012). In this changing and dangerous climate, journalists must be guided by some basic principles, as the CPJ Security Guide concludes (Smyth 2012: 48):

Be fully informed about security issues, make your safety a primary consideration, prepare yourself thoroughly for each assignment, look out for other journalists in the field, and take care of yourself before, during, and after assignment.

References

- Aslam, R. (2015). Media, politics and the threats to journalists in Pakistan. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 21(1): 177-194.
- Boone, L. W. and MacDonald, C. R. (2009). Broadcasting Operation Iraqi Freedom: The People Behind Cable News Ethics, Decisions, and Gender Differences. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 84: 115-134.
- Barton, A. and Storm, H. (2014). *Violence and Harassment against Women in the News Media: A global picture*. <http://www.iwmf.org/our-research/journalist-safety/violence-and-harassment-against-women-in-the-news-media-a-global-picture/> (accessed 2016-09-26).
- Bourdieu, P. (2005). The political field, the social science field, and the journalistic field, pp.29-47 in Benson, Rodney and Neveu, Erik (eds.) *Bourdieu and the journalistic field*. Cambridge, Malden, MA: Polity.
- Christians, C. G., Glassner, T. L., McQuail, D., Nordenstreng, K. and White, R. A. (2009). *Normative theories of the media: Journalism in democratic societies. The history of communication*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Cottle, S. (2006). *Mediatized conflict: Developments in media and conflict studies. Issues in cultural and media studies*. Maidenhead, New York: Open University Press.
- Drefs, I. and Thomaß, B. (2016). *Policy Brief: Supporting Journalism and Conflict Societies*. MeCoDEM working paper. http://www.mecodem.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Drefs-Thomass-2016_Policy-Brief_Supporting-Journalism-in-Conflict-Societies.pdf (accessed 2016-09-26).
- Fahmy, S. and Johnson, T. J. (2005). "How we Performed": Embedded Journalists' Attitudes and Perceptions Towards Covering the Iraq War. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82(2): 301-317.
- Flick, U., Kvale, S., Angrosino, M. V., Barbour, R. S., Banks, M., Gibbs, G. and Rapley, T. (2007). *Managing Quality in Qualitative Research. The Sage qualitative research kit*. London: SAGE.
- Hallin, D. C. and Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics. Communication, society, and politics*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hallin, D. C. and Mancini, P. (eds.) (2012). *Communication, society, and politics. Comparing media systems beyond the Western world*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hivos Kenya (2013). *Safety and protection of Kenyan journalists: Is it common sense or common cents?: A national baseline survey report*. <https://www.hivos.org/news/new-report-state-kenyan-journalists> (accessed 2016-09-26).
- Lohner, J., Banjac, S. and Neverla, I. (2016). *Mapping structural conditions of journalism in Egypt, Kenya, Serbia and South Africa*. MeCoDEM working paper. http://www.mecodem.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Lohner-Banjac-Neverla-2016_Mapping-structural-conditions-of-journalism-in-Egypt-Kenya-Serbia-and-South-Africa.pdf (accessed 2016-09-26).
- Luhmann, N. (2000). *The reality of the mass media. Cultural memory in the present*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Media Council of Kenya (2015). *Safety and Protection of Journalists*. <http://www.mediacouncil.or.ke/en/mck/index.php/programs/safety-and-protection-of-journalists> (accessed 2016-09-26)
- Nyabuga, G. and Mwangi, W. (2016). *Supporting safety of journalists in Kenya. An assessment based on UNESCO's Safety Indicators*. Prepared for UNESCO by African Media Initiative (AMI). <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002449/244914E.pdf> (accessed 2016-09-26).

- Reich, Z. (2009). *Sourcing the news: Key issues in journalism; an innovative study of the Israeli press*. Hampton Press communication series. Cresskill: Hampton Press.
- Relly, J. E. and Gonzalez de Bustamante, C. (2013). Silencing Mexico: A Study of Influences on Journalists in the Northern States. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 19(1): 108-131.
- Reporters without Borders (RSF) and UNESCO (2015). *Safety Guide for Journalists: A handbook for reporters in high-risk environments*. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002439/243986e.pdf> (accessed 2016-09-26).
- Ricchiardi, S. (2002). Preparing for Battle. *American Journalism Review*, 24(6): 38-43.
- Saleh, I. (2015). Digging for Transparency: How African Journalism Only Scratches the Surface of Conflict. *Global Media Journal African Edition*, 9(1) 1-10.
- Shoemaker, P. J. and Reese, S. D. (2013). *Mediating the Message in the 21st Century: A Media Sociology Perspective*. New York: Routledge.
- Smyth, F. (2012). *CPJ Journalist Security Guide: Covering the News in a dangerous and changing world*. <https://cpj.org/security/guide.pdf> (accessed 2016-09-26).
- Tait, R. (2007). Practice Review: Journalism Safety. *Journalism Practice*, 1(3): 435-445.
- Tumber, H. (2013). The Role of the Journalist in Reporting International Conflicts. pp. 50-68 in Ward, Stephen J. A. (ed.) *Global media ethics. Problems and perspectives*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Tumber, H. and Palmer, J. (2004). *Media at war: The Iraq crisis*. London, Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- Tumber, H. and Webster, F. (2006). *Journalists under fire: Information war and journalistic practices*. London, Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- United Nations (UN) (2012). *UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity*. Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/freedom-of-expression/safety-of-journalists/un-plan-of-action/> (accessed 2016-09-26)
- Voltmer, K. and Kraetzschmar, H. (2015). *Investigating the Media and Democratisation Conflicts: Research Design and Methodology of Media, Conflict and Democratisation* (MeCoDEM). MeCoDEM working paper. http://www.mecodem.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Voltmer-Kraetzschmar-2015_Investigating-the-Media-and-Democratisation-Conflicts.pdf (accessed 2016-09-26).
- Ward, S. J. A. (ed.) (2013). *Global media ethics: Problems and perspectives*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Notes

1. This study is based on the project 'Media, Conflict and Democratisation' (Principal Investigator: Katrin Voltmer, University of Leeds, UK), funded by the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no. 613370 (see www.mecodem.eu). Empirical data were collected by MeCoDEM's Work Package 'Journalistic ethics and practices' (Work Package leader: Irene Neverla; researchers: Judith Lohner, Sandra Banjac, University of Hamburg, Germany) and the Country Teams: Egypt (Country Team leader: Gamal Soltan, American University in Cairo), Kenya (Country Team leader: Nicole Stremmlau, University of Oxford), Serbia (Country Team leader: Nebojsa Vladislavljevic, University of Belgrade) and South Africa (Country Team leader: Herman Wasserman, University of Cape Town).
2. For short summaries of conflict cases see Voltmer and Kraetzschmar (2015: 23-28)
3. Interviews were conducted face-to-face by country team researchers between November 2014 and May 2015: 24 interviews in Egypt, 26 in Kenya, 25 in Serbia and 25 in South Africa, totalling 102 hours and 39 minutes of interview conversation.
4. A professional journalist is defined here as a person who works (as an employee or freelancer) for journalistic media, and is involved in producing and editing journalistic content or otherwise in editorial supervision and coordination.
5. Interview citations consist of the country initial (E=Egypt, K=Kenya, S=Serbia, SA=South Africa) and interview number: e.g. Kenya, Interview 1 is 'K1'. Multiple interview numbers are separated with a forward slash (/).

How Unsafe Contexts and Overlapping Risks Influence Journalism Practice

Evidence from a survey of Mexican journalists

Sallie Hughes and Mireya Márquez-Ramírez

Abstract

Journalists in many countries work in contexts of continuous risk, but few empirical studies identify how these conditions influence practice or measure the relative influence of different kinds of risk. This study asks a national sample of Mexican journalists to report use of several measures to ameliorate risk as violence and anti-press threat intensified over the last decade. It then identifies conditions that increased the likelihood of engaging in these practices. Findings reveal diverse tactics to remain safe and how those seeking to disseminate news through less-risky channels are less common than individual or outlet-based censorship. The study shows that physical insecurity overlaps with economic pressures to shut down important public-interest functions and that support for change agent roles, youth, ethnic minority status and working in smaller cities are important predictors of precautionary practices. The chapter ends with policy recommendations for international organizations, the Mexican government and press rights activists.

Keywords: Mexico, journalism safety, risk, protective practice

As in numerous countries around the world, journalists in many parts of Mexico work in contexts of physical, political and economic risk on a daily basis. Especially after Mexico's president launched a "war on drugs" in 2006, press association reports and qualitative studies have denounced pervasive self-censorship and other problematic changes in journalists' reporting routines and publication practices that were undertaken to reduce risk (Relly and González de Bustamante 2014; González de Bustamante and Relly 2014; Lauría and O'Connor 2010; Article 19 2015; Del Palacio 2015). To date no study has measured the magnitude of these changes nationally nor identified predictors of these behaviors. This study begins to fill the gap using a national survey of journalists (n=377) working in 136 media outlets randomly selected to reflect the national news media landscape. The survey asked whether in the last five years respondents had engaged in protective or precautionary practices because of threat or to reduce risk. This chapter reports findings about the prevalence of these practices. It also identifies the conditions that increase the likelihood of engaging in a precautionary or protective practice through logistic regression analysis.

While survey findings are unique to Mexico, the country is one of several contemporary democracies where levels of non-combat violence and anti-press violence are

pervasive and unrelenting (Dunham, Nelson and Aghekyan 2015; Waisbord 2002, 2007; Arias and Goldstein 2010). Most studies on journalism practice in contexts of physical insecurity have focused on war correspondents rather than national journalists even though recent studies confirm that local, domestic journalists are most at risk (Cottle et al. 2016; Relly et al. 2015 is a rare exception in English). This study thus contributes to particular knowledge about the impact of violence on journalism in Mexico and contributes to knowledge about the general condition of journalists working in unsafe contexts globally.

Physical, political and economic risk to Mexico's journalists

In the past decade, societal and anti-press violence have made Mexico one of the most dangerous places in the world to practice journalism. The monitoring program of Article 19's Mexico chapter has documented 92 journalist deaths in possible relation to their work between 2000 and March 2016 and 23 disappearances between July 2003 and January 2016.¹ Attacks include not only murders, but less-grave physical assaults, threats, intimidation, detentions, abductions, and attacks on media installations. In areas with high levels of organized crime or gang turf wars, risk to journalists is related to drug cartel violence and the government's militarized response (Gutiérrez Leyton et al. 2014; Relly and González de Bustamante 2014; Salazar 2012; Lemini 2015). However, drug violence maximizes journalists' vulnerability vis-a-vis a wider range of political actors and state institutions that not only fail to protect them, but also can be actively hostile. Abuses by elements of the state occur in a number of regions where governors and local officials use discretionary powers to pressure journalists. Article 19 reported that 41 per cent of aggressions against journalists in 2015 were perpetrated by public officials, a fairly consistent percentage since 2009 that includes attacks from police officers, soldiers, and state or local government officials (Article 19 2016:141; see also del Palacio 2015).

Violent threats overlay economic vulnerabilities, especially in smaller cities and towns. Local advertising markets are small and clientelistic ties between government officials and outlets condition media coverage to the needs of politicians who control advertising and other perks (Guerrero and Márquez-Ramírez 2014). At the same time, pay is precariously low for rank-and-file journalists, especially in smaller cities (De León Vázquez 2012; González Macías 2013; Márquez Ramírez 2015; Reyna 2015).

Despite these challenges, majorities of Mexican journalists have expressed strong support for positively contributing to a democratic, peaceful and economically developed society. In our survey of 377 journalists around the country, the percent who believed institutional roles associated with these goals were "extremely" or "very" important aspects of their work were the following: report "things as they are" (95.5%), promote tolerance and cultural diversity (92.8%), advocate for social change (89.7%), promote and defend legality and human rights (89.4%), let people "express their views" (88.8%), monitor political actors and business owners and businesses (86.9%, 60.2%), help maintain peace and stability (84.6%), promote economic development and community wellbeing (84.5%), provide information so people can make political decisions

(84.3%) and motivate people to participate politically (62.9%). However, the survey found that to monitor criminal organizations was not considered an extremely or very important component of journalists' work; only 24.3 per cent expressed this goal. While journalists appear to highly embrace these roles, there is clearly a political, criminal and social environment that may limit their ability to put such roles into practice.

Because of the intrinsic importance of the subject and gaps in the research literature, this chapter addresses two questions: 1) How do journalists respond to sometimes extreme levels of physical, political and economic risk found in Mexico? 2) Which types of risk change the likelihood journalists will engage in these practices? By identifying conditions that predict a greater likelihood of using these practices, the study provides information that national and international actors can use as they seek better solutions for safeguarding journalists and the positive contributions of journalism to society.

Methodology

To answer these questions, the authors and a team of graduate students surveyed a national sample of professional journalists in Mexico between January 24, 2013 and March 17, 2015. The survey population was defined as those who have at least some editorial responsibility within domestic news organizations (Johnstone et al. 1976; Weaver et al. 2007), including daily press, non-daily press, radio, television and online news media. Survey participants had to receive at least half their income from journalistic work. They were asked them a series of eight yes/no reports on changes in professional practice to reduce risk as well as an open-ended question about other measures they undertook within the last 5 years. The authors ran logistic regressions to identify conditions that would increase or decrease the odds of engaging in one of the yes-no practices. They also categorized 147 responses to an open-ended question into 12 types of risk-reduction practice. The categories were created by the second author using the constant comparison method. The first author independently reviewed the practices and categorization as a form of peer-checking.

Sample and measures

Due to a lack of a complete list of practicing journalists or news media outlets, the authors first created a comprehensive national list of news media organizations and secondly drew a simple random sample of outlets stratified by media type and nine geo-cultural sub-regions informants identified as clusters of Mexican states where journalism practices were similar. The third step was to select participants from sampled outlets to vary by level of authority and gender taking care to ensure every journalist in the outlet had a greater than zero chance of being selected. Journalists came from radio outlets (43.2%), television stations (9.5%), daily press outlets (34.5%), non-daily press (8.0%) and online outlets (4.8%). Their average age was 38 and about 32 per cent were female. Most respondents worked in privately owned media, 87.8 per cent, while 8.5 per cent worked in state-owned media, and 3.7 per cent worked in university media outlets.

Keeping in mind free press advocacy reports and qualitative studies, interviewers asked respondents to answer whether they had used each of the following practices in the last five years to diminish threat or risk:

- “Self censor potentially sensitive topics or information.”
- “Submit to media organization policies of censorship of potentially sensitive topics or information.”
- “Withdraw from a news scene but continue reporting.”
- “Publish anonymously and without credit in own media outlet.”
- “Use social networks to publish information or stories anonymously.”
- “Filter information or ideas for certain stories to international news agencies.”
- “Publish stories abroad.”
- “Hide information from untrustworthy colleagues or suspicious persons in your newsroom.”

Predictor variables were created from items developed by an international research consortium for the second round of the Worlds of Journalism Study.² The authors also added contextual and direct threat measures that may be important for understanding the press environment in Mexico and possibly other countries where journalist safety is problematic. Keeping in mind previous research on influences on journalism practice (Weaver et al 2007; Hanitzsch et al. 2010; Hanitzsch and Mellado 2011; Hanitzsch 2011), independent variables in the logistic regressions included personal, work-related, organizational and environmental characteristics that may drive journalists to engage differently in practices to reduce risk, including:

- personal traits, including age, gender and self-identification as an ethnic minority (being indigenous, in Mexico’s case);
- work-related traits, including salary level, newsbeat covered where applicable, and rank of authority in the organization;
- level of support for varying occupational roles;³
- level of importance attributed to perceived influences on work from political, economic, organizational or reference group origins;
- characteristics of outlets where the journalist works, including media type and form of outlet ownership;
- aspects of the environment that are potentially related to physical insecurity, including crime levels, anti-press attacks, or city size; and
- having received a direct work-related threat.

Reported changes in practice due to risk were examined using a statistical procedure known as logistic regression analysis, which is used to predict an outcome from a set of independent variables. The analysis also identifies statistically significant predictors

and produces coefficients that when exponentiated are interpreted as changes in the odds (or likelihood) that an outcome will occur. Separate regression models were run on each of the yes/no behavioral change reports independently since the behaviors were not mutually exclusive.

Results and discussion

How do journalists respond to risk?

Table 1 reports responses to whether journalists engaged in a precautionary or protective practice in the last five years. While almost all journalists reported paying greater attention to accuracy when a story was potentially sensitive, about two-thirds of journalists (67.4%) reported having engaged in self-censorship as a precaution to reduce risk. Retiring from street reporting was the next most prevalent measure (64% had engaged in this behavior), followed by adherence to company censorship policies (57.3%). Two more precautionary measures followed in frequency: hiding information from suspicious or untrustworthy people in the respondent's own newsroom (50%) and publishing without byline or credit in one's own media outlet (41%). Less frequently, journalists reported filtering ideas or information to international media (23%), publishing stories abroad (22%) or publishing anonymously on social media (19%). The results from this battery of questions clearly show that the most-common precautionary practices prevent news stories from being disseminated or even being developed. Precautions taken while developing or disseminating stories follow. Least common are practices that actively seek to disseminate stories that already exist through alternative, less risky channels.

While the aforementioned practices reflect either the avoidance of dangerous news topics or efforts to safely develop and disseminate risky news, the open-ended responses illuminate precautions journalists take during routine operations in unsafe environments, as well as steps to safeguard families. A total of 89 responses mentioning 126 different practices were categorized in 12 types:

- 1) Safeguarding technology to avoid being monitored (n=15).
- 2) Changing work transport routines and being more aware to prevent being followed (n=15).
- 3) Changing work routines to limit street exposure at night or in dangerous areas (n=9).
- 4) Establishing communication networks with friends and colleagues to regularly update location in case of detention or disappearance (n=8).
- 5) Reporting in packs or as teams to cover breaking news, instead of working alone (n=8).
- 6) Removing press IDs to avoid identification (n=7).
- 7) Seeking legal protections or help from government officials (n=7).
- 8) Establishing personal security protocols and getting safety training (n=6).
- 9) Acquiring safety equipment or security personnel (n=4).
- 10) Changing personal routines and curtailing social life to protect self and families (n=11).
- 11) Safeguarding personal information (n=4).
- 12) Leaving the country temporarily or abandoning the area of origin of a threat (n=3).

Table 1. Measures to ameliorate risk

Yes/no reports	%
Pay greater attention to accuracy of facts	91.2
Self-censor	67.4
Follow company censorship policy	57.3
Retire from news scene but keep reporting	64.2
Hide information	50.3
Publish anonymously in media outlet	41
Filter ideas/information to intl. Media	22.8
Publish stories abroad	21.7
Publish anonymously on social media	18.7
Open-ended categories	#
Safeguard technology, precaution with digital communication	15.0
Change work transport routines	15.0
Limit, change times in streets or dangerous areas	9.0
Establish communication networks for security	8.0
Work in teams	8.0
Remove, hide press Ids	7.0
Seek government or legal protection	7.0
Safety training or protocols	6.0
Safety equipment	4.0
Change personal routines	11.0
Leave country or area	3.0
Safeguard personal information	4.0

n=377

Closed-ended are affirmative responses to the question: "In the last five years, have you engaged in any of the following measures to protect yourself from possible attacks from criminals or mobs?"

Open-ended categories were constructed from qualitative responses to the "other measures - please describe" option.

What changes the likelihood of engaging in a protective or precautionary practice?

Table 2 reports odds ratios only for the statistically significant predictors for each logistic regression, as well as the power and level of significance for each regression model. Odds ratios are interpreted as changes in the odds (or likelihood) that an outcome will occur. Odds above 1.0 are interpreted as increasing the likelihood of having engaged in a risk-reduction practice, whereas odds below 1.0 are interpreted as decreasing the

Table 2. Odds ratios and sources of risk for individually significant predictors

Predictors and Origins of Risk	Practice					
	Self-censor	Adhere to company censorship policy	Abandon news scene	Hide info. in newsroom	Publish anon. on social media	Publish abroad
Physical Risk						
Have been threatened due to work	2.313*		1.830*			
# anti-press attacks in state where journalist works	1.009*			3.222*		
Police/Courts/Security beat compared to Gen. Assign						
Political Risk						
Political influences			--			.547**
Level of support "interpretive change agent" roles	1.790*		--			
Economic Risk						
Economic influences	1.587**	1.351*	--		1.632**	
Works in university outlet compared to private	0.023**					
Risks from Isolation and Impunity						
Pop. of city where journalist works	.9999995***	0.9999998***				
Socio-demographic Risk						
Age of journalist	0.909***	0.960*			.936**	.939**
Identifies as indigenous					3.150*	2.983*
Compensatory conditions						
Experience: 0-5 years compared to >10 years	0.282*		--	--	--	--
Senior manager compared to rank-and-file journalist						3.340*
Level of important of reference groups		0.728*	--			
<i>Model R² (Nagelkerke)</i>	0.43	0.29	0.10	0.16	0.20	0.23
<i>Model χ^2</i>	(31)=115.80***	(31)=76.78***	(15)=25.77*	(29)=43.15*	(27)=40.98*	(28)=51.62*

Notes: OR = exp(b); *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 for b; -- = removed

likelihood. Odds ratios can also be read as a percentage change in the likelihood of engaging in a practice. For the index variables, the odds ratio represents change in the likelihood for each step on a five-point scale. For the city population variable, the odds ratio represents the change in the likelihood per person difference in the population of a city.

Looking across the columns, the odds ratios reveal how different types of risk predict varying forms of risk reduction. Physical risks, including direct threat, a repressive context or risks associated with working on a dangerous newsbeat, increase the likelihood of self-censorship, abandoning a dangerous news scene or hiding information from untrustworthy colleagues or suspicious characters in the newsroom. However, physical risks do not influence the likelihood of adhering to company censorship policies, publishing abroad or publishing anonymously on social media. Physical risks are thus important predictors of practices constricting the mediated public sphere, but they do not explain all risk-reduction practices. In contrast, perceiving economic influences on work as more important increases the likelihood of both individual self-censorship decisions and adhering to outlet censorship policies. The economic influences index is comprised of the level of importance journalists attribute to company profit expectations and advertisers. Self-censorship thus responds to both physical risk and economic risk, but adhering to company censorship policies is motivated by risks associated with a firm's financial position.

Political risk becomes important for self-censorship when journalists believe journalism should be used for social change. The survey items that grouped on the interpretive change agent dimension are related to politics and policy, including: providing analysis of current affairs, influencing public opinion, fomenting social change and promoting national development. Journalists who support change agent roles at higher levels were much more likely to report having self-censored to reduce risk than ones who did not support these roles.

On the other hand, viewing influences from politics as more important for work predicted journalists typically were less likely to publish abroad as a risk-reduction measure. Statistical tests confirm that officials, politicians, business owners and censorship belong to the same political influences dimension, suggesting all these influences converge in the minds of journalists. Journalists who feel stronger pressures from officials, politicians, business owners and censorship do not seem to consider publishing abroad a safe way to disseminate a sensitive story, in fact stronger political pressures seem to inhibit them from using this measure.

City size was also a strong predictor of censorship. The smaller the city, the more likely on average the journalist was to report having self-censored or adhered to a company censorship policy to reduce risk. This supports ethnographic and qualitative evidence that smaller cities beyond state capitals or the Federal District can be especially difficult places to practice journalism (Del Palacio 2015) because journalists face physical, economic and political pressures from unrestrained local officials, usually in relative obscurity. This risk may thus originate in the journalist's relative isolation as well as poor checks on local official's abusive behavior.

A final source of risk involves the ascriptive characteristics of the journalist. Identifying as indigenous was the strongest individual predictor of publishing abroad or anonymously on social media to reduce risk.⁴ Both findings provide evidence of the solidarity networks that have become important mechanisms of resistance for Mexico's indigenous groups in recent years, especially since the 1994 Zapatista rebellion launched internet social activism (Cleaver 1998). Since Mexican mainstream media sparsely cover rural and indigenous affairs, digital platforms and international networks seem to offer an especially useful tool for getting sensitive news from indigenous communities to the rest of Mexico and the world.

Youth also appears to put journalists at greater risk, above and beyond low wages or inexperience, which were controlled for in the regressions. The younger the journalist, the more likely to report having self-censored and adhered to a company censorship policy to ameliorate risk. However, youth also gives journalists knowledge about digital tools that are not as widely assessable to older journalists. Youth predicted greater likelihood of publishing anonymously on social media or publishing abroad as a way to reduce risk.

Regression analysis also revealed traits that may compensate for risk. Senior managers were more likely than rank-and-file journalists to publish abroad to reduce risk, suggesting this safer way to disseminate news is more accessible to newsroom leaders. Another compensation for risk may be stronger social connections. Journalists who perceived colleagues in other media and family, friends and other personal relationships as more important influences on work were less likely to have followed a company censorship policy to reduce risk. This may be because the outlets where policies are needed more, are also more likely to be located in unsafe contexts where violence has worn the social fabric. The average homicide rate per 100,000 in states where journalists reported adhering to an outlet censorship policy to reduce risk was 22.4, compared to 16.7 in states where they did not.⁵ Finally, on average journalists with less than five years on the job reported having self-censored to reduce risk less than those with more than 10 years experience. This may occur simply because they have had less time to face work-related threats.

Conclusion

Using survey research methodology, this study documents the prevalence of a number of practices that journalists in Mexico – a democracy with pockets of extreme violence – use to lower the enormous risks they face daily. The most-frequent risk-reduction practices remove sensitive news topics from the public sphere. Less-frequent are practices that help journalists report or distribute risky information more safely. The study also found that risks take a personal toll, prompting changes in personal and family life.

The study additionally identifies the multi-layered nature of journalistic risk and how different forms of risk prompt journalists to employ different kinds of safety measures. Physical threat is most closely associated with measures causing the greatest harm to democracy. Rather than motivating journalists to seek less-risky ways to dis-

seminate information, physical risk disrupts or completely shuts down news production. The deleterious effects of working in smaller cities, where invisibility and isolation are comparatively higher, were also quite clear in the findings. Above and beyond economic, political and physical pressures, journalists working in smaller cities were more likely on average to self-censor.

Economic risks stemming from the financial position of the media firm also short-circuit public-interest journalism by increasing the likelihood of self-censorship and adhering to company censorship policies, but in contrast to physical risk economic risks leave open enough space for some journalists to distribute sensitive stories anonymously on social media. Publishing abroad or anonymously on social media as alternatives to more risky traditional methods of dissemination were disproportionately available to younger journalists and, in the case of publishing abroad, newsroom leaders. Indigenous journalists, who were much more likely on average to use these distribution channels, perhaps used digital tools and international solidarity networks to circumvent discrimination embedded in newsroom culture.

Policy recommendations

Policy recommendations based on the study's empirical findings are given in the Mexican context, but could be considered in a wider swath of democracies that suffer from high levels of violence, corruption and financial pressure on media and journalists. The study empirically demonstrates that physical risk and work-related threats curtail the monitoring function of the press, with self-censorship acting as a prior restraint on even developing news for dissemination. Findings thus offer empirical support for demands for greater protections and an end to the impunity for anti-press crimes based on the harm caused to democracy. Beyond routinized self-censorship, silencing those journalists who most strongly believe journalism should promote social change is one of the most-troubling findings for Mexico's democratic future. Both in theory and empirical study, a freer press supports greater democratic quality (Islam 2003; Norris 2010).

Few journalists turn to legal protections or state agencies for support, instead protecting themselves pragmatically in ways that harm the public sphere, the study found. Mistrust reported towards key institutions in charge of safeguarding journalists' safety and prosecuting their attackers was very high – only 6 per cent of journalists voiced high levels of trust in police and 10 per cent in judiciary. For the Mexican government, policy implications are therefore quite clear. Guaranteeing the correct functioning of the existing legislation and agencies created in recent years to protect journalists and prosecute anti-press crime is crucial to the protection of journalists' individual human rights and additionally for wider free expression to support democracy.

For international organizations and press advocates, another clear implication of findings about the impact of physical risk are to increase investment in digital safety training, which is a practice open-ended responses suggest should be much more widespread. However, few journalists also reported receiving traditional safety training, suggesting the availability of traditional courses also must increase.

The study also found that economic risk stemming from the financial position of a media firm compounds physical risk and promotes censorship. These findings should raise the priority of Mexican initiatives to strengthen public and non-profit media and make government advertising transactions more transparent. Allocation of governmental advertisement contracts has long been a key instrument for press-state collusion when contracts are of mutual benefit, and of blackmailing and censoring when they are not. Additionally, non-profit media have long requested viable legal means of financing and state-owned media continue to suffer from political control. A long-term solution to reduce economic pressures on news is implementation of legislation correcting these structural weaknesses.

Political risk did not directly predict increased use of any measures restricting coverage. This may be due to two overlapping conditions. First, political and economic pressures could merge through state clientelism, and so show up in our findings through economic pressures. Secondly, qualitative studies and emerging international research have found that state actors have an ambiguous relationship to journalistic risk (Hughes et al. 2016). This underscores the recommendation to strengthen protection of journalists and prosecution of anti-press crimes, but also to strengthen anti-corruption measures for government.

There are limitations to this study that should be addressed in future research. As a pilot study it has shown that journalists' protective and precautionary measures are more diverse than the initial battery of questions contemplated. Future research should consider this during questionnaire development and also attempt to gauge the ambiguous relationship of the state to better operationalize political risk. Secondly, the battery of risk-reduction items should be incorporated in cross-national surveys so comparison to a wider range of contexts may illuminate more general causal mechanisms. Finally, the survey method has strengths but also drawbacks. It operates in the realm of perceptions and, despite the survey team's security precautions and trust-building measures, it cannot be assured that everyone responded with complete candor. Thus, while qualitative research on journalism safety helped enormously with survey development and interpretation, systematic mixed method approaches combining surveys, qualitative interviews and where possible observation would support better data interpretation and overall understanding of a complex and increasingly common phenomenon.

References

- Arias, E. D. and Goldstein, D. M. (2010). *Violent Democracies in Latin America*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Article 19 (2015). *Estado de Censura*, México, D.F. Available at <http://articulo19.org/estado-de-censura-informe-anual-de-violencia-contra-la-prensa/>.
- Article 19 (2016). *MIEDO. Medios/Impunidad/Estado/Democracia/Opacidad*, México D.F. Available at <http://articulo19.org/m-i-e-d-o-informe-2015-sobre-violencia-contra-la-prensa/>.
- Cleaver, H. (1998). The Zapatistas and the Electronic Fabric of Struggle, pp. 81-103 in Holloway, John & Peláez, Eloina (eds.) *Zapatista! Reinventing Revolution in Mexico*. London: Pluto Press.
- De León Vázquez, S. (2012). *Comunicación Pública y Transición Política: Los Rasgos de lo Global en el Periodismo Local*. Aguascalientes, Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Aguascalientes.

- Del Palacio, M. C. (2015). En Veracruz se Aprende a Vivir con Miedo: Violencia y Medios de Comunicación en Veracruz 2010-2014, pp. 405-452 in Celia del Palacio (ed.) *Violencia y Periodismo Regional en México*, México: Juan Pablos.
- Dunham, J., Nelson, B. and Aghekyan, E. (2015). *Freedom of the Press 2015*. Washington, D.C: Freedom House.
- González de Bustamante, C. and Relly, J. (2014). Journalism in Times of Violence: Social Media Use by US and Mexican Journalists Working in Northern Mexico. *Digital Journalism*, Online first, DOI:10.1080/21670811.2014.882067.
- González Macías, R. (2013). Economically-Driven Partisanship-Official Advertising and Political Coverage in Mexico: The Case of Morelia. *Journalism and Mass Communication*, 3(1): 14-33.
- Guerrero, M. A. and Márquez-Ramírez, M. (eds.). (2014). *Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gutiérrez Leyton, A. E., Torres Herrera, M., Torres González, A. C., Juárez Rangel, J. M., Cantú López, K. D. and González Macías, S. K. (2014). Crimen Organizado y Narcotráfico en el Noreste de México Como Condicionante en la Reestructura de las Rutinas Periodísticas y la Autocensura, Conference Proceedings, *XXVI Conference of the Asociación Mexicana de Investigadores de la Comunicación, AMIC*, San Luis Potosí: Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí: 524-531.
- Hanitzsch, T. (2011). Populist disseminators, detached watchdogs, critical change agents and opportunist facilitators: Professional milieus, the journalistic field and autonomy in 18 countries. *International Communication Gazette* 73(6): 477-494.
- Hanitzsch, T., Anikina, M., Berganza, R., Cangoz, I., Coman, M., Hamada, B., Hanusch, F. et al. (2010). Modeling Perceived Influences on Journalism: Evidence From a Cross-National Survey of Journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 87(1): 7-24.
- Hanitzsch, T. and Mellado, C. (2011). What Shapes the News Around the World? How Journalists in Eighteen Countries Perceive Influences on Their Work. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 16(3): 404-426.
- Hughes, S., Mellado, C., Arroyave, J., Benítez, J.L., de Beer, A., Garcés, M., Lang, K. and Márquez-Ramírez, M. (2017). Expanding Influences Research to Insecure Democracies: How Violence, Public Insecurity, Economic Inequality and Uneven Democratic Performance Shape Journalists' Perceived Work Environments. *Journalism Studies*. Published online ahead of print.
- INEGI (2013). *Encuesta Nacional de Victimización y Percepción sobre Seguridad Pública-ENVIPE: Síntesis Metodológica*. Aguascalientes, Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI).
- Islam, R. (2003). Do More Transparent Governments Govern Better? *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, No. 3077.
- Johnstone, J., Slawski, E. J. and Bowman, W. W. (1976). *The News People: A Sociological Portrait of American Journalists and Their Work*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Lauria, C. and O'Connor, M. (2010). *Silence or Death in Mexico's Press: Crime, Violence and Corruption are Destroying the Country's Journalism*. New York: Committee to Protect Journalists.
- Lemini Camarillo, J. L. (2015). *Percepciones del Impacto de la Violencia en el Quehacer Profesional de los Periodistas de Saltillo, Coahuila*. Unpublished MA Dissertation, Department of Communications, Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana.
- Márquez-Ramírez, M. (2012). Valores Normativos y Prácticas de Reporteo en Tensión: Percepciones Profesionales de Periodistas en México. *Cuadernos de Información*, (30): 97-110.
- Márquez Ramírez, M. (2015). El Impacto de la Violencia Criminal en la Cultura Periodística Post-Autoritaria: la Vulnerabilidad del Periodismo Regional en México, pp. 15-48 in del Palacio, Celia (ed.) *Violencia y Periodismo Regional en México*. México: Juan Pablos.
- Martínez Mendoza, S. (2015). Narrativas de la Violencia en Chiapas, pp. 135-170 in del Palacio, Celia (ed.) *Violencia y Periodismo Regional en México*, México: Juan Pablos.
- Norris, P. (ed.). (2010). *Public Sentinel: News Media and Governance Reform*. World Bank Publications.
- Relly, J. and González de Bustamante, C. (2014). Silencing Mexico: A Study of Influences on Journalists in the Northern States. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 19(1): 108-131.
- Reyna, V. H. (2015). ¿El Estado más seguro de la frontera? Periodismo, poder e inseguridad pública en Sonora, pp. 365-404 in del Palacio, Celia (ed.) *Violencia y Periodismo Regional en México*, México: Juan Pablos.

- Salazar Gutiérrez, S. (2012). Periodismo y Violencia: La Producción de Subjetividad de Riesgo en el Norte de México. *Global Media Journal: Mexico*, 9(17): 63-80.
- Waisbord, S. (2002). Antipress Violence and the Crisis of the State. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 7 (3): 90–109.
- Waisbord, S. (2007). Democratic Journalism and ‘Statelessness.’ *Political Communication*, 24 (2): 115–29.
- Weaver, D., Beam, R. A., Brownlee, B. J., Voakes, P. S. and Wilhoit, G. Cleveland (2007) *The American Journalist in the 21st Century: US Newspapers at the Dawn of a New Millennium*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Notes

1. Data available at <http://articulo19.org/category/libertad-bajo-ataque/infografias/>. Last accessed April 16, 2016.
2. More information about the study is available at www.worldsofjournalism.org.
3. The makeup of indexes and how they were created are explained in the Appendix page 316.
4. To identify ethnic identity, respondents were asked if they identified with an ethnic group. If they said yes, they were asked which group in an open-ended question. Forty journalists in 18 different states identified as indigenous and mentioned more than a dozen different groups. The authors then created a dichotomous variable for self-identification as indigenous from this information and used it as a predictor in logistic regressions
5. A one-way Anova confirmed differences were due to more than chance. The test confirmed a statistically significant difference in the mean levels of homicide in states where journalists reported adhering to outlet censorship policies to reduce risk and states where they did not ($F(2931.2, 69309.7) = 15.48$, $p < .01$).

Appendix

To measure perceived influences on work, we used PCA on 17 items with scaled responses ranging from 5 (extremely influential) to 1 (not influential). Names for resulting dimensions and index variables were assigned based upon item groupings, keeping in mind previous research (Hanitzsch 2011; Hanitzsch et al. 2010; Mellado and Humanes 2012; Reich and Hanitzsch 2013). The items grouped into six dimensions explaining 57.30 per cent of total variance in Mexico.

- The 'political influences' dimension includes perceived influences of government officials, politicians, business owners, and censorship. It displayed good internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.85$) and explained 13.02 per cent of variance.
- The 'organizational influences' factor grouped perceived influences from direct bosses, media owners, upper management, and the company's editorial policy, displaying good internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.87$ in Mexico). Organizational influences explained 11.60 per cent of variance.
- The 'economic influences' dimension includes perceived influences of company profit expectations and advertisers and displayed adequate internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.78$). Economic influences explained 8.41 per cent of variance.
- The fourth dimension grouped influences from media laws and access to information. We discarded this dimension due to low internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.63$). It explained 6.94 per cent of the variance.
- The 'reference groups' dimension includes perceived influences of colleagues in other media and of friends, acquaintances, and family. It displayed adequate internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.76$) and explained 10.19 per cent of the variance.
- We discarded a sixth dimension, perceived influences from time pressures, resources for investigation, and audience research because it did not display adequate internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.53$). It explained 7.14 per cent of variance.

Role index variables were constructed from 15 items rated from 1 (not important) to 5 (extremely important), grouping on four dimensions that explained 58.82 per cent of variance for Mexico. The first dimension grouped four prompts: let people express their views, tell stories about the world, educate the audience, and promote tolerance and cultural diversity. We called this role stance 'civic educator' because the first items evoke a public plaza to exchange views and learn about the world through journalism storytelling and the others support educational roles. The dimension was internally consistent ($\alpha = 0.713$) and explained 15.81 per cent of variance. The second dimension grouped four prompts: provide analysis about current affairs, influence public opinion, foment social change, and promote national development. We call this an 'analytical change agent' stance since it combines interpretive journalism with action to improve society. The dimension presented adequate internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.73$) and explained 14.71 per cent of variance. The third factor grouped four items: convey a positive image of political leadership, support government policy, provide the kind of news attracting the largest audience, and provide entertainment and relaxation. We call this dimension 'propagandist' because it promotes government interests or media companies' economic interests. Internal consistency was relatively poor ($\alpha = 0.67$). The dimension explained 14.43 per cent of variance. The fourth role dimension, 'watchdog', included monitor and scrutinize political leaders, monitor and scrutinize business, and set the political agenda. It exhibited good internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.72$) and explained 13.87 per cent of variance.

Current Research Highlights

Foreign Correspondents and Local Journalists

*A key newsgathering partnership, for safety
and for the global public good*

Giovanna Dell'Orto

Abstract

Both long-standing and innovative partnership models suggest that collaborative news-gathering by international and local journalists has been an invaluable practice to get the news *in* unsafe environments and *out* to global audiences. As violence, often deadly and nearly always unpunished, multiplies against all journalists, and foreign correspondence is cut back while many news media struggle financially, this safety mechanism is at risk precisely when it is most necessary.

Keywords: Associated Press, foreign news, foreign correspondents, Middle East, Central America

Building on oral histories of 61 foreign correspondents active from 1944 to today and interviews conducted in February-April 2016 with international journalists and locals,¹ this article analyses a practice that has long provided essential security – teamwork by foreign correspondents and local journalists to produce news for international audiences. Examples focus on The Associated Press (AP), one of the world's oldest, largest and most respected news agencies, and Round Earth Media (REM), a decade-old, award-winning non-profit that pairs early-career U.S. journalists with counterparts in the countries where the reporting happens, aiming to publish in both countries.

Violence against journalists: Realities and implications

The Committee to Protect Journalists' tally of journalists killed for job-related reasons since 1992 stood at 1,228 in late January 2017. Most were killed in their own countries, and wars are not necessarily the most lethal factors: Mexico's 37 deaths topped Afghanistan's 31 (and the great majority of journalists murdered in Mexico covered crime news). Murder is the most extreme form of violence against journalists, who have routinely encountered an appallingly high and widespread level of danger, trauma and harassment in their quest to report the true stories of those engulfed by conflicts and oppression (Dell'Orto 2015).

Growing violence and intimidation against journalists have inevitable chilling or even blackout effects, often precisely in the areas posing some of the gravest global policy challenges such as terrorism, drugs and human smuggling. Regions under Islamic State control are literally impossible for the news media to cover, for instance, and so are parts of Mexico and Central America ruled by narcotraffickers and gangs

(Priest 2015; Rafsky 2014; Relly and González de Bustamante 2014). Given how indispensable a functioning free press is to democracy, development and human rights protections (Cottle et al. 2016), the implications for the international order of such silencing violence are dire.

Safety mechanisms: Then and now

Journalists have long adopted ad-hoc practical safety mechanisms, which are becoming more institutionalized (e.g. mandatory hostile environment training and protective equipment; Dell'Orto 2015). The two most ubiquitous challenges, however, have worsened, paradoxically, in the digital age: Surveillance and violent reactions to the presence of journalists. Efforts to avoid surveillance, especially when in contact with sources whose lives are even more at the mercy of hostile groups or governments than the journalists', have been endangered by new technologies that have made censorship and stealth monitoring "flourishing in the information age" (Bennett and Naim 2015: 22).

Until recently, perhaps the greatest guarantor of safety was being a journalist, since even the most violent groups did not usually target the media as long as they were perceived as independent from any government and necessary to tell the group's story to outsiders. But now that criminal groups' twin aims of recruiting and terrorizing can be achieved on borderless social media platforms, journalists are seen as not only unnecessary but potentially dangerous, because they can provide a counter-narrative to the group's own propaganda, and therefore, far from being tolerated, they are brutally slaughtered (Nacos 2016; Simon 2015; Sobel Fitts 2015). In some areas, as one long-time AP Mexico correspondent put it, this has become "essentially security: the places you don't go" (Dell'Orto 2015: 201) – and such 'unreportable' places or issues are on the rise, affecting the global public well beyond those immediately involved (Cottle et al. 2016).

Local-foreign partnership

One of the practices that is least discussed in the context of safety is the essential partnership between foreign and local reporters. 'Fixers' have routinely worked alongside 'parachuting' foreign correspondents. Local and expatriate journalists have long staffed AP bureaus around the world, and today they are seen as teams of equal partners, who bring to story development and reporting critically complementary skills. The locals contribute rarely matched cultural and linguistic knowledge, familiarity with a country's context and history, and networks of sources; the foreigners bring a deeper sense of what will resonate outside a country, distance (literally and metaphorically), and often more in-depth journalistic training and familiarity with the ethical practices of a free, independent press (Dell'Orto 2015).

When reporting in dangerous areas, or on perilous stories, the partnership becomes singularly important – to oversimplify, the locals make it generally easier to get the story, but the internationals make it easier to get the story out. From India to Iraq, from Somalia to Serbia, locals, more attuned to red flags, have been able to venture where

non-local appearance would automatically endanger foreigners, while the latter have been far more immune from the pressures and threats that groups in power can exert on those whose families are inside a country.

In the early 2010s, Honduras had the world's highest homicide rate, an 'alarming growth' in deadly and unpunished violence against journalists, and, consequently, little to no permanent foreign correspondence presence and widespread self-censorship in the local media (Rafsky 2014). An example of partnership reporting there, therefore, is particularly illustrative of the importance of the model even where challenges are most extreme. German Andino, a graphic artist and journalist from Honduras who has often worked in some of that country's most dangerous barrios, teamed up in 2014 with U.S. radio reporter Marlon Bishop to cover gang extortion, a REM project that won the prestigious Peabody Award. Andino told me that his safety mechanism was to spend months in a barrio drawing the residents so that both gang members and victims came to recognize him – in a place where “all that knocking on doors will get you is a gunshot”. With Bishop, whose foreign-looking appearance “attracted attention”, Andino felt the responsibility to read the signals (e.g. surveillance, such as kids playing actually being lookouts) and make the decisions to stop or leave altogether before a possible attack. Separately, Bishop told me he never felt seriously endangered because it was Andino who had set up all the meetings – although Bishop added one of their best interviews happened when a bus driver approached the pair, saying he would tell them all about being extorted because “you are not from here”.

Conclusions

International partnerships at both long-standing and newer media organizations suggest that collaborative newsgathering is an invaluable practice to get the news in unsafe environments and out to global audiences. Complementary teams of international and domestic journalists are best positioned to confront the multiplying threats against the press. But the number of foreign correspondents with full-time institutional backing continues to dwindle as media struggle with budget cuts, leaving more on-the-ground reporting to local journalists, just as locals are increasingly silenced, with impunity, by violent, lawless groups. Thus, one more safety mechanism for journalists is at gravest risk precisely when it is most needed.

References

- Bennett, P. and Naim, M. (2015). 21st-Century Censorship, *Columbia Journalism Review*, January/February: 22-28.
- Cottle, S., Sambrook, R. and Mosdell, N. (2016). *Reporting Dangerously: Journalist Killings, Intimidation and Security*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dell'Orto, G. (2015). *AP Foreign Correspondents in Action: World War II to the Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nacos, B. L. (2016). *Mass-Mediated Terrorism: Mainstream and Digital Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, third edition. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Priest, D. (2015). Censor or Die: The Death of Mexican News in the Age of Drug Cartels, *Washington Post*, 2015-12-11.

- Rafsky, S. (2014). *¿Quién está matando a los periodistas de Centroamérica?* [Who is killing Central America's journalists?] Committee to Protect Journalists.
- Relly, J. and González de Bustamante, C. (2014). Silencing Mexico: A Study of Influences on Journalists in the Northern States. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 19/1: 108- 131.
- Simon, J. (2015). *The New Censorship: Inside the Global Battle for Media Freedom*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Sobel Fitts, A. (2015). The Reckoning. *Columbia Journalism Review*, January/February: 29-34.

Note

1. The 61 oral history interviews were conducted between March 2012 and June 2014 as part of a larger research about the practices of Associated Press foreign correspondents (see Dell'Orto 2015; all interviews were conducted on the record). For another project on journalistic safety in Mexico, eight interviews with a mix of foreign correspondents and Mexican journalists working for national media or advocacy groups were conducted in Mexico City in February 2016 (anonymously to protect the journalists). Two interviews about Honduras were conducted via Skype and phone in April 2016. For the interviews conducted in Spanish, translations are the author's.

Freedom under Pressure

Threats to journalists' safety in Pakistan

Sadia Jamil

Abstract

This study aims to explore the level of journalists' safety and investigates different types of threats that affect their work (actions) within the context (environment) of Pakistan. Drawing on the new institutionalism theory, this study posits that Pakistani journalists work in an unsafe institutional environment where different safety threats affect their routine work and the overall quality of journalism in the country. Journalists' feedback reveals that financial, physical, psychological, social and emotional threats affect their routine work and freedom of expression most. This study calls for broader investigation of threats to journalists' safety beyond the direct physical, legal and psychological risks that are often taken into account by the international organizations monitoring violence against journalists.

Keywords: freedom of expression, journalists' safety, institutional environment

Pakistan's situation regarding violence against journalists is very apprehensive. According to UN estimates, at least 71 journalists and media workers have lost their lives since 2001 while pursuing their duties in the country. Consequently, the country has been declared as one of the deadliest places for working journalists in the world. Although the country is much better off than countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Syria, Lebanon and Somalia, which have been torn apart by civil war and internal conflict, Pakistan's figures on violence against journalists are on a par with figures for these countries. The problem of impunity has further aggravated the working conditions for journalists in Pakistan. Therefore, drawing on the new institutionalism theory, this study aims to underline the diverse threats that affect journalists' work and their right to freedom of expression within the specific context of Pakistan.

Journalists' responses in this study reveal that they experience physical, psychological, financial, emotional, social and topic-specific risks most while at work and that these risks constrain their right to freedom of expression. Hence, to explain these findings in detail, this chapter briefly reviews the new institutionalism theory¹ and the topics of freedom of expression and journalists' safety. It goes on to explain the methodology and findings of the study. Finally, the chapter discusses the diverse risks to journalists' safety, while underlining the sources of and reasons for threats, and identifies future research areas and stakeholders who can play a significant role in promoting safe journalism in Pakistan.

Review of the topic: freedom of expression and journalists' safety

Freedom of expression is considered to be fundamental human right for every individual. However, there are incidents and threats that affect journalists' ability to perform their duties and to exercise their right to freedom of expression. A review of journalists' safety indicators developed by the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), Reporters Without Borders (RSF), Freedom House and UNESCO shows that these organizations assess physical and psychological threats; legal, financial and political pressures; gender-specific risks; digital risks and impunity for crimes against journalists (see CPJ 2015; Freedom House 2015; RSF 2015; UNESCO 2013a, 2013b). However, adding to the views of the abovementioned safety assessments, this study highlights threats to journalists' safety more broadly, revealing diverse types of threats to them, as described in the methodology section.

Methodology

This study uses the quantitative method of survey to evaluate the level of journalists' safety within the context of Pakistan. Specifically, it investigates two research questions: (i) What safety threats affect journalists' routine work most in Pakistan? (ii) Are there threats that specifically affect journalists' right to freedom of expression in Pakistan?

A total of 75 male and female journalists from five ethnicities (i.e., Sindhi, Punjabi, Pashtu, Baluchi and Urdu-speaking), religious groups (Shia and Sunni) and beats (including politics, crime, judiciary, defence, sports, business, social and religious affairs, health and education) have taken part in the survey research. The surveyed journalists are the full-time employees of the most well-known newspapers and television news channels in Karachi (i.e., a total of 22 media organizations) using the purposive sampling.² The surveyed journalists have work experience in more than one city in Pakistan, and 17 of them have worked in the country's conflict areas (including Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Federally Administered Tribal Areas, North Waziristan and Baluchistan Province).

The collected data have been analysed thematically using the survey questionnaire's themes, which are based on nine types of safety risks: (i) physical risks³, (ii) psychological risks⁴, (iii) financial risks⁵, (iv) legal risks⁶, (v) social and emotional risks⁷, (vi) gender-specific risks⁸, (vii) digital risks⁹, (viii) topic-specific risks and (ix) public risks¹⁰. In each risk category, journalists have been surveyed about safety threats posed by sources including government, military, local intelligence agencies, political parties, religious or militant organizations, criminals, pressure groups¹¹, public and their media organizations.

Results and discussion

Journalists' survey responses suggest that they experience physical, psychological, financial, emotional, social and topic-specific risks most while at work despite other threats, and that these safety threats affect their right to freedom of expression as well. The table explains the various types of threats that affect journalists' work most in Pakistan.

Table 1. Threats to journalists' safety in Pakistan

Physical risks	Psychological risks	Financial risks	Legal risks	Social and emotional risks	Gender-specific risks	Digital risks	Topic-specific risks	Public risks
Killing, physical torture, injury and attack	Organizational pressure, government's pressure to censoring news content and imprisonment, political threats, government's/ or military's surveillance and threatening phone calls	Job insecurity forced job termination and low pay-scale	Due to Criminal libel laws, blasphemy laws (1860), Official Secrecy Act (1923), Contempt of Court law	Depression, offence, fear, anxiety and lower self-esteem	Harassment, blackmailing, physical assault, verbal abuse	Verbal abuse on social interactive sites (Face Book, twitter, e-mail hacking)	While working on religious, political, ethnic and defence issues.	Physical and verbal abuse
92% 69 / 75 journalists	87% 65 / 75 journalists	97% 73 / 75 journalists	28% 21 / 75 journalists	85% 64 / 75 journalists	21% 16 / 75 journalists	28% 21 / 75 journalists	84% 63 / 75 journalists	68% 51 / 75 journalists

The survey findings reveal that investigative journalists are attacked in most instances, and it is always difficult to accuse any particular group or institution directly in Pakistan. An additional negative fact concerning the country is the existing impunity for crimes against the perpetrators and the number of unresolved cases of journalists' killings, which indicates the Pakistani government's and law enforcement agencies' failure to investigate cases of journalists being killed and attacked. Moreover, feedback from surveyed journalists highlights that the silencing of journalists through killings and violence has resulted in a climate of fear in Pakistan. According to one surveyed journalist, "I cannot report all the gathered facts on-air because of multiple issues such as religious intolerance, ethnic disputes, political pressures and owners' policies. Indeed, we do work under fear and pressure and that indicates the level of press freedom in Pakistan". This implies that Pakistani journalists are unable to exercise their right to freedom of expression and that they are compelled to practice self-censorship, resulting in the society being deprived of 'journalistic contributions' and an informed citizenry.

This study also reveals that Pakistani female journalists face physical threats and are targeted for being a journalist as well as for being female. All of the surveyed female journalists have reported experiencing a lack of tolerance, conservatism, family/ or social restrictions, gender harassment, physical injury and the public's verbal abuse while at work (i.e., 13 female respondents out of 75). They mention that political elements, religious fanatics, criminals and the public send threatening messages and make threatening calls to female journalists.

When compared with the data from international reports on journalists' safety during the past three years, this study has revealed the ignorance of international organizations in terms of assessing the 'social and emotional risks' journalists face when working within the context of Pakistan. Most of the international organizations monitoring journalists' safety level do not assess the ways in which any country's culture and social environment pose threats to journalists' safety, and the various types of emotional risks journalists might encounter while doing their jobs (see Freedom House 2015; CPJ 2015; International News Safety Institute 2014).

Drawing on the new institutionalism theory, this study has validated the impact of Pakistan's unsafe environment on journalists' work and right to freedom of expression. Considering the diversity of threats faced by Pakistani journalists, there is a pressing need to have a safety mechanism that calls for a 'mutual effort approach' on the part of multiple stakeholders, including government, media organizations, journalists' unions, academics, individual journalists and civil society members. However, the promotion of safe journalism in Pakistan should not merely be an effort to end the killing of journalists and impunity for crimes against them. It is also imperative to deal with the root causes of violence against journalists and impunity in Pakistan. This means dealing with the issues of terrorism, political conflict, religious violence, extremism, corruption, injustice and organized crime.

Conclusion

This chapter has underlined the diverse threats to journalists' safety in Pakistan. Journalists' survey feedback reveals that journalism is a dangerous profession in the country owing to the physical, psychological, financial, social, emotional and topic-specific risks they face – risks that constrain journalists' right to freedom of expression and affect them most while they are doing their jobs. In particular, the study has revealed 'social and emotional risks' that are often ignored by international organizations monitoring journalists' safety level in Pakistan. Therefore, more detailed research is needed to investigate the sources of emotional risks to journalists, and the root causes of safety threats that emerge due to Pakistan's religious, social and cultural setting. On the whole, the study has helped to identify the stakeholders that can play a significant role in facilitating safe journalism in Pakistan.

References

- Committee to Protect Journalists (2015). *Getting Away With Murder: CPJ's 2015 Global Impunity Index*. Accessed 1st March, 2016, at <https://cpj.org/reports/2015/10/impunity-index-getting-away-with-murder.php#methodology>.
- Freedom House (2015). *Freedom of the Press Report*. Accessed at 3rd March, 2016, at https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FreedomofthePress_2015_FINAL.pdf.
- Gray, P. S., Williamson, J. B., Karp, D. A. and Dalphin, J. R. (2007). *The research imagination: An introduction to qualitative and quantitative methods*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- International News Safety Institute (2013). *Journalism Safety: Threats to Media Workers and Measures to Protect Them*. Accessed on 4th April, 2016 at <http://www.newssafety.org/uploads/Good%20Practice%20INSI%20Final%20Feb2014.pdf>.
- Scott, R. (1995). *Institutions and Organizations*. London: Sage Publications.
- Reporters Without Borders (2015). *Detailed methodology*. Accessed at 3rd January, 2016, at <https://rsf.org/en/detailed-methodology>.
- UNESCO (2013a). *Journalists' Safety Indicators: National Level – Based on the UNESCO's Media Development Indicator*. Accessed at 3rd March, 2016, at http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/official_documents/Journalists_Safety_Indicators_National_Level.pdf.
- UNESCO (2013b). *Journalists' Safety Indicators: International Level – Based on the UNESCO's Media Development Indicator*. Accessed 1st March, 2016, at <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/freedom-of-expression/safety-of-journalists/journalists-safety-indicators/>.

Notes

1. New institutionalism theory suggests that actors (either individuals or organizations) are influenced by their institutional environment (Scott 1995). Therefore, using this approach, this study highlights the diverse threats that affect journalists' work and their right to freedom of expression most while they operate in the unsafe institutional environment of Pakistan.
2. In this study, 'purposive sampling' has been used. Purposive sampling refers to the "selection of certain groups or individuals for their relevance to the issue being studied" (Gray et al., 2007: 105). Purposive sampling has been chosen to ensure the representation of journalists from five ethnicities (i.e., Sindhi, Punjabi, Baluchi, Pashtu and Urdu speaking); from religious groups (Shia and Sunni); from male and female genders; from print and electronic media both (i.e., newspapers and television news channels) and from diversified beats, as mentioned in the methodology section. ill, pped, detained, imprisoned, physically or sexually assaulted, raped, kidna
3. Physical risks here refer to the risks of being injured and of being subjected to any kind of physical attack that may lead to physical disability and harm.

4. Psychological risks here refer to stress and pressure that may affect a journalist's ability to perform his/her job freely and safely.
5. Financial risks mean the threats of job insecurity, pay-scale disparity and forced job termination.
6. Legal risks include the existence of impunity for crimes against journalists; unfair trial against journalists; manipulation and abuse of laws against journalists and the existence of stringent media laws.
7. Social and emotional risks include the risks of anxiety, fear, depression, offence and lower self-esteem that mainly arise from the country's social context or a journalist's surrounding environment (i.e., workplace's environment and socio-political environment).
8. Gender-specific risks refer to those threats that a journalist may encounter by virtue of his/or her gender such as sexual assault, rape, gender harassment, discrimination and blackmailing.
9. Digital risks refer to online threats that result from hacking, abusive or threatening e-mails or mobile messages and abusive comments on social media.
10. Public risks refer to the threats that result from the violent, unethical and abusive attitudes of local inhabitants towards journalists, such as verbal abuse and physical harm or attacks.
11. Pressure groups include government; intelligence agencies; military; political parties; religious organizations; business groups; mafia groups; militant organizations; public; ethnic, sectarian and local hostile groups.

Digital Safety among Nigerian Journalists

Knowledge, attitudes and practice

Olunifesi Adekunle Suraj and Olawale Olaleye

Abstract

This study examined the issue of digital safety among Nigerian journalists: knowledge, attitudes and practice (KAP). It employed the Knowledge Gap Theory, and adopted survey methodology using a reliable structured questionnaire. Through simple random sampling technique, data were solicited from 200 respondents, and analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Findings revealed that most Nigerian journalists were aware of digital threats and have fair knowledge of digital safety strategies. Although few are aware of advanced digital security strategies, most have positive attitudes toward digital safety. The study indicated that Nigerian journalists, in ensuring their digital safety, appear vulnerable. Most do *not encrypt sensitive data, hardly 'disable cookies'*, and tend to be careless about their passwords, probably due to their busy schedule and the difficulty in setting up the security functions on their digital devices. Therefore, there is a need for more training on digital safety for Nigerian journalists.

Keywords: Nigeria, journalists, safety, digital

The digital landscape, despite its benefits, is not without its attendant challenges. As lines increasingly blur between online and offline activities, journalists in today's digital environment daily face threats ranging from online intimidation to death. According to Henrichsen, Betz and Lisosky (2015), from 2011-2013, 37 of the 276 journalists killed did Internet-based work and used digital tools. The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) (2015) similarly stated that 44 per cent of the 70 journalists recorded killed in 2013 worked for online media platforms and accounted for half (106) of the journalists imprisoned in 2013. In Nigeria, serial hacking of journalists' computer systems and media websites appear to be trending (Ibogwe 2010). There are digital surveillance and tracking devices that go beyond the international standards for journalists' right to privacy and freedom of expression. Meanwhile, journalists continue to work without paying attention to this hazardous digital environment. Considering the need to ensure journalists' safety, this study examined questions such as: What is Nigerian journalists' level of knowledge about digital safety? What is their attitude toward digital safety? To what extent do Nigerian journalists practice digital safety?

Literature review

The digital revolution has empowered journalists in carrying out their duties. However, this is not without its consequences. Journalists, digital truth tellers and media

organizations have been targeted for surveillance through phishing and cyberspying (UNESCO 2015), fake domain and denial of service attacks (McDowell 2013), which sometimes result in death (CPJ 2015). Civil society organizations in Nigeria have indicated that these attacks are now on the rise. A critical review of the literature revealed that factors ranging from ignorance, a carefree attitude and lack of technical know-how have contributed to this menace. For instance, Freedom House (2011) observed that knowledge of digital threats and safety measures is lacking among journalists. Internews (2011) has similarly observed that most Pakistani journalists do not consider digital security a very important issue and have never received any training in digital safety. Bertoni (2013) also observed that Mexican journalists do not consider data encryption a priority. Obviously, a knowledge gap exists. Hence, we intend to analyze digital safety Knowledge, Attitudes and Practice (KAP) among Nigerian journalists and to do so using Knowledge Gap Theory (KGT)¹.

The applicability of KGT for this study becomes obvious if we consider the fact that KGT is able to describe the current reality, especially in today's media environment where distinctions between modes of communication have blurred, and generational differences have become pronounced.

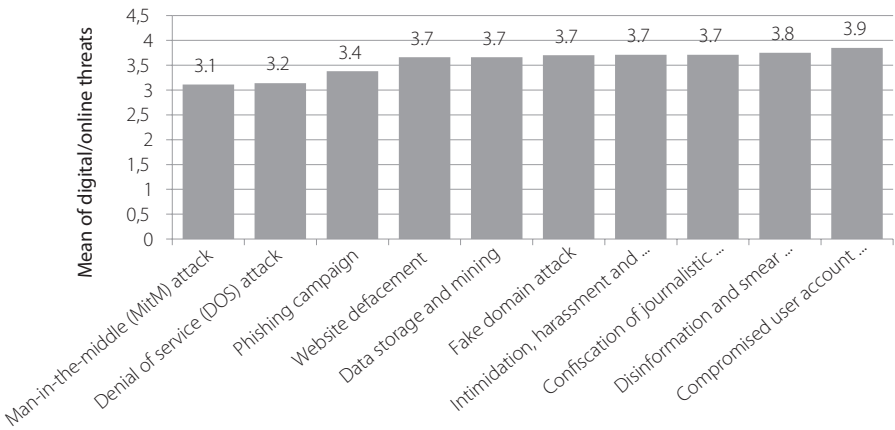
Methodology

The study employed a survey method. Twenty active newspaper outlets out of the entire 28 print media houses in Nigeria were randomly sampled using simple random techniques. All 20 active media houses were numbered and listed alphabetically. An attempt was made to select those with odd numbers, hence, 10 media organizations were selected for the study. For each of the sampled media house, 20 journalists were carefully selected through the assistance of Chief Editors thereby, resulting in a sample size of 200 respondents for the study. The Chief Editors, owing to their knowledge of and easy access to the respondents, were specifically instructed to select journalists from different levels in the professional hierarchy irrespective of their knowledge of digital threats. To ensure compliance, the questionnaire included an option stating the position, job designation and years of working experience of each respondent². Research assistants were employed in the administration and collection of completed questionnaires. The questionnaire used for the study is reliable³ (Cronbach's value of 0.838). The data were analyzed using descriptive statistical tools (mean weighted average) in SPSS and the results presented in simple percentages. An aggregate mean value of 3.0 out of the overall score of 5.0 was considered marginally significant.

Results and discussion

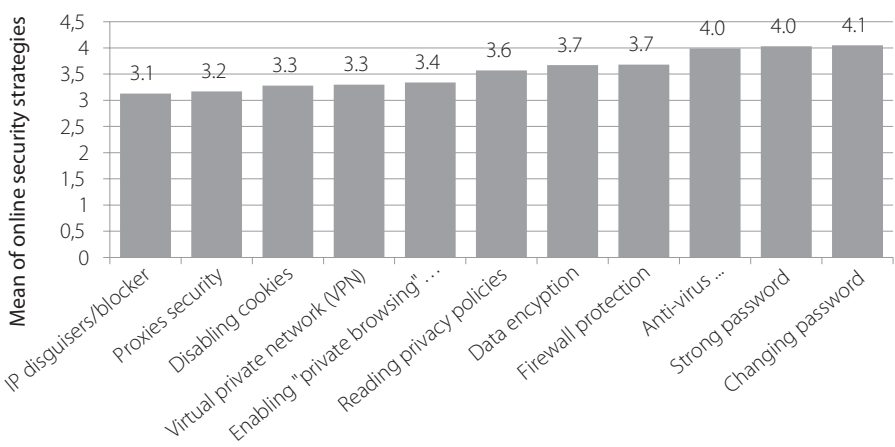
The findings illustrated in Figure 1 show that Nigerian journalists, while admitting their knowledge of the range of digital threats,⁴ considered *compromised user accounts, disinformation and smear campaigns, confiscation of journalistic products and fake domain attacks* to be major threats. In line with this, Bertoni (2013) reported that these threats constitute major security issues among Mexican journalists.

Figure 1. Extent of awareness to digital threats



The findings presented in Figure 2 below showed that Nigerian journalists are aware of all the security strategies⁴ indicated in this study. However, they preferred the simple security strategy of *changing and using strong passwords* to advanced security strategies such as *IP disguisers/blockers*. This could be attributed to their limited technical skills. Internews (2011) found similar trends among Pakistani journalists.

Figure 2. Extent of awareness of digital security strategies



Also, the findings revealed that a majority of Nigerian journalists have positive attitudes⁴ toward digital safety, in that they consider digital safety training and the security settings of their social media accounts and digital devices to be a priority. Moreover, 46 per cent of respondents read the privacy policies of websites before subscribing,

as compared to 23 per cent who do not engage in such positive practices. However, they admitted that safety measures are complex and difficult to set up. Hence, their preference for simple safety measures (implementing strong passwords) further underlines their need for digital safety training.

The study also found out that Nigerian journalists do practice digital safety to a certain extent. Findings indicate that almost all of the journalists *make use of strong passwords and anti-virus programs* on their digital communication devices. However, most *do not encrypt their sensitive information and fail to enable their VPN* when operating on non-secured public networks, thereby exposing themselves to danger.

Conclusion

The study showed that Nigerian journalists do not yet possess adequate knowledge and the digital safety skills required to operate in today's digital environment. However, they have shown positive attitudes and seem to be aware of the threat they face with regard to their digital safety. Obviously, they need to mitigate the inherent danger involved in sharing communication devices with colleagues when at work and when using non-secured public networks. Overall, adequate training on digital safety for Nigerian journalists is required to address the observable knowledge gap. Moreover, the study recommends future research on the digital safety of female and citizen journalists, considering the vulnerabilities of these groups.

References

- Committee to Protect Journalists (2015). *10 Journalists Killed in Nigeria since 1992/Motive Confirmed* Retrieved from <https://cpj.org/killed/africa/nigeria/> (accessed 12 February 2015).
- Freedom House (2011). *Freedom on the Net 2011, Nigeria*, at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/. Sites/default/files/inline image/Nigeria.pdf> (accessed 15 July 2011).
- Ibogwe, C. "Hackers and Yar'Adua's rumoured Resignation," *The Punch*, 2008, at <http://www.punchng.com/Articl.aspx?> (accessed 29 June 2010).
- Internews (7 August 2012). *Digital Security and Journalists: A Snapshot of Awareness and Practice in Pakistan*. at <http://innovation.internews.org/research/digital-security> (Accessed 2 January 2014).
- Henrichsen, R. J., Betz, M. and Lisosky, J.M. (UNESCO, February 26, 2013). *Digital Safety of Journalists: A Survey of Selected Issues* Retrieved from <http://www.unesco-ci.org/cmscore/53/53-digital-safety-journalists> (accessed 13 August 2013).
- UNESCO (2015). *Building Digital Safety for Journalism* Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/New/en/media-services/singleview/news> (accessed 19 August 2015).

Notes

1. KGT was first proposed in 1970 by Philip J Tichenor, George A. Donohue and N Olien. The theory proposed that if knowledge (in relation to this study: digital threats and safety measures information), like any other commodity, is not distributed equally throughout the society, the result will be a knowledge gap that could put those with lower access to the information at a disadvantage. Hence, the knowledge gap must be reduced through information sharing events such as debates, free lectures (workshops and conferences) and other communication means (media) in order to help increase the benefits of having access to such information.
2. Analysis of the respondents revealed that they are journalists working at various levels in the profession, such as Managing Editor, Line Editor, Assigning Editor, Copy Editor, Reporters, Columnists, Photographers, etc. Their number of years of work experience ranged from 1 to 25, and above.

3. Nunnally (1978), Churchill (1979) and Sekaran (1992) had proposed that Cronbach's alpha scores should be used to evaluate the reliability and quality of a research instrument. Hence, to consider an instrument reliable, they suggested a Cronbach's alpha value greater than 0.7. Cronbach's alpha is a measure of internal consistency, that is, how closely related a set of items are as a group. It is considered to be a measure of scale reliability. In this study, the constructs are Knowledge, Attitudes and Practice. Hence, Cronbach's alpha measures how closely related and reliable items (questions) in each of the identified constructs are. For this study, the value was 0.838, which shows that the instrument (questionnaire) is reliable.
4. The digital threats, safety measures and attitude constructs considered in this study were based on variables identified in the relevant literature and similar studies and were, thereby, pre-determined for the study.

The Authors

The Authors

MAGDA ABU-FADIL, Dr., Director of Media Unlimited, Beirut, Lebanon,
magda.abufadil@gmail.com

FAY ANDERSON, PhD, Associate Professor, School of Media, Film and Journalism, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia, fay.anderson@monash.edu

SRIRAM ARULCHELVAN, Dr., Assistant Professor, Department of Media Sciences, Anna University, Chennai, India, arulchelvansriram@gmail.com / achelvan@annauniv.edu

SYED IRFAN ASHRAF, PhD Candidate, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, USA, and Assistant Professor, University of Peshawar, Peshawar, Pakistan, syedirfanashraf@gmail.com

BORA ATAMAN, Dr., Associate Professor, Department of Communication Sciences, Doğuş University, Istanbul, Turkey, bataman@dogus.edu.tr

KLAS BACKHOLM, PhD, Assistant Professor, Swedish School of Social Science, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland, klas.backholm@helsinki.fi

SANDRA BANJAC, MA, Researcher, Department of Communication, University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria, sandra.banjac@univie.ac.at

GUY BERGER, PhD, Director for the Division of Freedom of Expression and Media Development, UNESCO, Paris, France (former Professor and Head of the Rhodes University School of Journalism and Media Studies, South Africa) He writes in his personal capacity, g.berger@unesco.org

LISA BROOTEN, PhD, Associate Professor, College of Mass Communication and Media Arts, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, USA, lisabrooten@gmail.com

MARÍA JOSÉ CANTALAPIEDRA GONZÁLEZ, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Journalism II, University of Basque Country, Bilbao, Spain, mariajose.cantalapiedra@ehu.eus

ULLA CARLSSON, PhD, Professor, UNESCO Chair on Freedom of Expression, Media Development and Global Policy, Department of Journalism, Media and Communication, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, Sweden, ulla.carlsson@gu.se

SILVIA CHOCARRO MARCESSE, PhD, Senior Consultant on Freedom of Expression, and Journalist, Paris, France, silviachocarro@gmail.com

MARILYN CLARK, PhD, Professor, Department of Psychology, Faculty for Social Wellbeing, University of Malta, Msida, Malta, marilyn.clark@um.edu.mt

BARIŞ ÇOBAN, Dr., Professor, Department of Communication Sciences, Doğuş University, Istanbul, Turkey, bcoban@dogus.edu.tr

SIMON COTTLE, PhD, Professor, School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies (JOMEC), and Director of Communications, Human Security and Atrocity in Global Context Research Group, Cardiff University, Cardiff, UK, cottleS@cardiff.ac.uk

GIOVANNA DELL'ORTO, PhD, Associate Professor, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, USA, dell0014@umn.edu

PAZ H. DIAZ, Vice President, Asian Institute of Journalism and Communication (AIJC), and Education Consultant at Small Enterprises Research and Development Foundation (SERDEF), Manila, Philippines, phddiaz@gmail.com

ELISABETH EIDE, Dr.art., Professor, Department of Journalism and Media Studies, Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, Oslo, Norway, elisabeth.eide@hioa.no

ANTHONY FEINSTEIN, PhD, Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of Toronto, and Sunnybrook Research Institute, Toronto, Canada, antfeinstein@aol.com

MARIATERESA GARRIDO VILLAREAL, PhD Candidate, United Nations mandated University for Peace, San José, Costa Rica, mgarrido@doctorate.upeace.org

ANNA GRECH, Dr., Senior Lecturer, Department of Psychology, Faculty for Social Wellbeing, University of Malta, Msida, Malta, anna.grech@un.edu.mt

THOMAS HANITZSCH, Dr., Professor of Communication, and Chair of Worlds of Journalism Study, Department of Communication Studies and Media Research, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Munich, Germany, hanitzsch@ifkw.lmu.de

JACKIE HARRISON, PhD, Professor, Chair of Centre for Freedom of the Media (CFOM), Joint Head of Department, and Director of Research, Department of Journalism Studies, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, UK, j.harrison@sheffield.ac.uk

ARI HEINONEN, D.Soc.Sc., Professor, Faculty of Communication Sciences, University of Tampere, Tampere, Finland, ari.a.heinonen@uta.fi

SALLIE HUGHES, PhD, Associate Professor, Program in Latin American Studies, Department of Journalism and Media Management, University of Miami, Miami, USA, shughes@miami.edu

HAMZA IDRIS, Assistant Editor, Trust Newspapers, Abuja, Nigeria, hamzaidris@gmail.com

TROND IDÅS, MSc, Researcher, Åbo Akademi University, Finland, and Norwegian Union of Journalists, Oslo, Norway, trond.idaas@nj.no

LEIRE ITURREGUI MARDARAS, PhD, Assistant Professor, Department of Journalism II, University of Basque Country, Bilbao, Spain, leire.iturregui@ehu.eus

SADIA JAMIL, PhD, Researcher, School of Communication and Arts, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia, sadia.jamil@ymail.com

ROY KRØVEL, PhD, Professor, Department of Journalism and Media Studies, Oslo and Akershus University College, Oslo, Norway, roy.krovel@hioa.no

BERIT VON DER LIPPE, PhD, Professor Emeritus, BI Norwegian Business School, Oslo, Norway, berit.v.d.lippe@bi.no

JUDITH LOHNER, Dr., Researcher, Institute of Journalism and Communication Studies, University of Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany, judith.lohner@uni-hamburg.de

MIREYA MARQUÉZ-RAMÍREZ, PhD, Associate Professor, Iberoamerican University, Mexico City, Mexico, mireya.marquez@ibero.mx

LEIRE MOURE PEÑÍN, PhD, Assistant Professor, Department of International Law and International Relations, University of Basque Country, Bilbao, Spain, leire.moure@ehu.eus

STIG A. NOHRSTEDT, PhD, Professor Emeritus, School of Humanities, Education and Social Sciences, Örebro University, Örebro, Sweden, stig_arne.nohrstedt@oru.se

OLAWALE OLALEYE, Political Editor, THISDAY Newspaper, Lagos, Nigeria, wale.olaleye@thisdaylive.com

RUNE OTTOSEN, Professor, Department of Journalism and Media Studies, Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, Oslo, Norway, rune.ottosen@hioa.no

UMARU A. PATE, PhD, Professor and Dean, Faculty of Communication, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, and Deputy President, Association of Communication Scholars and Professionals of Nigeria (ACSPN), umarupate@yahoo.com

BENNIS PAVISIAN, BAH, Researcher, Department of Psychiatry, University of Toronto and Sunnybrook Research Institute, Toronto, Canada, bpavisia@gmail.com

REETA PÖYHTÄRI, PhD, Post-Doctoral Researcher, Research Centre for Journalism, Media and Communication (COMET), University of Tampere, Tampere, Finland (former Expert, Division for Freedom of Expression and Media Development at UNESCO), reeta.poyhtari@uta.fi

THERESE PATRICIA C. SAN DIEGO, Researcher, Asian Institute of Journalism and Communication (AIJC), Manila, and Lecturer, Department of Communication, Miriam College, Quezon City, Philippines, tpc.san.diego@gmail.com

KATHARINE SARIKAKIS, PhD, Professor, Department of Communication, University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria, katharine.sarikakis@univie.ac.at

KIRSTEN SPARRE, PhD, Assistant Professor, Danish School of Media and Journalism, and Department of Media Studies and Journalism, Aarhus University School of Communication and Culture, Aarhus, Denmark, ksp@cc.au.dk

OLUNIFESI ADEKUNLE SURAJ, PhD, Senior Lecturer and Researcher, Department of Broadcasting and Communication Technology, School of Communication, Lagos State University, Lagos, Nigeria, olunifesi@gmail.com

PRADIP NINAN THOMAS, PhD, Associate Professor, School of Communication & Arts, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia, pradip.thomas@uq.edu.au

SARA TORSNER, PhD Candidate, Department of Journalism Studies, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, UK, sktorsner1@sheffield.ac.uk

RAMON GUILLERMO R. TUAZON, President of the Asian Institute of Journalism and Communication (AIJC), and Secretary General of the Asian Media Information and Communication Centre (AMIC), Manila, Philippines, rrtuazon722@yahoo.com

LILIAN NGUSUUR UNAEGBU, Researcher and Communications specialist with interest in gender and media safety, Nigeria, lunaegbu@gmail.com

Republication of

*Time to Break the Cycle of Violence
against Journalists*

*Highlights from the UNESCO Director-General's
2016 Report on the Safety of Journalists and
the Danger of Impunity*

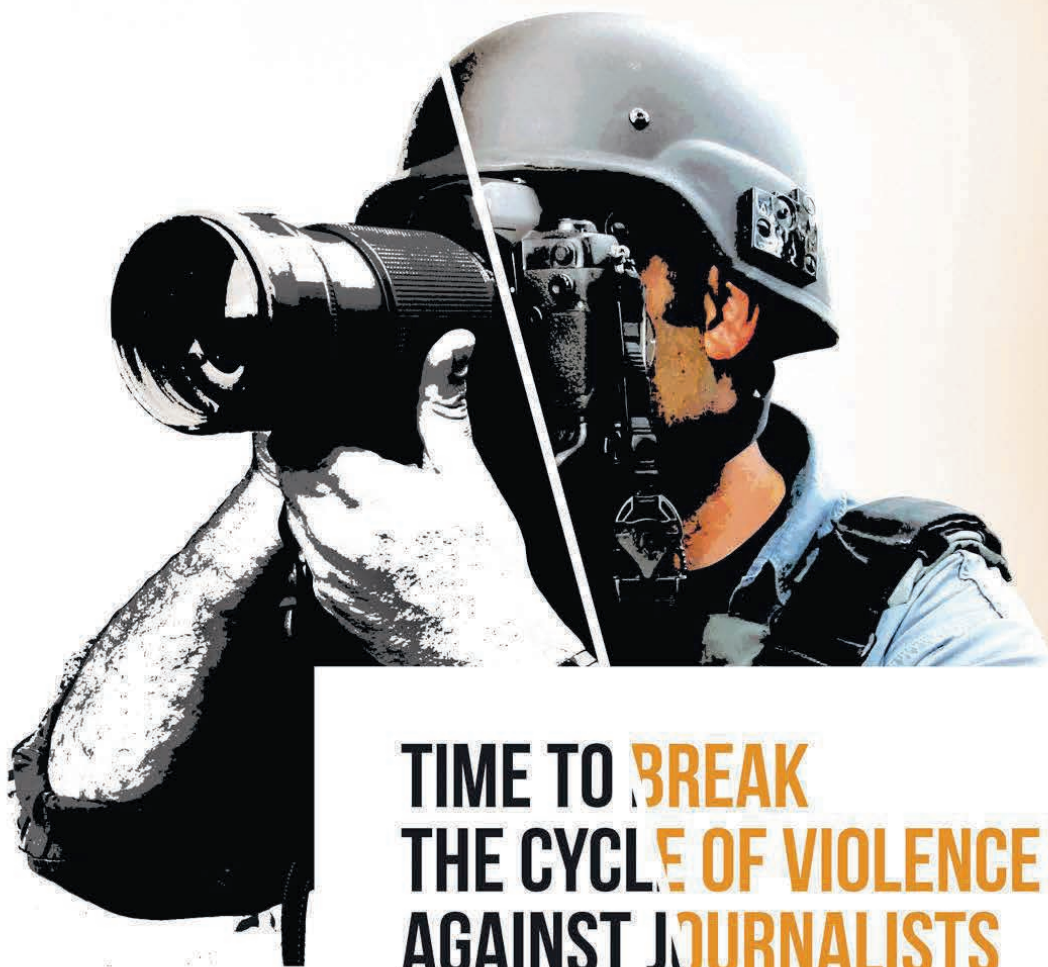
UNESCO, Paris, 2016

http://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/unesco_report_rgb_english.pdf



United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization

IPDC THE INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMME
FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION



TIME TO **BREAK** THE CYCLE OF **VIOLENCE** AGAINST **JOURNALISTS**

Highlights from the UNESCO
Director-General's 2016 Report on the Safety
of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity





**AT LEAST 827 JOURNALISTS WERE
KILLED IN THE LAST 10 YEARS.
THE FIGURE SHOWS THE EXTENT OF
THE RISK FOR EXPRESSING OPINIONS
AND DISSEMINATING INFORMATION.**

The full Report of the Director-General on the Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity is online at: en.unesco.org/dg-report

It will be discussed on 17 November 2016 by 39 UNESCO Member States. The occasion is the 30th session of the Intergovernmental Council of UNESCO's International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC).

PHOTO CREDIT: SHUTTERSTOCK - CHAMELEONSEYE'S
GRAPHIC DESIGN: MARC JAMES (WWW.BEHANCE.NET/ARTOFMARC)



CONTENTS

02

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

05

JOURNALISTS' KILLINGS IN 2014 AND 2015:
KEY FINDINGS

09

A DECADE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST
JOURNALISTS: ANALYSIS OF THE KILLINGS OF
JOURNALISTS BETWEEN 2006 AND 2015

13

MEMBER STATES' RESPONSES: STATUS OF
THE JUDICIAL INQUIRIES ON CASES OF
JOURNALISTS KILLED FROM 2006 TO 2015

16

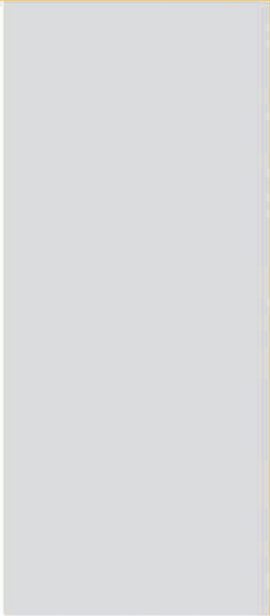
BACKGROUND

17

CONCLUSION



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



The extent of the risks faced by those exercising their right to express opinions and disseminate information is demonstrated by the figure of 827 killings recorded by UNESCO over ten years. To this, one needs to add the numerous other violations endured by journalists¹, which include kidnappings, arbitrary detention, torture, intimidation and harassment, both offline and online, and seizure or destruction of material. Overcoming all these threats is needed for measuring progress on the Sustainable Development Goal Target 16.10 on ensuring public access to information and protecting fundamental freedoms within the framework of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. This Report is focused exclusively on the worst violations, i.e. the killings of journalists, in line with the IPDC Council's 2008 Decision on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity.

¹ The term "journalists" in this report covers "journalists, media workers and social media producers who generate a significant amount of public-interest journalism", in line with the IPDC Decision on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity adopted by the IPDC Council in 2014.



KILLINGS OF JOURNALISTS IN 2014-2015 AND OVER THE LAST DECADE: AN OVERVIEW

In 2014-2015 alone, 213 journalists lost their lives; 2015 was the second deadliest year for journalists in the last ten years with 115 journalists killed. It was also marked by a single, unprecedented attack against a media outlet which was deliberately targeted resulting in the death of eight journalists.² In 2014, UNESCO recorded 98 cases of killings of journalists.

The Arab States region registered the highest number of journalists' killings in 2014-2015, with 78 deaths, representing 36,5% of all cases. The ongoing conflicts in several countries of the region can partly explain this trend. In Latin America and the Caribbean, 51 journalists (24%) were killed; in Asia and the Pacific 34 (16%); in Africa 27 (12,5%); in Central and Eastern Europe 12 (6%); and in Western Europe and North America 11 (5%). Whereas over the last decade, Asia and the Pacific region was the region second most affected by journalists' killings, in 2014-2015, it was Latin America and the Caribbean.³

There was a slight increase in the number of female journalists killed – i.e. nine per annum compared to an average of four in previous years – but men continue to represent an overwhelming majority of the victims of fatal attacks: almost 92% in 2014-2015. Killings are, however, only the tip of the iceberg and women face certain gender-based threats, such as sexual harassment and violence, that are not reflected in these statistics.

2015 WAS THE SECOND DEADLIEST YEAR FOR JOURNALISTS IN THE LAST TEN YEARS...

The category of journalists most targeted by killings over the last decade have been print media journalists; in 2014-2015, however, the majority of journalists killed were television journalists. A sharp increase was observed in 2015 in the number of online journalists⁴ killed, with 21 cases (18%) compared to just two in 2014. Almost half of these were Syrian journalists and bloggers covering the conflict in Syria.

Almost 90% of the victims in 2014-2015 were local journalists, confirming a trend observed throughout the last decade. Freelance journalists, who work independently and often without adequate protections, are widely considered the most vulnerable group in the media sector. Forty journalists who were freelancers or citizen journalists operating online were killed in 2014-2015, representing 19% of all cases (the same percentage was observed in 2006-2015).

Reflecting the extreme vulnerability of journalists working in conflict zones, 59% of all fatalities – or 126 cases – were registered in countries where there has been armed conflict.⁵

² Attack against the French satirical paper Charlie Hebdo, 7 January 2015, Paris, France.

³ The regional breakdown in this Report corresponds to UNESCO's regional groupings.

⁴ These include journalists working for online media outlets and social media producers producing journalism.

⁵ The 11th and 12th Report of the UN Secretary-General, on the protection of civilians in armed conflict covered the following countries: Afghanistan, Central African Republic, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Myanmar, Nigeria, Palestine, Pakistan, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukraine, and Yemen (Report presented to the UN Security Council, June 2015 and May 2016).

B ADDRESSING IMPUNITY: MEMBER STATES' RESPONSES TO UNESCO'S REQUEST FOR INFORMATION

An important step in addressing the high levels of journalists' killings is combatting impunity which perpetuates a cycle of violence against journalists. This is one of the key objectives of the UNESCO Director-General's request for information from Member States on the status of judicial enquiries into the killings of journalists condemned by UNESCO, as per the 2008 Decision on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity and successive decisions of the Intergovernmental Council of the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC).

Overall, since UNESCO began requesting information for the Director-General's reports to IPDC, covering the period of killings from 2006 onwards and up until the end of 2015, 59 Member States of the 70 Member States contacted have responded at least once on the judicial follow-up to journalists' killings, while 11 have never sent a response.

A noteworthy development in respect of requests for information issued this year is the very substantial increase in the number of responses received from Member States on the status of judicial enquiries into the killings of journalists condemned by UNESCO's Director-General. Almost 65% of the countries concerned (i.e. 40 out of 62) responded to the Director-General's request, compared to 27% (16 out of 59) for the last Director-General's report in 2014; in 2015, 47% of countries (27 out of 57) responded. This trend appears to indicate

growing recognition among Member States of the importance of IPDC's monitoring mechanism and the need to give attention to impunity.

The Director-General has cumulatively received information from 59 Member States on 408 cases out of the 827 cases condemned in the last decade. However, among these 408 cases, only 63 have been reported as resolved, representing 15% of the cases for which information was received, and 8% of total cases. For the remaining 333 cases (or 40% of total cases) for which information was received, either a police or judicial enquiry is reportedly still underway, or the cases have been archived or deemed to be unresolved. Finally, for 419 cases, or 51% of total cases, either no information was received or the Member State in whose jurisdiction the killing occurred sent only an acknowledgment of receiving the Director-General's request.

Of the 63 resolved cases, 20 concern Latin America and the Caribbean (representing 11% of all cases in the region), 14 Central and Eastern Europe (representing 39%), 13 the Asia-Pacific region (representing 6 %), eight Western Europe and North America (representing 57%), four Africa (representing 4%) and another four the Arab region (representing 1,5%).

1 JOURNALISTS' KILLINGS IN 2014 AND 2015: KEY FINDINGS

IN 2014-2015 ALONE, UNESCO'S DIRECTOR-GENERAL CONDEMNED THE KILLING OF 213 JOURNALISTS; 2015 WAS THE SECOND DEADLIEST YEAR FOR JOURNALISTS IN THE LAST TEN YEARS WITH 115 JOURNALISTS KILLED. IN 2014, UNESCO RECORDED 98 CASES OF KILLINGS OF JOURNALISTS.

A HIGHEST NUMBER OF FATALITIES IN THE ARAB STATES

In terms of regional breakdown, the Arab States were most affected by journalists' killings in the last biennium, with 36,5% of all cases (or 78 killings) occurring in this region. This is largely due to ongoing conflict situations in the Syrian Arab Republic, Iraq, Yemen and Libya. The second region with the highest level of killings was Latin America and the Caribbean with 24% of all cases (or 51 killings). Asia and the Pacific comes third, with 16% of all cases (or 34 killings). Killings in Africa represented 12,5% of all cases (or 27 killings), while those in Central and Eastern Europe represented 6% of all cases (or 12 killings). Lastly, killings in Western Europe and North America accounted for 5% of all cases (or 11 killings). In this last group, none of the cases recorded by UNESCO occurred in North America.

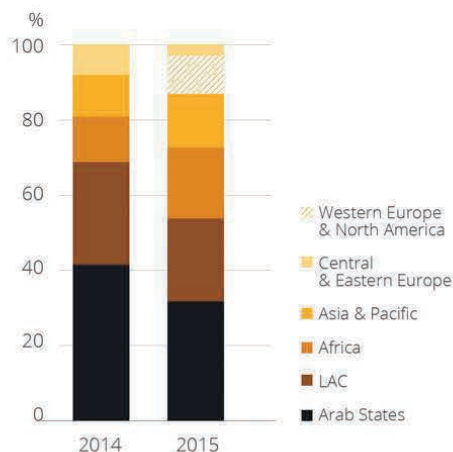
NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS KILLED BY REGION IN 2014

Arab States	41		42%
LAC	26		27%
Asia & Pacific	12		12%
Africa	11		11%
Central & Eastern Europe	8		8%
Western Europe & North America	0		0%
Total	98		

NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS KILLED BY REGION IN 2015

Arab States	37		32%
LAC	25		22%
Asia & Pacific	22		19%
Africa	16		14%
Western Europe & North America	11		10%
Central & Eastern Europe	4		3%
Total	115		

% OF JOURNALISTS KILLED BY REGION 2014-2015



A sharp increase can be noted in the percentage of killings that occurred in the Western Europe and North America regional group in 2015 compared to 2014 and to all of the years of the last decade, when the region did not record more than one killing per year. This increase is largely due to a single event - the killing of eight journalists during the terrorist attack against the French satirical weekly, Charlie Hebdo. This event was condemned by the UNESCO Director-General as "unprecedented" insofar as "never before had one media outlet been so deliberately targeted and its staff decimated in an act of such extreme violence".⁶

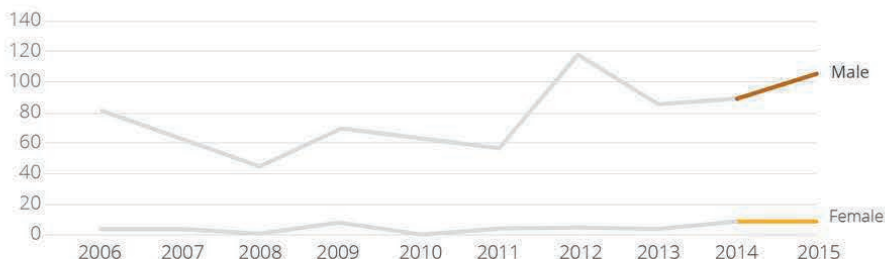
NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS KILLED BY COUNTRY 2014-2015

2014		2015	
Syrian Arabic Republic	16	Syrian Arabic Republic	13
Iraq	9	Iraq	10
Palestine	8	France	8
Ukraine	7	Yemen	8
Mexico	7	Brazil	7
Brazil	6	Mexico	7
Afghanistan	5	South Sudan	7
Libya	5	India	6
Honduras	4	Libya	6
Pakistan	4	Philippines	6
Paraguay	4	Bangladesh	5
Guinea	3	Somalia	5
Somalia	3	Colombia	4
Cambodia	2	Honduras	4
Central African Republic	2	Pakistan	4
Colombia	2	Guatemala	3
Democratic Republic of the Congo	2	Turkey	3
Peru	2	Ukraine	2
Yemen	2	Afghanistan	1
Egypt	1	Azerbaijan	1
El Salvador	1	Burundi	1
Philippines	1	Democratic Republic of the Congo	1
Russian Federation	1	Kenya	1
South Africa	1	Mozambique	1
		Poland	1

⁶ The Director-General's full response is available on the webpage, UNESCO Condemns Killing of Journalists, at: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/news/director_general_condemns_unprecedented_and_appalling_crime_against_charlie_hebdo/back/9597/#.V9qzUP97AW

B SLIGHT RISE IN NUMBER OF FEMALE FATALITIES BUT MALE JOURNALISTS STILL PRIMARY TARGET OF KILLINGS

TRENDS OF JOURNALISTS KILLED ACCORDING TO GENDER



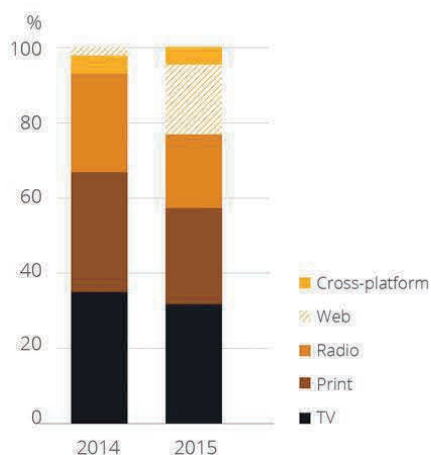
A gender-based analysis of the victims of journalists' killings in 2014-2015 reveals that, as in previous years, men have been the target of a far greater number of killings than women, with 195 fatalities among male journalists against 18 among female journalists. This difference goes beyond the imbalanced representation of women in news media organizations and may partially be explained by the fact that fewer women journalists cover conflict zones. An increase in the number of female victims can nevertheless be observed: while between 2006 and 2013, an average of four female journalists were killed every year, in both 2014 and 2015 nine female journalists were killed per annum.

C SHARP INCREASE IN NUMBER OF ONLINE JOURNALISTS KILLED IN 2015

2015 witnessed a sharp increase in the number of online journalists⁷ killed, with 21 documented cases of killings (or 18% of all cases) compared to just two in 2014. Almost half of these were Syrian journalists and bloggers covering the conflict in Syria.

The majority of journalists killed in 2014-2015 were television journalists, whereas in almost every previous year of the last decade print media journalists constituted the largest group affected by fatal attacks.

NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS KILLED ACCORDING TO MEDIA TYPE 2014-2015



⁷ These include journalists working for online media outlets and social media producers.

D LOCAL JOURNALISTS BY FAR MOST AFFECTED BY KILLINGS

Confirming a trend that could be noted throughout the decade, the vast majority of victims – representing almost 90% – were local journalists. In 2014, there was however a significant increase in the number of foreign journalists killed, with 17 such cases compared to an average of four in previous years.

E NUMBER OF STAFF JOURNALISTS KILLED VS. FREELANCERS

Freelance journalists, who work independently and often without adequate protections, are widely considered the most vulnerable group in the media sector. Forty freelance journalists or citizen journalists operating online were killed in 2014-2015, representing 19% of all cases.

F MOST KILLINGS OCCURRED IN COUNTRIES WHERE THERE HAS BEEN ARMED CONFLICT

Reflecting the extreme vulnerability of journalists working in conflict zones, UNESCO's statistics on journalists killed in 2014-2015 show that most of the killings took place in countries where there has been armed conflict, with 126 cases (or 59% of all cases).⁸

NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS KILLED IN COUNTRIES WHERE THERE HAS BEEN ARMED CONFLICT VS. IN COUNTRIES WHERE THERE HAS NOT BEEN ARMED CONFLICT (2014-2015)

2014

Armed Conflict	65
No Armed Conflict	33

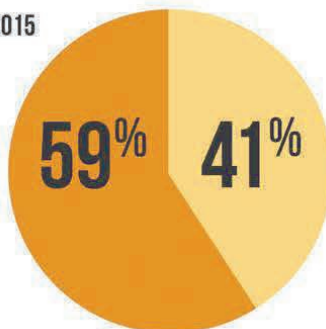


2015

Armed Conflict	61
No Armed Conflict	54



2014-2015



Armed Conflict 126 No Armed Conflict 87

⁸ The 11th and 12th Report of the UN Secretary-General on the protection of civilians in armed conflict covered the following countries: Afghanistan, Central African Republic, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Myanmar, Nigeria, Palestine, Pakistan, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukraine, and Yemen (Report presented to the UN Security Council, June 2015 and May 2016).

2 A DECADE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST JOURNALISTS: ANALYSIS OF THE KILLINGS OF JOURNALISTS BETWEEN 2006 AND 2015

IN THE LAST 10 YEARS, BETWEEN 2006 AND 2015, UNESCO DOCUMENTED 827 KILLINGS OF JOURNALISTS, MEDIA WORKERS, AND SOCIAL MEDIA PRODUCERS. A CLEAR UPWARD TREND IN THE RATE OF JOURNALISTS' KILLINGS CAN BE OBSERVED OVER THE COURSE OF THE LAST DECADE. WHILE BETWEEN 2006 AND 2011, THE AVERAGE ANNUAL RATE WAS OF 67 KILLINGS, IT INCREASED TO AN AVERAGE OF 106 KILLINGS PER ANNUM BETWEEN 2012 AND 2015.

A NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS KILLED PER REGION

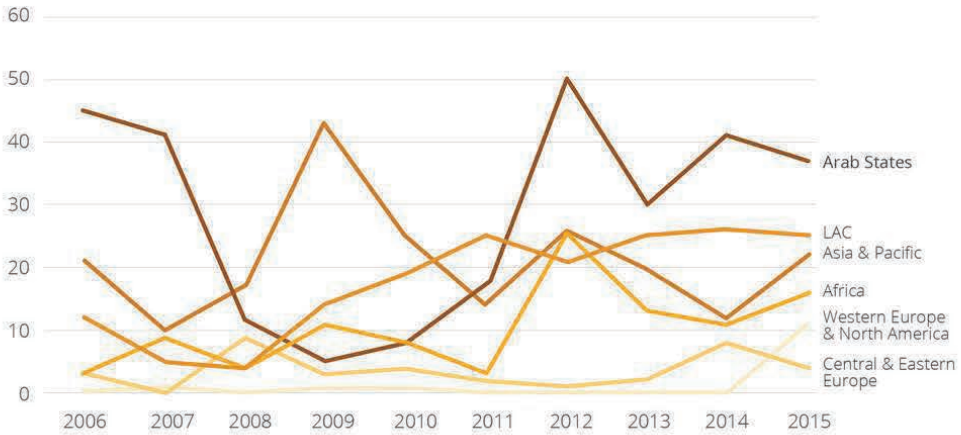
The highest number of victims over the last decade was registered in the Arab States region where UNESCO documented 287 killings of journalists' deaths (or 35% of the total).

One quarter of all cases occurred in the Asia-Pacific region, where 210 killings were recorded. The Latin America and Caribbean region accounted for 176 cases (or 21% of the total), the Africa region for 104 cases (or 13%), the Central and Eastern Europe region for 36 cases (or 4%) and the Western Europe and North America region for 14 cases (or 2%).

NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS KILLED PER REGION 2006-2015

	ARAB STATES	ASIA & PACIFIC	LAC	AFRICA	CENTRAL & EASTERN EUROPE	WESTERN EUROPE & NORTH AMERICA	TOTAL
2006	45	21	12	3	3	0	84
2007	41	10	5	9	0	1	66
2008	12	17	4	4	9	0	46
2009	5	43	14	11	3	1	77
2010	8	25	19	8	4	1	65
2011	18	14	25	3	2	0	62
2012	50	26	21	26	1	0	124
2013	30	20	25	13	2	0	90
2014	41	12	26	11	8	0	98
2015	37	22	25	16	4	11	115
	287	210	176	104	36	14	827

TRENDS OF JOURNALISTS KILLED BY REGION 2006-2015



In terms of regional trends, there has been a modest but steady upward trend in killings of journalists in Latin America and the Caribbean region over the last decade.

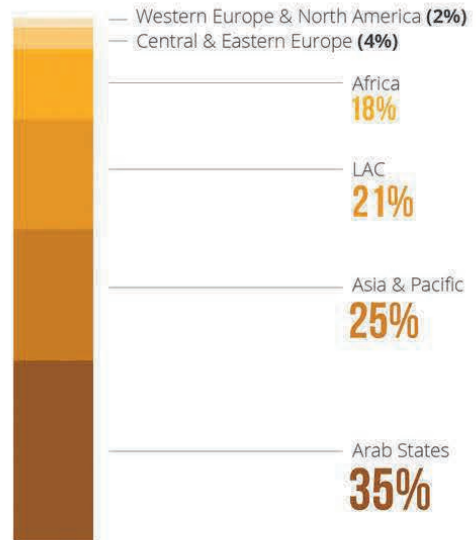
In the Arab States region, after a significant decline in killings between 2008 and 2011, a sharp upward trend can be observed in recent years.

In Asia and the Pacific, the trend has fluctuated over the last decade, with peaks in 2009, 2010, 2012, and 2015.

Journalists' killings have been consistently low in Western Europe and North America, with a slight increase in the last biennium.

In Africa, the number of journalists killed remained relatively low between 2006 and 2011 but an overall increase can be noted since 2012. (see figure above)

% OF JOURNALISTS KILLED PER REGION 2006-2015

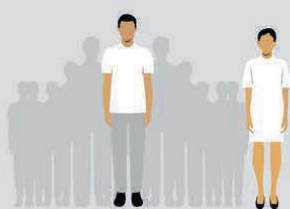


B GENDER BREAKDOWN OF VICTIMS

The vast majority of journalists killed each year are men, representing approximately 94% of all victims. Killings are, however, only the tip of the iceberg and women journalists have to deal with a range of threats such as intimidation, abuse and violence, including sexual assaults and harassment.⁹

NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS KILLED ACCORDING TO GENDER 2006-2015

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
2006	80	4	84
2007	63	3	66
2008	44	2	46
2009	70	7	77
2010	64	1	65
2011	57	5	62
2012	119	5	124
2013	85	5	90
2014	89	9	98
2015	106	9	115
	777	50	827



94%

Male

6%

Female

C NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS KILLED ACCORDING TO THE TYPE OF MEDIUM

Journalists working for print media represent the highest proportion of journalists killed in the last decade, with 316 journalists' killings (38% of all cases) condemned by the Director-General. The second highest is journalists working in television, with 234 killings (28% of all cases), followed by those working in radio (171 killings, or 21% of all cases). There has been a general upward trend in the number of victims among television and radio journalists.

While journalists from traditional media continue to constitute the majority of victims of fatal attacks, there has been an increase in the last four years in the number of fatalities among journalists working for online media, including bloggers, as well as those working on different media platforms (see "cross-platform" in Table 5). Sixty-four online journalists (representing 8% of all cases) and 42 journalists working across different media platforms (representing 5% of all cases) were killed in the last decade. In 2012 and 2015 their number was particularly high, with 33 online journalists and 12 cross-platform journalists killed in 2012, and 21 web journalists and six cross-platform journalists killed in 2015.

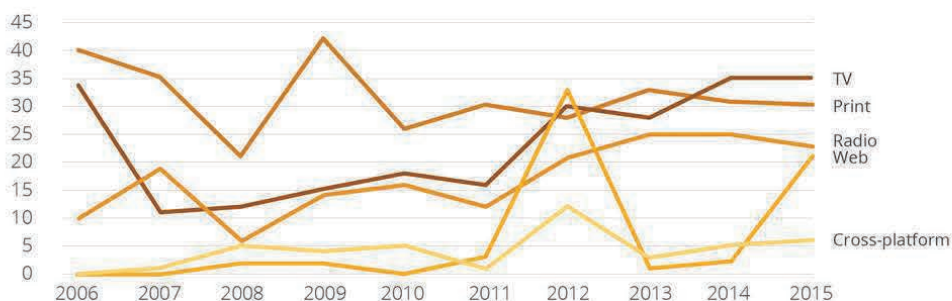
NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS KILLED ACCORDING TO MEDIA TYPE 2006-2015

	PRINT	TV	RADIO	WEB	CROSS-PLATFORM*	TOTAL
'06	40	34	10	0	0	84
'07	35	11	19	0	1	66
'08	21	12	6	2	5	46
'09	42	15	14	2	4	77
'10	26	18	16	0	5	65
'11	30	16	12	3	1	62
'12	28	30	21	33	12	124
'13	33	28	25	1	3	90
'14	31	35	25	2	5	98
'15	30	35	23	21	6	115
	316	234	171	64	42	827

Cross-platform includes journalists who worked regularly across different media including Print/Web; Print/TV; Film; Radio/TV; Radio/Print; Radio/Web; TV/Radio; TV/Print.

⁹ For more information, see: "Violence and harassment against women in the news media: a global picture" (2014), a study authored by the International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) and the International News Safety Institute (INSI) in collaboration with UNESCO and with financial support from the Austrian Government.

TRENDS OF JOURNALISTS KILLED ACCORDING TO MEDIA TYPE 2006-2015

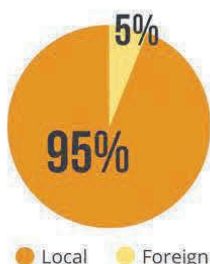


D NUMBER OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS KILLED VS. LOCAL JOURNALISTS

Although the killing of international journalists often generates more media attention, an overwhelming majority of the 827 journalists killed over the course of the last decade has been local journalists, accounting for 95% of all cases compared to 5% for foreign correspondents.

NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS KILLED: LOCAL VS FOREIGN 2006-2015

	LOCAL	FOREIGN	TOTAL
'06	78	6	84
'07	64	2	66
'08	44	2	46
'09	75	2	77
'10	61	4	65
'11	57	5	62
'12	118	6	124
'13	84	6	90
'14	81	17	98
'15	109	6	115
	771	56	827



E NUMBER OF STAFF JOURNALISTS KILLED VS. FREELANCERS

As the reliance on freelance journalists by news organizations is increasing, it is interesting to look at the proportion of freelance journalists among the journalists killed in 2006-2015. Freelance journalists are particularly exposed to risk, as they often work alone on stories, often in dangerous environments, and rarely get the same level of assistance and protection as staff-journalists. Over the last decade, according to UNESCO data¹⁰, 158 freelance journalists have been killed, representing 19% of all cases.¹¹

NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS KILLED: STAFF/FREELANCER 2006-2015



¹⁰ Supplemented by CPJ data

¹¹ Bloggers, citizen journalists and other social media producers of journalism have been counted as freelancers in the calculation of this percentage.

3 MEMBER STATES' RESPONSES: STATUS OF THE JUDICIAL INQUIRIES ON CASES OF JOURNALISTS KILLED FROM 2006 TO 2015

THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REQUEST TO MEMBER STATES FOR INFORMATION ON THE STATUS OF THE JUDICIAL FOLLOW-UP TO THE KILLINGS OF JOURNALISTS CONDEMNED BY UNESCO ARE SENT OUT ON AN ANNUAL BASIS.

A NOTEWORTHY INCREASE IN MEMBER STATE RESPONSE RATE TO DIRECTOR-GENERAL REQUEST

In February-March 2016, UNESCO sent out letters to 62 Member States concerned by killings of journalists between 2006 and 2015 and for which UNESCO records showed no information indicating that the cases had been resolved. The requests for information covered 784 of the 827 cases of killings of journalists condemned by the Director-General between 2006 and 2015, namely those cases which, according to UNESCO records, were still unresolved or for which an investigation was ongoing. They also included those cases for which UNESCO had never received information from the Member State concerned.

Of the 62 Member States contacted, 40 provided a response. Of these, 32 provided concrete information on the status of judicial investigations on the cases of killings of journalists condemned by the Director-General, while eight acknowledged the Director-General's request and/or informed that they had transferred it to competent national authorities, without providing an update on the specific cases for which information was being requested. Among the latter group, several Member States provided general information on the national situation regarding the safety of journalists. No response was received from 22 Member States.

OVERVIEW OF RESPONSES RECEIVED FROM MEMBER STATES TO THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REQUESTS IN 2016

MEMBER STATE RESPONSE IN 2016

Afghanistan	●
Angola	✓
Azerbaijan	✓
Bahrain	✓
Bangladesh	✓
Brazil	✓
Bulgaria	✓
Burundi	
Cambodia	
Cameroon	●
Central Africa Republic	
Colombia	✓
Congo	●
Democratic Republic of Congo	
Dominican Republic	
Ecuador	✓
Egypt	
El Salvador	✓
Eritrea	
France	✓
Georgia	✓
Greece	✓
Guatemala	✓
Guinea	✓
Guyana	
Haiti	●
Honduras	✓
India	
Indonesia	✓
Iran	✓
Iraq	●
Kenya	✓
Kyrgyzstan	
Lebanon	
Libya	
Madagascar	
Mali	
Mexico	✓
Myanmar	
Nepal	
Nigeria	●
Pakistan	●
Palestine	
Paraguay	✓
Peru	✓
Philippines	●
Poland	✓
Russian Federation	✓
Rwanda	✓
Somalia	✓
South Sudan	
Sri Lanka	
Sudan	✓
Syrian Arab Republic	
Thailand	
Tunisia	✓
Turkey	✓
Uganda	✓
United Republic of Tanzania	✓
Ukraine	✓
Venezuela	✓
Yemen	

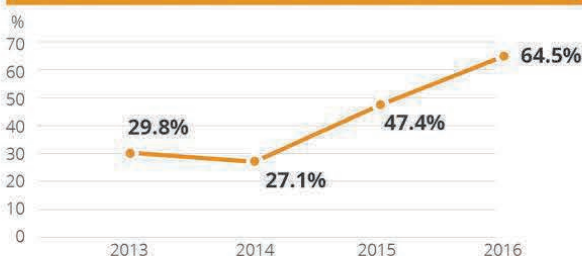
✓ Received
● Acknowledged

40/62

An analysis of the level of responses received from Member States to the Director-General's requests over the years reveals a strong increase in the response rate, which would suggest a growing recognition among Member States of the importance of this monitoring mechanism.

In 2016, almost 65% of the countries concerned (i.e. 40 out of 62) responded to the Director-General's request, compared to 27% (16 out of 59) for the last Director-General's report in 2014; in 2015, 47% of countries (27 out of 57) responded.

TREND IN MEMBER STATE REPLIES IN 2013-2016



Overall, since UNESCO began requesting information for the Director-General's reports to IPDC, covering the period of killings from 2006 onwards and up until the end of 2015, 59 Member States of the 70 Member States contacted have responded at least once the judicial follow-up to journalists' killings, while 11 have never sent a response.¹²

The 2012 IPDC Decision on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity calls upon the Director-General to "make available on UNESCO's website, upon request of the Member States concerned, information officially provided for killings of journalists condemned by the Organization". All of the responses that the Member States agreed to make public have consequently been made available on the UNESCO website alongside the statement of the Director-General condemning the killing. These public responses represent 52,5% (or 21 responses) of the responses received in 2016. They can be accessed through the following link:

<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/freedom-of-expression/press-freedom/unesco-condemns-killing-of-journalists/>

¹² These countries are: Burundi, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Guyana, Libya, Mali, Mozambique, Nepal, South Sudan, Thailand, and Yemen.

B OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF CASES STILL UNRESOLVED

While there is growing recognition among Member States of UNESCO/IPDC's reporting mechanism on the safety of journalists, an analysis of the responses received highlights the extent to which impunity still continues to be a problem.

Cumulatively, the Director-General has received information from 59 Member States on 408 cases out of the 827 cases condemned between 2006 and 2015. Among these 408 cases, according to the information provided by Member States, 63 have been resolved, representing 15% of the cases for which information was received, and just 8% of all cases. For the remaining 333 cases (or 40% of all cases) for which information was received, either a police or judicial enquiry is still underway, or the cases have been archived or are unresolved. Finally, for 419 cases, or 51% of all cases, either no information was received or the Member State in which the killing occurred sent only an acknowledgment of the Director-General's request.

Of the 63 resolved cases, 20 occurred in Latin America and the Caribbean, 14 occurred in Central and Eastern Europe, 13 in the Asia-Pacific region, eight in Western Europe and North America, four in Africa, and another four in the Arab region.

On the basis of the information received from Member States, which needs to be interpreted with caution since there are a significant number of cases for which no updated information was received, the highest percentage of resolved cases can be observed in Western Europe and North America. There, out of the 14 cases condemned by the UNESCO Director-General, 8 (or 57%) have been resolved. Concerning other regions, in Africa, UNESCO has been informed of four resolved cases out of 104 (or 4%); in the Arab states region, four out of 287 cases (or 1.5%) can be categorized as resolved; in the Asia and the Pacific region, 13 out of 210 cases (or 6%); in Central and Eastern Europe, 14 out of 36 cases (39%); and in the Latin America and Caribbean region, 20 out of 176 cases (or 11%).

STATUS OF JUDICIAL INQUIRY PER REGION (2006-2015)

	ARAB STATES	ASIA & PACIFIC	LAC	AFRICA	CENTRAL & EASTERN EUROPE	WESTERN EUROPE & NORTH AMERICA	TOTAL
Resolved	4	13	20	4	14	8	63
Ongoing/Unresolved	7	97	144	69	22	6	345
No Information	276	100	12	31	0	0	419
	287	210	176	104	36	14	827

For information on the methodology used by UNESCO for the preparation of this report and on the status of investigations of each of the cases condemned by the Director-General, please view full report at: en.unesco.org/dg-report

BACKGROUND

The UNESCO Director-General's 2016 Report on the Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity (en.unesco.org/dg-report) was prepared for submission to 30th session of the Intergovernmental Council of the International Programme for the Development of Communication's (IPDC) in accordance with its Decision on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity adopted in March 2008 and renewed in 2010, 2012, and 2014. The latest Decision from 2014 reiterates "the continuing relevance of [previous] IPDC Decisions that request the Director-General of UNESCO to provide to the Intergovernmental Council of the IPDC, on a two-year basis at its biennial session, an analytical report on the Director-General's condemnations of the killings of journalists, media workers and social media producers who are engaged in journalistic activities and who are killed or targeted in their line of duty".

The present report offers an overview of the killings of journalists condemned by the Director-General in 2014-2015 as well as providing an analysis of the killings condemned over the last 10 years, between 2006 and 2015. It presents an update on the status of investigations into these killings based on the information provided by Member States.

UNESCO is the leading agency within the UN system with a mandate on freedom of expression and press freedom enshrined its constitution, which states that it will "promote the free flow of ideas by word and image". It is in charge of the coordination of the United Nations Plan on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity, the first systematic UN-wide plan, endorsed by the UN Chief Executives Board in 2012, which aims to work toward the creation of a free and safe environment for journalists and media workers.

CONCLUSION

Media and freedom of expression are under siege with fatal attacks on producers of journalism as the most serious cases. Over the course of the last decade, a total of 827 journalists have lost their lives for bringing information to the public. On average, this constitutes one casualty every five days.

With only 8% of cases reported as resolved (63 out of 827), impunity for these crimes is alarmingly high. This impedes the free flow of information that is so vital for sustainable development, peace building, and the social welfare of humankind. This widespread impunity fuels and perpetuates a cycle of violence that silences media and stifles public debate.

The response rate of concerned Member States to the UNESCO Director-General's request for information on the judicial process of these cases has however seen a significant increase. The issues of the safety of journalists and impunity have also received increased attention from the international community, as reflected by the nine international resolutions on safety adopted in the UN in recent years and by the inclusion of journalists' safety as an indicator of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The vital role of information in achieving a better world for each and every one of us is widely recognized, as it serves not only as a goal in itself but also as an enabler of wider positive change.

It is important that this current progress does not lose momentum. The safety of journalists can only be ensured by tackling the "three Ps" – prevention, protection and prosecution – via an all-encompassing approach, involving each stakeholder. This is the approach of the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity. In order to secure peace, democracy, and sustainable development, it is imperative that the free flow information remains uninhibited.



United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization

Appendix

1. UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists
and the Issue of Impunity
2. UNESCO: Towards a Research Agenda on
the Safety of Journalists



UN PLAN OF ACTION ON THE SAFETY OF JOURNALISTS AND THE ISSUE OF IMPUNITY

1. Introduction

“Every journalist killed or neutralized by terror is an observer less of the human condition. Every attack distorts reality by creating a climate of fear and self-censorship”¹

- 1.1. In recent years, there has been disquieting evidence of the scale and number of attacks against the physical safety of journalists and media workers as well as of incidents affecting their ability to exercise freedom of expression by threats of prosecution, arrest, imprisonment, denial of journalistic access, and failures to investigate and prosecute crimes against them. This evidence has been repeatedly brought to the attention of the international community by inter-governmental organizations, professional associations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other stakeholders.
- 1.2. Statistics gathered by UNESCO, as well as by other organizations such as the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), Reporters Sans Frontières (RSF), the International News Safety Institute (INSI), the International Freedom of Expression Exchange (IFEX) and the Inter American Press Association (IAPA) all testify to the staggering number of journalists and media workers killed while performing their professional duties.
- 1.3. Furthermore, according to IFEX, in nine out of ten cases, the perpetrators of these crimes are never prosecuted. Impunity, which may be understood as the failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice, perpetuates the cycle of violence against journalists and must be addressed.
- 1.4. The safety of journalists and the struggle against impunity for their killers are essential to preserve the fundamental right to freedom of expression, guaranteed by Article 19 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Freedom of expression is an individual right, for which no one should be killed, but it is also a collective right, which empowers populations through facilitating dialogue, participation and democracy, and thereby makes autonomous and sustainable development possible.
- 1.5. Without freedom of expression, and particularly freedom of the press, an informed, active and engaged citizenry is impossible. In a climate where journalists are safe, citizens find it easier to access quality information and many objectives become possible as a result: democratic governance and poverty reduction; conservation of the environment; gender equality and the empowerment of women; justice and a culture of human rights, to name a few. Hence, while the problem of impunity is not restricted to the failure to investigate the murders of journalists and media workers, the curtailment of their expression deprives society as a whole of their journalistic contribution and results in a wider impact on press freedom where a climate of intimidation and violence leads to self censorship. In such a climate societies suffer because they lack the information needed to fully realize their potential. Efforts to end impunity with respect to crimes against journalists must be associated with the defence and protection of human rights defenders, more generally. In addition, the protection of journalists should not

¹ Barry James in Press Freedom: Safety of Journalists and Impunity. UNESCO Publications: 2002

be limited to those formally recognised as journalists, but should cover others, including community media workers and citizen journalists and others who may be using new media as a means of reaching their audiences.

- 1.6. Promoting the safety of journalists and fighting impunity must not be constrained to after-the-fact action. Instead, it requires prevention mechanisms and actions to address some of the root causes of violence against journalists and of impunity. This implies the need to deal with issues such as corruption, organized crime and an effective framework for the rule of law in order to respond to negative elements. In addition, the existence of laws that curtail freedom of expression (e.g. overly restrictive defamation laws), must be addressed. The media industry also must deal with low wages and improving journalistic skills. To whatever extent possible, the public must be made aware of these challenges in the public and private spheres and the consequences from a failure to act. The protection of journalists should adapt to the local realities affecting journalists. Journalists reporting on corruption and organized crime, for example, are increasingly targeted by organized crime groups and parallel powers. Approaches that are tailored to local needs should be encouraged.
- 1.7. In light of the above, a number of measures have been adopted by the United Nations (UN) to strengthen legal frameworks and enforcement mechanisms designed to ensure the safety of journalists in both conflict and non-conflict areas. The UN's strengths and opportunities lie in the areas of building free, independent and pluralistic media as well as the legal frameworks and democratic institutions to support it.
- 1.8. At the international level, the UN Security Council adopted *Resolution S/RES/1738* in 2006, which established a coherent, action-oriented approach to the safety of journalists in armed conflicts. Since then, the UN Secretary-General has presented an annual report to the General Assembly on the implementation of this Resolution.
- 1.9. Additionally, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) plays an important role in raising awareness regarding the issue, including through its reports to the Human Rights Council (HRC). It works in close cooperation with the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Expression and Opinion and is mandated to: gather information relating to violations of freedom of expression; seek, receive and respond to relevant information from governments, NGOs and other parties; and make recommendations on how best to promote freedom of expression. A number of other Special Rapporteurs, including the Special Rapporteur on Extra-judicial, Summary or Arbitrary Execution; the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women; the Special Rapporteur on Torture and the Working Groups on Forced Disappearances and Arbitrary Detentions are also all relevant in this regard.
- 1.10. As the United Nations specialized agency with a mandate to 'promote the free flow of ideas by word and image'², the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has been an important player in the defence of freedom of expression through the promotion of the safety of journalists and the fight against impunity. Often in collaboration with other organizations, UNESCO has taken a number of decisive actions in this field. For example, it has been working together with Reporters Sans Frontières (RSF) to publish a regularly updated practical guide for journalists working in conflict zones, now available in ten languages. In 2008, UNESCO co-authored a Charter for the Safety of Journalists Working in War Zones or Dangerous Areas, which includes a commitment by the media, public authorities and journalists to systematically seek ways to reduce the risks

² UNESCO Constitution 1945, Article 1

involved. It has also supported a number of organizations to provide safety and risk awareness training for journalists and media workers

1.11. In addition to these practical steps, UNESCO has undertaken a number of activities designed to raise awareness about journalists' safety and the issue of impunity. Among UNESCO's flagship activities in this area are *World Press Freedom Day*, celebrated every year on May 3rd, and the *Guillermo Cano/UNESCO World Press Freedom Prize*, intended to honour the work of an individual or an organization defending or promoting freedom of expression anywhere in the world, especially in dangerous conditions. The importance of this issue was further highlighted by the *Medellin Declaration*³ of 2007, which specifically focuses on securing the safety of journalists and combating impunity in both conflict and non-conflict situations, and the *Belgrade Declaration* of 2004, which focused on supporting media in violent conflict-zones and countries in transition. In line with Resolution 29, of the 29th session of UNESCO's General Conference, the Director General has, since 1997, publicly condemned the killing of individual journalists and media workers, as well as massive and repetitive violations of press freedom and urged the competent authorities to discharge their duty of preventing, investigating and punishing such crimes. Finally, the *International Programme for the Development of Communication* (IPDC) plays a crucial role in promoting the safety of journalists and combating impunity. As well as developing projects to address this issue in the field, IPDC has, since 2008, encouraged Member States to submit information, on a voluntary basis, on the status of the judicial inquiries conducted on each of the killings condemned by UNESCO, for inclusion in a public report submitted every two years to the IPDC Council by the Director-General.

1.12. International legal instruments represent one of the key tools that the international community, including the United Nations (UN), has at its disposal in the struggle for the safety of journalists and against impunity. These are internationally recognized and often legally binding. Relevant conventions, declarations and resolutions include the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*; the *Geneva Conventions*; the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*; *UN Commission on Human Rights Resolution 2005/81*; the *UN Security Council Resolution 1738 (2006)*.

1.13. Regional systems in the human rights context are also essential, instituted within the framework of regional and sub-regional organisations such as the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR); the African Union (AU); the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the League of Arab States, the Council of Europe (CoE) and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Whilst there are many international legal instruments addressing human rights in general, only a small number are specifically concerned with the situation of journalists and their safety.

1.14. Some of the regional systems are also reinforced by monitoring bodies which observe the level of state compliance with their commitments, and call attention to violations when necessary. These include the Office of the Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression within the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights (IACHR), the Special Rapporteur on the Freedom of Expression and Access to Information within the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights in Africa, and the Special Representative on Freedom of the Media in the OSCE.

³ Read Medellin Declaration at <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/flagship-project-activities/world-press-freedom-day/previous-celebrations/worldpressfreedomday2009000/medellin-declaration/>

- 1.15. At the national level, many agencies, funds and programmes of the UN system are also working toward an approach which promotes the safety of journalists and addresses the issue of impunity. This is relevant to the UN strategic discussions and joint programming within the Delivering As One framework.
- 1.16. While recognizing that investigating crimes against journalists remains the responsibility of Member States, the acts of violence and intimidation (including murder, abduction, hostage-taking, harassment, intimidation and illegal arrest and detention) are becoming ever more frequent in a variety of contexts. Notably, the threat posed by non-state actors such as terrorist organizations and criminal enterprises is growing. This merits a careful, context-sensitive consideration of the differing needs of journalists in conflict and non-conflict zones, as well as of the different legal instruments available to ensure their protection. It also necessitates an investigation into how the dangers faced by journalists in situations that do not qualify as armed conflicts in the strictest sense (such as sustained confrontation between organized crime groups) may be dealt with.
- 1.17. Female journalists also face increasing dangers, highlighting the need for a gender-sensitive approach. In carrying out their professional duties, they often risk sexual assault, whether in the form of a targeted sexual violation, often in reprisal for their work; mob-related sexual violence aimed against journalists covering public events; or the sexual abuse of journalists in detention or captivity. Furthermore, many of these crimes are not reported as a result of powerful cultural and professional stigmas.⁴
- 1.18. There is a pressing need for the various UN agencies, funds and programmes to develop a single, strategic and harmonized approach to the issue of the safety of journalists and the impunity of perpetrators of crimes against them. In light of this, in March 2010, the Intergovernmental Council of the IPDC⁵ called on the Director-General of UNESCO “to consult with Member States on the feasibility of convening an inter-agency meeting of all relevant UN agencies, funds and programmes in order to design a joint UN strategy on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue to Impunity.” On the basis of the responses received following this consultation, the UNESCO Director-General decided to organize a *UN Inter-Agency Meeting on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity* in September 2011. The conclusions drawn from this meeting will be articulated in a Plan of Action, which will formulate a **comprehensive, coherent, and action-oriented UN-wide approach to the safety of journalists and the issue of impunity.**

⁴ Lauren Wolfe, ‘The Silencing Crime: Sexual Violence Against Journalists’. Committee to Protect Journalists: 2011,

⁵ 27th IPDC Decision on the Safety of Journalist and the Issue of Impunity. Available at http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/ipdc2010_safety_decision_final.pdf

2. Justification

- 2.1. This Plan of Action is needed to uphold the fundamental right of freedom of expression and, in so doing, to ensure that citizens are well informed and actively participate in society at large. The United Nations agencies, funds and programmes are collectively well-placed to address this issue. They possess long-established platforms through which to voice concerns and propose solutions and a vital network of partner organizations and UN offices in the field. In addition, as intergovernmental organizations they can encourage Member State cooperation and sharing of best practices, as well as exercise “quiet diplomacy” with Member States when necessary.

3. Principles

The proposed Action plan is based on the following principles:

- 3.1. Joint action in the spirit of enhancing system-wide efficiency and coherence;
- 3.2. Building on the strengths of different agencies to foster synergies and to avoid duplication;
- 3.3. A results-based approach, prioritizing actions and interventions for maximum impact;
- 3.4. A human rights-based approach;
- 3.5. A gender-sensitive approach;
- 3.6. A disability-sensitive approach;
- 3.7. Incorporation of the safety of journalists and the struggle against impunity into the United Nation's broader developmental objectives;
- 3.8. Implementation of the principles of the February 2005 *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness* (ownership, alignment, harmonisation, results and mutual accountability);
- 3.9. Strategic partnerships beyond the UN system, harnessing the initiatives of various international, regional and local organizations dedicated to the safety of journalists and media workers;
- 3.10. A context-sensitive, multi-disciplinary approach to the root causes of threats to journalists and impunity;
- 3.11. Robust mechanisms (indicators) for monitoring and evaluating the impact of interventions and strategies reflecting the UN's core values.

4. Objective

- 4.1. Working toward the creation of a free and safe environment for journalists and media workers in both conflict and non-conflict situations, with a view to strengthening peace, democracy and development worldwide.

5. **Proposed Actions**

Strengthening UN Mechanisms

- 5.1. Identify the role of UN agencies, funds and programmes in combating impunity surrounding attacks against journalists and its wider causes with a view toward establishing focal points in order to strengthen the specific contribution of each relevant UN actor by creating effective forms of intervention to achieve the goals set out in the Plan of Action beginning with regular inter-agency meetings, for example;
- 5.2. In order to enhance UN system-wide coherence, establish a coordinated inter-agency mechanism for follow-up and evaluating matters of concern on the issue of the safety of journalists and impunity, including regular reviews of progress at the national and international level and continuing to address the issue by supporting a joint message on the occasion of World Press Freedom Day on the situation of media freedom around the world, for example;
- 5.3. Incorporate the issues of the safety of journalists and of the impunity of attacks against them into UN strategies at country level. This would mean, for example, encouraging the inclusion of an indicator on the safety of journalists based on the UNESCO Media Development Indicators in country analysis and taking the findings into consideration in programming;
- 5.4. More generally, promote the inclusion of freedom of expression and media development goals, in particular the safety of journalists and impunity, within the wider UN development agenda;
- 5.5. Work toward strengthening the office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, as well as the mandate and resources of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, and of the Special Rapporteurs on Extra-judicial Summary or Arbitrary Executions, Violence Against Women and Torture.

Cooperating with Member States

- 5.6. Assist Member States to develop legislation and mechanisms guaranteeing freedom of expression and information, including, for example, requirements that States effectively investigate and prosecute crimes against freedom of expression;
- 5.7. Assist Member States to fully implement existing international rules and principles, as well as to improve, where needed, national legislation on safeguarding journalists, media professionals and associated personnel in conflict and non-conflict situations;
- 5.8. Encourage Member States to take an active role in the prevention of attacks against journalists, and take prompt action in response to attacks by establishing national emergency mechanisms, which different stakeholders can adopt, for example;
- 5.9. Encourage Member States to comply fully with UNESCO General Conference *Resolution 29*⁶, entitled 'Condemnation of Violence against Journalists,' which calls upon Member States to adopt the principle that there should be no statute of limitations on persons guilty of crimes against freedom of expression; to refine and promote legislation in this field and to ensure that defamation becomes a civil, not a criminal action;

⁶ Adopted by the UNESCO's General Conference on 12 November 1997.

- 5.10. Encourage Member States to comply with the IPDC's Decisions on *the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity*, and submit information on the actions taken to prevent impunity for killings of journalists, and on the status of the judicial inquiries conducted on each of the killings condemned by UNESCO;
- 5.11. Encourage Member States to explore ways of broadening the scope of Security Council Resolution 1738, to include the promotion of the safety of journalists and the fight against impunity in non-conflict situations as well.

Partnering with Other Organizations and Institutions

- 5.12. Reinforce collaboration between UN agencies and other intergovernmental organizations, at both international and regional levels, and encourage the incorporation of media development programmes, in particular on the safety of journalists, into their strategies;
- 5.13. Strengthen partnerships between the UN and civil society organizations and professional associations dedicated to monitoring the safety of journalists and media workers at national, regional and international levels. This could include sharing up-to-date information and best practices with partner organizations and field offices and conducting joint missions and investigations into particular cases;
- 5.14. Whereas corruption can affect all sectors of society, in line with the principles of the UN Convention against Corruption, work with journalist organisations to develop good practices on reporting on corruption and jointly participate at the International Anti-Corruption Day (9 December).

Raising Awareness

- 5.15. Sensitize Member States on the importance of freedom of expression and the dangers that impunity for crimes against media professionals represents for freedom and democracy;
- 5.16. Sensitize journalists, media owners and policy-makers on existing international instruments and conventions, as well as various existing practical guides on the safety of journalists;
- 5.17. Sensitize news organizations, media owners, editors and journalists on the dangers confronting their staff, particularly those faced by local journalists;
- 5.18. Sensitize all the above parties to the growing dangers posed by all actors and work against hostage-taking, sexual violence, kidnapping, wrongful arrest and other forms of punishment and other emerging threats to media professionals, including non-state actors;
- 5.19. Sensitize the general public on the importance of the safety of journalists and the fight against impunity, through promoting global awareness campaigns, such as UNESCO's World Press Freedom Day;
- 5.20. Encourage journalism education institutions in developing curricula, which include material relevant to the safety of journalists and impunity;
- 5.21. Disseminate best practices on the safety of journalists and counteracting impunity;

Fostering Safety Initiatives

- 5.22. Urge all stakeholders, and in particular the media industry and its professional associations, to establish general safety provisions for journalists, including but not limited to safety training courses, health care and life insurance, access to social protection and adequate remuneration for free-lance and full-time employees;
- 5.23. Develop accessible, real-time emergency response mechanisms for groups and media organizations, including contacting and engaging available UN resources and missions and other groups working in the field;
- 5.24. Strengthen provisions for the safety of journalists in conflict zones, for example by encouraging the creation of so-called 'media corridors' in close cooperation with UN staff on the ground.

6. Follow-up Mechanisms

- 6.1. Establishment of a network of focal points on issues about the safety of journalists in all relevant UN agencies, funds and programmes in order to develop effective measures to promote the safety of journalists and combat impunity, coordinate actions and exchange information and whenever possible also to publicize it.
- 6.2. Scheduling meetings of relevant UN agencies, funds and programmes on a regular basis, at international level and also at national level in cooperation with the UN Country Teams (UNCT), with participation of relevant professional associations, NGOs and other stakeholders.
- 6.3. Entrust overall coordination of UN efforts on the safety of journalists to UNESCO, in cooperation with other UN agencies, in particular with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the UN Secretariat in NY.
- 6.4. Present a finalised UN Plan of Action to the IPDC Council at its next session in March 2012, as well as the High Level Committee on Programmes (HLCP) and the Chief Executive Board (CEB) at their next meetings.

http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/official_documents/UN-Plan-on-Safety-Journalists_EN_UN-Logo.pdf

Towards a Research agenda on the safety of journalists

Safety of journalists is seriously threatened all over the world. According to UNESCO's data, more than 700 journalists and media workers have been killed in the last 10 years. Silencing journalists through death is the ultimate act of censorship. The situation is further aggravated by other threats ranging from intimidation and harassment to restrictive policies and arbitrary detention, including attacks on women journalists. Equally worrying, more than nine out of ten cases of killing of journalists remain unsolved. The end result is a vicious cycle of impunity and a chilling effect on society in a climate of fear and self-censorship.

As the UN agency with a specific mandate to defend freedom of expression and press freedom, UNESCO actively promotes the safety of journalists and those who produce journalism. UNESCO has championed the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity, which is the first concerted effort within the UN system to address these issues via a multi-stakeholder and holistic approach. The UN Plan aims towards the creation of a free and safe environment for journalists and media workers in both conflict and non-conflict situations, with a view to strengthen peace, democracy, and development worldwide.

Safety of journalists is understood to be an important requirement for unhindered practice of journalism and freedom of expression. Despite this, unlike the issues of journalism and freedom of expression, journalists' safety has not been a very popular topic of academic research. It has rarely been discussed as a specific research question.

Academic research on safety can significantly increase the understanding of the complex issue of safety of journalists, and through that contribute to creation of safer working conditions for all who practice journalism. To deepen cooperation with academia in line with the UN Plan, UNESCO has developed an academic research agenda on the topic of safety of journalists. By creation of the agenda, UNESCO hopes to encourage new academic research in this important area. The academic research agenda on safety discusses ten broad areas of possible research relating to the safety of journalists, including the physical and psychological aspects of safety. The research agenda is work-in-process, and comments and new inputs are welcomed to improve the draft document.

Possible areas/topics of academic research on safety (and impunity) issues

Journalism safety can be broadly defined following the Implementation Strategy of the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity as: "a broad category that extends from preventive, protective and pre-emptive measures, through to combating impunity and promoting a social culture which cherishes freedom of expression and press freedom." The UN Plan recognises that safety is an issue both offline and online.

The actors concerned are envisaged as those mentioned in the UN Plan, according to which "the protection of journalists should not be limited to those formally recognised as journalists, but should cover others, including community media workers and citizen journalists and others who may be using new media as a means of reaching their audiences". The UNESCO Work Plan on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity refers to the safety of "journalists, media workers and social media producers

who produce a significant amount of journalism". The term "journalists" below designates this broader sense.

It is well established that securing safe conditions for the practice of journalism depends on ending impunity for attacks against practitioners. Hence, the term "safety" below designates the combined package of safety and impunity issues. This research agenda focuses primarily on the side of the spectrum concerning physical, digital and psychological safety, rather than the broader press freedom pole, even though the two are interlinked.

Ten broad (sometimes overlapping) areas are suggested in this document. "Related areas of research" refers to established areas of media and communication research, under which different types of safety research could be explored.

1. **RIGHTS-BASED ISSUES:**

Related areas of research: Communication and democracy; Freedom of expression; Ethics of society and ethics of communication; Community communication

Possible research topics:

- Democratic and human rights and safety issues
- Democracy, civic participation and safety
- Freedom of expression (of journalists, civic actors) and safety
- Media development and safety
- Safety trends as an indicator of the broader status of media freedom, governance, democracy and/or development.

Examples of research questions:

- How is journalists' safety interlinked with issues of democratic development, freedom of expression, human and civil rights and media freedom (in a specific context)?
- Can journalists' safety be utilized as an indicator of democratic development, freedom of expression, civil rights and media freedom (and how)?
- What are the broader/societal effects on democracy and freedom of expression if journalists are threatened, attacked and killed?
- What is the wider impact of attacks in creating coverage gaps and/or a culture of self-censorship within media and society?

2. **CONFLICT ISSUES:**

Related areas of research: Peace and Conflict communication; Crisis communication; International communication; Political communication; Environmental and Risk communication; Media, globalization and social change

Possible research topics:

- War correspondents, and war correspondence
- Journalists as a target and tool of war propaganda/acts of war/acts of terrorism
- Safety in covering public demonstrations / unrest
- Media coverage of crimes against journalists and impunity

Examples of research questions:

- What are the central safety issues concerning journalists working in war or conflict situations in particular?
- What are the special (political and other) characteristics of safety threats in a conflict situation? Could these safety threats be avoided and by what means?

- How do the media cover the issues of journalists' safety and impunity? What are the reasons for media not covering safety and/or impunity issues?

3. **SOCIETAL ISSUES:**

Related areas of research: Audience studies; Media literacy and education

Possible research topics:

- Public awareness of the character of journalistic profession, its role in democracy and importance for the safe exercise of freedom of expression
- Public awareness and perceptions of crimes against journalists, and journalists' safety issues, including impunity
- Audience and societal effects of threats towards journalists' safety

Examples of research questions:

- To what degree is the public (in different countries) aware of journalists' safety issues?
- What are the public perceptions of journalistic profession, and their reactions to journalists and journalists' safety threats specifically?
- What are the societal effects of threats to journalists' safety? (eg. societal chilling, legitimising, solidarity, citizen confidence in media, citizen confidence in state)

4. **LEGAL ISSUES:**

Related areas of research: Communication and media law; Communication law and policy

Possible research topics:

- Normative and legal instruments, law and safety (national, regional, global)
- Impact of these instruments on safety

Examples of research questions:

- Which normative and legal instruments are there to protect journalists?
- Are normative and legal instruments protecting journalists efficiently? How could the instruments be developed to protect journalists better?
- Are certain normative and legal instruments creating hindrances or threats to journalists' safety?
- What is the role of extra-legal protections in relation to that by legal instruments?

5. **PRACTITIONER ISSUES:**

Related areas of research: Journalism studies

Possible research topics:

- Journalists' perceptions and awareness on safety
- Journalists' awareness, roles and professional skills in coverage of safety issues
- Status of journalists in society
- Ethics of journalistic work and safety
- Journalists' individual/professional roles and capacities and safety
- Freelancers and safety

Examples of research questions:

- How do journalists themselves perceive safety issues in their work?
- Does journalists' professional behavior take into account safety issues and minimize possible risks?
- How could journalistic practices be improved to safeguard safety better?
- Do journalists themselves raise awareness on safety issues?

- To what extent do journalists organise collectively or show solidarity with others, on safety issues?
- To what extent do safety threats affect the actual contents of journalism?

6. **PSYCHOLOGICAL ISSUES:**

Related areas of research: Media psychology; Communication and social cognition

Possible research topics:

- Effects of threats, killings and harassment on conceptions of victimhood, survivorhood, persecution, isolation and solidarity, etc.
- Psychological effects
- Self-censorship effects on journalistic work, contents and products (chilling)
- Effects on individuals and groups related to a journalist

Examples of research questions:

- What are the psychological effects of threats to journalists' safety, both for journalists and other individuals and groups?
- Safety threats and self-censorship: what are the main causes of self-censorship of journalists in different contexts and how does this affect journalistic contents?

7. **ECONOMICS ISSUES:**

Related areas of research: Media management, economics and policy

Possible research topics:

- Media houses' actions to support safety and journalists
- Working conditions and employment of journalists
- Newsroom policies and safety

Examples of research questions:

- What kind of working conditions, newsroom policies and other support do media houses have for journalists to guarantee their safety?
- Does the form of employment have an effect on journalists' safety?
- What is the impact on staff turnover or rotation in newsrooms as a result of attacks on the safety of journalists?
- What are the cost implications of digital and physical protection of journalists?

8. **DIGITAL ISSUES:**

Related areas of research: Digital culture and communication

Possible research topics:

- Digital journalism/digital world and safety

Examples of research questions:

- What are the safety threats to journalists in digital environment/online?
- To what extent are journalists aware of specific safety threats online, and know how to protect themselves?
- How could journalistic practices and journalists' media and information literacy be improved to safeguard safety online?
- How do digital vulnerabilities and threats online affect the work of journalists?
- What kind of safety risks is surveillance creating for journalists and their sources?
- How can journalists' sources be protected and public trust guaranteed despite surveillance?

9. **THEMATIC ISSUES:**

Related areas of research: Gender and media; Media and ethnicity; Media and environment; Media and religion

Possible research topics:

- Journalism, safety and gender/ethnicity/nationality/religion
- Safety in relation to different beats covered by journalists (environment, investigative, crime, etc.)

Examples of research questions:

- Do the topics/beats covered affect the threats that journalists are exposed to? How?
- Are women journalists or journalists representing an ethnic/religious/national minority exposed to specific threats? What type of threats? Is this taken into account in their work?

10. **EDUCATIONAL ISSUES:**

Related areas of research: Media education research; Training and development

Possible research topics:

- Research on academic curricula and trainings in journalism and safety

Examples of research questions:

- Are safety issues a part of academic journalism curricula? How is the topic of safety covered in different curricula? How could the curricula on safety be developed?
- Is journalists' safety a part of existing professional trainings? How could the trainings be developed on safety issues? What are the good practices to be shared?

Issues of research methodology that could be discussed under many of the above mentioned areas of research:

- Types of threats to journalists
- Taxonomies of reasons and motives to threats and attacks
- Development of typologies to assess threats
- What results can be gained by using UNESCO's Journalists' Safety Indicators, and other such indicators, as a part of academic research?

Suggestions and more information:

Berger, Guy (g.berger(at)unesco.org)

http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/images/Themes/Freedom_of_expression/safety_of_journalists/Draft_Research_Agenda_Safety_of_Journalists_06_2015.pdf

NORDICOM's activities are based on broad and extensive network of contacts and collaboration with members of the research community, media companies, politicians, regulators, teachers, librarians, and so forth, around the world. The activities at Nordicom are characterized by three main working areas.

- ***Media and Communication Research Findings in the Nordic Countries***

Nordicom publishes a Nordic journal, *Nordicom Information*, and an English language journal, *Nordicom Review* (refereed), as well as anthologies and other reports in both Nordic and English languages. Different research databases concerning, among other things, scientific literature and ongoing research are updated continuously and are available on the Internet. Nordicom has the character of a hub of Nordic cooperation in media research. Making Nordic research in the field of mass communication and media studies known to colleagues and others outside the region, and weaving and supporting networks of collaboration between the Nordic research communities and colleagues abroad are two prime facets of the Nordicom work.

The documentation services are based on work performed in national documentation centres attached to the universities in Aarhus, Denmark; Tampere, Finland; Reykjavik, Iceland; Bergen, Norway; and Göteborg, Sweden.

- ***Trends and Developments in the Media Sectors in the Nordic Countries***

Nordicom compiles and collates media statistics for the whole of the Nordic region. The statistics, together with qualified analyses, are published in the series, *Nordic Media Trends*, and on the homepage. Besides statistics on output and consumption, the statistics provide data on media ownership and the structure of the industries as well as national regulatory legislation. Today, the Nordic region constitutes a common market in the media sector, and there is a widespread need for impartial, comparable basic data. These services are based on a Nordic network of contributing institutions.

Nordicom gives the Nordic countries a common voice in European and international networks and institutions that inform media and cultural policy. At the same time, Nordicom keeps Nordic users abreast of developments in the sector outside the region, particularly developments in the European Union and the Council of Europe.

- ***Research on Children, Youth and the Media Worldwide***

At the request of UNESCO, Nordicom started the International Clearinghouse on Children, Youth and Media in 1997. The work of the Clearinghouse aims at increasing our knowledge of children, youth and media and, thereby, at providing the basis for relevant decision-making, at contributing to constructive public debate and at promoting children's and young people's media literacy. It is also hoped that the work of the Clearinghouse will stimulate additional research on children, youth and media. The Clearinghouse's activities have as their basis a global network of 1000 or so participants in more than 125 countries, representing not only the academia, but also, e.g., the media industries, politics and a broad spectrum of voluntary organizations.

In yearbooks, newsletters and survey articles the Clearinghouse has an ambition to broaden and contextualize knowledge about children, young people and media literacy. The Clearinghouse seeks to bring together and make available insights concerning children's and young people's relations with mass media from a variety of perspectives.

People who exercise their right to freedom of expression through journalism should be able to practice their work without restrictions. They are, nonetheless, the constant targets of violence and threats. In an era of globalization and digitization, no single party can alone carry the responsibility for protection of journalism and freedom of expression. Instead, this responsibility must be assumed jointly by the state, the courts, media companies and journalist organizations, as well as by NGOs and civil society – on national as well as global levels.

To support joint efforts to protect journalism, there is a growing need for research-based knowledge. Acknowledging this need, the aim of this publication is to highlight and fuel journalist safety as a field of research, to encourage worldwide participation, as well as to inspire further dialogues and new research initiatives. The contributions represent diverse perspectives on both empirical and theoretical research and offer many quantitatively and qualitatively informed insights. The articles demonstrate that a new important interdisciplinary research field is in fact emerging, and that the fundamental issue remains identical: Violence and threats against journalists constitute an attack on freedom of expression.

The publication is the result of collaboration between the UNESCO Chair at the University of Gothenburg, UNESCO, IAMCR and a range of other partners.



United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization



UNESCO Chair on Freedom of Expression,
Media Development and Global Policy
Sweden



IAMCR

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR MEDIA
AND COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

NORDICOM
Nordic Information Centre for Media and Communication Research

**JMG – DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM,
MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION**



ISBN 978-91-487957-50-5