



**UN Plan of Action Academic Consultation
Report and Recommendations**

led by

The Centre for Freedom of the Media (CFOM)

5 October, 2022

This report is based on the three rounds of the academic consultation convened via the Journalism Safety Research Network (JSRN); the UNESCO Chair on Media Freedom, Journalism Safety and the Issue of Impunity as well as the CFOM literature stocktake.

The first round of the consultation was undertaken in partnership with the Worlds of Journalism Study and the Centre for Digital Politics, Media and Democracy, University of Liverpool.

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1. Recommendations from the Academic Consultation

In order to support the continuing successful and effective implementation of the 2012 UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity (UNPA), and to strengthen and adapt implementation in the light of new pressing and ever evolving challenges, the Journalism Safety Research Network (JSRN) and other non-JSRN members of the academic community, collectively referred to here as the Global Academic Community (GAC), make the following recommendations:

Recommendation 1

The GAC recommends that the following issues be recognised as posing significant challenges of relevance to the UNPA and as therefore requiring to be continuously studied in order to be understood in their origin, evolution, range and type as well as their significance both present and future in awareness of often long-standing research:

- Digital safety, protection and attacks including the role of state and non-state actors such as tech companies.
- Gender-specific safety issues and the need for holistic approaches to understand structural inequalities and risks (types of violence, intersectionality, contexts and relationships to institutional/digital circumstances).
- Workplace safety including physical and psychological wellbeing both in newsrooms and during/post-reporting to redress violence and trauma and to increase journalists' capacity for resilience.
- Improving monitoring, high quality reliable data collection and underpinning categories on the full range of human rights violations against journalists, evaluating what can realistically be monitored as well as its relevance to wider UN processes such as the Universal Periodical Reviews and the SDG 16.10.1 indicator.
- A widening and deepening of the understanding of impunity for crimes against journalists and its impacts.
- The weaponisation of the law: the abuse and misuse of legislation to target and harass journalists and the disregard for legislation protecting them.
- Increased focus on the UNPA and its implementation strategies: legacy, authority, challenges and perceptions of their effectiveness and relevance.

Recommendation 2

The GAC recommends that academic research be recognised as essential for understanding the aforementioned issues in their breadth, depth and significance by all stakeholders to the UNPA. It also recommends permanent academic representation on international, national and local decision-making bodies. To achieve this the GAC commits to making the best possible effort to disseminate and share their research and related databases with the widest possible audiences. However, the GAC simultaneously shares its concerns about the funding available to do so (for fieldwork, data collection and open access publications to allow for sharing of research). It also commits to building an interconnected approach between different disciplines and thereby to widen its engagement beyond the media/communication discipline in particular.

Recommendation 3

The GAC recommends a significant investment in both financial and human resources as well as time to support the development of greater academic capacity with regard to 'geography', 'topics' and 'networks'. 'Geography' here refers to a) the inclusion of scholars and knowledge from the Global South in particular and b) the expansion from a country focus to a greater understanding of regions and regional issues. 'Topics' refers to a widening of focus to include the ones listed in recommendation 1 as well as to expand the range of disciplinary approaches. In terms of 'networks', the JSRN, as part of the GAC, commits to taking a more proactive and inclusive lead in accomplishing these developments.

Recommendation 4

The GAC recommends that an interconnective approach between stakeholders (including UNESCO, OCHCR, regional intergovernmental organisations, UN member states, local, national, regional and international civil society organisations, tech companies and academia) is developed, deepened and extended when it comes to knowledge exchange, the co-production of knowledge, the co-design of research and solutions and their adaptability to local, regional, national and international contexts. This is a two-way exchange requiring academics to be outward looking, beyond academic engagements, and a firm commitment from all stakeholders to invest time and financial resources in academic research and through the showcasing of impact jointly achieved. Also to include academia routinely into their activities ensuring academia isn't a 'standalone' stakeholder.

Recommendation 5

The GAC recommends that in recognition of existing curriculum initiatives a Journalism Safety and Impunity Education Curriculum be drawn up in an interconnective approach (see recommendation 4) by all stakeholders involved that includes tailored and individualised education and training for journalism students, trainees, practitioners with a view to developing their understanding of safety and impunity, their ability for self-protection and capacity for resilience as far as possible and reasonable.

Recommendation 6

The GAC recommends that the UNPA and its implementation strategy be extended to include specific provision for journalists in exile who face unique challenges that are currently not being addressed.

2. Executive summary

CFOM was asked to lead the academic consultation on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the UN Action Plan (UNPA) in 2022. It has done so via the Journalism Safety Research Network (JSRN) and its UNESCO Chair on Media Freedom, Journalism Safety and the Issue of Impunity (established at the University of Sheffield in 2018). To support wider inclusion participants in the academic consultation have been reached through collaborative partners and their extended networks, including those of UNESCO, the Worlds of Journalism Study and the Centre for Digital Politics, Media and Democracy, University of Liverpool. The academic consultation included 75 academics¹ from Africa, the Asia-Pacific region, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and North Africa, Europe and North America with further written input from other academics also received.

The 2022 academic consultation process comprised of three rounds and 75 participants:

- 30 May: First round held at UNESCO HQ in Paris. It was attended by 29 academics from around the world.
- 9 June: The second round was held at the International Association of Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) Conference and attended by 27 participants.
- 28 September: This third round focused on the draft recommendations developed by CFOM based on the previous two rounds and the literature stocktake (see below). 19 participants attended.

The main objective of the three rounds of the academic consultation was to formulate a set of recommendations from the global academic community for the High-Level International Multistakeholder Conference to mark the 10th anniversary of the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity.

The academic consultation was supported by a literature stocktake of peer-reviewed academic research on issues of journalism safety and impunity. In total 447 publications between 1992 and May 2022 were read and analysed. The main findings are as follows:

- The first relevant publications on these issues were identified in 1994 but remain low in quantity. In the early years, publications focused on the safety of war correspondents in particular.
- The focus of topics has changed in the last decade with more emphasis on journalism safety more broadly as well as aspects related to the issue of impunity with publication numbers being relatively stable until 2015 (5-10 publications a year).
- Since 2016, the number of publications has been consistently around 25 with the exception of 2017 (~73), 2020 (~85) and 2021 (~70).
- What appears to have increased the number of publications is a growing interest in social media and the way in which it facilitates attacks of, threats and harassment against journalists and in particular attention has focused on gender-specific attacks.
- More generally, the topics that have over time received most academic attention, and that have been framed as continuing to need further attention in the future, are digital safety, protection and threats; gender-specific safety issues; trauma, resilience and mental health, workplace safety, impunity and its impact, the weaponisation of the law including the misuse and abuse of legislation (see also recommendations).
- Interestingly, the issues of protection, prevention and prosecution appear in nearly all publication though they are not identified specifically and/or explicitly linked to safeguarding frameworks and agendas of the international human rights community.

¹ This is the total number of attendees at all three rounds of the consultation, a very small number of people attended and contributed to more than one round of the consultation.

The consultation process has also focused on specific ways in which academia can contribute to, support and strengthen the future successful implementation of the UNPA. These are detailed in the recommendations but can be summarised here as follows:

- In order to successfully contribute to the UNPA, permanent academic representation on international, national and local decision-making bodies is needed.
- Academia needs to build an interconnected approach between different disciplines and thereby to widen its engagement beyond the media/communication discipline in particular.
- It also needs to make the best possible effort to disseminate and share its research and related databases with the widest possible audiences.
- Academia has to commit to support the development of greater academic capacity with regard to 'geography', 'topics' and 'networks' and ensure that academics from the Global South are continuously included.
- Via the JSRN academia needs to take a more proactive approach in the development of this academic capacity.
- It has to continue to develop expertise on thus far under-researched countries in terms of the issues of journalism safety and impunity and, in particular, to encourage more comparative and regional approaches.
- Academia needs to strongly contribute to the establishment of an interconnective approach between stakeholders (including UNESCO, OCHCR, regional intergovernmental organisations, UN member states, local, national, regional and international civil society organisations, tech companies and academia) and foster knowledge exchange, the co-production of knowledge, the co-design of research and solutions and their adaptability to local, regional, national and international contexts.
- Despite academia's willingness to contribute, important challenges have been identified and need to be overcome: financial issues (funding for costly research activities, growth of postgraduate research capacity, open access availability) and issues concerning access to research by those within and outside academia.

3. Report

3.1. Introduction

In 2012 the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity (UNPA) was endorsed by the UN Chief Executives Board and a comprehensive Implementation Strategy was adopted at a [second UN Inter-Agency meeting](#) which took place in November 2012. The Implementation Strategy included 120 concrete actions that could be taken on the protection of journalists and its related issues. On the 5th anniversary of the UNPA, UNESCO recognised the importance of academic stakeholders to the implementation of the UNPA as well as the valuable insights the academy could provide into understanding the issues of safety and impunity. The Centre for Freedom of the Media (CFOM) led on the UNPA fifth anniversary academic consultation in 2017 as part of a [multi stakeholder consultation](#) with [significant results](#). In 2022, CFOM was again asked to lead the academic consultation, this time on the occasion of the UNPA's 10th anniversary. It has done so via the Journalism Safety Research Network (JSRN)² and the UNESCO Chair on Media Freedom, Journalism Safety and the Issue of Impunity (established at the University of Sheffield in 2018). To support wider inclusion participants in the academic consultation brought in collaborative partners and their extended networks, including those of UNESCO, the Worlds of Journalism Study and the Centre for Digital Politics, Media and Democracy, University of Liverpool. The academic consultation included 75 academics from Africa, the Asia-Pacific region, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and North Africa, Europe and North America with further written input from other academics also received.³

The 2022 academic consultation process was launched at the World Press Freedom Day Academic Conference on the Safety of Journalists World in Punta Del Este, Uruguay in May 2022. The intention behind the academic consultation was to bring together the global academic community researching the issues of the safety of journalists and impunity and to facilitate discussions on how academia can support and strengthen the future implementation of the UNPA. The three rounds of this academic consultation were designed to include diverse geographical, cultural and disciplinary expertise and experiences from the academic community as well as to include perspectives from non-academic stakeholders such as local and international civil society organisations and policy makers. It comprised three rounds⁴ and included 75 participants, some of whom attended multiple sessions:

- 30 May: First round held at UNESCO HQ in Paris. This round served as a starting point to map out relevant academic research and how to define key concepts in ways that are relevant to policy-makers, recognising that the concepts may need to evolve to accommodate the impact of digital threats and encompass a gender-sensitive approach. It also included a discussion of how academia can best support the implementation of the UNPA and its related policy agendas on protection, prevention and prosecution. It was attended by 29 academics from around the world.
- 9 June 2022: The second round was held at the International Association of Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) Conference⁵ and focused on the continuing

² The JSRN's focus is to advance academic research communication and collaboration in the area of journalism safety and related issues. It comprises 197 researchers working in higher education institutions located in 54 countries around the world.

³ The academic consultation also invited academics involved in hosting previous WPFDA Academic Conferences on Journalists' Safety (Helsinki (2016), Jakarta (2017), Accra (2018), Addis Ababa (2019), the Hague (2020), Windhoek (2021).

⁴ See the Appendix for transcripts and comments from participants from all three consultation rounds.

⁵ This event was a UNESCO/JSRN/CFOM Panel entitled "Addressing new challenges and changing contexts relating to the contemporary risks facing both journalism and journalists: Scoping a new research agenda". It included 4 presenters and 27 attendees comprising scholars, policy makers and representatives from civil society around the world. It was also complemented by an additional

implementation of the UNPA and how it can be supported through effective knowledge exchange and impactful collaboration between academic and non-academic actors thereby contributing to bridging the gap between theory and practice. It was attended by 27 participants.

- 28 September: This third round focused on draft recommendations developed by CFOM based on the previous two rounds and these were shared, presented and discussed with other members of the global academic community who had not attended the two earlier rounds. They were also separately shared with those who had previously participated in rounds 1 and 2. 19 participants attended.

The main objective of the three rounds of the academic consultation was to formulate a set of recommendations from the global academic community for the High-Level International Multistakeholder Conference to mark the 10th anniversary of the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity to be hosted by the Austrian Federal Ministry of European and International Affairs in cooperation with UNESCO and OHCHR on 3-4 November 2022 in Vienna. The Recommendations and the Report submitted on behalf of academia respond to the need to recognise and reflect on the continuous evolution of the implementation of the UNPA and the issue of impunity in the light of emerging challenges faced by journalists and journalism as well as by the global multi-stakeholder community that seeks to prevent, protect and prosecute crimes against journalists and protect the practice of public interest journalism.

These recommendations have been arrived at through discussions that took place during the three rounds of the academic consultation that focused on:

- How academia can support the continued successful and effective implementation of the UNPA and help bridge the gap between theory and practice (as per the outcome document of the previous academic consultation in 2017).
- How academia can and continues to address key challenges that require adaptation of implementation strategies of the UNPA.
- What academic research has identified as key challenges to the safe undertaking of journalism, how academia can contribute to the understanding of these challenges, the finding of solutions to overcome them in collaboration with different stakeholder groups and how to best implement them.
- Identifying how academic research has concretely translated into impact and contributed to the Implementation Strategy of the UNPA.
- How best to bring together diverse perspectives (disciplinary, cultural and geographical, with a particular focus on Global-South inclusion) on research related to issues of the safety of journalists and the issue of impunity.

In order to support these discussions and to take stock of what peer-reviewed academic research already exists, what areas and topics it has focused on, where it has been undertaken, which disciplines it mainly originates from, what specific recommendations it already makes and to what extent and how it engages with the UNPA itself, CFOM has also undertaken a wide literature stocktake on the issues of journalism safety and impunity since 1992 and has analysed this literature to be able to map the academic contribution so far. This literature search has helped to establish the beginning of a database of academic publications on issues of journalism safety and impunity which will be made publicly available in due course.

As this Report shows, some of the key issues identified in the academic literature that are directly relevant to the future implementation of the UNPA include digital safety, protection and

roundtable with journalists in exile hosted by CFOM and the Hub for the Study of Hybrid Communication in Peacebuilding on 26 September 2022 to examine to what extent there are continuing safety issues even when journalists have been able to leave unsafe geographical areas.

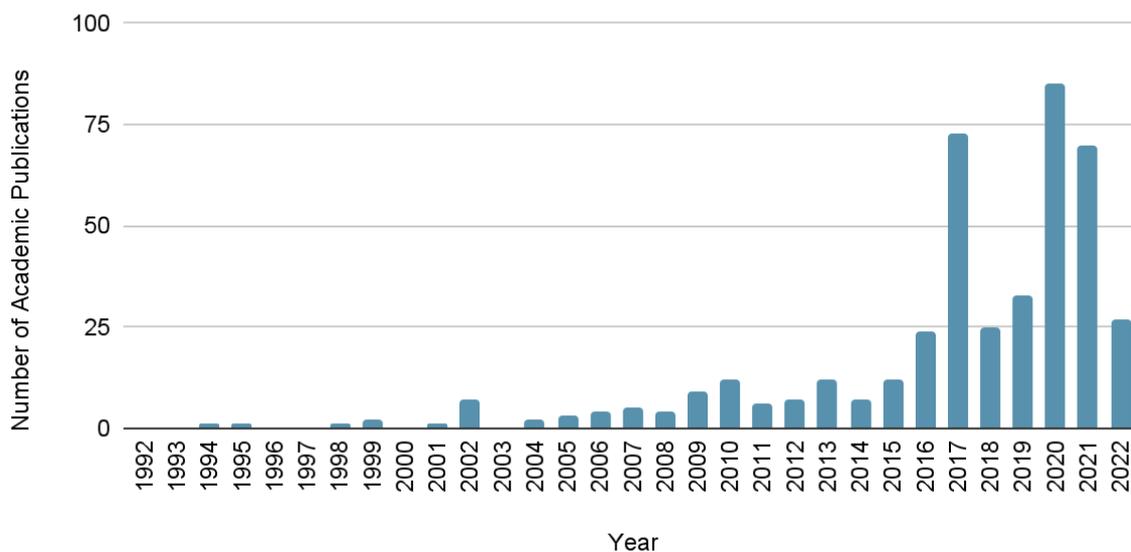
threats; gender-specific safety issues; trauma, resilience and mental health, workplace safety, impunity, the weaponisation of the law and the lack of authority of international law all of which fall within the thematic issues of protection, prevention and prosecution. There has also been an interest in how COVID-19 has impacted upon traditional and continuous challenges to journalism safety and the issue of impunity such as state power in particular but also its relationship to the more recently identified key challenges. The analysis for this Report also takes into account what was said and discussed at the three rounds of the academic consultation. The way in which the reader is invited to read what follows is as an analytical overview of the research that has been undertaken, what needs to be developed and how it relates to the UNPA and its implementation.

3.2 Academic research on the issues of journalism safety and impunity: an analytical overview

3.2.1. Academic publications by year 1992-2022 in terms of its frequency and topics

The stocktake showed that there has been an interest in research on issues related to journalists' safety and the problem of impunity since the beginning of the 1990s. The start date of 1992 was chosen to capture academic literature following the Windhoek Declaration of 1991 (on this Chocarro-Marcese 2017) – but also in recognition that it is often specific events and contexts of global significance that lead to a burgeoning of academic interest and correspondingly, literature on these events and related issues. Whereas in the 1990s there was very little published on this area of safety and impunity (Lee (1998) on self-censorship of Hong Kong journalists and Trotti (1999) on the relationship between international humanitarian law (IHL) and the protection to journalists are noteworthy publications) the early 2000s showed a marked interest in the role of IHL to protect journalists during war and conflict (which continues to this day) occasioned by both the Afghanistan and the Iraq wars (Zanghi, 2005; Balguy-Gallois, 2004; Waschefort, 2007; Bosch, 2009; Draghici and Woods, 2009). The literature showed an emerging interest in the safety of the journalists reporting these wars in terms of physical safety (Tumber and Palmer, 2004; Foerstel, 2006; Lisosky and Henrichsen, 2009), psychological well-being and issues of PTSD that manifest particularly in war correspondents (Feinstein and Nicolson, 2005; Feinstein, 2006; Greenberg et al., 2007; Foerstel, 2006; Rentschler, 2008; Feinstein and Botes, 2009) and other traumatic events, such as terrorism (and here particularly 9/11) (see Ricchiardi, 2002; Tumber, 2002; Zelizer, 2002; Feinstein et al., 2018a). Figure 1 shows the growth in academic publications in the area of journalism safety and impunity.

Figure 1: Academic Publications on journalism safety and impunity between 1992-2022

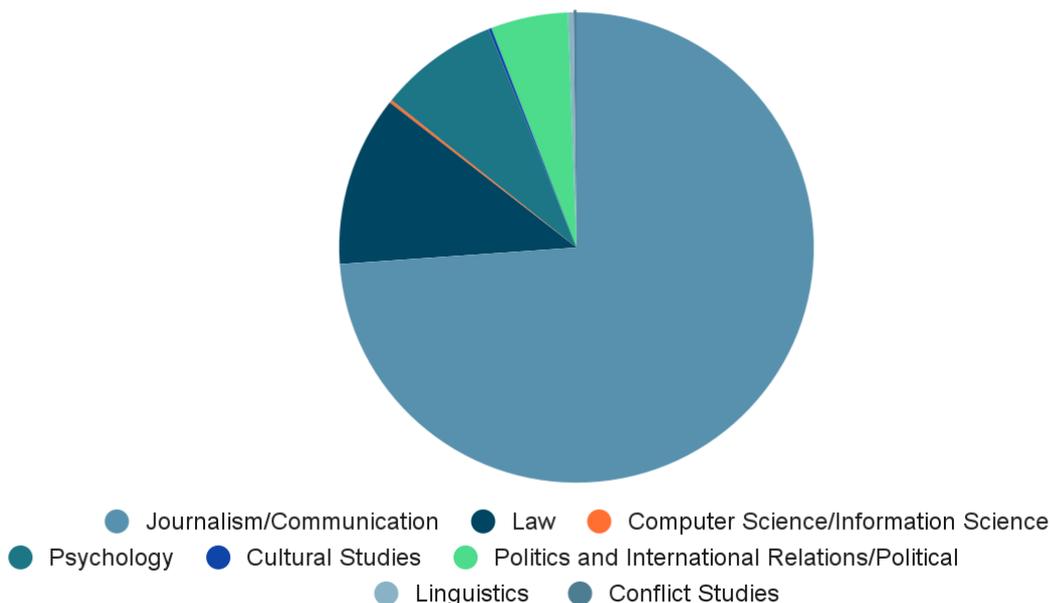


A wider interest in the safety of journalists and the issue of impunity started to slowly emerge in parallel to research on war reporting. It focused on specific countries without there being a recognisable research agenda or area. It included studies on China (Waghorn, 2007), Hong Kong (Lee and Lin, 2006), Russia (Simons and Strovsky, 2006) and Burkina Faso (Hagberg, 2002) to cite some examples. It was not until the 2010s that this interest became more focused and systematically researched and widened beyond war and conflict in particular. This trend continued into the 2010s, but it was not until 2016 that the number of academic publications increased noticeably. Publications during the 2010s showed a clear relationship to issues addressed by and related to the UNPA and focused mainly on media freedom, the issue of impunity and safety issues. In line with the global attention paid to social media, academics started to focus on the possibilities it brought and the threats it posed to journalism and journalists in terms of moving attacks online thereby changing the speed, frequency and intensity which they can be undertaken. In addition to this, issues concerning polarisation and populism have gained traction too, particularly in relation to Donald Trump and his attacks against journalists during his term as President. Since 2019 there has also been a growing focus on digital threats, psychological and emotional impact of the work journalists do, legislative issues, safety training issues, and gender-specific safety threats (see below for more detail).

3.2.2. Academic Disciplines

The literature stocktake showed that the majority of academic literature has been published in communication, media and journalism journals in addition to edited volumes that focus on this area. At the same time, an interdisciplinary approach has been developed in some cases, particularly in relation to journalism and law and journalism and psychology (see figure 2).

Figure 2: Academic Disciplines of Academic Publications



During the academic consultation, it was emphasised that there is a growing need for multidisciplinary work to be conducted between scholars. During the second round of the academic consultation, building multi- and interdisciplinary research capacity was highlighted as essential for academic research to be able to produce an understanding of the complex nature of contemporary and evolving safety threats. For example, when discussing safety threats such as the emotional and psychological threats journalists face, interdisciplinary work with academics from psychology would be a benefit. In addition to this, other disciplines were mentioned as being beneficial to work with, such as political science, law, sociology, computer science and history. What the stocktake has shown is that there are different ways of going about analysing attacks on journalists and the significance of impunity for those who commit those crimes. The journalism/media/communication approach often tends to take a micro approach and focus on one specific case, but by doing this it neglects, in many cases, to analyse their findings and the meaning of their findings in a wider context – a macro context. At the moment, this disciplinary literature does not engage well with, for example, political science or history and thereby is vulnerable to missing out on helpful and significant concepts that could be used for analysis. If there were a broader interdisciplinary focus it would serve to make the journalism safety/impunity research more relevant to a wider academic community. This is something that the global academic community could address if it is to build academic capacity across disciplines, ensure relevance and global attention, and establish a stronger academic field around journalism safety and impunity.

3.3. Geographical foci of the academic literature: A statistical overview

The analysis of the literature revealed that the predominant geographic focus of academic literature on the issues of journalism safety and impunity is Asia, Africa and Latin America, whereas Europe, North America and Australia feature significantly less. Figure 3 shows this to be the case.

Figure 3: Regions Focused on in Academic Literature

Region	Number of Appearances in Literature
Latin America	11
Europe	10
Africa	3
Middle East	3
Asia	3
Melanesia	1

Regional Focus

Some academic publications focused on regions rather than single countries especially when it came to legal issues and when it related to judgments of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) regarding journalists' safety (Kurtul, 2020) or to how the Council of Europe protects journalists in their member states (Jaskiernia, 2021; Marcén, 2021). Other examples included Latin America or Asia as a region. With regard to the former, whereas Perkins (2001) examined how the American Convention on Human Rights protected journalists, others have focused on gender-based violence (Montiel, 2020) and an increase in journalists suffering from harassment (de Macedo Higgins Joyce et al., 2022). With regard to the latter, politics has been examined as a factor as to why there is widespread censorship (Kenny and Gross, 2008).

Single Country Focus

Both the academic literature stocktake and the three rounds of the academic consultation have brought to light that the academic community researching broad issues relating to the UNPA and its implementation predominantly takes a single country focus approach and uses countries as case studies to illustrate an aspect/aspects related to the issues of journalism safety and impunity. This can be seen in figure 5 while figure 4 also shows the top ten countries that academic literature has focused on – Mexico comes top of the list, potentially due to the CPJ having declared it the most dangerous place to work as a journalist.⁶

Figure 4: Top Ten Countries Focused on in Academic Literature

Country	Number of Publications
Mexico	29
Pakistan	26
Nigeria	21
United States	17

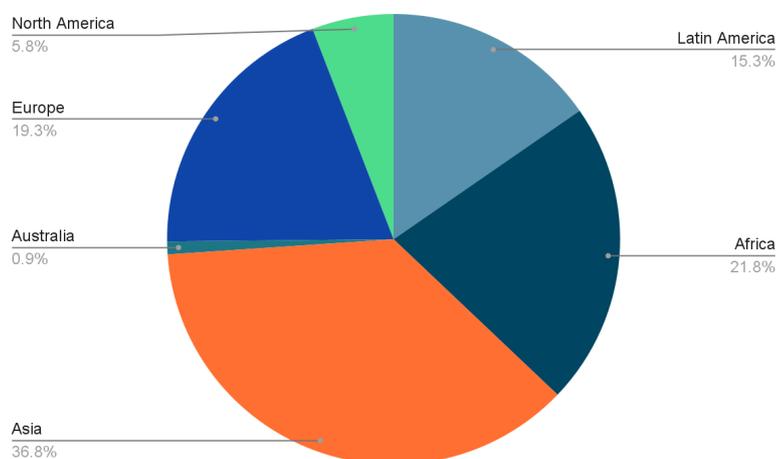
⁶ Dunham, Jennifer. (2022, January 19) 'Attacks on the press: The deadliest countries in 2021', Committee to Protect Journalists. Available at: <https://cpj.org/reports/2022/01/attacks-on-the-press-the-deadliest-countries-in-2021/>

India	13
Turkey	12
Philippines	11
Iraq	10
Indonesia	8
Ghana	7

Figures 6 and 7 show the breakdown of the focus of publications on different continents in both numerical and percentage form, with Asia attracting, by far, the most academic attention.

Figure 6 and 7 Continents Focused on in Academic Literature

Continent	Number of Articles
Asia	120
Africa	71
Europe	63
Latin America	50
North America	21
Australia	3



3.4. Geographical foci of the academic literature: Common Themes

Asia

As figure 8 illustrates, with 120 academic publications focused on Asia, this is the continent with the most publications dedicated to it (full list in appendix). Asia was also mentioned in the three rounds of the academic consultation where the types of threats Asian journalists face were discussed. Figure 8 breaks the literature down into countries with Pakistan being the most researched country with 26 pieces. India (13) and the Philippines (11) follow. Common themes in the academic literature focused on Asia could be discerned: first, digital threats for journalists in general including facing harassment (Tuazon and Torres, 2020 on Philippines) and digital shutdowns (Majeed, 2022 on India); and for women specifically in terms of online threats (Koirala, 2020a, 2020b on Nepal; Posetti, 2021 on Philippines; Kundu and Bhuiyan, 2021 on Bangladesh; Pant, 2021 on Nepal). A second common theme was concerned with working conditions and how these can have an impact on the journalistic routines of reporting in terms of stress (Sharma, 2017 on India) and mental health (Ananthan, 2017 on Sri Lanka; Feinstein and Pavisian, 2017 on Iran; Islam et al., 2021 on Bangladesh). A third theme was impunity in terms of the culture it produces (Harrison and Pukallus, 2018 on India; Høiby, 2020b on Philippines). In particular instances, these dangerous conditions have been caused by war and conflict, particularly in relation to Iraq (Tumber and Palmer, 2004; Ricchiardi, 2005; Foerstel, 2006; Kim, 2010; Burri, 2015) and Afghanistan (Pollard, 2009; Eide et al., 2019; Mitra et al., 2021) but more often than not these conditions are shaped by state and market forces (Harrison and Pukallus, 2018; Harrison, 2019; Pukallus et al. 2020, Torsner 2022) and occur on a day-to-day basis making safety training for journalists essential (Murthy, 2018; Høiby, 2020b).

Figure 8: Countries in Asia and number of Academic Publications

Country	Number of Academic Publications
Pakistan	26
India	13
Philippines	11
Iraq	10
Indonesia	8
Afghanistan	7
Syria	7
Nepal	5
Bangladesh	5
China	5

Africa

As figure 9 shows, Nigeria is the country that has attracted the highest number of academic publications (21) particularly with regard to gender-specific safety issues; a concern also echoed in the academic consultation. Both at the academic consultation and in the literature, academics noted that there is a need for the academic community, civil society and journalism associations to come together to protect journalists and particularly female journalists from gender-related attacks (Unaegbu, 2017; Ibrahim and Spikin, 2021; Okpodu, 2022) through enforcing laws and legal mechanisms (Pate and Dauda, 2020; Ndidiamaka et al., 2021), raising safety and security awareness (Dahiru, 2017), through better training from media houses (Hajara et al., 2018) as this is currently found to be lacking (Okunna et al., 2021) as well as an overall willingness to combat impunity (Nsereka and Orlu-Orlu, 2014). Besides the focus on gender, articles published on Nigeria analysed the role of digital media in online harassment against journalists (Onuche, 2021), online surveillance of journalists through proposed new legislation (Suraj, 2020) as well as conflict and journalism safety issues (Pate and Idris, 2017; Talabi et al., 2021). Finally, the role of COVID-19 in exacerbating existing and creating new safety challenges was examined (Ayodele, 2020; Alade and Sanusi, 2022).

Figure 9: Countries in Africa and number of Academic Publications

Country	Number of Academic Publications
Nigeria	21
Ghana	7
Uganda	6
South Africa	6
Egypt	5
Kenya	5
Libya	3
Ethiopia	3
Zimbabwe	3
Democratic Republic of Congo	2

Beyond Nigeria, main topics addressed are five-fold: first, journalism safety during elections and on occasion the role of the international community in increasing it (Selnes and Walulya, 2020 and Walulya, 2020 on Uganda; Lemke, 2020 on Côte d'Ivoire; Ibrahim et al., 2020 and Ujene and Ojedokun, 2021 on Nigeria; Weighton and McCurdy, 2017 on Kenya; Mare and Tsarwe, 2021 on Zimbabwe). Second, the literature showed an interest in gender-specific safety issues (Nakiwala, 2020) and social media, but as opposed to harassment, there was also an emphasis on how social media can surmount safety challenges (Selnes, 2020). There were similar publications related to Ghana too, with a focus on the discrimination of women journalists (Sackey et al., 2021), online attacks against journalists (Appiah-Adjei, 2021), and also the impact COVID-19 had on the safety of journalists and the level of protection that media houses gave to journalists (Boateng and Buatsi, 2022). Directly related yet distinct, the third theme focused on safety training. For example, in the first round of the academic consultation and with regard to Ghana, it was argued that journalism safety did not figure sufficiently on curricula in higher education and that in Uganda and South Africa for instance, media houses and the international community were not sufficiently providing safety training and greater advocacy efforts are required to protect journalists (Diedong, 2017, 2020 on Uganda; Nsereka and Orlu-Orlu, 2014, Pate and Idris, 2017, Hajara et al., 2018, Ndidiamaka et al., 2021 on Nigeria; Reid et al., 2020 on South Africa). Fourth, impunity figured prominently. Impunity was particularly discussed with regard to specific countries (Hagberg, 2002 on Burkina Faso; Harrison and Pukallus, 2018 on Democratic Republic of Congo; Workneh, 2021 on Ethiopia), the question of the legitimacy of imprisonment (Baker, 2016, 2018 on Egypt) and its potential impact on journalists' wellbeing and professional identity (Freedman, 2017 on Ethiopia, Eritrea and Cameroon), as well as the need for better legal frameworks to more effectively protect journalists in certain countries like Libya (Alashry, 2021) and Tanzania and Burundi (Kirabira, 2020). Fifth and more generally, academic literature focused on challenges that journalists faced during conflicts (Burri, 2015 in relation to Libya) and democratisation (Lohner and Banjac, 2017 on South Africa, Kenya and Egypt; Stremmlau, 2020 on South Africa) and how self-censorship is used as a tool for self-protection (Mhiripiri, 2020 on Zimbabwe).

Europe

63 academic pieces of literature from the search focused on Europe specifically, with Turkey being the main focus (12) followed by Finland (7) and Bulgaria (5) (full data in appendix). Turkey has been predominantly discussed in relation to the role that the state plays in media, i.e. journalists are considered to be enemies of the state (Ataman et al., 2020), particularly since the failed coup d'état of 2016. Journalists are often imprisoned for discussing particular issues and government censorship of left-wing and pro-Kurdish media outlets remains an issue and therefore journalists are engaging in self-censorship for their own safety (Ataman and Çoban, 2017, 2019; Çalışkan, 2019; Kurtul, 2020; Pukallus et al., 2020). In certain instances, there was also discussion on how safety training can help journalists, particularly citizen journalists, as they have less awareness on how to report or survive in hostile environments and therefore require training in this area (Ataman and Çoban, 2017; Çalışkan, 2019).

Figure 10: Countries in Europe and number of Academic Publications

Country	Number of Academic Publications
Turkey	12
Finland	7
Bulgaria	5
Germany	5
Norway	4
Spain	3
United Kingdom	3
Russia	3
Serbia	2
Ukraine	2

Other pertinent issues in Europe concerned journalism safety training (Nilsson and Örnebring, 2016 on Sweden; Mardaras et al., 2017 on Spain), in particular, how journalists can cope with trauma following the reporting of traumatic events, such as terror attacks (Idås and Backholm, 2017 on Norway) and other potentially traumatic events (Backholm and Björkqvist, 2010) such as the Jokela (Backholm and Björkqvist, 2012) and Kauhajoki school shooting in Finland (Backholm et al., 2012). Furthermore, despite the Scandinavian region also being one of the safest places for journalists to conduct their work, academia has also noted how their safety is challenged in different ways. For example, Hiltunen (2017, 2021) noted that there is strong self-censorship in Finland despite rigorous legal instruments in place to protect journalists. Nilsson and Örnebring (2016) also stated how intimidation and harassment is taking place in Sweden. Self-censorship was also something that was emphasised in other countries, such as Greece, Cyprus and Spain (Iordanidou et al., 2020). Gender-specific safety issues, namely sexual harassment and inequality, was another theme academic literature discussed in Europe. For example, Idås et al. (2020) stated how sexual harassment against women journalists in Norway is an issue. Work on Georgia (Gersamia et al., 2021) and Estonia (Ivask, 2020) also focused on the inequality and sexual harassment that women face in newsrooms.

COVID-19 was another issue that academic literature focused on in Europe, predominantly in relation to how governments attempted to hide information and the impact that this has had on journalists being able to do their work (Cendic and Gosztory, 2020; Novais, 2022 on Portugal). Political pressure outside of the pandemic was also raised as an issue in other countries such as Bulgaria (Price, 2019), Greece, Cyprus and Spain (Iordanidou, 2020).

North America

In relation to the United States, the focus of academic literature was mainly on digital safety, despite the fact that physical violence is still an issue in the United States (Jamil and Muschert, 2020). In particular, the online harassment of women journalists was discussed (Waisbord, 2020; Holton et al., 2021) and how technology can be used in newsroom security, such as through encryption to protect sources (Henrichsen, 2021). In addition to this, research also expanded to examine issues with populism and polarisation and the impact that this has had not only on journalists' safety, but on their ability to practice journalism and act as a watchdog effectively especially when they are being labelled as 'fake news' outlets (Hafez, 2019; Kellner, 2019; Lischka, 2019; Koliska et al., 2020; Cosentino, 2021). In Canada, the focus was

predominantly on the emotional wellbeing of journalists and the trauma they suffer from when reporting on dangerous assignments (Keats and Buchanan, 2009, 2013).

Latin America

In relation to Latin America, there are common themes that have emerged. The first is that journalists fear for their safety as they are subject to harassment and killings (Hughes and Márquez-Ramírez, 2017a; Gonzalez, 2020, 2021; González-Macías and Reyna-García, 2019; on Mexico). These threats were said to come from Organised Crime Groups (OCG's) during the war on drugs (Cárdenas, 2013; Cañas and Cedillo, 2014; Díaz-Cerveró and Ibáñez, 2020 and Díaz-Cerveró et al., 2022 on Mexico). The second theme is political polarisation and political violence which caused a climate of fear, self-censorship (Bartman, 2018; González-Quñones and Machin-Mastromatteo, 2019; González de Bustamante and Rely 2021 on Mexico; Benítez, 2020 on Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador; Mazzaro, 2020 for Venezuela; Barrios et al., 2019; Charles, 2022 for Colombia) and a culture of silence (Garces-Prettel et al., 2020; Valderrama, 2020 for Colombia). The third theme is online harassment and digital threats (González-Quñones and Machin-Mastromatteo, 2019; González and Rodelo, 2020 on Mexico; Garrido 2020 on Venezuela) and particularly how women journalists often find themselves subject to online harassment (Garrido, 2021 on Venezuela; Lagos and Mellado, 2016 on Chile). In relation to this, academics also examined the coping mechanisms that journalists engage with and the tactics they could use for self-protection (Hughes and Márquez-Ramírez, 2017b; Mitchell, 2022 on Mexico; Iesue et al., 2021 on Brazil).

Australia

With regard to Australia, academic literature that focused on the safety of journalists and the issue of impunity is scarce. North (2016) focused on women's experiences of sexual harassment in the newsroom while Martin (2020) explored journalists' resilience towards combatting online violence. Anderson (2017) examined how Australian photographers coped with the dangers that they faced while they were posted on international assignments.⁷

A lack of comparative research between countries and regions

The literature stocktake and the academic consultation testified to a lack of comparative research, particularly in relation to countries with varying degrees of censorship, different levels of democracy and generally, comparisons between the Global North and the Global South. The literature revealed that there were some studies that focused on comparisons and had more than a single country focus. These are noted in the appendix. In addition, the work that the Worlds of Journalism Studies (WJS) does has produced a number of academic publications from the study (Hanitzsch et al., 2012; Hanusch and Hanitzsch, 2017; Hanitzsch et al., 2019).⁸

Calls for more comparative work have been made in the academic consultation. As the second round of the academic consultation emphasised, engaging in cross-country and cross-national comparisons can allow for a better understanding of safety problems that journalists face (also Mitra et al., 2021; de Macedo Higgins Joyce et al., 2022 on Latin America). Arguments have also been made for investigation to take place in countries with varying degrees of democracy

⁷ There are, however, various non-academic reports that look at the state of play in Australia, but these do not form part of the stocktake (e.g. <https://rsf.org/en/country/australia>)

⁸ Cross-country work has been undertaken with regard to the Worlds of Journalism Study (WJS) that was set up in 2010 to help assess the state of journalism throughout the world and to help journalism researchers, media practitioners and policy makers to understand changes that take place within the journalism industry and the conditions under which they operate. The third wave of the survey beginning in 2021 includes new questions on journalism safety, deteriorating editorial freedom, influences on news production, the impact of technology and increased precarity for journalistic labour, with the first results available in early 2024. See also: Worlds of Journalism Study Publications: <https://worldsofjournalism.org/publications/>

to examine how this impacts the safety of journalists and the threats they face (Solis, 2021). As pointed out by Hughes et al. (2017: 661-62), 'Since the quality of democracy, public security and economic inequality have become more variable over the last four decades, journalism studies needs better measures to capture the relationships between violence, insecurity, democracy and journalism'. The academic consultation also brought to attention the importance of comparative work to ensure that countries that are currently under-represented are also studied.

3.5. Research Areas

Though the research undertaken within academia is far and wide, there are five main areas that have been identified as key areas – current and future:

- digital safety (including protection and threats)
- gender-specific safety issues
- trauma, resilience and mental health
- workplace safety
- impunity and its impact
- the weaponisation of the law including the misuse and abuse of legislation

The literature also addressed some of these issues in relation to how COVID-19 has impacted journalistic work and safety and in particular how it was used to justify restrictions threatening journalists and journalism.

The next section takes stock of what is already available in terms of insight and arguments in the academic literature reviewed and in three rounds of the academic consultation and also points to identified gaps and areas where research needs to be developed and extended.

3.5.1. Digital Safety

One of the most discussed themes in the academic consultation, and an emerging trend in the literature, is that of the relationship between digital technology and journalism safety – possibly due to the intensification of the use of digital devices in addition to a growth in online platforms (Berger, 2017).

Figure 11: Academic Publications focused on Digital Safety

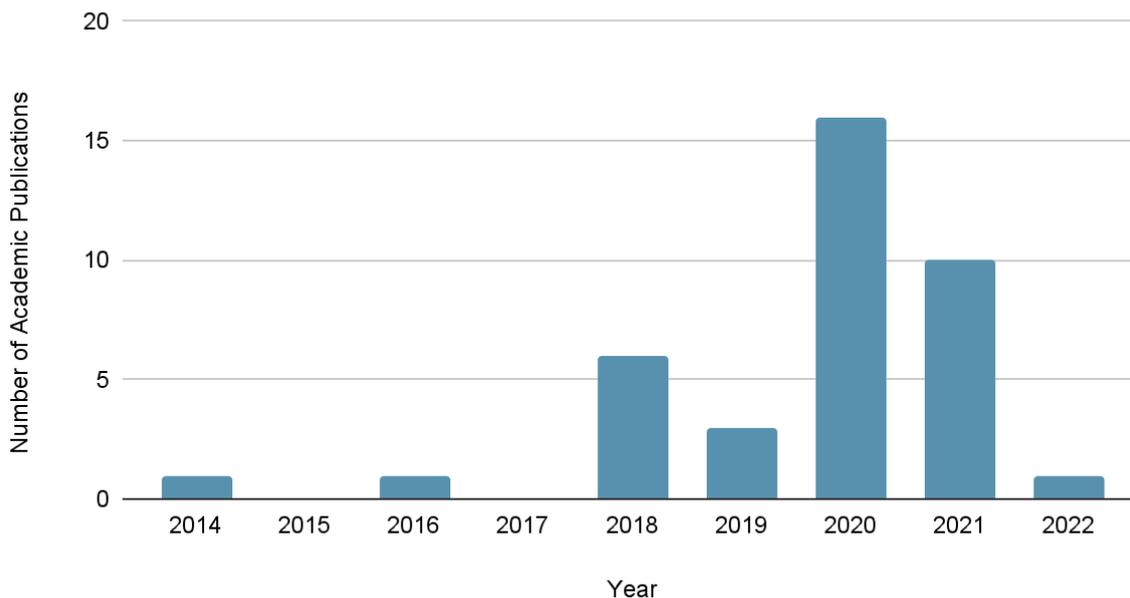


Figure 11 shows a peak in publications in the area of digital safety in 2020 with a drop of about 25% in 2021. Due to a time lag in submissions of articles and publication, figures for 2022 will be added when available.

In the rather wide field of digital safety, the literature focused mainly on three things: first, how digital technology has and continues to be used to harass journalists in specific countries; second, the digital threats that menace the undertaking of journalism altogether (example of shutdowns) or that target specific journalists (through spyware for example) and how states create a repressive digital journalistic environment. In response to these threats, academic research has also started to focus on the third item, how to use technology as a protective tool individually and to protect the possibility of reporting.

3.5.1.1. Online Harassment

Online harassment has become a topic of interest in academia, particularly with a gender-specific research lens where it has been noted that women journalists are considered more of a target of online harassment than their male counterparts (Ferrier and Garud-Patkar, 2018; Martin, 2018; Høiby, 2020a; Jamil, 2020a; Koirala, 2020b; Montiel, 2020; Stahel and Schoen, 2020; Jamil and Appiah-Adjei, 2021; Kundu and Bhuiyan, 2021; Posetti, 2021). Research has touched on online harassment of citizen journalists too (Porlezza and Arafat, 2021) and more generally has started to take country-specific approaches, such as in Turkey (Çalışkan, 2019) and Nigeria (Onuche, 2021). The academic consultation itself focused at times on this issue in Nigeria – emphasising the already existing research in that country on online harassment (Suraj, 2020; Onuche, 2021). Though traditionally focused on journalists as victims of online harassment, research has also started to consider the concept of the perpetrator more closely and identified politicians as enablers of individual attacks (Barrios et al., 2019 for Colombia) as well as how politicians can incite verbal violence on social media against journalists creating, what has been coined as, ‘mob censorship’ (see Waisbord, 2020 on the United States; Kim and Shin, 2020 on Korea) and which can lead, amongst other things, to self-censorship (Barrios and Miller, 2021 on Colombia). In addition to self-censorship, it can cause a journalist to change their perception of their audience and their way of reporting (Post and

Kepplinger, 2019 on Germany; Relly, 2021) and to refrain from using social media entirely as they may develop 'social media fatigue' (Lewis et al., 2020; Bossio and Holton, 2021; Holton et al., 2021). Another form of harassment is the online trolling of journalists (Waisbord, 2020, 2022). Overall, recommendations were made on best practices to tackle online harassment and many of these recommendations included a call for better legislation in certain countries (Koirala, 2020b on Nepal) or online governance (Martin, 2018), and resilience training for journalists (Jamil, 2020b; Martin and Murrell, 2020).

3.5.1.2. Digital Threats

In addition to online harassment, journalists have equally found themselves at risk as a consequence of the technology they use. For example, online surveillance is becoming an increasing issue (Waghorn, 2007 on China) as are digital shutdowns (Tuazon and Torres, 2020 on Philippines; Majeed, 2022 on India). Training is being recommended for journalists to use best practice to protect themselves online, such as by using encryption to protect their sources when writing a story (Jamil and Muschert, 2020; Posetti, 2018 on the United States; Di Salvo, 2021). However, academics have raised concerns because of the lack of training that is on offer for journalists in this area in certain countries (Çalışkan, 2019 on Turkey; González and Rodelo, 2020 on Mexico; Kirabira, 2020 on East Africa). The need for training in this area was also raised in the second round of the academic consultation, particularly because journalists' unawareness of potential IoT (Internet of Things) threats make them vulnerable and has the potential risk of compromising their sources unintentionally (Shere et al., 2022). However, and of course, not all journalists are unaware. For example, in the United States, it has been observed how journalists have become more astute about government surveillance and understanding the importance of encryption (Posetti, 2018; Jamil and Muschert, 2020; Henrichsen, 2021). Nonetheless, the academic community has made it clear that more training/knowledge is needed for journalists across the globe to know how they should be protected online.

In relation to the UNPA, concerns were raised during the academic consultation about the UNPA and its lack of focus on digital safety, noting that there is more of a focus on safety being related to physical safety. It was noted in the academic consultation that the UNPA could be updated to include issues relating to digital safety.

3.5.1.3. States' Role

There has been increasing interest in academic research more generally on digital repression by the state. In the particular field of journalism research, there has been a focus on how States enable digital repression of journalists' work (Suraj, 2020 on Nigeria), engage in online surveillance of foreign journalists (Waghorn, 2007 on China), regulate online space in such a way that it decreases freedom of expression (Jamil, 2019 on Pakistan; Kirabira, 2020 on Tanzania and Burundi) and has a further chilling effect on journalism.

3.5.1.4. Technological Protections

While technology thus far has been discussed by the research community in relation to the dangers it brings to journalists and journalism as a practice, there are times when it has been used to help journalists protect themselves and the work that they do (González de Bustamante and Relly 2016b). In the academic literature, this has been established particularly in relation to Mexico. For example, González de Bustamante and Relly (2014) examined how journalists in Mexico have used social media to build cross-border relationships with journalists in the United States to publish stories that they had been struggling to publish in Mexico because of safety concerns. While Dell'Orto (2017) has argued that social media can help stories be published from countries where it is dangerous to work as a journalist. González and Rodelo (2020 on Mexico) and Selnes (2020 on Uganda) pointed out the potential in social media and electronic devices to contribute to the development of better reporting practices. In Pakistan, Koster et al. (2022) noted how many journalists work in rural

locations and therefore mobile technology could be used for mental health screenings and depression when journalists are not able to have face-to-face interventions. This area is an emerging one and in need of being developed both by academics and training providers.

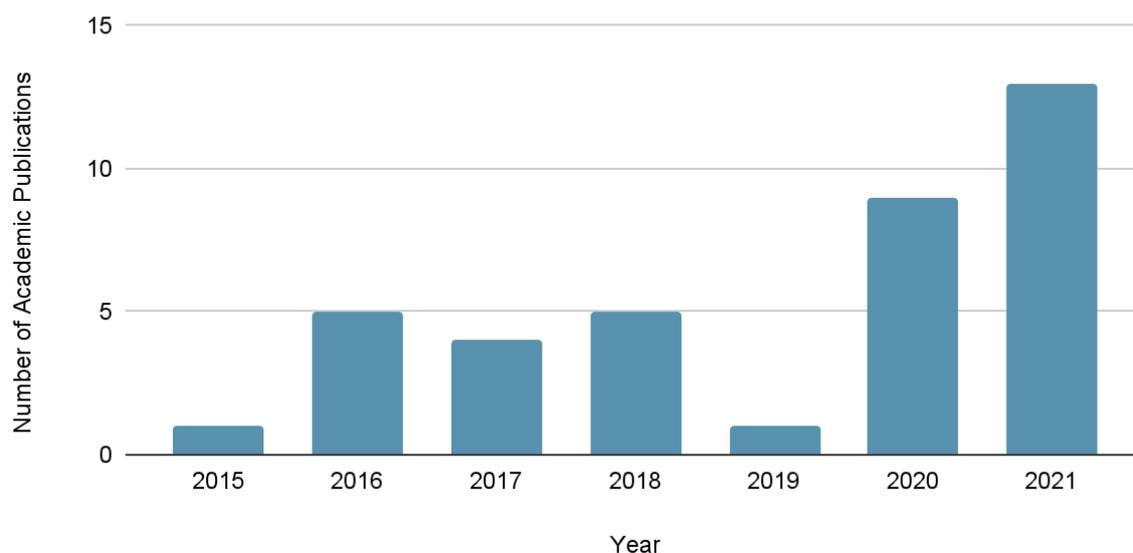
3.5.1.5. COVID-19

It would be remiss not to mention the impact that COVID-19 has had on the digital safety of journalists as research has turned its attention to this during the pandemic (2020-2022). For example, Grubi and Karameti (2022) examined the digital security of journalists in COVID-19 as they turned to using social media/digital media to report. They focused on how journalists suffered from a lack of information in several countries. Cendic and Gosztonyi (2020) also noted how journalists in Hungary and Serbia were impacted by COVID-19 as there were found to be concerns about media freedom in certain countries, in particular digital threats leading to self-censorship. Novais (2022), when examining Portuguese journalism during the time of COVID-19, also noted how journalists suffered from economic threats and a limited access to information, along with online harassment and smear campaigns.

3.5.2. Gender-specific safety issues

Research has increasingly focused on gender-specific safety issues as figure 12 notes. Between 2020 and 2021, there was a growth in publications in this area. These showed that the safety issues are linked to online harassment, (sexual) harassment and also discrimination in the workplace. The uptick in the number of publications focusing on gender-specific safety issues also coincided with the #MeToo movement which some scholars reference in their work (Idås et al., 2020; Sohal, 2021). The academic consultation and literature also highlighted how women were more at risk when reporting in certain environments, such as during war and conflict. In particular calls were made to ensure that holistic gender sensitive approaches to safety problems are developed to understand structural inequalities behind gendered risks.

Figure 12: Academic Publications focused on Gender-specific safety issues



3.5.2.1. *Harassment in the Workplace*

The research community has focused on how women suffer from sexual, physical and online harassment in their workplace. Many studies have focused on a single country: Sohal (2021) evidenced this issue in India, Simorangkir (2020) in Indonesia, North (2016) in Australia, Tuazon and Torres (2021) in the Philippines. Idås et al. (2020) examined how young, women and temporary workers were targets of sexual harassment in Norway and Somerstein (2021) showed that sexual harassment of women photographers is also an issue and Ibrahim and Spikin (2021) found that media houses' in Nigeria do not help women suffering from harassment and threats. Women are also more likely to be the subject to online harassment than men and academic research has emphasised this to be the case in recent years (Ferrier and Garud-Patkar, 2018; Høiby, 2020a) and in many instances academics have examined online harassment in relation to a single country. For example, by examining Bangladesh (Kundu and Bhuiyan, 2021), Nepal (Koirala, 2020b) and Ghana (Appiah-Adjei, 2021).

A culture of silence surrounding (sexual) harassment was found to exist in many places. Ellao et al. (2021) noted how women journalists in the Philippines were afraid to report sexual harassment out of concerns about how their bosses would handle their complaints. Similarly, this was the case in Australia, with women journalists feeling that they had to be quiet when they suffered sexual harassment as 'the price they have to pay for daring to step into a male-dominated industry' (North, 2016: 503). In India, Chadha et al (2017: 25) stated that sexism and sexual harassment was attributed 'to the long-standing and seemingly global culture in journalism of an old boys' club that revolves around going out after work and drinking'. This was also acknowledged by Chen et al. (2020: 891) in relation to a multitude of countries including Germany, India, Taiwan, the United Kingdom and the United States where it was stated that: 'Journalists must have the ability to report harassment to upper management confident that they will be heard and action will be taken because women in our sample reported not feeling that freedom'.

The academic consultation also revealed similar issues in relation to Nigeria with it being noted that top management staff, colleagues, and opinion leaders, were often the perpetrators of harassment against women. These women felt as though it was the 'norm' for them to face harassment where they work and also found it acceptable for their management not to address these issues. The academic consultation also revealed a similar issue in Brazil, with women often facing discrimination due to their appearance as well as being subjected to embarrassing comments and sexual harassment from male colleagues.

Academic literature has also examined how female journalists navigate the challenges they face at work (Konow-Lund and Høiby, 2021) and have stated that they often develop coping mechanisms (Mesmer and Jahng, 2021), avoidance strategies (Stahel and Schoen, 2020) and also undertake self-censorship in an attempt not to be harassed for the work that they do (Ferrier and Garud-Patkar, 2018; Høiby, 2020a; Ivask, 2020; Nakiwala, 2020).

3.5.2.2. *Gender Inequality*

Research has shown that women journalists are not given the same opportunities as their male counterparts and that gender inequality is something that needs to be addressed in the workplace (Byerly, 2013; Çoban and Ataman, 2021). Again, research has mainly taken place in regions and single countries, such as Latin America (Montiel, 2020), Chile (Lagos and Mellado, 2016) and India (Bhattacharyya, 2021). Research showed how women are often paid less than men (Sackey et al., 2021 on Ghana), left out of key decision-making processes (Garrido, 2021 on Venezuela; Gersamia et al., 2021 on Georgia; Pant, 2021 on Nepal), have their voices ignored (Valencia-Forrester et al., 2020 on Melanesia) and are given less autonomy in their work (Garces-Pretzel et al., 2020 on Colombia). Sexism has been found to be another key issue for women journalists in Pakistan (Hafeez and Sahid, 2021) while in Estonia, comments were made about women's authority and how they should find a more 'female' profession to work in (Ivask, 2020). In the academic consultation, sexism was

discussed in relation to Brazil where women faced similar issues, including disregarded opinions as well as humiliation and jokes about their personal lives.

Research has been conducted into whether women journalists are more at risk than their male counterparts when working as war correspondents (Orgeret, 2016; von der Lippe and Ottosen, 2017) or when reporting on political demonstrations (Nakiwala, 2020 on Uganda). In relation to working as a war correspondent, Orgeret (2016) noted that women conflict reporters have the same risks as their male counterparts, but they also have other risks that are unique to them. For example, there were discussions concerning how unmarried women wore wedding rings in some cases or how they had two business cards, one with their fake name on it and another with their real details. When reporting on political demonstrations, Nakiwala (2020: 143) stated that: 'A secure work environment is needed for all journalists, but it is of decisive importance to women – who are more often exposed to gendered violations – and to the fulfilment of a free press', showing that women are often more exposed to danger than their male counterparts as a result of their gender.

3.5.3. Emotional and Psychological Wellbeing of Journalists

Early literature focused mainly on the emotional and psychological wellbeing of journalists in relation to war and conflict. However, more recently research has moved away from this sole focus, acknowledging that journalism trauma is an issue when journalists witness other traumatic events and also when they are engaged in their day-to-day jobs because of the stories they report on, the user-generated images that they see as a consequence of the development of technology, and also because of the harassment they are subjected to. It is this kind of 'every day' trauma that this section focuses on as a key challenge in journalism safety.

3.5.3.1. Moving Towards 'every day' Trauma

Academic research has increasingly recognised that witnessing and reporting trauma can have serious consequences for journalists (Idås and Backholm, 2017) impacting their reporting, professional life and mental health in the aftermath for varying lengths of time. More specifically, Anderson (2017) examined the trauma Australian journalists face when they are working on assignments that are considered traumatic, such as crimes and traffic fatalities. Research has also examined how journalists cope psychologically after a period of imprisonment (Freedman, 2017) and how online harassment can impact their mental health (Baroni et al., 2022; Kean and Maclure, 2022; Ngilangil, 2022), particularly women journalists (Høiby, 2020a; Ferrier and Garud-Patkar, 2018; Gersamia et al., 2021). Hill (2021) has also observed that organizational leaders often experience emotion while working, but have a belief that such emotion should be kept private and therefore 'the mental health stigmas that rank-and-file journalists have experienced are intensified for leaders, and even more complicated for female managers' (p.257).

During the academic consultation, it was equally acknowledged that reporting on traumatic events can have an impact on journalists, with it being noted that journalists often pay an emotional toll for such reporting (Backholm and Björkqvist, 2010). However, for trauma to occur, journalists do not have to be physically present at the scene of a crime or a mass atrocity (Papadopoulou et al., 2022). This can happen through newsgathering and deciding what to publish. The news gathering process involves looking at user-generated content and visual images which can lead to what has recently been referred to as 'everyday trauma' (Kim and Shin, 2022 on Korea). Events such as the Syrian chemical attacks (Jukes, 2015) and the refugee and migration crises (Feinstein et al., 2018b) have been found to impact journalists and cause moral injury. When reporting on these events, Feinstein et al. (2014: 1) stated 'that frequency rather than duration of exposure to images of graphic violence is more emotionally distressing to journalists working with User Generated Content'. In addition to the types of stories that they report on causing them stress, journalists can also have their emotional

wellbeing impacted from inside influence. As Jamil and Muschert (2020: 139) examined in the United States they 'often suffer from workplace stress, because of organizational pressures, and thus it is essential that they exercise self-care and are aware of their personal risks'.

3.5.3.2. Media Houses' and Journalists' Reluctance to Engage with journalists' emotional wellbeing

Another theme that the literature has revealed in relation to journalists' emotional wellbeing is a lack of training that is offered to them from both their employers and in journalism education. As Seely (2019, 2020) has argued, it is imperative that journalists are provided with training and this training should begin in the classroom at higher education level and Lee et al. (2018 on Korea) stated that media companies should take initiatives and provide training too for reporters to learn how to cope with reporting on traumatic events. Indeed, this reluctance to engage with discussing mental health can be seen throughout the academic consultation, with academics stating that, even though there has been a shift since the 1990s in discussing the emotional impact a journalists' work can have on them, there still remains a reluctance to engage with the emotions of journalists in line with what the audience expect from them from a professional viewpoint. This was something that was also raised twenty years ago by Tumber (2002: 260) who argued that 'There is a perceptible change of culture allowing for the acknowledgement of PTSD and the need for treatment, but a large degree of scepticism remains. Foreign correspondents remain a specialist group in journalism, which traditionally enjoys a trenchcoat culture. It is the specialism which provides fodder for Hollywood. To forsake a macho image involves the destruction of a myth. Journalism is not at the forefront of the touchy-feely culture. Journalists may report it but rarely embrace it'.

This does not seem to have changed much. Indeed, Ananthan (2017: 20), fifteen years later, noted that 'Many journalists think those who are unable to face such horrible incidents are not suitable for this job at all. Hence they try to hide their problems due to fear of losing their jobs. First they must understand that PTSD is not going to ruin their career, and what will ruin it is not getting treatment'.

During the academic consultation, the issue was raised that journalists feel they cannot talk to their employers about their mental health, with it being noted that certain media houses in certain countries lack protocols for them to talk about mental health challenges. More also needs to be done in relation to the UNPA and its engagement with mental health, placing emphasis on its importance as being equal to the physical safety threats that journalists face. It is apparent from the research that there is a need for more of a focus on journalists' emotional and psychological wellbeing moving forwards.

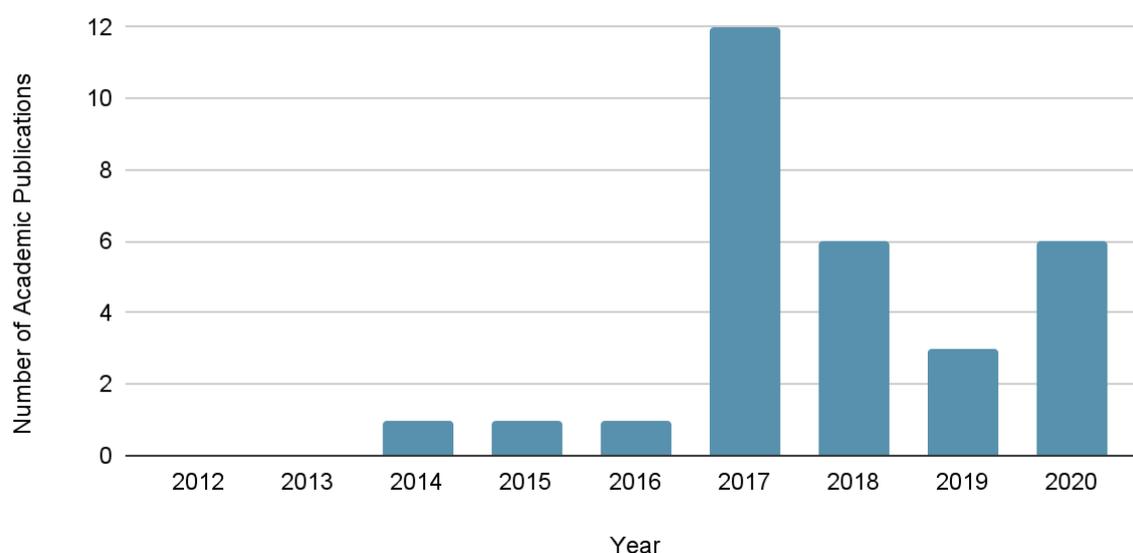
3.5.3.3. COVID-19

Another event that has taken place in recent years and the academic community have taken note of in relation to the emotional and psychological wellbeing of journalists is COVID-19 (Grubi and Karameti, 2022). Countries in Africa have been the main focus in relation to this, for example, Alade and Sanusi (2022) examined the emotional impact reporting on COVID-19 had on journalists in Nigeria while Boateng and Buatsi (2022) focused on Ghana and how the idea of contracting COVID-19 could trigger emotional responses, predominately of fear, for journalists. In the United States, Nee and Chacón (2021) noted that the pandemic added to already stressful situations for journalists, such as concern over job security. While the impact of COVID-19 has been considered during the pandemic, within the academic consultation it has been suggested that research needs to turn towards the impacts of COVID-19 post pandemic. For example, during the first round of the academic consultation it was suggested that research could focus on the health of journalists following the pandemic and how reporting on it has impacted them both physically and emotionally.

3.5.4. Workplace Safety

Research examining workplace safety has been undertaken in relation to the emotional and psychological wellbeing of journalists and how they are protected (or not) in their own newsrooms (see section 3.5.3). Furthermore, it has been acknowledged that women do not feel comfortable talking about (sexual) harassment in the newsroom (see section 3.5.2). However, research has also noted how in other instances, media houses and organisations are not offering adequate safety training in general to their employees, not just in the certain areas that have been discussed. Figure 13 shows how academic publications have begun to take note of safety training since the introduction of the UNPA.

Figure 13: Academic Publications focused on Safety Training



3.5.4.1. Inadequate safety training

The academic community has repeatedly pointed out the importance of safety training for journalists (Tait, 2007, Ataman and Çoban, 2019 on Turkey; Høiby and Garrido, 2020; Kirabira, 2020 on East Africa). When it comes to examining safety training, research has adopted a single country focus in many cases. For example, Hajara et al. (2018) examined how there needs to be training and retraining of journalists in Nigeria for them to be aware for the dangers they face. This has also been recommended in Nigeria by Nsereka and Orlu-Orlu (2014), Pate and Idris (2017) and Ndidiamaka et al. (2021). Jamil (2020b) also identified a need for more to be done to train journalists in Pakistan due to the safety threats they face there. Inadequate safety training was also raised in the academic consultation. For example, in Chile, research was conducted during the pandemic where it was found that editors adopted a paternalistic attitude towards their journalists, feeling the need to protect them, despite not having adequate training or preparation to adopt such an approach.

3.5.4.2. Hostile Environments and Safety Training

When a journalist is working in a hostile environment, academics have argued that it is of the utmost importance that they have adequate safety training before they go into conflict and, if possible, while they are there (especially if it is a long-term assignment). Such training could include culture and language seminars (Ricchiardi, 2002; Khan et al., 2019) and in some instances, academics have advocated the importance of journalists being trained in IHL to know about their legal protections (Jaffal, 2016) with Villareal (2017:275) arguing that: ‘...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’.

In addition to adequate safety training, the literature has noted the importance of safety kits provided to them during war and conflict, including items such as flak jackets (Saul, 2008; Lisosky and Henrichsen, 2009). Though not a hostile environment, the COVID-19 pandemic also raised a number of safety concerns for journalists (see section 3.5.3.3) and therefore the importance of media houses providing them with physical safety equipment, such as masks and hand sanitizers, was raised as being important (Ayodele, 2020 on Nigeria; Shah and Yousafzai, 2020 on Pakistan)

When journalists undertake work in hostile environments, academics have been keen to argue that they should be compensated for the work that they do. This has been suggested in relation to journalists in Nigeria (Pate and Idris, 2017; Okafor and Onyenekwe, 2020) with Ujene and Ojedokun (2021: 58) noting that, ‘Equally it is important for media organisations to make available lucrative welfare and life insurance packages for their members of staff as a way of motivating and encouraging them to work assiduously without fear or trepidation. Furthermore, media houses should ensure that their members of staff are paid befitting salaries so as to not only encourage them to adhere to strong ethical practices but also compensate them for the risk they normally take in the line of duty’.

3.5.5. Monitoring and Data Collection

Research has also highlighted the importance that monitoring can play in collecting data on journalism safety and the need for extensive collection of data on violations against journalists. There are a number of challenges related to data collection highlighted by Harrison et al. (2020; also Torsner 2017) such as a lack of conceptual consistency in definitions used about violations; a lack of methodological transparency in data collections; a need for more sophisticated data categorisation; and disaggregation to enable data to be merged from different sources and a need to align to the contextual circumstances and processes producing attacks against journalists.

3.5.5.1. Improved Monitoring

In relation to improved monitoring of attacks, it has been argued that one way in which this can be achieved is through the development of infrastructure to allow it to take place at a local level. Benítez (2017: 64) focused on monitoring in relation to Central America and noted that: ‘It is critical that journalist associations, civil society organizations and universities collaborate in the monitoring and reporting of aggressions towards journalists and communicators. Likewise, a monitoring and reporting system will be stronger if there were more collaboration among journalists and civil society organizations from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, so that there can be similar protocols for monitoring, reporting of aggressions and public advocacy to prevent and combat violence against the exercise of press freedom’. Research has also shown there was the need for a coordinated effort between various institutions and actors, such as governments, the judiciary, NGOs, civil society organisations, and journalism associations, with Costa (2022: 17) noting that: ‘Only by joining forces [civil society, social institutions, NGOs and academic community] can legal and political approaches, effective denunciation mechanisms, and close monitoring of victims be created’. Nonetheless, there are still issues surrounding the collection of data which need to be addressed. Such improved monitoring, as participants in the second round of the academic consultation argued, would include refinement and expansion of recorded types of threats, moving away from focusing mainly on physical attacks when they take place. Also the academic consultation highlighted that it is important that monitoring should also focus on the consequences beyond an assault, not just on the fact that an assault has taken place.

Examination of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16.10.1 was another issue that academic literature examined, in particular how there can be stronger national level monitoring

and engagement with the SDG Agenda (Berger, 2020) with Harrison et al. (2020: 97) putting forward the following argument: ‘...improved monitoring is required: Based on the needs and priorities of the community of monitoring organisations and/or individual or group of monitoring civil society organisations, tools should be developed to address issues of data generation, categorisation and systematising, both for the systematic monitoring of 16.10.1, and for strengthening the monitoring capacity of local civil society organisations’.

Moving into the future, what is clear is that there needs to be the collection of data to ‘examine to what the extent the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the issue of impunity has substantially improved the trends and contemporary challenges to the safety of journalists such as retaliatory killings for carrying out their jobs in specific countries that are part of the UN roll out action plan’ (Okpodu, 2022: 132). While the collection and monitoring of data remains of the utmost importance, Sarikakis (2017: 127) has been keen to point out that there could be different ways of approaching this: ‘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 revisions and further rigour; and of presentation of datasets for further analysis might be desirable’.

3.5.5.2. Widening Definitions

While not directly related to monitoring in itself, suggestions have been made that definitions of who is considered a journalist and what journalism itself actually is need to be widened. In turn, this could improve monitoring efforts. For example, if citizen journalists were to be classed as journalists, then data could be collected on safety issues they face and they could also be considered in monitoring methods. Greste (2018) has made this suggestion based on the argument that citizen bloggers should be included in the Committee to Protect Journalists’ monitoring of attacks against journalists because of the safety threats they face.

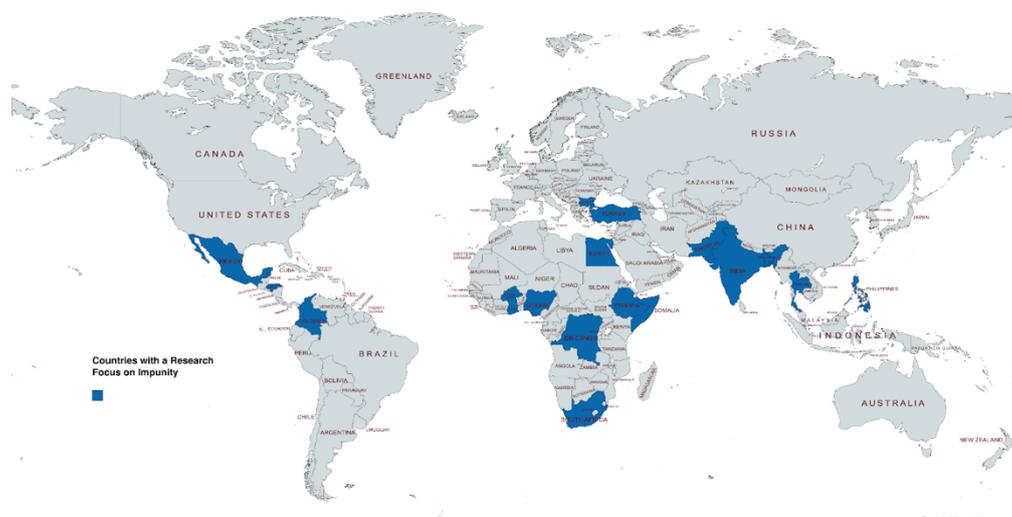
The definition of who is considered a journalist is something that has been called into question by academics, for example, the distinctions between amateur and professional journalists (Okafor and Onyenekwe, 2020) and also the status of journalists as civilians under law during times of war and conflict (Geiss, 2008). This concern surrounding who is considered a journalist is because in a number of cases, certain journalists are not included in monitoring and data collection. Citizen journalists, social media actors (Pöyhtäri, 2016) and indigenous journalists are often not included in such efforts, with Krøvel (2017: 201) noting in relation to the latter: ‘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’.

3.5.6. Impunity

Both the literature as well as the three rounds of the academic consultation testified to the fact that impunity is a serious challenge that is incredibly difficult to redress effectively and across the world. Many studies on specific regions exist – examples from the stocktake included Europe (Clark and Grech, 2017; Žuffová and Carlini, 2021) and Latin America (Díaz Nosty and de Frutos García, 2017). An account of individual countries that have been studied can also be found on the CPJ’s Global Impunity Index⁹ and a visual overview can be found in figure 14. Countries that have been examined in academic literature included Mexico (Harrison and Pukallus, 2018; Díaz-Cerveró et al., 2022; Mitchell, 2022), India (Harrison and Pukallus, 2018; Murthy, 2018), Pakistan (Ashraf and Brooten, 2017; Harrison and Pukallus, 2018; Jamil, 2019), Nigeria (Nsereka and Orlu-Orlu, 2014) and Russia (Aro, 2016).

⁹ Dunham, Jennifer. (2021, October 28) ‘Killers of journalists still get away with murder’, Committee to Protect Journalists. Available at: <https://cpj.org/reports/2021/10/killers-of-journalists-still-get-away-with-murder/#index>.

Figure 14: Countries with a Research Focus on Impunity¹⁰



3.5.6.1. Perpetrators of Impunity

Impunity is ensured by state and state-sponsored actors and exercised against journalists themselves as well as their families (Smyth, 2010; Ashraf and Brooten, 2017; Høiby and Ottosen, 2017; Jamil, 2019). State-sponsored actors frequently include drug cartels, OCG's and terrorist groups and because they are state-sponsored they are protected from prosecution – Mexico is an example of this (Díaz-Cerveró et al., 2022; Mitchel, 2022). The shift from offline to online attacks might also come with either additional groups of perpetrators or new strategies employed by perpetrators which need to be addressed by the implementation strategies of the UNPA and be researched by academia.

3.5.7. Effective and legal mechanisms and measures

In terms of effective and legal mechanisms and measures, academic research in the stocktake was best understood as being focused on governmental action and IHL. To take each in turn:

3.5.7.1. Governmental Action: Enforcing Legislation

The extent to which existing legislation is enforced by governments has been a concern with regard to a variety of countries including Ukraine (Mostepanyuk, 2016), Venezuela (Garrido, 2020), Pakistan (Khan, 2016) and Libya (Alashry, 2021) and there have been calls for governments to take appropriate action to ensure that such existing legislation actually gets enforced. Ujene and Ojedokun (2021) focused on Nigeria and called on the government to criminalise violent attacks against journalists and to ensure that the penalty for attacks was also 'stiff' (also Khan, 2016; Hajara et al., 2018, Shah and Yousafzai, 2020) while Robie (2017: 45) argued with regard to West Papua that: 'The government also needs to ensure the effective implementation of law enforcement procedures and legal prosecution of perpetrators and their superiors of police and military forces, who are directly and indirectly responsible for human rights in West Papua are prosecuted in fair and public trials'. In short, even safety training is not sufficient, it is necessary for governments to step up and take action as Høiby (2020b: 81) argued in the case of the Philippines: 'Extrajudicial killings and acts of impunity for crimes against journalists in the Philippines are grave human rights violations. Safety training cannot alone secure against the threats from a society where crime is rife and murder is considered beyond the law; efforts have to be made on a systemic level'. However, sometimes other agencies have been asked to ensure the application of existing laws such

¹⁰ A number of other articles mention impunity though they don't focus on it.

as the Press Council in Indonesia (Masduki, 2017). In the academic consultation, legislation did not play a large part in the discussions, however, it was mentioned in Nigeria, that even though laws do exist to protect journalists, they are still subject to impunity because of the culture surrounding the justice system, indicating a need for legislation to protect journalists and to prosecute perpetrators to be enhanced and enforced in Nigeria.

In addition to governments needing to enforce legislation to protect journalists' safety and tackle impunity, there have also been calls for them to ensure legislation protects journalists' freedom of speech. For example, this has been called for in Libya (Alashry, 2021), Indonesia (Wijayanto, 2017), Nigeria (Nsereka and Orlu-Orlu, 2014), Lesotho (Koroloso et al., 2019) and Latin America (Benítez, 2017). Without governmental support, it is widely acknowledged that journalists cannot be protected as impunity remains an issue and therefore Niaz et al. (2020: 55) stated in relation to Pakistan that 'the government should play an active role in giving protection to journalists and give shelter to those journalists who are under threat'. In other countries too, there have been calls for government support to protect journalists as noted above.

As impunity is essentially a legal concept legal mechanisms are needed to ensure that impunity does not occur but that perpetrators are brought to justice in a court of law which requires improving legislation and encouraging collaborative efforts to uphold it (Grossman, 2017; Kasper, 2022).

3.5.7.2. *International Humanitarian Law (IHL)*

War and conflict is a topic that has been covered by academics in relation to the protection offered by IHL (Mukherjee, 1995; Zanghì, 2005; Waschefort, 2007; Bosch, 2009; Davies and Crawford, 2013; Burri, 2015; Villareal, 2017; Dahal, 2021). For example, Jaffal (2016) stated that the United Nations plays a vital role in enforcing international law during times of conflict, namely through UNSC resolutions. The academic debate has been split about the role that IHL plays in protecting journalists. While some have argued that a new international instrument that targets harassment and violence against journalists specifically needs to be created (Draghici and Woods, 2019), others have rejected the need for a new instrument, but insisted on more effort going into implementing existing ones (Heyns and Srinivasan, 2013). More specifically, Grossman (2017) noted that new legislative amendments would not tackle the problem of impunity as many of the major players in current conflicts already ignore legislation that is in place. This is backed up by Kasper (2022) who stated that compliance with existing laws does drop during times of war and conflict. Düsterhöft (2013: 4) suggested that what is needed is a 'more practical, hands-on approach to implementation of those [legal] protections' that already exist, noting that this 'goal can only be achieved by a comprehensive mission jointly pursued by governments, militaries, journalists, media, NGOs and society'. Dahal (2021: 29), who concurred with this point, was keen to advocate that: 'International Humanitarian Law, International Criminal Law, human rights law, and domestic laws should work coherently and complement one another for effective protection of journalists' and there should be a collaborative effort between governments, military and NGOs to do this (Howard, 2002; Apriliyanto and Yasa, 2018).

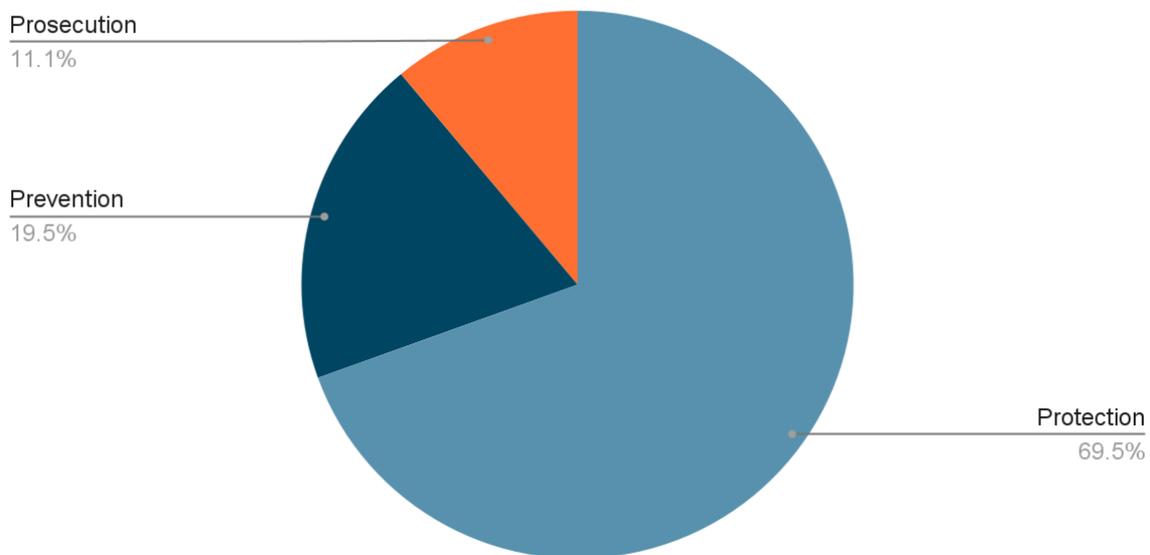
3.5.8. Protection, Prevention and Prosecution

With regard to the framework of the 'three Ps' of "protection", "prevention" and "prosecution"¹¹, which underpins the UNPA, it is argued that these themes are very much embedded in much academic research and addressed as key components of a safe environment for journalists

¹¹ See: UN Human Rights Council (HRC) Resolution 33/2 which commits States to prevent crimes against journalists from occurring, to protect journalists who are targeted and to prosecute crimes against journalists (https://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/RES/33/2). See also: <https://www.article19.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Safety-of-Journalists-guide.pdf>

and journalism. However, in the academic literature studied the 'three Ps' tended not to be identified or explicitly linked to as a safeguarding framework used by the international human rights community. While the analysis was able to identify engagement with some of or occasionally all terms (prevention, protection and prosecution) the 'three Ps' agenda was not explicitly referred to. Figure 15 shows, in the pieces where it was possible to identify engagement with the terms prevention, protection and prosecution, the breakdown of their inclusion.¹²

Figure 15: Percentage of Academic Publications Focusing on 'Protection, Prevention and Prosecution'



The need for protection for journalists is expressly addressed in 132 out of 447 academic publications. Here it is acknowledged that journalists need to be given better safety training to protect themselves, not just from physical attacks, but for their mental health to be protected also. Research showed that journalists often do not feel protected in their working environment and that in the context of technological developments, journalists need to be trained in how to protect themselves online in relation to evolving and hybrid risks, e.g. through encryption, and a better understanding of government surveillance.

The theme of prevention of attacks on journalists is addressed expressly in the literature, but to a lesser extent, with 37 publications out of 447. Engagement was most evident in research that discussed how changes or enforcement in law is needed to help to prevent journalists from being attacked. Here the more effective addressing of impunity is understood as crucial in relation to perpetrators being held accountable and the deterring effect of legal measures to prevent crimes against journalists from occurring in the first place. Prevention was also

¹² To determine whether an academic publication engages with the three Ps searches on the keywords "prevention", "protection", "prosecution" were conducted on the abstract or full text (where possible to access) of each publication included in the stocktake. Therefore, the findings presented here provide an indication of academic engagement with the 3 Ps agenda. It can however be noted that other publications in the dataset beyond these included here might also engage with issues of prevention, protection, and prosecution but without referring to these terms. The purpose of this analysis is however to better understand direct academic engagement with the 3 Ps agenda.

examined in relation to safety training focusing on how journalists can better protect themselves by undertaking courses they may be able to prevent some attacks from taking place.

Prosecution was highlighted in 21 academic publications out of 447 related to impunity, arguing that governments must be prepared to prosecute perpetrators of violence against journalists. Whether they do this by enforcing existing laws or enacting new ones, the important message that academia wished to convey is that it is the state's responsibility to tackle this issue. It is also acknowledged that a multistakeholder approach can draw attention to the issue and support states in identifying ways in which prosecution can be more effectively undertaken, but it is emphasised that political will and willingness on behalf of states to engage with stakeholders is crucial to achieve effective legal redress.

Based on these findings from the stocktake it has been shown that there is broad engagement on behalf of academia with issues of prevention, protection and prosecution. It is possible to identify the 3 Ps framework and the systematic academic study thereof (e.g. of the effectiveness of or obstacles to its implementation) as an area where further academic research would be beneficial.

3.6. The UNPA

During the academic consultation, the UNPA was discussed in depth. It was stated that it was useful to think of the UNPA as an attempt to reinforce a global norm and that the lens of 'critical norm research' enables us to appreciate that government efforts at 'norm diffusion' are as much about supporting journalist safety as they are about international politics. Challenges were noted in relation to thinking of the UNPA as a global norm as it will face challenges, such as ensuring that complex and varied needs in different countries are met as opposed to simply reflecting the interests of the states promoting it.

In particular, researchers looked into how their work aligned with the implementation of the UNPA and, in certain cases, made suggestions as to what this could focus more on. These views have already been discussed in relation to giving more of a platform towards journalists' psychological and emotional wellbeing and the consideration of digital threats (see section 3.5.1 and 3.5.2). Also, during the academic consultation, it was suggested that more could be done in relation to including consequences of hate speech for journalists and journalism and also looking at the emergence of far-right populism and the threat this has caused the media (linking back to the idea of mob censorship).

In relation to the academic literature, the UNPA has been mentioned in a number of studies (Nsereka and Orlu-Orlu, 2014; Jaffal, 2016; Berger, 2017; Díaz Nosty and de Frutos García, 2017; Relly and González de Bustamante, 2017; Apriliyanto and Yasa, 2018; Hajara et al., 2018; Brambila and Hughes, 2019; Mitchell, 2019; Benítez, 2020; Harrison et al., 2020; Montiel, 2020; Shah and Yousafzai, 2020; Jaskiernia, 2021; Ndidiamaka et al., 2021; Onuche, 2021; Porlezza and Arafat, 2021; Workneh, 2021; Costa, 2022).

In certain instances, there was praise for the introduction of the UNPA, with academics having noted how important it is for this area to be brought to attention and encouraging collaboration between academia and wider civil society (Berger, 2017, 2019; Freedman, 2020; Miller, 2021). As Pöyhtäri (2017: 106) advocated: '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'.

Berger (2017: 38-39) has also noted how collaboration has improved since the introduction of the UNPA in particular regions: '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'.

In addition to praise for the UNPA, academic literature highlighted that it is important to recognise that attacks on journalists and the issue of safety and impunity remains a pressing one (Picard and Storm, 2016; Høiby and Ottosen, 2019; Díaz Nosty and de Frutos García, 2017; Henrichsen, 2021; Marcén, 2021). Nonetheless, the UNPA still remains an important tool in promoting journalism safety and encouraging communities to work together to achieve this. As Marcesse (2017: 57) noted: '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'.

3.7. The Role of Academia

The role of academia is to provide academic research (vs policy research) which means that it is concerned with asking questions about current phenomena in order to understand these deeply in and of themselves but also in a broader context. Academic research is not generally driven by a specific outcome or policy agenda, but should provide insights and knowledge that is relevant to policy-makers and be made available through knowledge exchange activities. Academics can also help policy-makers see the relevance of academic research that might not directly talk about their policy but is nevertheless valuable and relevant to it. In addition, the role of academics is to ensure that they keep up to date with current phenomena across disciplines such as the weaponization of law, the misuse of power, the rise of mis- and disinformation, problems arising from hate speech and Infowars, health emergencies etc. that the insights can feed into and for example, the UN Research Agenda on the safety of journalists (also see Baker, 2016).

3.7.1. Research Gaps

Whereas it is evident that a lot of academic research has been conducted into the key areas outlined above there are some areas that have not been part of the academic research agenda yet but would benefit from being explored. This report identified five areas:

The first main area, which would be more policy-oriented, would concern the reception of the UNPA and its implementation, where implementation has started and is ongoing in order to understand the successes and failures of the current implementation strategy. This would require a close collaboration with local actors in the concerned territories and a deep understanding of their experiences, challenges and evaluations. So in other words, what is missing yet needed is a UNPA implementation assessment undertaken on the local level with local participants directly involved.

The second area that would benefit from greater academic attention is online threats and trolling of journalists in terms of what these threats consist of, who makes them and what they are intended to do in order to arrive at a typology of online threats against journalists. This requires a communicative analysis of these threats – messages, visual elements, slogans, terms used – as well as whether these messages voice dissent and disagreement or whether they intend to harm and lead to offline violence, i.e. qualify for hate speech in the legal sense. This also resonates with what was raised in the academic consultation by various academics on understanding types of digital threats and on the need to understand what has been termed

'crowdsourced' or 'participatory' violence and to what extent this is in fact a new phenomenon and how it is different from other forms of violence.

The third area of relevance is resistance and more specifically, how journalists organised resistance by collaborating with other journalists in their own country, across borders or from outside the country, exercise resistance to state and market power and the ways in which they do so.

The fourth is the development of theoretical frameworks that can be applied to different contexts, geographical areas and political circumstances and thereby provide a more systematic approach to understanding the issues of safety and impunity than single focus studies that operate ad hoc and without such a framework/typology. An example of such a typology is the one developed by Harrison and Pukallus (2018) on impunity. This also related to Eide (2017: 85) who emphasised that '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'.

Related to the fourth yet distinct is, fifth, a need to understand journalists as part of broader society operating in specific communicative circumstances and under specific political regimes and that requires us to not only focus on journalists but journalists as civil actors as part of something bigger. This is, for example, the case with the authoritarian trends and populism in both North America and Latin America for instance. It is necessary to understand what authoritarianism and populism is in order to evaluate what challenges journalists face and to what extent they might be more unsafe than ordinarily. For example, González de Bustamante and Relly (2016a: 64) noted the importance of continuing to advance 'research about the practice of journalism in the growing list of unsafe environments in Latin America' and though they did not write specifically about authoritarianism/populism their insights about unsafe environments are increasingly pertinent.

3.7.2. Promoting Collaboration

Collaboration should be encouraged on two levels: first, on the academic level and with regard to the development and continuation and deepening of working with and learning from other disciplines and using the research results and knowledge available in other disciplines to understand issues of journalism safety and impunity. One example is the use of insights from political science, computer science and sociology when it comes to the area of social media warfare, Infowars, polarisation, populism and authoritarianism to name some examples. Another example is to draw on insights from medicine and psychology and their professional bodies when it comes to dealing with trauma, whether ordinary or extraordinary, as many professions deal with issues similar to those journalists have to engage with and have a longstanding tradition of training, resilience and coping strategies. Finally, how law is misused is equally looked at by other disciplines and/or with regard to different 'victims' or target groups, but insights might yet be relevant and applicable to the safety issues. Such target groups could include, for example, social protestors, dissidents, artists, ecologies and lawyers. This interconnection with other disciplines is important if the research on journalism safety is to be recognised as important, relevant, sustainable and as making a contribution to the wider academic community.

The second level of collaboration is with the non-academic sector. Here collaboration ranges from common research projects, the co-production of knowledge, the co-design of solutions and impact initiatives as well as impact assessments. It also includes the development of policy priorities and areas as well as attendant implementation strategies. For this to be effective and as the academic consultation pointed out, a multi-stakeholder view for coordinated actions requires recognition of the fact that all stakeholders have relevant and diverse experiences and knowledge that can, when mobilised and pooled, support the more

effective redress of attacks on journalists (also Tuazon et al., 2017; Mitchell, 2019). Such collaboration, it was emphasised, also creates a potential for enhanced research impact through concerted efforts. Such collaboration can be effective both in the short as well as the medium term. For example, Ataman and Çoban (2017) examined safety threats against citizen journalists in Turkey and recommended establishing a journalist safety platform that encompasses academia, media, NGOs and also social movements to try and address the issue. Montiel (2020) also noted in Latin America how it was collaborative efforts between journalists, NGOs and scholars that have had an impact in unveiling violence against women and bringing the attention to the courts there while governments remained inactive.

Common knowledge bases are vital and these are best supported through networks. Here, Jamil and Muschert (2020) have stated: 'Academics need to integrate research networks into professional networks, to enhance the application of research knowledge to the practical needs of practicing journalists' (p.141). The importance of collaboration has come from a number of academics (Trionfi, 2015; Mitchell, 2019) and it can include collaboration between numerous entities, such as between local and non-local journalists, along with media organisations (Høiby, 2020b). It could also come in the form of NGOs and other civil society organisations designing initiatives to encourage national governments to protect journalists and to tackle impunity (Horsley et al., 2011; Siapera and Sighele, 2018; Fadnes et al., 2020; Marcén, 2021) or NGOs working with journalists to tackle issues involving censorship (Walulya, 2020).

3.7.3. Academia and Safety Training

Another way in which academia can contribute towards journalism safety is through helping to create and teach on journalism safety courses. In the academic literature, a country-specific focus is adopted, with many individuals arguing that, in their respective countries, universities need to train journalists (Slaughter et al., 2018). This is the case in relation to India (Murthy, 2018), the United States (Jamil and Muschert, 2020), Nigeria (Pate et al., 2018), and Pakistan (Jamil, 2020a; Niaz et al., 2020). In each instance, it is argued that universities need to ensure their courses are 'modernized up to the level of international standards' (Niaz et al., 2020: 55) and taught to students to prepare them for working as a journalist (Abu-Fadil, 2017). Benítez (2020: 26) also called for universities to be involved in promoting safety training too in Central America, noting: 'I think that it is crucial that universities promote more research about self-censorship and training opportunities on safety and security of journalists. Moreover, the active participation of journalists and media workers in associations and organizations is important new forms of professional solidarity, the creation and implementation of code of ethics in the media organizations, and improving the overall conditions of press freedom'.

During the academic consultation, it was stated that journalism safety is something that needs to be taught in curriculums with a specific-country focus. This was particularly emphasised in relation to trauma informed literacy being included in journalism curricula around the world. There were also calls for more safety training to be included in university curricula in Ghana and in Nigeria. However, while it is important for student journalists to know the challenges they will face and how they can protect themselves, it was emphasised that the onus should not always be placed on student journalists to protect themselves and that the academic community needs to continue fighting against impunity by researching the perpetrators and why they are using violence against journalists.

In the second round of the academic consultation there was also discussion on how research into resilience building training was being pilot tested in one of the major companies in the United Kingdom, emphasising the role that research can have in safety training outside of the classroom. This was also discussed in the context of Africa where it was argued that a more perpetrator-focused approach to safety research and training is needed with police and armed forces being identified as key perpetrators. It was therefore recommended that academia works more closely with civil society organisations and intergovernmental organisations such

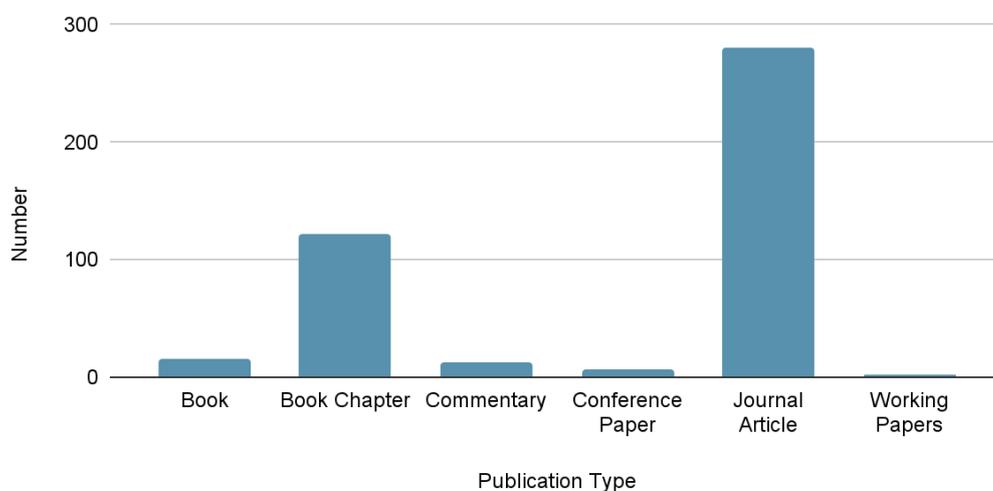
as UNESCO to develop joint research and training programmes that bring together journalists with police and security personnel and in so doing enable the two parties to understand shared responsibilities to safeguard human rights on freedom of expression as well as the challenges they jointly face.

3.7.4. Challenges Facing Academia

During the second round of the academic consultation, discussion also focused on the challenges that academia faced on a practical level. For example, the value of open-source access to academic research was highlighted, as well as the need to secure funding to carry out particular types of research (which requires fieldwork, data collection as well as costings for a researcher’s time). It was also emphasised that ensuring open source/access research is vital and problematically that currently there is no access to some of the research that is done as many research articles and books have to be purchased from academic publishers.

Many institutions and academics do not have access to funding for open access publishing, so a fund to support publication of relevant research would be beneficial. In addition, it was noted that achieving effective knowledge exchange between the academy and policy makers requires that research is translated in clear terms so that policy makers understand why it is relevant. This, in turn, would make academic research more accessible. Currently, the majority of academic research is published in journal articles, as figure 16 shows.

Figure 16: Location of Academic Publications within the Stocktake



An issue with this ambition, as academics have stated, is that when pieces are not made open access, scholars cannot easily view other’s research. Therefore, suggestions to make research more accessible included the establishment of a database of existing research in the form of an annual review or report of scholarship on journalists’ safety and impunity. This database (like the one produced for this literature stocktake for this Report) could be published as an open access online database. It could include abstracts/summaries or be an annotated bibliography. The annual report could also be publicly published and might generate interest among journalists, policymakers, industry professionals and others.

There was also discussion surrounding the importance of financial support as this is necessary to continue researching in the area, for example, additional financial support specifically for the development of postdoctoral research (to encourage future academic research capacity in the area of journalism safety and the issue of impunity) was identified as a need. On the whole, it was noted that the academic community would need more permanent or continuous

funding to systematically study journalism safety and impunity issues in the long term, as opposed to on a project or ad hoc basis.

4. Appendix

4.1. Academic Consultation on the UN Action Plan and the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity at its 10th Anniversary

The summaries of the first two rounds of the academic consultation have been written up and circulated to and approved by participants by Sara Torsner. We will publish these in due course on the CFOM website.

What follows is the summary of the third consultation summarised by Gemma Horton on behalf of CFOM.

4.1.1. Summary of **Consultation Session 3** held online, 28 September 2022

Session background: The session was held online as part of the final round of the academic consultation on the UNPA and focused on the draft recommendations that had been written following the prior two rounds of the academic consultation and the literature stocktake and a gap analysis. The recommendations were circulated to attendees of the third session prior to the event to give them chance to read over them.

The session was organised by the Centre for Freedom of the Media (CFOM) in collaboration with the Journalism Safety Research Network (JSRN) and the UNESCO Chair on Media Freedom, Journalism Safety and the Issue of Impunity.

Session Summary: The session was divided into two parts. The first part involved a brief presentation of the research that had been conducted and the findings from that research, discussing what areas had prominently been focused on within academic literature. The second part of the session included a discussion of the six draft recommendations that had been made with everyone in the meeting giving their input and discussion focusing on this. This input came in form of verbal comments and also in form of comments made within the 'chat' function of Google Meets. In addition to this, some researchers emailed their comments following the session. Comments were also sent from researchers who could not attend the session too.

1. Session opening

Speaker: Professor Jackie Harrison, UNESCO Chair on Media Freedom, Journalism Safety and the Issue of Impunity

The session was opened by Harrison who explained how the draft recommendations had been formed. It was stated that they had been completed based on the prior two rounds of the academic consultation that had taken place at UNESCO HQ in Paris and online at the IAMCR Conference. In addition to this, the recommendations had been written based on a literature stocktake that had taken place on the area of journalism safety and impunity with gaps in the literature noted. Harrison pointed out that it was important for the draft recommendations to have the input of those attending the academic consultation in order for the GAC to have a united voice.

2. Showcase of the Research Findings

Speakers:

Dr Gemma Horton, Impact Fellow, Centre for Freedom of the Media, University of Sheffield
Dr Sara Torsner, Research Associate and Coordinator of the Journalism Safety Research Network, Centre for Freedom of the Media, University of Sheffield

Horton presented the research findings from the literature stocktake and the previous two rounds of the academic consultation. The findings, as Horton explained, emphasised that there was a plethora of research that was taking place on specific single countries and a lack of research in certain countries. This echoed what had been discussed during the prior two rounds of the academic consultation. In addition to this, Horton stated that most of the research appeared to have come from journalism and communication as an academic discipline, with some interdisciplinary work conducted in certain cases, i.e. psychology and journalism when discussing journalists' mental health. Horton then turned to common research areas that had been discovered within the research, focusing on how there were concerns surrounding digital safety and gender-specific attacks. Torsner then went on to discuss how there had also been concerns surrounding monitoring that had been discovered within the stocktake including issues surrounding capturing data on who was considered a journalist. In addition to this, Torsner discussed how the emotional and psychological wellbeing of journalists needed to be further considered as a growing area of concern, moving away from focusing on journalists' mental health being impacted during war and conflict to recognising 'every day' trauma.

Following the conclusion of the presentation of findings, Harrison opened up the floor to people to discuss their thoughts on the six recommendations, discussing each recommendation in turn.

3. Discussion of Recommendations

Participants:

Professor Jackie Harrison, UNESCO Chair, Chair of CFOM, University of Sheffield

Professor Ed Carter, Brigham Young University, United States

Dr Vera-Slavtcheva Petkova, Senior Lecturer in Communications and Media Studies, University of Liverpool

Dr Lada Price, Senior Lecturer in Journalism, University of Sheffield

William Horsley, International Director, Centre for Freedom of the Media

Dr Janara Nicoletti, Journalistic Ethics Observatory, Federal University of Santa Catarina, Brazil

Dr Soumaya Berjeb, Assistant Teacher, Institute of Press and Sciences of Information, Manouba University

Elodie Vialle, Affiliate at Berkman Klein Center, Consultant on Digital Safety and Free Expression

Professor Rune Ottosen, Professor Emeritus, OsloMet, Norway

Silvia Chocarro, Head of Protection of Journalists and Human Rights Defenders, Article 19

Dr Stef Pukallus, Senior Lecturer in Public Communication and Civil Development, Founding chair of the Hub for the Study of Hybrid Communication in Peacebuilding, University of Sheffield

John Bosco Mayiga, Communications and Information Program Specialist, UNESCO

Theresa Chorbacher, Consultant, UNESCO

Dana Muresan, Consultant, UNESCO

Daniel Joshua Brini, Consultant, UNESCO

Dr Reeta Pöyhtäri, Senior Research Fellow, Tampere University, Finland

Dr Aimée Vega Montiel, Researcher at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, Center of Interdisciplinary Research in Sciences and Humanities.

Professor Marisol Cano Busquets, Faculty of Communication and Language, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Colombia

a. Discussion of Recommendation 1

Discussion surrounding recommendation 1 focused predominately on areas concerning 'the weaponization and the challenge of the insufficient power of the law'. Carter questioned what was meant about this, asking if the recommendation is related to the rule of law being in place, but that the power of the law is not there because it is not enforced. It was highlighted by Pukallus that unless everything comes together, i.e. governments' willingness to implement the law then the fact that a law exists does not guarantee that the law exercises the power that it should. Horsley added on that the wording 'insufficient power of law' does not entirely match with the wording of UN Resolutions and General Comment 34 concerning the obligation of the state. It was pointed out that impunity and legislation can be implemented more in relation to UN Resolutions. Ottosen also noted that insufficient power of law could also be expanded, i.e. to discuss the misuse of Espionage Act citing the Julian Assange case as an example and pointing out that this was a growing area of concern.

Attention then turned to gender and women's human's rights, with Vega Montiel pointing out that there perhaps needed to be more of a holistic approach towards this, with it being important to recognise the specific types of violence that is perpetrated against women. It was pointed out that violence against women has been happening since the 1970s and that what needed to be done was to recognise that it is a structural problem. In addition to this, it was stated that most of the research on this area comes from women as opposed to men and we need to ensure that we focus on the prevention of violence against women, the protection of them and finally the elimination of violence against them. This was echoed by other researchers during the meeting too.

Price noted that the point within the recommendation relating to trauma and resilience of journalists in both ordinary and extraordinary reporting needed clarification, i.e. by stating that extraordinary reporting included war and conflict. Slavtcheva-Petkova also stated that this needed to be done too. Price also questioned if the point concerning workplace safety could also be included within the point concerning trauma, but there were concerns that this perhaps should not be linked together with trauma and both needed to be separate. Price also pointed that there needs to be workplace safety training as there is a duty of care to reporters and trauma reporting should be done in educational settings. The case concerning a reporter in Australia winning a lawsuit against their employer for psychological injury was also raised as it is likely to have implications and should be something that we consider.

Legal harassment was also pointed out as an important issue as it is one of the most growing challenges that journalists face. Chocarro pointed out that she worked on the UNPA. It was stated how this issue was not a main issue when the UNPA was first put forward, but it is a larger issue today as journalists face attacks via legislation to silence them. Academics noted that in Central America, this is also an issue.

The final bullet point concerning the UNPA of Recommendation 1 focused on how it could be expanded and noted that more could be done to involve the UN itself as this is the body that can have a lot of impact on the safety of journalists.

It was also noted that within the bullet points it could be stated that more could be done to address the underlying causes to all the trends that have been discussed. This is because the world has changed a lot in recent years and that might be why we are seeing more on certain trends, such as digital safety and gender-specific safety attacks. It was suggested that a note could be made on broader and deeper factors that are making it more acceptable in all kinds of society around the globe to delegitimise journalists/journalism and is causing these kinds of trends. Pukallus noted that there was a statement within the recommendation concerning the 'origin' of these trends.

b. Discussion of Recommendation 2

Discussion of this recommendation was brief with the members of the meeting agreeing that we do need to raise attention to work that academics are doing and decision makers should include them when making decisions because of the fact that researchers do not just research, but they conceptualise too.

c. Discussion of Recommendation 3

Berjeb pointed out the importance of undertaking research concerning conflict zones, citing conflicts in Iraq or Libya as being very good examples of research and exploring why journalists are targeted and the safety threats they face there. It was suggested that in relation to geography within this point, there could be an addition specifically on conflict zones and the responsibility towards protections that journalists should be offered to guarantee their safety. Slavtcheva-Petkova also raised concerns surrounding the wording of moving from cross country to regional issues. It was raised that we need a global focus rather than a regional focus and that we should be including scholars from the Global South. Concerns were noted about the wording of the recommendation splitting the global network because if it is a network then it should be open to other universities and representing a range of topics. Harrison noted how cross-country research is of the utmost importance and suggested rephrasing the recommendation.

d. Discussion of Recommendation 4

Conversation focused on how stakeholders need to be involved in research in order to increase participation, but it was suggested that more could be done to state who the stakeholders are and if it is felt they need to do more in relation to cooperating this should be made explicit by stating how this could be done. Horsley suggested that the language of this recommendation needed to be tightened, stating that if the overarching idea of academic research operation is the contribution it can make to give practical effects to the functioning of governments, then it might be that we are talking of stakeholders, such as parliament, oversight bodies or public commissions. Specification was noted as being needed within this recommendation.

e. Discussion of Recommendation 5

Within the fifth recommendation, it was pointed out that it is not only academic institutions that struggle with resources to conduct research. UNESCO also struggles with finding time for people to read academic literature or go too deep into it. Because of this, it was stated that communicating research results in an easy to digest way would be for the best for UNESCO. It was also raised that training journalists' students about journalism safety and impunity education around the world is of the utmost importance.

f. Discussion of Recommendation 6

It was pointed out that this is a growing area of concern, with it being noted that journalists need to be protected and this should be done through raising attention on what media conglomerates are doing to offer them protection when they are exiled. The example of Afghanistan was cited, with it being noted that Afghan women journalists and conglomerates are not committed to professionals where they are displaced. Academia needs to hold them accountable.

4. Recommendations from those who could not participate

The recommendations were also read by those who could not attend the third round of the academic consultation. In total, three responses were received in addition to two responses from those who did attend the third round of the academic consultation and added on comments.

From these emails, there was a need for Recommendation 1 to be expanded to include specific safety threats, i.e. noting harassment of journalists because of their race, nationality,

etc. not focusing solely on their sexuality. It was also suggested that more could be done on safety training on coverage of protests and demonstrations in addition to pointing out the importance of legal harassment and the necessity of laws being enforced (as also discussed during the third round of the academic consultation). Advocacy was also raised as being important and a two-way street, i.e. academics and stakeholders need to work together on journalism safety and impunity. The importance of media literacy was also raised with the need to raise awareness that target different audiences, such as governments, publics and educational institutions. It was also put forward that, in order to have a successful network, a yearly meeting would be beneficial to discuss specific experiences.

4.2. List of Country Focus within Academic Publications

Country	Number of Academic Publications focused on it
Mexico (Latin America)	29
Pakistan (Asia)	26
Nigeria (Africa)	21
United States (North America)	17
India (Asia)	13
Turkey (Europe)	12
Philippines (Asia)	11
Iraq (Asia)	10
Indonesia (Asia)	8
Ghana (Africa)	7
Colombia (Latin America)	7
Afghanistan (Asia)	7
Syria (Asia)	7
Finland (Europe)	7
Uganda (Africa)	6
South Africa (Africa)	6
Nepal (Asia)	5

Egypt (Africa)	5
Bangladesh (Asia)	5
Venezuela (Latin America)	5
China (Asia)	5
Kenya (Africa)	5
Bulgaria (Europe)	5
Germany (Europe)	5
Norway (Europe)	4
Canada (North America)	4
Spain (Europe)	3
Libya (Africa)	3
Ethiopia (Africa)	3
United Kingdom (Europe)	3
Russia (Europe)	3
Zimbabwe (Africa)	3
Sri Lanka (Asia)	3
Australia (Australia)	3
Iran (Asia)	3
Israel (Asia)	3

Serbia (Europe)	2
Ukraine (Europe)	2
Switzerland (Europe)	2
Myanmar (Asia)	2
Hungary (Europe)	2
Hong Kong (Asia)	2
Honduras (Latin America)	2
Democratic Republic of Congo (Africa)	2
Gaza (Asia)	2
Korea (Asia)	2
Greece (Europe)	2
Cyprus (Europe)	2
Brazil (Latin America)	2
Ecuador (Latin America)	2
Taiwan (Asia)	1
Estonia (Europe)	1
Thailand (Asia)	1
Tanzania (Africa)	1
Sweden (Europe)	1

Somalia (Africa)	1
Slovakia (Europe)	1
Sierra Leone (Africa)	1
Portugal (Europe)	1
Palestine (Asia)	1
Malta (Europe)	1
Lesotho (Africa)	1
Kosovo (Europe)	1
Kashmir (Asia)	1
Ivory Coast (Africa)	1
Italy (Europe)	1
Guatemala (Latin America)	1
Georgia (Europe)	1
Eritrea (Africa)	1
El Salvador (Latin America)	1
Chile (Latin America)	1
Cameroon (Africa)	1
Burundi (Africa)	1
Burkina Faso (Africa)	1

Botswana (Africa)	1
Belarus (Europe)	1
Azerbaijan (Asia)	1
Austria (Europe)	1
France (Europe)	1
Malaysia (Asia)	1

4.3. List of Comparative Research

Countries	Article
18 Countries featured within the Media Monitor for Democracy (MDM 2021)	Baroni et al. (2022)
Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador	Benítez (2020)
Iraq, Libya, Gaza and Syria	Burri (2015)
Hungary and Serbia	Cendic and Gosztonyi (2020)
Myanmar, Bangladesh and Thailand	Cheesman et al. (2016)
Latin America and Africa	de Beer et al. (2017)
United States and Mexico	González de Bustamante and Relly (2014)
Italy, Germany, Hungary, Spain, Switzerland, and the UK	Di Salvo (2021)
Azerbaijan, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Iran, Soviet Union (Russia) and Syria	Freedman (2017)

Bulgaria, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mexico and Pakistan	Harrison and Pukallus (2018)
Philippines, Norway, Nepal, the Philippines, Uganda, Nigeria, Tunisia and Nicaragua	Høyby and Ottsen (2019)
Mexico and Brazil	Iesue et al. (2021)
Greece, Cyprus and Spain	Iordanidou et al. (2020)
Pakistan and India	Jamil and Sohal (2021)
Tanzania and Burundi	Kirabira (2020)
Egypt, Kenya, Serbia and South Africa	Lohner and Banjac (2017)
Mexico and Honduras	Mitchell (2022)
Philippines, Afghanistan and Venezuela	Mitra et al. (2021)
Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone	Pate et al. (2017)
Philippines, South Africa, India and Finland	Posetti (2021)
Germany, India, Taiwan, United Kingdom, United States	Chen et al. (2020)
United States and United Kingdom	Backholm et al. (2012)
Greece and Cyprus	Papadopoulou et al. (2022)
Germany, Austria and Switzerland	Weidmann et al. (2007)

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