



Journalists Killed Methodology Research Project

Report to the IFEX membership
Submitted to the June 2011 IFEX General Meeting

Contents

Executive Summary	3
Project outline	3
General observations on compiling the <i>Journalists Killed</i> data	4
Are the differences in the annual tallies important?	5
Explaining the differences #1: Who is and who is not included in the tallies	6
Explaining the differences #2: Considering the circumstances of the journalist's death	7
Explaining the differences #3: Establishing an FoE link to the killing	8
Gender	9
Project Outline	10
Compiling the <i>Journalists Killed</i> lists - a caveat	11
Reasons for compiling the tallies	11
PART I – Responses from IFEX members who publish global tallies.....	13
Comparing results from recent years	13
Explaining the differences in the tallies: is it important?	13
Coordination among IFEX members	15
A clear and transparent methodology	16
Explaining the differences #1: Who is and who is not included in the tallies?	16
Explaining the differences #2: Considering the circumstances of the journalist's death ..	19
Explaining the differences #3: Establishing an FoE link to the killing	20
Gender	22
PART II - Country case studies	23
MEXICO	23
Philippines.....	26
Russia.....	29
APPENDIX A – Individuals who participated in the interview process	32
APPENDIX B - How to find each member's information online.....	34
APPENDIX C - QUESTIONNAIRE used during the interview process.....	39

Executive Summary

At the IFEX 2009 GM in Oslo, Norway, the IFEX Clearing House was asked to conduct a research project for the benefit of IFEX members *examining the methodology and criteria used by the members in compiling the number of journalists killed*.

The final report being presented at the 2011 GM in Beirut presents the conclusions of this research process. It documents certain differences in the research methodology favoured by IFEX members and also touches on other relevant factors. The aim of the report is to present a summary of the research results and generate discussion among the IFEX membership about their *Journalists Killed* methodology in particular, and the process of gathering information on murdered journalists in general.

Project outline

The project involved Internet research and direct communication with IFEX members over a five-month period beginning in September 2010. It was carried out by Marianna Tzabiras, a consultant on the project who also works with the IFEX alerts team, under the supervision of IFEX Senior Alerts Coordinator Michaël Elbaz and IFEX Manager Rachael Kay.

Interviews were carried out with six IFEX members who keep tallies on the number of journalists killed around the world: *Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ)*, *International Federation of Journalists (IFJ)*, *International Press Institute (IPI)*, *Reporters Without Borders (RSF)*, *World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA)* and *Writers in Prison Committee, PEN International (WiPC)*.

Local and regional IFEX members who report on Mexico, Russia and the Philippines were also interviewed. Questioned about their tallies on Mexico were: *ARTICLE 19's Mexico Office*, *Centro Nacional de Comunicación Social (CENCOS)*, former IFEX member *Centro de Periodismo y Ética Pública (CEPET)*, and the *Inter American Press Association (IAPA)*. *The Center for Media Freedom in the Philippines (CMFR)* and two IFEX members based in Russia, *the Center for Journalism in Extreme Situations (CJES)* and *Glasnost Defence Foundation (GDF)*, were interviewed about the *Journalists Killed* tallies they compile on their respective countries.

While most of the attention about the *Journalists Killed* tallies, and the difference in the numbers, has been placed on the global statistics, the CH felt it was important that the country case studies also feature in the research in recognition of the diversity of the membership. We wanted to find out if local members had a different perspective on the annual tallies and how this issue impacted on their work. The country case studies also

illustrate how various local factors may complicate the task of compiling the *Journalists Killed* statistics.

General observations on compiling the *Journalists Killed* data

The membership brings a broad range of experience to the task of compiling the *Journalists Killed* lists. Certain IFEX members have been compiling this data for a decade or more. They have been honing their craft, creating stronger links with local sources and the authorities, and are increasingly able to establish the motive for the murders of journalists with greater precision.

At the same time, a number of members commented during the interview process that the compilation of the statistics is "not an exact science"; it is necessarily dependent on the following factors:

- Incomplete research due to organisations' limited resources: a number of members said they simply did not have the human resources necessary to follow up on and investigate the motive for each and every murder they are informed about;
- The reliability of sources, or the sheer lack of sources, in a certain region, particularly impacting organisations that are member-based;
- Lack of information from a particular region due to repression, fear and self-censorship.

Despite these limitations, and the fact that some cases may simply never come to light, members agree that the numbers are important. They help identify trends, highlight dangers in specific regions and are used in lobbying efforts to bring attention to the issue. All of the members who were interviewed include their numerical data in a year-end publication that includes an analysis of the year in review. These publications are intended to grab the media's and authorities' attention by identifying patterns and pointing to the responsibilities of the state.

Many IFEX members also issue alerts throughout the year on individual cases as soon as the news of a journalist's death is received. These may be aimed at bringing attention to the murders right after they happen, even if there is little information available as to the motive, and to pressure for a prompt and thorough investigation. However, additional information obtained after the alert is issued may reveal that the motive for the attack was not linked to the individual's profession or to freedom of expression (FoE).

Conclusion #1: IFEX members stressed that individuals and organisations who want to get the most accurate and up to date information should refer to the members' year-end publications and *killed* lists. These will include FoE-related attacks that were never reported via the IFEX Alerts Network, as they may have come to light some weeks or months after the incident.

One should rely less on alerts issued by IFEX members immediately following a murder because that is when the information is most incomplete and in many cases the FoE link has not been established with any degree of certainty.

Are the differences in the annual tallies important?

This research project partly came about because of a concern expressed by some groups about the difference in the numbers of journalists reported by IFEX members, either among the membership or among the media, intergovernmental organisations, academics or members of the public who use these tallies.

During the interview process, however, a surprisingly large number of IFEX members said they were not overly concerned about the differences in the tallies among IFEX members, or between IFEX members and other organisations. They see this as a natural consequence of the different members' methodologies and missions. Some even remarked that we should pay less attention to the numbers and focus more on the similarities among members' findings and their trends analysis.

Conclusion # 2: Most of the groups did not feel that attempts at reconciling the numbers would be useful, nor had similar such discussions been fruitful in the past.

Several members (e.g. IPI, CPJ) said they were rarely questioned about the differences in the global tallies. More importantly, they did not feel that these differences had a great impact on their work vis à vis their perceived credibility.

In contrast, other groups (e.g. RSF) said they had been questioned about their own (typically lower) numbers, and found themselves having to justify their more conservative approach. Similarly, some IFEX members (e.g. CEPET) cautioned that the various tallies published by the membership may be easily manipulated by authorities who want to absolve themselves of any responsibility in the death of journalists.

Conclusion #3: We cannot entirely discount the complications that arise from the differences in annual tallies. As some groups explained, the different approaches sometimes prevent IFEX members from coming together to lobby on cases or issue joint statements on journalists' deaths unless they are sufficiently vague and do not refer to specific numbers.

Conclusion #4: Members often draw on each other's expertise and share information but they do not have a systematic way of working together when it comes to compiling the *Journalists Killed* lists, other than on a case by case, or country by country, basis. The interview process also revealed that IFEX members are not always familiar with other members' methodology, at least not in any great detail. This may have resulted in some

misconceptions and misunderstandings about how various members approach their work.

Conclusion #5: While a partial explanation of members' methodology is included in many member reports and websites, many groups would benefit from posting a more extensive explanation, or ensuring that the information is placed in a more prominent place on their website, so that it is more readily accessible to the IFEX membership and others who are interested in the different tallies.

Explaining the differences #1: Who is and who is not included in the tallies

Table A

IFEX members' responses to the question *Who is included in the data and who is not?*

Category	CPJ	IFJ	IPI	RSF	WAN-IFRA	WiPC
Accredited journalists	√	√	√	√	√	√
Journalists who are not accredited	√	√	√	√	√	√
Freelancers	√	√	√	√	√	√
Photographers	√	√	√	√	√	√
Camera operators	√	√	√	√	√	√
Bloggers	CbC	CbC	√	LS	√	√
Publishers	√	√	√	√	√	√
Media owners	√	√	√	√	√	√
Chairpersons of media companies	√	√	√	√	√	CbC
Translators	LS	√	X	LS	X	√
Drivers	LS	√	X	LS	X	CbC
Fixers	LS	√	X	LS	X	CbC
Administrative workers	LS	√	X	LS	X	√
Others ¹	LS	√	X	CbC	X	√

√ = yes; X = no; CbC = case by case basis; LS = yes, but listed as a separate category

¹ The *others* category may include security guards or cafeteria workers (CPJ), newspaper vendors, booksellers and employees at printing presses (WiPC). Please note that WiPC only includes print journalists. While Sara Whyatt expressed great concern about the numerous cases of targeted broadcast journalists and noted that some PEN Centres had taken action on specific cases, she explained that they simply could not be included on their list according to the organisation's mandate

IFEX member representatives were asked to explain how their organisation defined who is a journalist and whether they included in their annual tallies individuals classified as: journalists who are not accredited, freelancers, photographers, camera operators, publishers and media owners, bloggers, and others who fall under the broader category of media workers.

Interestingly, the question of whether a journalist was accredited or not at the time of their death, or whether they were working as a freelancer, was not a significant factor for any of the IFEX members interviewed.

Conclusion #6: The responses do suggest, however, that the differences in the final tallies are at least partly explained by the fact that each member deals with *media support workers* differently. Some IFEX members focus exclusively on those individuals who carry out the journalistic and reporting work (e.g. IPI, WAN-IFRA) while others have a broader definition and include media staff and others who are part of the broader media profession in their *killed* lists (e.g. IFJ, WiPC).

A further complication is that IFEX members have had to respond to the changing realities of the media profession. The emergence of new technologies and the prevalence of online journalism have led to the inclusion of the *blogger* and *netizen* categories in *Journalists Killed* lists. Major historical events such as the Iraq War have brought to the fore the issues impacting on local individuals (many of them journalists) who were targeted while acting as assistants or fixers for foreign correspondents. A number of IFEX members have responded by expanding their definition of *media staff* (e.g. IFJ) or even creating a new category for *media support workers* (e.g. CPJ, RSF).

Explaining the differences #2: Considering the circumstances of the journalist's death

IFEX members were asked to consider the particular circumstances surrounding the journalist's death. Not surprisingly, all IFEX members who were interviewed said they included incidents where the journalist was deemed to be targeted because of their profession. Most members also included cases of journalists who were caught in the crossfire while they were covering a dangerous assignment, even if they were not directly targeted.

Members' responses varied greatly, however, when they were questioned about incidents occurring while the journalist was not on duty or deaths deemed to be accidental. Some members explained that they have to consider the specific circumstances of such cases when deciding if a particular incident will be included in their final tallies. Even when analysing incidents occurring in a conflict zone, members (e.g. IPI, WAN-IFRA) said they have to take into account what the journalist or media worker was doing at the time of their death, local context, whether the press was targeted, etc.

Table B

IFEX members' responses to the question *Do you include in your tallies the following types of incidents?*

Type of Incident	CPJ	IFJ	IPI	RSF	WAN-IFRA	WiPC
a) incidents linked to journalist's profession	√	√	√	√	√	√
b) journalists caught in the crossfire	√	√	√	√	√	X
c) journalists who are on a dangerous assignment, even if not targeted	√	√	√	√	CbC	X
d) journalists who are on a dangerous assignment, but not on duty	CbC	√	√	X	CbC	X
e) accidental death, while on duty	X	LS	CbC	X	X	X
f) accidental death, while not on duty	X	LS	CbC	X	X	X

√ = yes; X = no; CbC = case by case basis; LS = yes, but listed as a separate category

Some members dismissed accidental deaths outright, focusing only on incidents where an FoE violation was deemed to have occurred. Others said that the circumstances surrounding the accident had to be considered as these accidents could serve as an indicator of the dangers of the profession and were therefore worth documenting. Mexico-based members ARTICLE 19 and CEPET both cautioned that each accidental (or seemingly accidental) death must be examined carefully as politically-motivated attacks in Mexico are often disguised as incidents of common crime.

Conclusion #7: These diverse responses can partly account for the differences in the final tallies. However, it should be noted that members who document accidental deaths generally tend to list these separately in their year-end lists (e.g. IFJ).

Explaining the differences #3: Establishing an FoE link to the killing

Most of the IFEX members who were interviewed stressed the great difficulty they have in establishing an FoE link to a murder with any certainty. Many cases are left unsolved, even years after the crime is committed. Authorities may fail to investigate the true motive for a murder while witnesses may be unreliable or silenced by fear.

IFEX members interviewed said they continue to review the status of each case on an ongoing basis, resource permitting, with a particular push prior to the publication of their annual or periodic reports. Upon investigation, cases can be divided into three distinct categories:

- A. **Cases that can be ruled out** as they do not have an FoE link (e.g. the individual was killed for personal reasons unrelated to their profession, such as a vendetta, by common criminals, etc.);
- B. All those other cases that fall in the problematic middle: **Cases where there may or may not be an FoE link**, but there is not enough information to categorically make a decision one way or another; and
- C. **Cases that appear to have an FoE link** that can be established with a measure of certainty.

How do IFEX members address those cases that fall in the problematic middle? There are two distinct approaches to this problem. Those groups that do not include an unconfirmed case in their *Killed List* (CPJ, RSF and WAN-IFRA) are concerned that including unconfirmed cases may give a wrong impression of the severity of the situation in a specific region. CPJ complements this approach by also listing a separate category of *Journalists Killed -Motive Unconfirmed* in conjunction with its *Journalists Killed - Motive Confirmed* tallies.

In contrast, IFJ, IPI and WiPC choose to include the more ambiguous cases in their *Killed List* until an FoE link is definitively ruled out. Members stressed that keeping the case on their list allows them to continue to pressure the authorities and to push for an ongoing investigation into the murder.

Conclusion #8: The differences in the tallies can be explained to a great extent by how IFEX members address cases where the FoE link cannot be established with absolute certainty - some groups do not include these cases on their lists until an FoE link has been clearly established, while others include them until the FoE link has been definitively ruled out.

Gender

While a number of IFEX members record the journalist's gender, no IFEX member has identified a pattern of attacks that is directly related to the victim's gender. The general impression is that more analysis is required to determine if such a pattern exists and if women journalists are being targeted in a way that is different from their male counterparts because of their gender.

Project Outline

At the June 2009 General Meeting in Oslo, Norway, IFEX members discussed the issue of the Clearing House's (CH) role in FoE trends analysis. After some debate, the CH was asked to conduct a research project for the benefit of IFEX members *examining the methodology and criteria used by the members in compiling the number of journalists killed*. The pilot project would not be aimed at trying to reconcile the tallies, but instead at providing a systematic explanation of the differences in methodology.

The project involved Internet research and direct communication with IFEX members through one-on-one telephone interviews. It was carried out by Marianna Tzabiras, an independent consultant and long-time collaborator with the IFEX Alerts team, under the supervision of IFEX Senior Alerts Coordinator Michaël Elbaz and IFEX Manager Rachael Kay.

Between September 2010 and January 2011, Marianna interviewed IFEX members who keep tallies on the number of journalists killed internationally. Local and regional IFEX members who report on Mexico, Russia and the Philippines were also interviewed.²

While most of the attention about the *Journalists Killed* tallies, and the difference in the numbers, has been placed on the global statistics, the CH felt it was important that the country case studies also feature in the research, in recognition of the diversity of the membership. We also wanted to find out if local members had a different perspective on the annual tallies and how this issue impacted on their work. The country case studies illustrate how certain local factors may complicate the task of compiling the *Journalists Killed* statistics.

The situation in Mexico, the Philippines and Russia is alarming for different reasons. The November 2009 Maguindanao massacre in the Philippines resulted in that year being the deadliest ever for the press. At the same time, a culture of impunity reigns in both the Philippines and Russia, two countries that are the focus of the Committee to Protect Journalists' (CPJ) Campaign Against Impunity. Meanwhile in the Americas, in recent years the attention has turned away from Colombia, where the situation has improved, to Mexico, which has been dominating the list with the highest number of journalists killed in the region³.

² Please refer to Appendix C for the interview questions

³ Please refer to Appendix B for a list of the IFEX members who participated in the interview process and information on each organisation's statistical data.

Compiling the *Journalists Killed* lists - a caveat

As the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) notes in its 2008 year-end review, "This report always comes with a warning - there are many different sets of figures [of journalists killed] given every year, but no organisation can say for certain that they have counted everyone . . . there are still deaths we may not know about, other journalists who have been quietly silenced. All we can say with certainty is that these are the ones we know about." (Source: IFJ report *Perilous Assignments Journalists and Media Staff Killed in 2008*, <http://www.ifj.org/assets/docs/051/212/eb26233-18d15d4.pdf>)

During the interview process, others commented that the compilation of the statistics is "not an exact science"; it is necessarily dependent on the following factors:

- Incomplete research due to organisations' limited resources: a number of members said they simply did not have the human resources necessary to follow up on and investigate the motive for each and every murder they are informed about;
- The reliability of sources, or the sheer lack of sources, in a certain region - groups such as the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA), which are member-based, rely on their country partners for information and will necessarily have less data and be less able to follow up on cases from those regions where there is no local partner. The International Press Institute (IPI) also speculated that their numbers from the late 1990s may be lower because at the time the organisation had fewer sources providing data and researching cases;
- Lack of information from a particular region due to repression, fear and self-censorship.

It is particularly useful to keep this last point in mind when identifying patterns. As Sara Whyatt, Programme Director of PEN International's Writers in Prison Committee (WiPC) explained, "People often ask us about the *worst* situation in the world. Simply looking at the number of cases in a particular country would suggest that Turkey is at the top of this list. But what we see in Turkey is that local groups have developed a good mechanism for reporting on violations and enjoy a relative freedom to do so. In contrast, there is very little information coming out of places like North Korea when in fact the number of violations may be higher."

Reasons for compiling the tallies

When asked about their goal in producing the annual *Journalists Killed* tallies, IFEX members responded that these help identify trends, highlight dangers in specific regions and are used in lobbying efforts to bring attention to the issue. According to Virginie Jouan, WAN-IFRA's former director of Press Freedom and Media Development

Programmes, "We originally began publicising this data so that we could communicate to our own membership that practicing journalism was a dangerous undertaking in many parts of the world - not just in war zones."

All of the members who were interviewed include their numerical data in a year-end publication (report or press release) that includes an analysis of the year in review. These publications are intended to grab the media's and authorities' attention by identifying trends and patterns and pointing to the responsibilities of the state.

Some of the members also publish a running tally of the number of journalists killed on their website, including CPJ, IPI, WAN-IFRA and Reporters sans frontières (RSF). They may also highlight other categories, such as the number of *journalists in prison* or *journalists in exile*. No members expressed opposition to the idea of publishing a running tally of killed journalists. For example, as IFJ Communications Officer Ernest Sagaga explained, "We are not against this practice on principle, but we prefer to present our data in our report so that the numerical information is backed up with an analysis"⁴.

Many IFEX members also issue alerts throughout the year on individual cases as soon as the news of a journalist's death is received. As the Inter American Press Association (IAPA) noted, "We issue alerts to bring attention to the murders right after they happen, even if there is little information available as to the motive, and to pressure for a prompt and thorough investigation." However, additional information obtained after the alert is issued may reveal that the motive for the attack was not linked to the individual's profession. IFEX members will usually then update their own internal records and not include the case in their year-end tallies. Nevertheless, few organisations choose to issue updated alerts explaining that the murder was not FoE-related as this was not seen to be beneficial. As CPJ Editorial Director Bill Sweeney explained, "When we discover that a case is not FoE-related we will label it as '*unlisted*' for internal purposes and not include it in our tally. We may not publicise this information, however, because this tends to work against the murdered individual; it can have negative consequences for their families."

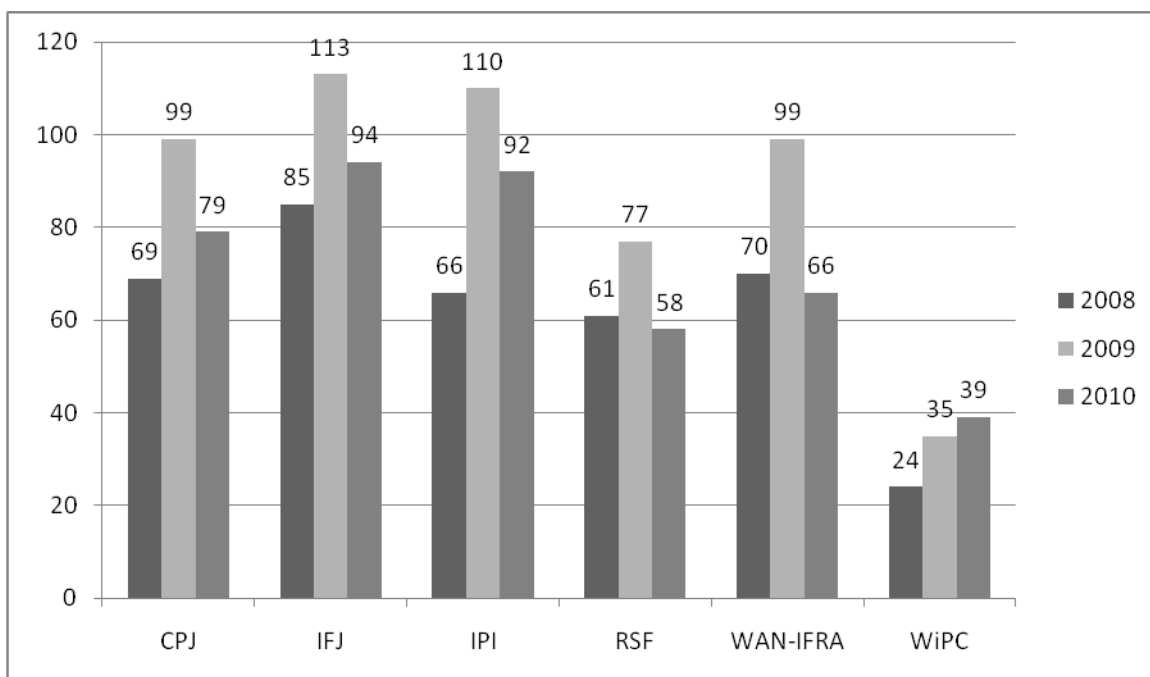
Conclusion #1: For the most up to date information, one should *not* refer to the alerts on journalists' deaths, but rather to IFEX members' year-end reports and online tallies. These will also include FoE-related attacks that were never reported via the IFEX Alerts Network, as they may have come to light some weeks or months after the incident.

⁴ Please refer to Appendix B for further information on how each organisation presents its data.

PART I – Responses from IFEX members who publish global tallies

Comparing results from recent years

Graph A. Annual journalists killed data 2008-2010



Please note that the CPJ data includes three separate categories as follows:

2008 = 42 confirmed kills + 24 unconfirmed + 3 media workers

2009 = 72 confirmed + 24 unconfirmed + 3 media workers

2010 = 44 confirmed + 31 unconfirmed + 4 media workers

Similarly the RSF data includes media assistants (1 for 2008, 1 for 2009, and 1 for 2010)

Explaining the differences in the tallies: is it important?

This research project partly came about because of a concern expressed by some groups about the difference in the numbers of journalists reported by IFEX members, either among the membership or among the media, intergovernmental organisations, academics or members of the public who use these tallies.

Several members (e.g. IPI, CPJ) said however that they were rarely questioned about the differences in the global tallies. Or if they were questioned by third parties like the media, they simply explained that each IFEX member follows a distinct methodology and that's how they arrive at a different total.

A surprising number of members said they were not overly concerned about these discrepancies. More importantly, they did not feel that these differences had a great impact on their work vis à vis their perceived credibility.

Conclusion #2: Most of the groups did not feel that attempts at reconciling the numbers would be useful, nor had similar such discussions been fruitful in the past.

Finally, some members stressed that we should focus on the similarities rather than differences. This is easily illustrated by the chart in the preceding section, which highlights discrepancies but also similarities. All the members' data indicates that 2007 was a particularly bad year for journalists' murders, due in part to the great number of deaths in Iraq, particularly murders of media assistants and media workers. Similarly, 2009 saw the highest number of deaths of journalists ever recorded, in large part due to the Maguindanao massacre in the Philippines.

Conclusion #3: We cannot entirely discount the complications that arise from the differences in annual tallies. As some groups explained, the different approaches sometimes prevent IFEX members from coming together to lobby on cases or issue joint statements on journalists' deaths unless they are sufficiently vague and do not refer to specific numbers.

According to Juan Carlos Romero of the Mexico-based Center for Journalism and Public Ethics (CEPET), a former IFEX member, "Sometimes the Mexican authorities refuse to accept that we have a serious problem [with fatalities of journalists]. They try to shirk their responsibility and deflect the issue by pointing to the differences in the tallies to dismiss our demands for action⁵.

Vincent Brossel, formerly of the RSF Asia Desk, was more emphatic about the confusion created among third parties outside of IFEX. The Press Emblem Campaign, (<http://www.presseemblem.ch/index2.html>), a Geneva-based independent NGO, and other groups concerned about journalists' safety have questioned RSF about their own (typically lower) numbers, and the organisation has had to justify its more conservative approach. RSF's impression is that some IFEX members include numerous cases that are not FoE-related, which can result in distortions.

Karin Karlekar, Senior Researcher and Managing Editor at Freedom House, also noted that the different tallies are sometimes misquoted or misinterpreted.

⁵ See Part II section on Mexico.

Owais Ali of the Pakistan Press Foundation (PPF) remarked, "In Pakistan . . . all citizens can face violence and other indignities, such as murder, physical violence, abduction and abuse of power by those in authority, such as the police and intelligence agencies. Media professionals may also become victims of abuses [such as murder] for reasons that may have nothing to do with their media activities.

"As the level of violence has escalated dramatically in Pakistan over the last decade, we have seen many international organisations protesting the attack and murder of journalists when in fact the reasons were personal or were related to activities other than journalism. Local media reports are sometimes vague on the motive for the attack and local organisations protest the attack on journalists without clarifying the reasons of the attack. In most such cases the cause of attack are unrelated to media activities. Protests in cases where attacks were not the result of media activities damages the credibility and reduces the effectiveness of international protests."

Coordination among IFEX members

Many IFEX members said they rely on other members and use them as sources of information, particularly in the initial stages, when the initial IFEX alert on a murder is published.

When it comes to finalising their lists, however, no IFEX member works in coordination with another member to reconcile the differences in their data.

"IFJ **does** consider other groups' tallies but we do not have a direct relationship with them in this regard," Sagaga explained. "Our strict policy is to reconcile our data with the International News Safety Institute (INSI) [Ed. note: not an IFEX member]."

Some short-term arrangements have been attempted in the past – for example, in 1999 IPI compiled a joint death watch with the IFJ - but the effort was subsequently discontinued. WAN-IFRA's Jouan also remarked on some early attempts at reconciliation of the data which were unsuccessful. "We found the discussions with other members useful but it quickly became apparent that other groups had different criteria and we would not be able to come to an agreement," she explained.

A certain amount of consultation occurs on a case by case, or country by country, basis. A number of groups mentioned that they will check in with staff at CPJ or RSF. IAPA noted that they have had very worthwhile and interesting debates about the *Journalists Killed* data with CPJ's Americas desk even though the organisations' approaches are very different.

A number of the international groups said they have a closer relationship with the country-based members than with other international groups. Some members said they rely on local country groups to follow up on and investigate cases.

Conclusion #4: Members often draw on each other's expertise and share information but they do not have a systematic way of working together when it comes to compiling the *Journalists Killed* lists, other than on a case by case, or country by country, basis.

A clear and transparent methodology

The interview process also revealed that IFEX members are not always familiar with other members' methodology, at least not in any great detail. This may have resulted in some misconceptions and misunderstandings about how various members approach their work.

One can also presume that the media, intergovernmental organisations, academics and members of the public who may be interested in the *Journalists Killed* tallies would similarly not be very aware of these intricacies and would benefit from a clearly laid out methodology.

Conclusion #5: While a partial explanation of members' methodology is included in member reports and websites⁶, many groups would benefit from posting a more extensive explanation, or ensuring that the information is placed in a more prominent place on their website so that it is more readily accessible to the IFEX membership and to those who are interested in the different tallies.

Most of the IFEX members who were interviewed felt this would be of benefit both for internal organisational reasons (by ensuring that all staff members are familiar with the methodology and follow it to the letter) and to increase transparency. No one expressed a desire to be secretive or circumspect about their methods. Rather, they explained that the methodology was not accessible online because either a) this was not a priority for the organisation, or b) human resource limitations prevented them from posting it.

Explaining the differences #1: Who is and who is not included in the tallies?

How do IFEX members decide if an individual will be included in their *Journalists Killed* lists? How do they define who is a *journalist*? And do they consider the broader category of *media support staff*. These are the types of questions the CH had prior to approaching

⁶ Please refer to Appendix B

the members who compile the annual tallies. We also wanted to know if these different definitions can account at least in part for the differences in the members' final tallies.

Table A

IFEX members' responses to the question *Who is included in the data and who is not?*

Category	CPJ	IFJ	IPI	RSF	WAN-IFRA	WiPC
Accredited journalists	√	√	√	√	√	√
Journalists who are not accredited	√	√	√	√	√	√
Freelancers	√	√	√	√	√	√
Photographers	√	√	√	√	√	X
Camera operators	√	√	√	√	√	X
Bloggers	CbC	CbC	√	LS	√	√
Publishers	√	√	√	√	√	√
Media owners	√	√	√	√	√	√
Chairpersons of media companies	√	√	√	√	√	X
Translators	LS	√	X	LS	X	√
Drivers	LS	√	X	LS	X	X
Fixers	LS	√	X	LS	X	X
Administrative workers	LS	√	X	LS	X	X
Others ⁷	LS	√	X	CbC	X	√

√ = yes; X = no; CbC = case by case basis; LS = yes, but listed as a separate category

Accreditation of journalists

Interestingly, the question of whether a journalist was accredited or not at the time of their death was not a significant factor for any of the IFEX members interviewed. This is a topic of some debate in Latin America and IAPA has lobbied against mandatory licencing for years. Referring to the situation in Brazil, Ricardo Trotti, director of Freedom of the Press at IAPA, explained, "The risk is that some individuals are not included in the *Journalists Killed* list because they are not considered journalists either because they are not members of the 'Colegio' or because they do not have a journalism degree, as the law mandates. This is a discriminatory practice."

⁷ The *others* category may include security guards or cafeteria workers (CPJ), newspaper vendors, and booksellers (WiPC). Please note that WiPC only includes print journalists. While Sara Whyatt expressed great concern about the numerous cases of targeted broadcast journalists and noted that some PEN Centres had taken action on specific cases, she explained that they simply could not be included on their list according to the organisation's mandate

As some of the groups cautioned, an organisation should be able to compare its data historically. It is therefore important that its definition of *who is and who is not* included in the list not expand too dramatically. Otherwise, it would not be possible to compare the data from one year to the next.

Online journalism

At the same time, IFEX members have been responsive to the changing realities of the media profession. Technological changes have necessarily forced each group to consider individuals who practice online journalism as journalists and include them in their data. Coupled with repressive regimes, the Internet is sometimes all that is available to citizens who are unable to express themselves otherwise. Most IFEX members include bloggers in their lists, although they all differentiate between individuals who have blogs and those who are considered to do journalistic work and are deemed to be journalists by their peers.⁸

Reporting in conflict zones

IFEX members have been responsive to the realities of conflict zones. The Iraq War in particular brought to light the targeting of locals who were often journalists in their own right but were killed while working as fixers or interpreters for foreign journalists. As a number of members explained, it seemed unfair that these locals were not being acknowledged and honoured. In response, some IFEX members widened the scope of who was included in their data. Sometimes these so-called *media support workers* are included in the grand total, while other times they are listed as a separate category. IFJ, for example, identifies certain cases on its lists as *media staff (or MS)*. It expanded its definition to include drivers, interpreters, etc. after the Iraq War. CPJ began adding a separate category of *media staff* in its statistics in 2003. CPJ's numbers prior to 2003 do not include *media workers*, and therefore the organisation chose to create a separate category so as not to distort the earlier data.

Conclusion #6: Despite some of these adjustments, Table A (see p. 17) suggests that the differences in the final tallies are at least partly explained by the fact that each member deals with *media support workers* differently. According to IFJ's Sagaga, the organisation has a strong impression that a large part of the reason their numbers tend to be higher than most other groups' is that they have one of the broadest definitions of who forms part of the *media support workers* category.

⁸ For example, [when deciding if a blogger will be included in its list] IPI explained that it considers "whether the blogger is involved in the distribution of news (newsworthy information)." CPJ noted that it "does not apply a rigid definition of online journalism, but it carefully evaluates the work of bloggers and online writers to determine whether the content is journalistic in nature. In general, CPJ looks to see whether the content is reportorial or fact-based commentary. In a repressive society where the traditional media is restricted, CPJ takes an inclusive approach to work that is produced online."

Explaining the differences #2: Considering the circumstances of the journalist's death

When we start to examine how IFEX members consider the circumstances that resulted in the person's death we see more differentiation among the IFEX membership. This is outlined below, in Table B.

Table B

IFEX members' responses to the question *Do you include in your tallies the following types of incidents?*

Type of Incident	CPJ	IFJ	IPI	RSF	WAN-IFRA	WiPC
a) incidents linked to journalist's profession	√	√	√	√	√	√
b) journalists caught in the crossfire	√	√	√	√	√	X
c) journalists who are on a dangerous assignment, even if not targeted	√	√	√	√	CbC	X
d) journalists who are on a dangerous assignment, but not on duty	CbC	√	√	X	CbC	X
e) accidental death, while on duty	X	LS	CbC	X	X	X
f) accidental death, while not on duty	X	LS	X	X	X	X

√ = yes; X = no; CbC = case by case basis; LS = yes, but listed as a separate category

Special circumstances

Simple "Yes" or "No" answers were harder to come by for this part of the research. Many of the members explained that they have to consider the specific circumstances of the cases. Even when the incident has occurred in a conflict zone, the member has to take into account what the journalist or media worker was doing at the time of his/her death, local context, whether the press was directly targeted, etc. For example, as WAN-IFRA's Jouan noted, "A mine may not have been intended to harm civilians even though that is the end result."

Accidental deaths

As IPI Press Freedom Adviser Barbara Trionfi explained, IPI considers the circumstances surrounding accidental deaths - it responds differently if a journalist is killed on his/her regular route from home versus in a helicopter while heading to an assignment in a remote region. WiPC's Wyatt commented, "Accidental deaths of a journalist on duty can be a good indicator of the dangers of the profession. Groups, such as IFJ, with a labour focus can refer to these cases to highlight the failure of the media outlet to safeguard its employees." Nevertheless, many IFEX members, including WiPC, do not include accidental deaths in their tallies because the organisations strictly focus on cases

where a) the journalist or media worker was targeted and b) there has been an FoE violation.

Conclusion #7: These diverse responses can partly account for the differences in the final tallies. However, it should be noted that members who document accidental deaths generally tend to list these separately in their year-end lists (e.g. IFJ).

Explaining the differences #3: Establishing an FoE link to the killing

Most of the IFEX members who were interviewed stressed the great difficulty they have in establishing an FoE link to a murder, especially since many cases are left unsolved, even years after the crime is committed. Some lines of questioning can help shed light on the motive – e.g. was the journalist receiving threats (especially death threats) prior to the murder? Was he/she investigating a sensitive issue? Did the person's enemies have the resources and ability to carry out the murder? What are other journalists saying about the suspected motive? Did the murder have a chilling effect in the region, resulting in increased self-censorship?

IFEX members explained that they draw on a number of sources to identify and establish an FoE link: interviews with family members, the victim's colleagues and employers, local journalists, local freedom of expression and human rights organisations, the member's own local correspondents or partners, and the authorities. WAN-IFRA's Jouan mentioned, for example, that at least three different sources must confirm that there is an FoE link to a case in order for the group to include it in its list.

All of these different sources may hold a piece of the puzzle, and by all accounts, over the years IFEX members have gradually gotten better at establishing connections with secure and viable sources and generally-speaking getting more precise at unravelling the intricacies of each case.

All members explained that they divide cases into three distinct categories:

- A. **Cases that can be ruled out** as they do not have an FoE-link (e.g. the individual was killed for personal reasons unrelated to their profession such as a vendetta, by common criminals, etc.);
- B. All those other cases that fall in the problematic middle: **Cases where there may or may not be an FoE link**, but there is not enough information to categorically make a decision one way or another; and
- C. **Cases that appear to have an FoE link** that can be established with a measure of certainty.

This is a fluid process and additional data will often result in the bumping of one case from category B up to an FoE-established case or to category A where the case is discarded outright. No IFEX member includes cases falling under category A in its *Killed List*. All the members said they continue to update the status of each case on an ongoing basis, with a particular push prior to the publication of their annual or periodic reports.

As noted earlier, however, many organisations simply do not have the resources required to thoroughly investigate each case.

IPI devotes its resources to tracking certain key cases under its *Justice Denied* programme. Similarly, WiPC focuses on an emblematic group of cases that it highlights on International Women's Day, or under the banner of campaigns, such as the *Freedom to Write in the Americas* initiative.

At any rate, all the resources in the world would not bring the needed answers in the majority of the ambiguous cases. This is more dependent on the reliability of eyewitnesses, sources, a climate of repression and the fear of speaking out. How do IFEX members address those cases that fall in the problematic middle?

There are two distinct approaches to this problem. Those groups that do not include an unconfirmed case in their *Killed List* want to ensure that they are not inflating the final numbers unnecessarily (CPJ, RSF and WAN-IFRA). They are also concerned that including unconfirmed cases may give a wrong impression of the severity of the situation in a specific region. RSF explained that including an unconfirmed case on its list that may later be deemed to have no FoE connection may have a damaging effect on the group's reputation.⁹

In contrast, IFJ, IPI and WiPC choose to include the more ambiguous cases in their *Killed List* until an FoE link is definitively ruled out. Similarly, IAPA's Trotti explained that the organisation "does not want to err by dismissing a potentially legitimate case that raises reasonable doubt [about the motive], and would rather give it the benefit of the doubt, until proven otherwise." Members stressed that keeping the case on their list allows them to continue to pressure the authorities and to push for an ongoing investigation into the murder.

CPJ complements this approach by also listing a separate category of *Journalists Killed - Motive Unconfirmed* in conjunction with its *Journalists Killed - Motive Confirmed* tallies¹⁰. WiPC also marks some cases as *Motive Unknown* or *Investigation Ongoing*.

⁹ Sweeney of CPJ clarified, "We do publish capsule reports on 'unconfirmed' deaths (that is, those deaths in which the motive is unconfirmed.) They are, however, not included in our annual numerical tally of killed journalists. (Only deaths with 'confirmed motives' make up the numerical tally.) These two lists, of course, are separate from the 'unlisted' cases [cases where the FoE motive is definitely ruled out]."

¹⁰ As CPJ explains on its site, it considers a case *confirmed* only if it is "reasonably certain that a journalist was murdered in direct reprisal for his or her work; was killed in crossfire during combat situations; or was

Conclusion #8: The differences in the tallies can be explained to a great extent by how IFEX members address cases where the FoE link cannot be established with absolute certainty - some groups do not include these cases on their lists until an FoE link has been clearly established, while others include them until the FoE link has been definitively ruled out.

Gender

A number of the IFEX members who were interviewed specify if the person on the list is a woman or a man. However, none of the members said that they had identified a specific pattern of persecution or targeting based on gender per se. Some groups, such as WAN-IFRA, said they had debated the issue internally but had come to no general agreement about it.

IFJ's impression is that people are generally killed because of their work rather than their gender. IFJ's Sagaga added that he is not aware of a situation where women are at greater risk for whatever reason, or that they are being targeted in a way that is distinctly different from their male colleagues. IPI's Trionfi cautioned that one would have to look not only at the absolute number of women who are being targeted, but the number of women killed as a percentage of the number of women who practice journalism, in order to determine if there is a distinct pattern.

WAN-IFRA's Jouan said she was pleased to see a question about gender included in the interview process, even though WAN-IFRA does not specifically analyse its statistics based on gender. It is not entirely clear if there is something to uncover under this question. She echoed IFJ by noting that in any given case the question is, was the journalist's gender important or were they targeted because of their profession?

Romero noted that CEPET knows the identity and gender of the victim in 95 percent of cases. He said that perhaps CEPET could do more to consider if women are being targeted in a different manner. Nevertheless, CEPET's data suggests that most attacks in Mexico target men.

killed while carrying out a dangerous assignment such as coverage of a street protest". In contrast, "when the motive is unclear, but it is possible that a journalist was killed because of his or her work, [CPJ classifies] the case as *unconfirmed* and continues to investigate".
<http://cpj.org/killed/terminology.php>

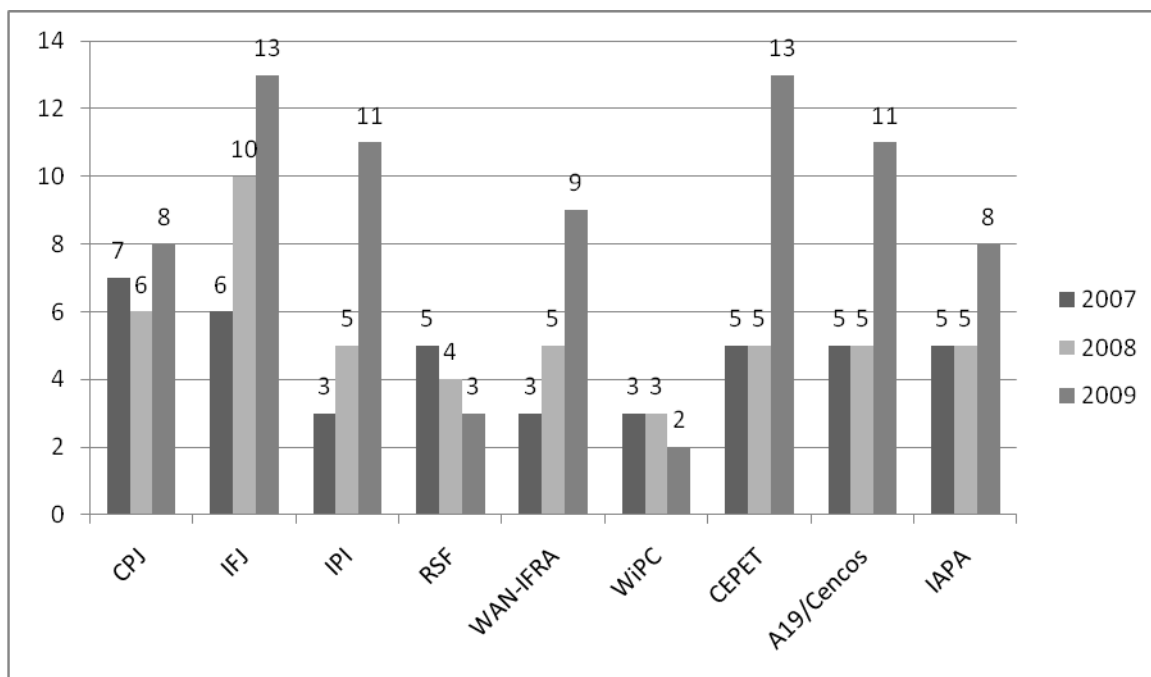
PART II - Country case studies

Mexico

There are two Mexico-based IFEX members reporting on journalists killed in the country: CEPET (an IFEX member until 2011) and the Centro Nacional de Comunicación Social (CENCOS). In recent years, CENCOS has been working in conjunction with ARTICLE 19's Mexico office and the data is presented jointly by both organisations. In addition, all six of the international IFEX members who were interviewed keep statistics on journalists killed in Mexico, as does the regional group IAPA.

As previously noted, Mexico has become the most dangerous country in the Americas for journalists. This is demonstrated by a rise in the number of journalists killed each year, particularly since Felipe Calderón came to power in December 2006.

Graph B. Number of journalists killed in Mexico, 2007 - 2009



Please note that CPJ data includes three separate categories as follows:

2007 = 2 confirmed kills + 2 unconfirmed + 3 media workers

2008 = 2 confirmed + 4 unconfirmed

2009 = 3 confirmed + 5 unconfirmed

Similarly, 2007 RSF data includes media assistants (3)

A number of the groups remarked on the particularly gruesome murders characteristic of the region, often involving beheadings and mutilations. Some of the killed journalists went missing and their bodies appeared days later, often with signs of torture. This intimidation tactic, combined with the authorities' inability to stop aggressors¹¹, may have a direct impact on the *Journalists Killed* data, as journalists increasingly resort to self-censorship.

CEPET expressed concern that the number of denunciations it receives has dropped because of this "silencing" effect. "If this continues," Romero said, "it will get more and more difficult to compare the data from year to year if we find ourselves increasingly hampered in our investigations. A future drop in numbers may not mean that the situation is getting better but rather that more cases are going unreported." ARTICLE 19 echoed the concern that many cases go unreported.

Who is and who is not included in the *Journalists Killed* lists

In response to this question, both CEPET and ARTICLE 19/CENCOS said that the Mexican context necessitates a broader definition of *journalists* and *media workers*, particularly given the number of *newspaper vendors and distributors* who are targeted because of the papers' content.

In addition, both Mexican groups had some cautionary comments. Ricardo Gonzalez, Freedom of Expression Programme Officer at ARTICLE 19's Mexico and Central America Office, explained that each accidental (or seemingly accidental) death must be examined carefully. "Journalists in Mexico are often targeted after hours, when they are not on duty, and the incident may be 'disguised' as an accident," he said. CEPET also warned that "disguising" politically-motivated attacks as incidents of common crime is a common practice in Mexico. One has to be careful not to dismiss "break-ins", which may be orchestrated to seize a journalist's confidential data.

The disappearance of journalists is another characteristic of the Mexican situation that has to be taken into account. CPJ has recorded an unprecedented number of disappearances in the country. CEPET, ARTICLE 19/CENCOS and IAPA record *forced disappearances* and list these numbers separately from, but in conjunction with, their *Journalists Killed* tallies. IAPA explained that authorities will only confirm a person's death three years after their disappearance.

Unravelling the motive

A number of IFEX members, such as RSF, lamented the fact that it is becoming increasingly difficult to unravel the facts and identify the motive in many cases, particularly in cases connected to drug cartels.

¹¹ In the 2010 report "Silence or Death in Mexico's Press", CPJ noted that impunity has become entrenched at the state and local levels.

When examining the circumstances of a journalist's death, and determining if it will include the incident on its list or not, CEPET explained that it will consider questions such as: What was the intent of the attack? Did the incident have a silencing effect on the media community? Has there been a negative impact on freedom of expression?

When it is not clear if an incident is FoE-related, ARTICLE 19/CENCOS will choose to *not* include the case in its *Journalists Killed* data, while CEPET and IAPA said that they *will*, giving it the benefit of the doubt until an FoE link is definitively ruled out. As IAPA's Trotti explained, "Throughout the Americas, the authorities' and police's immediate knee-jerk response to a journalist's murder is to dismiss it as personally-motivated, by claiming the journalist was 'gay' or 'a communist', or had some other 'undesirable' qualities." IAPA is therefore compelled to respond to this dismissive attitude by keeping the unconfirmed cases on its list to enhance the likelihood that a proper debate about the motive can flourish.

Coordination among members

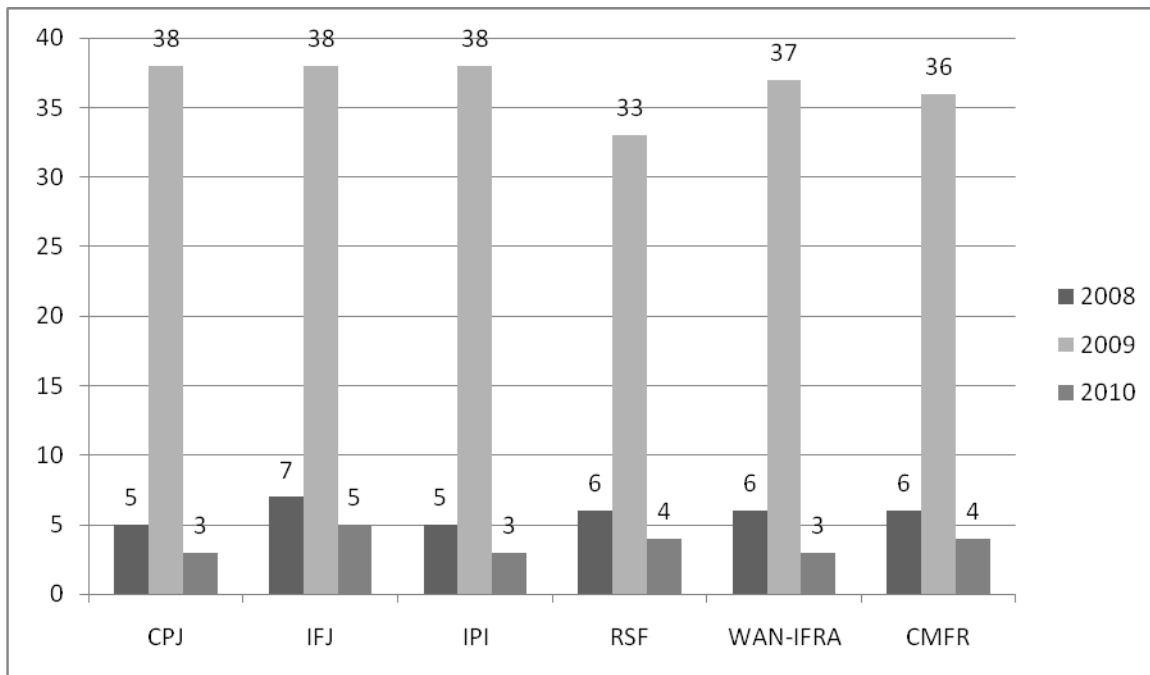
If there is any positive impact of the dire situation in the country, it appears to be that IFEX members are working more closely together. As noted earlier, ARTICLE 19's Mexico office has been working in collaboration with CENCOS for the last few years. There has also been increased coordination between ARTICLE 19/CENCOS and CEPET since 2010, despite some differences in approaches and slight discrepancies in the tallies. "This type of coordination and sharing will be even more important as it becomes more difficult to obtain information and as an increase in violations puts a stress on each organisation's resources," ARTICLE 19's González noted.

There is also some collaboration and comparing of data between the Mexico-based members and the international groups. A number of international members in turn said they rely on the Mexico-based groups as important sources, especially if they do not have their own local partners in the country.

Nevertheless, with the exception of ARTICLE 19 and CENCOS, none of the organisations reconcile their tallies with those of other IFEX members. ARTICLE 19's González cautioned that these differences in the data can be used by the authorities to dismiss calls for action. IAPA's Trotti concurred with this view, noting that government officials often try to diminish the severity of the actual situation in the country or eschew their responsibilities.

Philippines

Graph C. Number of journalists killed in the Philippines, 2008-2010



Please note that CPJ data includes three separate categories as follows:

2008 = 2 confirmed kills + 3 unconfirmed

2009 = 33 confirmed + 3 unconfirmed + 2 media workers

2010 = 2 confirmed + 1 unconfirmed

The Center for Media Freedom and Responsibility (CMFR) is the only IFEX member based in the Philippines¹². CMFR has recorded 118 cases of work-related killings of journalists and media workers since 1986. CMFR explained that one of its main motivations for compiling these statistics was to spot trends and identify danger zones. Beyond looking at the numbers, the organisation tries to analyse the data in an effort to better understand the conditions resulting in murders. As such, it also records non work-related cases (58 since 1986, as of July 2011), as these help provide a more holistic view of the overall situation in the country.

The most significant press event in recent Philippine history was the Maguindanao massacre of 23 November 2009, when 58 people, including at least 32 journalists and

¹² Other IFEX member groups have local affiliates in the country, most notably the IFJ, with the National Union of Journalists of the Philippines, NUJP.

media workers, were brutally killed. IFJ said the massacre was the single worst act of political violence against the media recorded by the organisation in its 20-year history. The incident catapulted the country from sixth to third on CPJ's Impunity Index, which calculates the number of unsolved journalist murders as a percentage of each country's population. And it resulted in 2009 being the most deadly year for the press ever recorded.

Who is being targeted?

CMFR Executive Director Melinda Quintos de Jesus pointed out that according to the organisation's research, the vast majority of journalists and media workers killed in the line of duty were based in the provinces. Because of low salaries and the precariousness which typifies the exercise of journalism in these regions, reporters are more vulnerable to bribes, and find themselves blurring the lines between journalism work and politics.

One example of this is the existence of *block timers*, journalists who buy air time in order to broadcast programmes on radio or television. They usually receive sponsorships from politicians, corporations or other interest groups and use the air time for "biased" commentaries. This is a topic of some debate, with some arguing that this is not a legitimate part of professional journalism, while others defend them as they would any other media practitioners.

According to CMFR's Senior Press Alerts Coordinator Melanie Pinlac, when deciding whether or to include a person on its *Journalists Killed* list, the organisation examines whether an individual is primarily earning a living as a journalist and their reputation among the media community. It does *not* include all *block timers*, especially those who solely broadcast propaganda or praise a certain politician.

Unravelling the motive

Discovering that a murdered journalist was also involved in political campaigns or other questionable practices may make it very difficult for IFEX members to establish a motive for the murder. CMFR also referred to the Filipino gun culture, which further complicates matters and IFEX members' investigations. An added wrinkle is the issue of impunity, as the vast majority of cases are unresolved.

When trying to establish a motive, CMFR will consider if the journalist was covering sensitive topics and if his or her enemies had the means to carry out the attack.

CMFR's Pinlac cautioned that sometimes information reported in the media is incorrect, especially immediately following a murder. The organisation takes some time to corroborate facts with the victim's colleagues, family members, witnesses, the prosecution, etc., and may put off issuing an alert on a case until further information is available.

Collaboration among the members

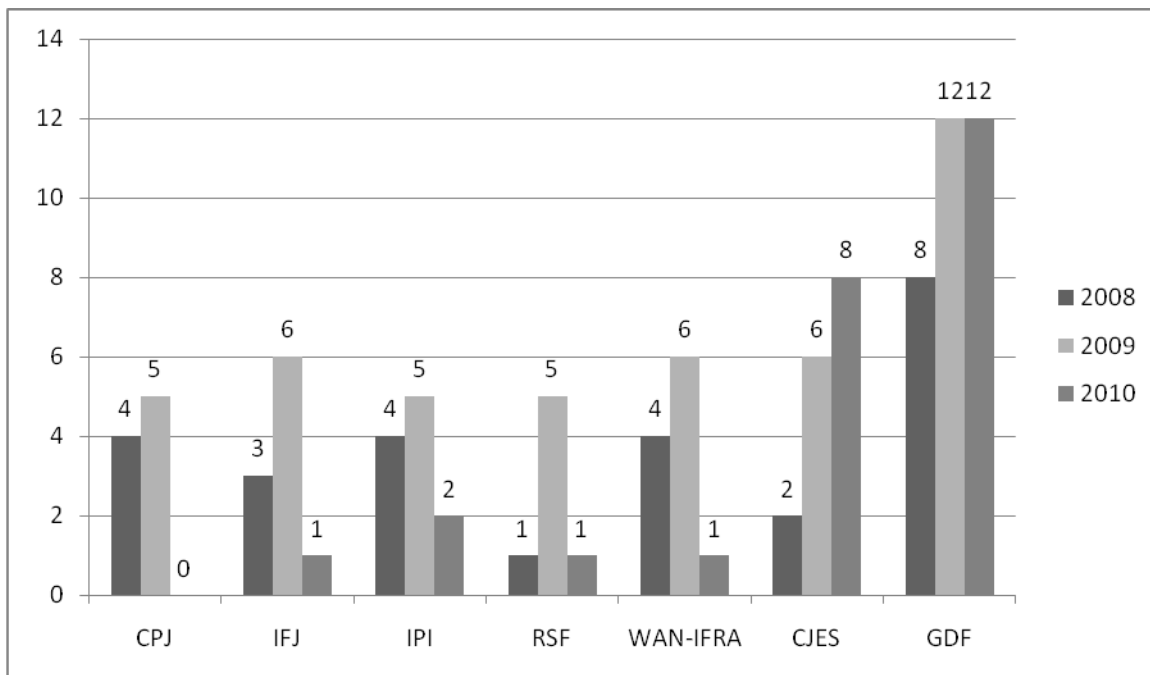
While none of the IFEX members reconcile their tallies on *Journalists Killed* in the Philippines, there is some coordination among international members and between CMFR and groups such as RSF and CPJ. Groups share information and have undertaken some joint efforts, particularly in connection with the ongoing trial of the perpetrators of the Maguindanao massacre.

As the number of killings has been rising, CMFR has also been strengthening its relationships with other local groups, such as the Association of Broadcasters of the Philippines (KBP), working under the umbrella of the Freedom Fund for Filipino Journalists (FFFJ). CMFR has also developed a good relationship with the local IFJ affiliate NUJP over time, and this has led to increased coordination and less discrepancies in their tallies.

CMFR has the impression that discrepancies in IFEX members' tallies stem from the fact that it tends to define *media practitioners* more narrowly than other groups and is stricter in dealing with unconfirmed cases. Quintos de Jesus was quick to point out that regardless of these differences, even the lowest numbers are "unacceptable."

Russia

Graph D. Number of journalists killed in Russia, 2008-2010



Please note that the CPJ data includes separate categories as follows:

2008 = 2 confirmed kills + 2 unconfirmed

2009 = 3 confirmed + 2 unconfirmed

Two Russia-based IFEX members keep *Journalists Killed* tallies: the Center for Journalism in Extreme Situations (CJES) and Glasnost Defence Foundation (GDF).

Lack of information

Prominent cases such as the Anna Politkovskaya murder in 2006 have garnered a great deal of media attention and have brought some of the issues facing Russian journalists to the fore. At the same time, a number of groups, including WiPC and WAN-IFRA, share the impression that many murders taking place outside of major urban areas are going unreported and may never come to light. ARTICLE 19 Regional Programme Officer Nathalie Losekoot questioned the value of national figures given that the situation in the country is marked by such vast regional differences.

Moreover, both international groups and the two local IFEX members stressed the difficulties created by the fact that the majority of crimes are not properly investigated.

To address this lack of information, IFJ was instrumental in setting up an online database on the *Deaths of Journalists in Russia*¹³. The list includes the “violent, premature or unexplained deaths” of journalists recorded since the early 1990s. Each entry is based on monitoring information gathered in Moscow by CJES and GDF.

Who is and who is not included in the lists

Neither CJES nor GDF includes some categories of *media workers* in its list, such as fixers or drivers. However, their total numbers tend to be higher than other IFEX members’ because both groups include *accidental deaths* in their lists.

Unravelling the motive

Members commenting on Russia said that the greatest problem was establishing the motive, linked with the issue of impunity. According to WAN-IFRA's experience, it is often quite difficult to establish the motive for cases that occur outside of Moscow.

GDF and CJES concur about the difficulties of establishing a motive in many cases. Both groups said they *will* include unconfirmed cases in their *Journalists Killed* list until an FoE link is ruled out (although CJES said it classifies these differently in its records). Boris Timoshenko, head of GDF's Monitoring Service, said that law enforcement officers often dismiss the significance of journalists' murders by recording them as “domestic homicides”. It is important for CJES and GDF to include unconfirmed cases on their lists thereby ensuring that they are properly investigated.

IFJ referred to the difficulties of investigating cases in its special report, *Partial Justice. An Inquiry into the deaths of journalists 1993-2009*¹⁴. This was a joint initiative by IFJ and the Russian Union of Journalists (RUJ). IFJ and RUJ worked together with CJES and GDF to document cases that had not been investigated and remained unpunished. One of the questions IFJ tried to address in each documented case was why a certain journalist or media worker died.

Coordination among members

Several international IFEX members communicate regularly with local IFEX members CJES and GDF. Many others though, such as IPI, IFJ and WAN-IFRA, rely on their own affiliates and partners for information, or other groups such as the Mass Media Defence Center (MMDC)¹⁵.

Once again, none of the groups reconcile their tallies although CJES and GDF have been working quite closely together and share information on a number of cases.

¹³ <http://journalists-in-russia.org/>

¹⁴ <http://www.ifj.org/assets/docs/104/059/b4ec068-8bb5e3b.pdf>

¹⁵ <http://www.mmdc.ru/>

GDF believes the variations in tallies are a result of differences in how work-related incidents are identified. CJES was more critical of other members' approach, pointing out that they needed to gain a better understanding of the complexities of the Russian situation. However, neither GDF nor CJES said that the different tallies pose great problems in their work.

APPENDIX A – Individuals who participated in the interview process

Representing IFEX organisations that keep global *journalists killed* tallies:

Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), Bill Sweeney, Editorial Director

International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), Ernest Sagaga, Communications Officer

International Press Institute (IPI), Barbara Trionfi, Press Freedom Adviser - Asia, Australasia, The Caribbean

Reporters Without Borders (RSF), Vincent Brossel, Asia Desk

World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA), Virginie Jouan, former Director of Press Freedom and Media Development Programmes

Writers in Prison Committee, International PEN (WiPC), Sara Whyatt, Programme Director; Tamsin Mitchell, Africa and Americas Research

Representing IFEX organisations that report on Mexico:

ARTICLE 19 Mexico Office, Ricardo González, Freedom of Expression Programme Officer, Mexico and Central America Office

Centro de Periodismo y Ética Pública (CEPET), Juan Carlos Romero, Free Expression Programme [an IFEX member until late 2011]

Inter American Press Association (IAPA), Ricardo Trotti, Director of Freedom of the Press

Representing IFEX organisations that report on the Philippines:

Center for Media Freedom in the Philippines (CMFR) Melinda Quintos de Jesus, Executive Director; Melanie Pinlac, Staff Writer / Senior Press Alerts Officer

Representing IFEX organisations that report on Russia:

Center for Journalism in Extreme Situations (CJES), Viktoria Blonskaya, lawyer

Glasnost Defence Foundation (GDF), Boris Timoshenko, GDF Monitoring Service, Chief

Other member organisations:

ARTICLE 19, London, UK office, Oliver Spencer, Advocacy and Communications Programme Officer; Nathalie Losekoot, Regional Programme Manager, Europe

Canadian Journalists for Free Expression (CJFE), Julie Payne, Manager

Freedom House, Karin Deutsch Karlekar, Senior Researcher and Managing Editor, Freedom of the Press Index and Global Internet Freedom Index

Human Rights Watch, Marcia Allina, Operations Consultant

Index on Censorship, Rohan Jayasekera, Associate Editor and Deputy Chief Executive

Pakistan Press Foundation (PPF), Owais Aslam Ali, Secretary General

World Press Freedom Committee, Javier Sierra, Insult Law Campaign Director

APPENDIX B - How to find each member's information online

IFEX members who keep a tally of journalists killed worldwide (in alphabetical order):

Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), <http://www.cpj.org>

Information on its site dating back to: 1992 <http://www.cpj.org/killed/2010/>

Running tally on website: Yes, on organisation's home page. Includes a number of visual aids such as maps, graphs and charts outlining "Death by Type", "Medium" or "Gender".

Annual reports on website: Yes, under "Attacks on the Press".

Categories used: Journalists Killed / Motive Confirmed, Journalists Killed / Motive Unconfirmed, Media Workers (since 2003)

Methodology easily accessible: Yes.

CPJ's methodology is the most easily accessible, as it is posted on the same page as the annual tallies and is easy to identify (<http://www.cpj.org/killed/methodology.php>). In addition, the section on "Terminology" explains some of the definitions such as "Motive Confirmed" and "Motive Unconfirmed" (see <http://cpj.org/killed/terminology.php>). Bill Sweeney explained that the information has been available on CPJ's site for a long time but it has had a more prominent place on the site for the last few years. The impetus for this was for CPJ to be more open and informative about its methodology. Interestingly enough, it did not come about as a result of being questioned about the differences in numbers among IFEX members.

International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), <http://www.ifj.org>

Information on its website dating back to: 2000

Running tally on website: No

Annual reports that include tally of journalists killed: Yes.

PDFs of each annual report dating back to 2000 are posted under the "Press Freedom and Safety" section of the site, sub header "Killed Journalists" .

<http://www.ifj.org/en/pages/ifj-annual-reports-on-journalists-and-media-staff-killed>

Methodology easily accessible: IFJ has been including some type of explanation of its methodology in the introduction to its annual reports. In the years between 2002-2005 this was a short paragraph in the beginning of the report. The explanation has been expanded in recent years. See for example page 5 of the IFJ 2006 report on how the "IFJ killed list" was compiled and what type of data it includes. (

<http://www.ifj.org/assets/docs/036/210/bb56224-fe100d2.pdf>)

Changes: Since 2006, IFJ has been listing accidental deaths as a separate category from the total journalists killed numbers. Prior to that, the total numbers included targeted killings along with deaths due to accidents and natural disasters. In some of the reports certain cases are marked as A ("accidental") or ND ("natural disasters"), accordingly.

IFJ marks certain cases as MS ("media staff") and may include categories such as bodyguards, guards, translators, drivers that other organisations do not include in their definition of who is a journalists. Similarly, some cases are marked as IN = "under investigation", where the connection to FOE was still unclear at the time the report was published.

International Press Institute (IPI), <http://www.freemedia.at>

Information on its website dating back to: 1997

Running tally on website: Yes, IPI Death Watch

<http://www.freemedia.at/our-activities/death-watch/>

Annual reports on website: World Press Freedom Review

<http://www.freemedia.at/publications/world-press-freedom-review/>

Methodology easily accessible: IPI includes a short paragraph on its Death Watch page, explaining who is included in the list. (<http://www.freemedia.at/our-activities/death-watch/>) Interestingly enough, Barbara Trionfi explained that IPI rarely gets asked by the media about its methodology. This may, in her opinion, point to the media's general ignorance about the difference in methodologies.

Reporters Without Borders (RSF), <http://www.rsf.org>

Information on its site dating back to: 2002

Running tally on website: Yes, "Press Freedom Barometer" on home page.

English: <http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-barometer-journalists-killed.html?annee=2010>

French: <http://fr.rsf.org/barometre-de-la-liberte-de-la-presse-journalistes-tues.html?annee=2011>

Spanish: <http://es.rsf.org/el-barometro-de-la-libertad-de-prensa-periodistas-muertos.html?annee=2011>

Categories: RSF lists separately the number of "Journalists" and "Media Assistants" killed.

Annual reports on website:

Methodology easily accessible: No. RSF includes on its site a document explaining how its Press Freedom Index was compiled. A different PDF document includes the questionnaire RSF uses to compile the Index. This second document includes a section on the number of journalists who were murdered (see:

http://en.rsf.org/IMG/pdf/cm_questionnaire_2010_gb.pdf)

Additional information dating back to 1944 can be found in the online database,

<http://www.thejournalistsmemorial.org/>

This "memorial" was conceived and created by the Doha Centre for Media Freedom, RSF and the town of Bayeux, France. This online resource lists all journalists and media assistants killed in the course of their work since the end of the Second World War.

World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA)

Information on its site dating back to: 1998

Running tally on website: Yes, on home page, under the heading "Media employees killed so far in (year)".

<http://www.wan-press.org/pfreedom/jkilled.php?id=5356>

Annual reports on website: For an analysis of the data, readers are encouraged to refer to WAN-IFRA's annual press release. Click here for the most recent one on the 2010 situation: <http://www.wan-ifra.org/articles/2011/01/14/mexico-pakistan-most-deadly-places-for-journalists-in-2010>

Methodology easily accessible: No

Writers in Prison Committee, International PEN (WiPC)

Information on its site dating back to: 2007

Running tally on website: No

Annual reports on website: No, six-month case lists instead. These are accessed by going through WiPC's site, and navigating through "Freedom of Expression" / "Committees and Networks" / and finally "Writers in Prison". The files are then available under the "News archive" on the right hand side of the page.

Click here for the most recent case list:

http://www.ifex.org/international/2011/03/10/caselist_julydec_2010.pdf

Methodology easily accessible: WiPC does not list its methodology online. However, the introduction of each case list report includes a number of explanatory sections such as, "Information sources", "Explanation of terms used", etc. (e.g. See: <http://www.internationalpen.org.uk/files/dmfile/CaselistJul09.pdf>)

IFEX members who keep a tally of journalists killed in Mexico

ARTICLE 19/CENCOS

Centro Nacional de Comunicación Social (CENCOS)

Running tally on website: No

Annual reports on website: Yes, dating back to 2007

The reports can be found under <http://www.article19.org/pdfs/languages/spanish.html> or under <http://www.cencos.org/en/node/25929>

Methodology easily accessible: No

Centro de Periodismo y Ética Pública (CEPET) (former IFEX member)

Running tally on its website: No

Annual reports on website: Yes, dating back to 2007

See <http://cepetmexico.wordpress.com/informes/>

Methodology easily accessible: No, but not because it is confidential. CEPET has not had the time and resources to always publicise its work and maintain an ongoing tally.

Inter American Press Association (IAPA), <http://www.sipiapa.com>

Running tally on its website: No, but all of IAPA's numerical data can be found under its Impunidad or Impunity webpage (<http://www.impunidad.com>). In addition to information on the IAPA's ongoing campaign to demand justice in the murders, this site contains a number of PDF files with statistics on the number of killed and missing (or "disappeared") journalists in the Americas per country for each year dating back to 1987.

One can get there from the English home page (<http://www.sipiapa.com/v4/index.php?idioma=us>) by clicking on the subsection "Programas" and then "Impunity Project".

From the Spanish home page (<http://www.sipiapa.com/v4/index.php?idioma=sp>), one has to click "Programas" and "Impunidad".

Methodology easily accessible: No

IFEX members who keep a tally of journalists killed in the Philippines

Center for Media Freedom in the Philippines (CMFR)

CMFR began collecting and publicising this type of data in 1986. An "Interactive Map on the Killings of Filipino Journalists / Media Workers" is available by clicking the "Journalist Killings" sub header (http://www.cmfr-phil.org/map/index_inline.html)

Categories: Database includes journalists "killed in the line of duty" and "non-work related" cases. Information can be sorted by medium, gender, region and presidential administration.

Annual reports on website: CMFR posts special reports on Press Freedom and other topics related to the "Journalists Killed" data on a special site that many subscribers may not be aware of. See: <http://www.scribd.com/cmfrphilippines>

Methodology easily accessible: CMFR explains some of its criteria on a database site it uses to post its special reports on Press Freedom and other topics. See: <http://www.scribd.com/cmfrphilippines>

IFEX members who keep a tally of journalists killed in Russia:

Center for Journalism in Extreme Situations (CJES)

Information on its site dating back to: 2000

Subcategories: journalists who were killed in connection with their professional duties; journalists whose deaths have not been investigated or where the results of the investigation are questionable; journalists killed by accident or in incidents unrelated to their professional duties.

Methodology easily accessible: No.

Glasnost Defence Foundation (GDF)

Information on its site dating back to: 1993

Methodology easily accessible: No. GDF did release a book entitled, "Techniques for monitoring violations of the rights of journalists and press and their conflicts" (2000). The book can be found under the "Library" section.

Also please refer to the following database on journalists killed in Russia which was set up by the IFJ and includes data from both CJES and GDF. <http://journalists-in-russia.org/rjournalists>

APPENDIX C - QUESTIONNAIRE used during the interview process

A. REASON FOR COMPILING THE TALLIES:

What is your goal in producing the Js killed numbers? [Open ended]

- To bring attention to the issue
- To use the numbers in lobbying efforts
- To highlight dangers of specific regions
- To use these numbers in special reports
- Other. Please specify: _____

When did your organisation begin to compile the annual tallies? When did you start publicising this information?

[Year began compiling the data.

Year began to publicise the data]

Is the organisation's methodology easily accessible on your website?

[YES or NO] {Why or why not?}

Has your organisation's methodology changed over the years?

[NO, it has not.

YES, it has.]

If yes, how and why has it changed? Please specify:

B. COLLECTING THE DATA:

How do you collect the data? [Check all that apply:]

- Media reports
- Correspondents in the field
- Police reports
- Other freedom of expression organisations
- Other. Specify: _____

How do you verify the motive for the murder? [Check all that apply:]

- Correspondents in the field

- Media reports
- Police reports
- Interviews, other primary research
- Other. Specify: _____

C. WHO IS INCLUDED IN THE DATA AND WHO IS NOT:

Do your tallies include: [YES included, NO, not included, YES included but listed as a separate category]

- journalists who are accredited
- journalists who are **not** accredited
- freelancers
- photographers
- camera operators
- bloggers (internet activist/web dissident)
- publishers
- media owners
- chairpersons of a media company
- translators
- drivers
- fixers
- administrative workers
- Other. Specify: _____

- what about journalists who work with state-owned newspapers?

C. CONSIDERING THE MOTIVE:

Do you include in your tallies the following types of incidents:

[YES included, NO not included, or YES included but listed separately]

- incidents of journalists killed that are directly related to the journalist's/victim's profession?
- journalists who are caught in the crossfire while covering combat situations or other dangerous assignments?
- foreign correspondents who are not directly targeted but are killed during an overseas assignment due to the dangerous local situation?
- foreign correspondents who are directly targeted but are killed during an overseas assignment, even if they were not on duty at the time of their death?

- accidental deaths of journalists - if the journalist was on duty at the time of her/his death?
- accidental deaths of journalists – if the journalist was **not** on duty at the time of her/his death?

When the motive is **unconfirmed**, do you:

- not include the incident in your tally until there is further confirmation
- include the incident
- include the incident but classify such incidents differently from other murders
- Other. Please specify: _____

Do you revise your annual tallies?

- periodically?
- once additional information about a case has been received?
- Other. Please specify: _____

What software do you use to collect the data? Does this tool allow you to aggregate/sort the data?

Do you keep statistics on attacks by gender?

D. DIFFERENCES IN RESULTS FROM OTHER IFEX MEMBERS

Do you have any general comments on the differences between the IFEX members' annual tallies?

Do these differences create problems or difficulties for you in your work?

Do you communicate with other IFEX members and try to reconcile your data with theirs?

E. OTHER MORE OPEN ENDED QUESTIONS:

Do you have any general comments on your methodology, and the challenges of compiling the data.

Do you have any further comments or suggestions regarding the actual Js killed stats research project?