



Report: CFOM Focus Groups Preliminary Study July-October 2014

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Executive summary of main findings

Thirty nine participants participated in a series of six focus groups held in London and Sheffield. These focus groups examined the following four aspects:

- 1) The extent to which the wider public are aware of, interested in, or shocked by the statistics of journalists getting killed/attacked
- 2) The extent of the public's knowledge and views on issues of impunity
- 3) The public's view of how and whether news media reports serious attacks on journalists and those exercising freedom of expression around the world
- 4) Public attitudes with regard to the 'standard' perception among many media editors that audiences/readers are uninterested or resistant to stories about attacks on journalists or the related issue of impunity

In response to the above four lines aspects the following results emerged:

- 1) **Killing of journalists:** It is fair to say that the majority of participants were unaware of the fact that journalists across the world are intentionally murdered. Testifying to this is the fact that only 3 out of 39 participants were able to guess how many journalists got killed in 2013. Rather, participants believed that occasionally journalists get killed by accident in war zones and expressed doubt about the idea that anybody would kill a journalist purposefully. This doubt became specifically visible in the discussion of the killing of Terry Lloyd in 2003 and the US's involvement in his death.
- 2) **Impunity:** 35 out of 39 participants were unaware of the meaning of the term 'impunity' and were surprised and shocked to hear that in 9 out of 10 cases the perpetrators who kill journalists are not brought to justice. However, when discussing the different cases two things became clear: first, that participants were keen to find reasons that would explain the lack of prosecution in the cases that were discussed during the focus groups and second, there was consent that it was important to bring all unlawful killings to justice – whether the victim was a journalist or an innocent civilian.

- 3) News media reporting:** The participants made two main comments with regard to the news media reporting of the deaths of journalists: first, a majority of participants thought that the killing of journalists does not receive sufficient media coverage¹ and second, especially the participants who participated in the focus groups that were held after the James Foley execution heavily criticised the media reporting for their focus on showing horrible images and for sensationalising the case rather than providing explanations of the reasons and the political context in which this beheading took place. Overall, the participants *did not* agree with the editors' belief that the public don't want to read about the deaths of journalists or that they shouldn't be reported, but they had views about *how* they should or should not be reported.
- 4) Public attitudes/interest:** Four observations based on the focus group discussions can be made. First, participants were generally interested in reading more about the killings of journalists and the issue of impunity. Second, there was a preference for media reports on the killing of journalists to gossip and celebrity stories. Third, most participants expressed the view that journalists should be able to report about themselves as part of the stories they report, arguing that: 'journalists are part of the world they report'. Fourth, whereas participants showed interest in these stories they also pointed out that they would not get personally involved and take an active part in the fight against impunity.

In addition, the participants' answers and contributions to the discussions revealed five different understandings of the journalist² which can be summarised accordingly:

- 1) The journalist as an employee
- 2) The journalist's character
- 3) The journalist as a foreigner/intruder
- 4) The journalist as a human being
- 5) The journalist as the messenger

¹ N.B. A few participants who became aware of their lack of knowledge regarding the topics discussed wondered whether the news report on these issues but they just haven't noticed these stories.

² These five understandings will be dealt with in more detail in the analysis part of this report (pp. 32-37).

Whereas this series of CFOM focus groups needs to be understood as a preliminary study it never the less points to areas where CFOM could (and should) undertake a large scale research project focusing on a more in-depth analysis of the following aspects:

- 1) The change of audience perceptions regarding deaths of journalists and the issue of impunity before and after focus group discussion
 - a. What changes audience perceptions with regard to the death of journalists and the issue of impunity?
 - b. What is the relationship between audience perceptions and the extent of their knowledge with regard to the death of journalists and the issue of impunity?
- 2) The audience's conceptions of journalists and their role
 - a. What is the relationship between the audience's different conceptions of journalists and their perception of the newsworthiness of the deaths of journalists and impunity?
 - b. Is there a relationship between the conception of the journalist and the degree of (non-) sympathy the audience expresses for the killed journalists?
- 3) What are the implications of answers to 1) and 2) above for media editors with regard to the reporting of the deaths of journalists and impunity in terms of
 - a. Whether a story about the death of a journalist and the issue of impunity is newsworthy
 - b. How i.e. in what style such a story should be reported in order to awake the audience's interest?

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Introduction: Focus groups

What are focus groups?

Focus groups can be understood as group interview of 5-10 people. As the name suggests, focus groups are conducted to stimulate a focused discussion on a specific topic – in this case the killings of journalists and the attendant issue of impunity.

Our focus groups

We ran a series of six focus groups in Sheffield and London between July and October 2014 (for demographics see next section) with 39 participants in total. We adopted a semi-structured interview approach. This means that the focus group moderator followed a questionnaire but had the flexibility to add questions or leave questions out if circumstances required. The focus groups were conducted in two different cities in order to analyse whether the replies to the questionnaire differ depending on the location. Our finding was that they don't in any significant way. We have therefore decided to treat the two sets of focus groups as one sample rather than two distinct ones.

Initially it was planned to show a short clip on the issue of impunity at the beginning of the focus group session. This clip wasn't shown for technical reasons and instead the group interviews started with questions of whether the participants knew what impunity meant, whether they were aware of the issue of impunity with regard to the killing of journalists and whether they think that impunity could represent a problem for journalism and/or the public.

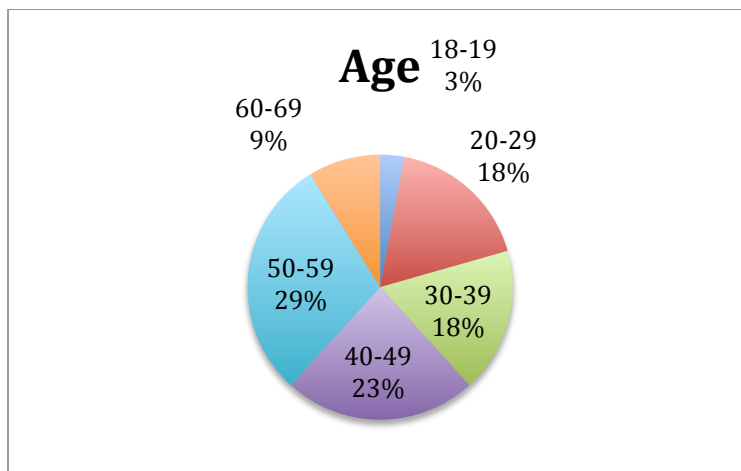
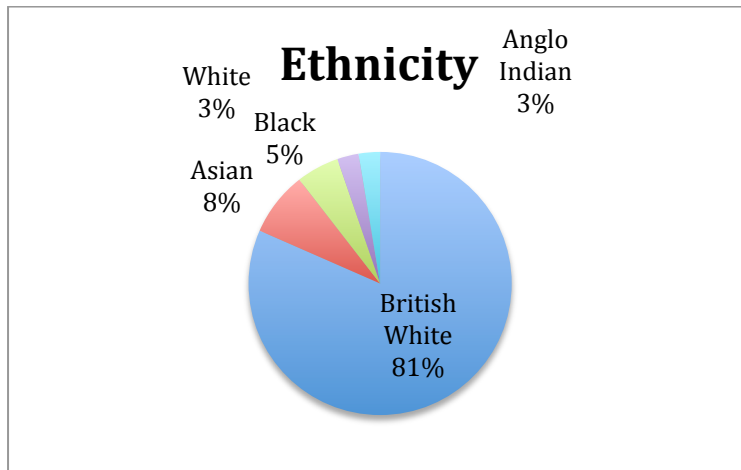
The discussions were audio-recorded. Prior consent to the audio-recording was obtained by each participant. The recorded data has been stored safely so that no other person with the exception of Professor Jackie Harrison, Dr Lada Price and Dr Stefanie Pukallus have access to the data as laid out in the consent form (see appendix 4).

The following report is structured in four parts as follows: The first part presents the answers participants gave to the pre-group questionnaire and gives a more detailed idea of the research sample i.e. the 39 participants. The second part lists the answers given by participants to the questions asked. In the third part presents the participants' answers to the post-group questionnaire. The fourth part is a brief analysis of the main findings.

I. Presentation of the focus group participants: the research sample

Each of the participants was asked to anonymously fill out a pre-group questionnaire at the beginning of the focus group.

The following provides information about the research sample which was composed of 19 male and 20 female participants.



Education

- 9th, 10th or 11th grade: 1 participant [GCSE level]
- 12th grade, no diploma: 1 participant [A level]
- 1 or more years of college, no degree: 15 participants
- Associate degree (for example: AA, AS): 1 participant
- Bachelor's degree (for example: BA, AB, BSc): 10 participants
- Master's degree (for example: MA, MSc, MEng, MEd, MSW, MBA): 6 participants
- Professional degree (for example: MD, DDS, DVM, LLB, JD): 3 participants

- Doctorate degree (for example: PhD, EdD): 2 participants

Total: 18 participants without University education and 21 participants with University education

Employment Status

- Employed for wages: 21 participants
- Self-employed: 6 participants
- Out of work and looking for work: 1 participant
- Out of work but not currently looking for work: 1 participant
- Student: 2 participant
- Retired: 8 participants

What news organisations do you obtain your news from (press, online, radio, TV)?

Here the participants were able to tick more than one source

- BBC: 38
- ITV: 19
- Sky: 15
- The Guardian: 17
- The Independent/I: 21
- The Sun: 5
- The Daily Mail: 3
- The Mirror: 4
- The Daily Express: 0
- The Times: 8
- Al Jazeera: 3
- Fox: 1
- CNN: 4
- Other (please name): Daily Telegraph, Espresso, Channel 4 News, Publico, The Star, Yahoo, London Evening Standard (x2)

Which of these journalists have you heard of?

- Peter Greste: 5 participants
- Marie Colvin: 12 participants
- Anna Politkovskaya: 10 participants
- Kathy Gannon and Anja Niedringhaus: 0 participants
- Daniel Pearl: 6 participants
- Terry Lloyd: 17 participants (although here there was confusion with Terry Waite who was taken hostage in Libya in the 1980s).

How many journalists do you think were killed in 2013?

- Less than 10: 8 participants
- 11-19: 12 participants
- 20-39: 5 participants
- 30-39: 2 participants
- 40-59: 7 participants
- 60-79: 1 participants
- 80-99: 2 participants
- 100-149: 0 participants

Comments:

- When it was revealed that 70+ journalists were killed in 2013 a lot of participants were surprised/shocked for two reasons: first, the 20 participants who had estimated less than 19 were shocked when they realised that they had significantly underestimated the number of journalists killed and second, because the ten participants who picked >49 thought that they had overestimated the number of deaths, but then realised that they were quite close to the actual figure.

II. Presentation of the data collected during focus groups

The following provides an overview of the replies given by participants to each of the questions.³ It is the data that was collected and that will be analysed in the next section.

The focus group sessions were divided into three parts. The first part addressed the issue of impunity and the killings of journalists generally; in the second part we reviewed specific cases and collected participants' opinions on the cases and in the third part we were interested in how the participants view the news media reporting of the killings of journalists and the issue of impunity.

Part I

1. Does anyone know what impunity means?

- Generally there was a lack of knowledge what it meant
- One person said that it meant being immune from risk and another said that one could kill people without being brought to account
- One confused impunity with immunity
- Something to do with people not being held to account or people not being allowed to hold those to account who committed crimes
- Washing your hands clean
- In total 6 people made comments and 33 were unaware of what impunity meant

In preparation for question 2 and general further discussion, the UN definition of impunity was read out.

2. Were you aware that there was an issue of impunity with regard to the killing of journalists?

- The majority said no
- Other reactions were:
 - Some said that they knew that journalists occasionally got killed but not that the perpetrators weren't brought to justice
 - Some thought the killing of journalists and impunity would be bigger news stories
 - Participants also said that journalists go into hostile environment to get a story and they are aware of the risk. However, they go because

³ As noted above, the following questions were based on a questionnaire. This questionnaire provided the structure for the group interview. Never the less sometimes questions were changed or added. For the initial questionnaire see appendix 2.

the papers need to sell. But questioned who in those hostile situations will prosecute when journalists get killed. The perpetrators think they are above the law anyway.

- Some asked if there is no international union that protects journalists and makes sure that there is an investigation.

3. Why do you think impunity with regard to the killings of journalists can be a problem? What signals does it send if the prosecutors are not brought to justice?

In response to this question the participants gave a wide range of responses:

- Whoever takes a life should be punished
- No justice has been done
- There is a problem with free speech; it can frighten other journalists off so that they won't investigate the same issue a killed journalist was working on
- How can they be brought to justice – different countries, different rules and laws?
- Journalists will stop reporting and then we won't know. For example if you go on holiday and something happens in that country and the press reports it your own government can get you out, but if your government doesn't know you're stuck
- Journalists are biased anyway
- Represses the information the journalist wanted to release; ensure the information doesn't get out
- Discourages other journalists
- If you look at a journalist getting killed in what amounts to a war zone who will investigate? It's difficult to investigate why it is still going on. Often those regimes commit lots of human rights crimes, no one will be bothered about the odd journalist.
- It shows someone is trying to hide something
- Impunity doesn't happen in UK. It depends on the geographical area and the actors: terrorists, a state, crime groups, individuals...
- Sometimes crimes can only be investigated 10 – 20 years later so how would that help anyone?
- People don't want to become journalists anymore
- Journalists do not want to go into certain areas and as such, things wouldn't get reported but more easily covered up
- Journalists would feel like they need to protect themselves
- Being a deterrent
- Perceived as a warning: We killed one journalist we will kill more. Intimidation of journalists

- The public wouldn't get to know about human rights violations in the areas where journalists get attacked or killed
- Public opinion can't mobilise and urge governments or international organisations such as the UN to act. Governments/International organisations could too freely decide not to intervene when intervention could be politically inconvenient

The participants engaged more easily with the issue of journalists getting killed than the issue of impunity. The moderator attempted to stimulate further reactions by asking additional questions but those questions didn't lead to a direct discussion of the issue of impunity either. It appears that the fact that journalists get killed is more interesting for the public than the problem of impunity. This is also visible in the reactions to the cases of journalists being killed that were presented during the sessions (see below).

One participant said the following:

- If you go into a war zone you're asking for trouble. Journalists consciously accept the risk. People have too much sympathy. The journalists shouldn't have been there. You can call them brave or you can call them foolish.

This remark sparked the following reaction/exchange:

- But if journalists didn't go into these war zones we wouldn't find out what's going on
- They are not really innocently caught as they go in on purpose. Different from innocent victims killed in war. No one investigates these either.
- But going into a war zone is one of the admirable sides of journalism contrary to all the gossip and celebrity news
- They are just unlucky if they get killed
- Who sends them there? Can they decide where they go? Doesn't the employer i.e. the newspaper make a risk assessment before deciding whether a journalist can go? Risk is part of the job just as with soldiers
- The journalist's job is to expose – e.g. there was a journalist who was in Pakistan and witnessed how 14 innocent people were killed purposefully. The government would have been able to cover that up if it wasn't for the journalists

General summary of the focus group responses to questions 1-3

Overall there was:

- Unawareness of what impunity means
- Unawareness of journalists getting killed

- Unawareness of the rate of impunity
- Higher interest and outrage expressed at journalists getting killed than at the issue of impunity

4. Have you heard of any cases where journalists got killed? Any names or stories?

Generally the participants couldn't remember names but fragments of the story. The following cases were referred to vaguely and without much detail at all (the names in parentheses were added by the author):

- Russian journalist (Anna Politkovskaya)
- Irish journalist Veronica investigating drug trafficking in Dublin; received threats against her and her family, got shot (Veronica Guerin killed in 1996)
- A Bulgarian killed with an umbrella in London (Georgi Markov – the umbrella murder)
- Nuclear poisoning (Alexander Litvinenko – this case was referred to before the public enquiry was announced)
- Mexican journalist investigating drug crimes (too vague and too many to identify)
- The one with the eye patch who went to Libya or Syria (Marie Colvin)
- African journalist, male, famous, was in risky parts... can't remember name (unclear who was been referred to here)
- Images of the American journalist being decapitated (James Foley)
- There was one journalist recently incarcerated in Egypt but don't remember name (Peter Greste)
- Remember ISIS related issues involving journalists
- Iranian journalists generally not free to report

Some participants assumed that journalists got killed accidentally in war zones; others said that some probably got killed in the 2nd Gulf War, Middle East, Pakistan, Iraq as well as Sri Lanka and that it was likely that journalists have been killed/will get killed when reporting on the Ukrainian conflict. One said that we hear more about journalists being injured or kidnapped than killed. Participants of the focus groups that were held after the beheading of James Foley knew that this was intentional and suggested that ISIS was trying to instil fear in the West.

Part II Case studies

Each case was addressed separately and according to the same pattern:

- a) Have you heard of?
- b) Short presentation of the case by the moderator
- c) Gathering of reactions from the participants. Before the discussion began it was emphasised by the moderator that it was important that participants said what they really thought rather than attempting to give 'filtered', 'well-thought out' and 'socially acceptable' answers.

1. Peter Greste

- a) Only 5 participants remembered the name but some remembered the story once it was mentioned
- b) Short presentation of the case
- c) Reactions to the case
 - Terms used:
 - Appalling because he reported what he thought was right. This was however in conflict with the government of the time which had banned free speech
 - Dreadful poor bugger
 - This is disgusting and disgraceful. But I wouldn't go and protest on the stairs of the town hall
 - Hard to make sense of it – surreal
 - Indifferent, not that bothered
 - Extreme sentence – if he had bombed somewhere fair dues. In UK he'd only be accused of libel
 - A bit fishy
 - Dubious
 - General reactions:
 - He was imprisoned not killed
 - He offended the government
 - Even in the UK you can't say what you want
 - In the UK he would be regarded as innocent
 - He was a foreign journalist who is seen as acting against the Egyptian government
 - If you go onto a conflict zone and you start mouthing off – again you're looking for trouble – I have no sympathy
 - But it's his job. No one will learn the truth and people would get away with things.
 - No journalist should be expected to put his life on the line

- When you try to get a message to the people the consequences are different from other countries, different from the UK
- Maybe there is not enough done about it [him being imprisoned] but then there are so many wars and conflicts and journalists get caught in it
- I thought journalists did get killed accidentally but I didn't know they were specifically targeted for doing their job
- No matter how careful you are you can always say something that someone believes to be damaging to national security
- Him being imprisoned discredits what he said
- Can lead to censorship
- Sends the message to other people and journalists
- Dubious particularly in the light of recent political crisis and the way the Egyptian government has dealt with protesters – this gives the impression that this imprisonment is to silence a voice and to keep some specific information inside Egypt rather than it being reported abroad.
- No matter what story he shouldn't go to jail if it is truthful
- He was in a country of turmoil and couldn't have predicted what was going to happen
- Can't blame the journalist
- Some are lucky and others aren't
- The high sentence is ridiculous – what are the seven years based on?
- Someone killing someone while drunk driving would get less than that.
- You would hope the international community would react or his country would try to get him out. Look at the Anni Dewani murder and how much it was pushed for extradition. Why not in this case?
- International Community is important. The UN was set up to mediate and prevent direct clashes of two sovereign states why doesn't it act? Recently it has taken bad decisions.

With regard to the claim that Greste was affiliated with the Muslim brotherhood the participants said: Well, the government could have made it up to discredit him but we don't know what he might have been involved in

To stimulate the discussion and focus on him being a journalist the moderator asked whether what happened was worse because Greste is a journalist:

- Not worse in terms of human suffering. A person is a person. But it's worse because public opinion is being... and the messenger was killed.

- Is there no protection for journalists? How can we protect them?
- Were those three Al-Jazeera journalists identifiable as journalists or were they disguised, undercover?

- Trial:
 - I heard that the trial was rubbish. It was trivial, corrupted and dodgy. Evidence without relevance to the case was presented.
 - Concerns whether this was a fair trial
 - Nobody should be imprisoned without a fair trial

- Suspicion
 - There are always two sides to the story. Maybe he didn't know that what he was reporting was distorted.
 - Maybe the Australian government is not getting him out because he knows something they don't want to come out
 - Do we know what was going to be printed?
 - I think we are jumping to conclusions. We don't know whether he was being truthful or only partly telling the truth but then, yes 7 years in prison is crazy. What about the trial? What about international law?

- Comments on political context/international relations/international community:
 - The West has dealings with Egypt: McCain didn't recognise the elections because the West wishes to support only 'Western democracies', Obama gives billions to the country. Also look at Saudi-Arabia the 51st US state
 - I think the President [of Egypt] is reacting to the international community though
 - Why isn't the international community trying to get him out?
 - How hard do they try?
 - It's also the responsibility of his state to get him out
 - There must be leverage to get him out or at least to get his sentence reduced such as stopping to send aids
 - The Australian government should get him out
 - Direct reaction to the above: But maybe that's the root of the problem. The government doesn't have the power to get him out and that's why we have international communities for example the UN; international means are necessary
 - Religious issues in Egypt

- Maybe there are economic reasons

2. Marie Colvin

- a) 11 participants had heard the name, a few more remembered the story but not the name
- d) Short presentation of the case
- b) Reactions:
 - General reactions
 - Is that the one who lost an eye?
 - She went through the back door
 - Why would she put herself into that danger
 - That's her job.
 - If she didn't go because the government said it didn't want her to then governments all over the place would start doing the same thing
 - Journalists are like that: driven, vocation, it's not just a job for them
 - Journalists are the type of people that will do their jobs despite threats and warnings
 - No one deserves to die for their job and even if she knew the risk and wasn't welcome Syria could have found other means to get her out.
 - Not wise to go in but death not a suitable punishment
 - As a journalist you don't think about the risk you want the story
 - The public needs to be told what's going on
 - There is always a motive behind killing the messenger. Journalists become part of history, they are writing and shaping it and sometimes states don't like their version of history. The killing of a journalist is never innocent
 - If police got killed that would be investigated and widely reported
 - She took a known risk
 - Sympathy and admiration for her
 - Isn't Bowen in Gaza? It's an amazing risk but if they didn't report we wouldn't know and all the charities and events to support these countries wouldn't exist.
 - Israel would love it if there were no reporters because they would get away with war crimes
 - She knew the risk and shouldn't have gone
 - Why did she ignore the government
 - Common for journalists to take a risk
 - Journalists should be expected to be safe when doing their job. Sometimes there are procedures in place like this morning when in Gaza all journalists were put in a hotel

- What about the Sunday Times? Tried to stop her?
 - Reaction to that: I don't think they would have tried hard and it wasn't inevitable that she got killed she could have been fine
 - There are so many factors – how would anyone know who to blame whether the rebels or the government? You can make an educated guess but it would still be a guess.
 - It's your own risk if a country does not give you permission to go anyway
 - There is a lot happening in Syria that needs to be reported – can they use social media or is there a media blackout. If there is a ban on information being given out then journalists need to go in and report
 - She must have had a 'hot lead'
 - She probably felt it was her journalistic duty but also her conscience made her go
 - Apparently NGOs inquired and asked Syria what happened but they didn't care
- Additional question by the moderator: Should journalists refrain from entering the country and reporting when they have been warned by the government?
 - Difficult to say. It's a personal rather than a professional decision
 - A lot of free lancers go to report war – they really want to go.
 - Media are changing so it becomes less necessary to go into countries but if information is trapped then journalists need to go in; they want to go in
 - Journalists need to do it and they are great at it
 - International community needs to pressure governments to protect journalists and to be more transparent
- Comment on managing the media
 - It's not uncommon that governments do that in times of war. The UK did something similar during the Falklands Wars where the government controlled the satellite and the information sent, decided which journalists were allowed in ... The UK hasn't? been in a war where it hasn't managed the media
- Syria
 - Unusual that they started killing journalists that don't report in favour of government
 - They could have send her out of the country – fair enough rather than killing her

- They do what they want anyway. We told them to not chemically kill their people and they do it anyway.
- It's not surprising that this happened there. They have no rule of law.
- Impunity issue
 - Not a priority for Syria to investigate – they are not bothered about the odd journalist killed and if government behind attack then even less so
 - Killing journalists is a pretty minor crime, they are doing worse and once you're engaged in crimes against humanity the odd journalist doesn't make a difference. Maybe one day Syria has to answer for crimes against humanity but maybe not
 - Do we know who killed her?
 - If terrorists who are they responsible to apart from their mad leaders?
 - Hard to bring Syrian government to justice
 - No one should get away with this.
 - Should be investigated by governments but whether there is an investigation or whether people get away with it depends on the political agendas
 - There should be an independent investigation – Human Rights global initiative but then who wants to be part of that as it could be a risk
 - Investigation would be a waste of time because Syria would deny it anyway
- Possible reactions of other journalists:
 - Makes them angry
 - But if they don't continue they might think she died in vain

3. Terry Lloyd

- a) Confusion with Terry Waite
- e) Short presentation of the case
- b) Reactions
 - General
 - Someone didn't want information in the public domain
 - At least there was an inquest
 - US army good at protecting their own
 - US usually get upset when their troops are subjected to the law of the country they are stationed in and Iraq didn't give US immunity
 - After all I have heard killing journalists obviously happens more than we think

- Appalling
 - Terry Lloyd wasn't an embedded journalist and the US troops had made it clear that whoever went in independently would put their life at risk
 - Why is this a war crime – can they prove that he was intentionally killed?
 - Didn't realise that governments had so little regard for journalists. Looking at the enormity I am surprised that journalists even go
 - This should have been a big story
 - Surprised this wasn't reported
 - That's awful
 - If British troops had shot an American journalists they would have had to go to Washington within half an hour!
 - All armed forces need to be held to the same standard whether UK, US or others. There can't be double-standards – some get away with crimes and others don't
 - If it was unlawful it needs to be investigated and the perpetrator held accountable. Even if it was an honest mistake and manslaughter not murder
 - Was he embedded i.e. with the forces?
 - Was the van clearly labelled?
 - Who knew he was in that van? Surely information would have gone around not to shoot at the van
 - Do people think that embedded journalists are more biased?
- Doubts about the fact that he was targeted
 - What if it was just a young soldier who was frightened and confused
 - Couldn't he be a simple casualty?
 - Maybe it was a little kid who shot at the mini bus
 - But did the US know that he wasn't embedded? Yes, they knew. Oh, that's a big cover up then
 - Don't believe that TL was targeted by US troops
 - Doubts about whether this was done intentionally or happened in the heat of the moment
 - Maybe he was just in the wrong place at the wrong time
 - Why would the US do that? What do they have to gain? Did the US really know that he was on the mini-bus?
 - It's extreme. It's either murder or coincidence but can't be anything in between. It sounds unlikely that he was targeted. More probable that it was a young soldier who didn't know what he was doing. Don't believe in those conspiracy theories.

- We don't know what he knew – many nasty things came out after the Iraq war such as the US troops torturing Iraqi soldiers
- Have they proven that he was murdered

Moderator's question: Do you doubt that journalists are killed for their stories?

- Yes, I think it's the madness of the situation
- But someone still had to give the order
- Maybe other people on the mini-bus were the target

- Inquest

- Shouldn't just focus on the journalists but all the people who were on the mini-bus
- Can't look at the journalist in isolation
- Cover up
- Police in this country would be trialed
- Degree of investigation depends on foreign relations. If the UK and the US agree on foreign policy they won't fall out over TL.
- Cover up. The UK should have pushed more for inquiry
- Relationship with US more important for UK than the death of one journalist
- The US have not been very honest with their media

- Moderator's question: Is the crime worse because he was a journalist?

- No
- Journalists take a risk other people don't get that decision. Children for example.

4. Anna Politkovskaya

a) 10 participants knew the name but several others had heard about 'the Russian journalist'

b) Short presentation of the case

c) Reactions

- General

- Who did she get the death threats from?
- She was against Putin
- Far more sympathy for her. She was operating in her own country which is a dangerous place
- Admire bravery
- Hope that Russian regime is seen in a specific light
- Should we have protected her?

- People search for truth and sometimes expose people who do something horrific. If people like this wouldn't do that we wouldn't know anything
- Can't protect. If you take them out of the country then she can't report anymore
- If journalist wanted sanctuary then it should be given
- Don't see distinction to other cases. I wouldn't read about such things.
- She just lived in a small apartment not in luxury she was just doing her job
- She reported in her own country, she knew how it was run and who she was investigating
- Driven
- No one should die doing what they [journalists] are doing
- Her death proves that she was getting close to the truth
- People in Russia should have the same right to challenge Putin that we would have here to challenge Cameron
- She had hit something someone didn't want to come out, got powerful information and because of her 100.000s and millions of people took notice
- The message is: don't mess
- Governments are in the hands of the press and vice versa – I didn't realise that Rebekah Brooks was represented by Cameron's brother
- Death threats: I would have left the country.
- Would you have left if it was in the UK? Well, Russia is so different
- Russia should be held to same standards – yes, in theory but who would pressure Russia? No one has influence.
- I would have stopped reporting for a bit until it was less dangerous and then I would have continued
- Ironic that when you start investigating and reporting intimidation you turn into the one being intimidated – I think that's what keeps you going.
- I would get international community to back me, make sure really big names know me and then if somebody tried to snuff me out then there would be pressure not to.
- I think she thought it was her duty to tell fellow citizens what was going on

- Here people resign if scandals come to light. In Russia there is no accountability and there is no genuine pressure to act or change that can be applied to Russia from the outside.
- Russia
 - UK has economic relations with Russia
 - We know how Russia thinks about Human Rights and we'll let them get away with it
 - No difficulty to believe this story. Putin worked for the KGB.
 - There were other Russian journalists who died or had to leave the country
 - Those things have been going on for years in Russia and there's not much we can do about it.
 - Putin owns most news channels so there are no unbiased news. This is why it was important that she continued. Here, we can be sure that stories get reported anyway but in Russia independent news will only be published by a few outlets.
- Impunity
 - The five must have been paid well if they don't talk
 - Common to nail the little man
 - The system should protect her – but what if state is doing the killing? – Should be internationally but usually a state is investigated just before it collapses
 - Problem to find evidence of the contract killers
 - Russia is a sovereign state
 - People can protest but usually Amnesty International and others are more forceful and can investigate better than other sovereign states
 - Those killers won't be in jail for long
 - Code of silence – corruption goes straight to the top
 - Justice has not been served
 - The five people don't say anything because either they were told that if they talk they won't live long or if they don't talk they will only serve little time
 - The trial was suspicious: started as an open trial, then the journalists were thrown out
 - They probably knew who did it. Russia wanted to be seen to be doing something.

5. Filipino story⁴ (this story was not mentioned in all focus group because of time issues)

- General reactions:
 - This time no individual but group of journalists targeted
 - Did they try to kill the politician?
 - High number killed
 - They obviously thought those journalists were a threat
 - Journalists are always a threat because everybody has got something to hide
 - Journalists can be whistle-blowers
 - Not necessarily targeted because of the journalists
 - Horrible
 - Terrible
 - Awful
 - Again, what does the international community do? How can you apply pressure from the outside? How do you increase transparency as there was clearly some form of corruption going on
 - The UN has all these lightweight principles. Look how many principles Saddam Hussein broke and what did the UN do? If someone breaks these principles the UN needs to reprimand the perpetrator and apply sanctions. If it doesn't how can it remain a relevant organisation? It's not like people break things like 'use black pen on Fridays' – it's serious stuff innocent people getting killed.

⁴ In 2009 a total of 57 were killed when an eight-vehicle convoy carrying journalists, family members and supporters of a Filipino politician was ambushed on a stretch of rural highway in southern Maguindanao. 31 journalists died. Nearly 200 people have been charged with murder but no single conviction has thus far been made. Trial has been made difficult because of a) wide-spread intimidation and even killings of witnesses, b) some of the accused are still on the run and c) delays and disruptions to the trial.

PART III: The news media reporting of the killings of journalists and the issue of impunity

1. From your own experience do you think that these things are sufficiently reported in the media?⁵

- No, hadn't heard of any of the stories today
- Yes, they do sometimes make headline news
- I couldn't remember any stories so I put less than ten on the sheet you gave us.
- After this session I just wonder how many more are there
- The death of a UK journalist would make headlines
- Hundreds of people get killed in all these conflicts. I'd read the story but it doesn't have an impact on me
- Probably these things are more reported than I am personally aware of
- Depends on who the journalist is
- There is a conflict of interest: competition between journalists? If Al-Jazeera gives too much attention to their journalists being imprisoned then maybe they lose access to Egypt and then have a problem to get stories
- There are tendencies of news organisation to cover up i.e. not report
- If they report that some journalist was killed it could be a threat for them
- It's risky
- No, it doesn't provide a story for the newspaper does it?
- Some people don't want it reported because it puts themselves in the frame
- Reported that they die but then there's no follow up on the investigation
- Danger that journalists' deaths take over the news and other things can be masked
- Not enough
- Not reported the right way; only images are shown of people being decapitated but it's not enough. The 'why' is dealt with in two sentences but that's it. The focus is on the evil killer and the great journalist. It's black and white but there is no concrete and realistic account of what happened and why. Especially in tabloids which just want to sell and it is the images that make them sell newspapers, that capture the 'reader'
- Media should focus on explanations, follow-ups, answer question about the investigation, the political context; there is too little information and too many pictures
- No in-depth stories

⁵ Initially there was a follow-up question: 'Would you like to read more about it? Why? Why not?'. It was left out because it had already been answered through the replies to other questions.

- Not enough reporting and not the right way of reporting: about evil but should focus why international law is not enforceable, why this is a political problem, why it is a problem for the people. Actually, the media help ISIS with these pictures because they instil fear and make people angry; makes them more dangerous to us than they might be.
- Media report only when UK, US or Western journalists are killed but not about 'local' journalists but it should report about these journalists too.
- The stories all have the same horror and they all point to the same problems: lack of transparency, accountability and other issues the UN should be fighting
- Why don't they report on these things?
- It seems that it is more important to sell papers with gossip. Also papers try to target younger audiences.
- Too much news space spent on unimportant issues⁶
- Why don't The Guardian and the Independent report these things. They are usually not driven by celebrity news
- Maybe editors get the information and then decide not to report it
- Maybe it doesn't fit into the narratives. For example whenever there is a story on Africa it is linked to famine. The news never report anything else on Africa
- No but maybe the news is told not to mention these stories and if they do they lose access
- Is there any pressure on news organisations not to report?
- Maybe they don't report because they could only report bits of it as they won't have all the information. Maybe then the story gets too spread out over time. News tend to focus on what's happening now rather than do follow ups
- I would want to read about it
- Sometimes these things are reported on programmes that are broadcast at night and have low audience
- BBC World service reports on some of these things and Al-Jazeera does but we sometimes choose not to listen to those news programmes/outlets
- (Channel 4 The Unreported World was mentioned with regard to another question but is important here)

2. Should journalists be able to report about themselves?

- Yes, journalists are part of the world and so they should report about themselves

⁶ All agreed that they rather read about the deaths of journalists than gossip and celebrity because gossip takes people's attention away from real issues they don't deal with.

- Yes
- Yes, but not with shock headlines and horrible images because that's not helpful to our understanding of what is happening or indicative of what should be done
- Yes, so the UN sees that it has to act and how
- If there is no explanation people will think – and they do – that people who were sent to help get killed and they will start asking why we'd send people
- Newspaper editors probably think how the story will be applicable to the reader and they report differently. The Daily Mail is just trying to make people angry and piss them off and react to the story, other newspapers report so that readers can act on the issue
- We need more insights into the question of where there is danger for journalists and why
- We need to make governments deal with these issues – impact reporting is needed.
- We need to have more in-depth analysis and context
- More details on the reasons are needed
- If a journalist is accidentally killed in a warzone it is unlucky and will be less important to report than a journalist killed by a political regime for reporting against it
- Of course, a 100%
- It is understandable if they don't want to
- Maybe they don't because it doesn't sell
- The Sunday Times probably wouldn't report on the miseries of their employees
- Journalists have a bad reputation
- Yes, it's reassuring for other journalists if their stories get reported
- Yes, this would be a place to start to raise awareness
- Not sure that journalists would want their situations reported because it takes attention off the issue they were attempting to report on
- It's news. It's part of the story. If a war is being reported then journalists getting killed is part of this story. Also sometimes a personal touch will make people read the article
- These killings are part of what's happening in the world
- Journalists are important to us because they provide us with information
- We report about policemen getting killed why not about journalists?
- There is an issue of proximity.

3. Do you use social media and would you share these stories?⁷

- FB and it is for socialising not for political purposes
- No, not particularly interesting
- I rather talk about these stories
- Some of my friends share news on Palestine
- I would share but those stories don't appear much. I wouldn't go looking for them.
- Yes.
- If it's relevant to my group
- We should really use it as a tool to let friends know about these things
- Yes of course

4. By show of hands: who thinks that a story is never worth a journalist's life?

- One single participant said: 'No, never' and added 'No, because once the journalist is dead he/she won't be able to report so there won't be any more stories. Better not to take too many risks but to report the story bit by bit'

All the other participants were unable to answer this question by show of hands or a yes/no answer. These were the reactions:

- As a non-journalist I would say no but a journalist would probably say yes
- Depends on the importance of the story. If it's a local issue then no.
- Who sends the journalists? Is there no risk management? What about employment law? If the employer says the risk of dying is 90% and the journalist goes anyway then he is not quite in the terms of his employment is he?
- A story is not worth the death of anybody.
- If you bring down something that could cost much more lives
- If it saves lives
- If it uncovers something terrible like corruption or genocide, something terrible in the government then this is in the public interest and possibly worth a life
- It is their job they know what they get themselves into
- Why do journalists do this job: is it glamour and winning prizes; moral grounds; wanting to provide information; money?
- If it's necessary to get a story – Putin and people like that would carry on if no one took a risk
- We want to know and we read those stories but is it worth a life?

⁷ The original wording of this question was: Would you take the initiative to tweet about these stories in order to spread them?

- It's a personal choice not a professional standard
- Depends on the individual
- Stories can sometimes save lives so maybe
- Hard to evaluate what could happen once you start reporting a story as you don't know what you'll discover and whether this puts you in danger.

III. The post-group questionnaire

At the end of the focus group each participant was asked to fill in a post-group questionnaire. This questionnaire was designed as a ranking exercise. Strong agreement would be ticked with 1 and strong disagreement with 5 (see also appendix 3). These are the answers provided below in Table 1.

Table 1

	Agree Strongly (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Disagree Strongly (5)
1) Important that the media report	36	1	2	0	0
2) Media does report sufficiently	4	6	15	9	4 ⁸
3) Like to know more about the situation of press freedom in Britain	15	11	9	2	2
4) Like to know more about the situation of press freedom in Western countries	15	12	8	2	2 ⁹
5) Like to know more about the situation of press freedom in the Near East	16	12	9	1	1
6) Like to know more about why it is difficult to combat impunity	13	13	11	2	0
7) The media should do more to highlight the rates of impunity for crimes against journalists	17	13	7	0	0 ¹⁰

⁸ One of the answers to this question was not clear and therefore left out.

⁹ One participant did not answer the question.

¹⁰ Two participants did not answer the question.

8) The media should report on more important issues than the situation of journalists	7	9	8	8	7
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1. It is important that the media report on the killings of journalists

- The answers given point to an overall consensus that the media should report on the killings of journalists and that the public are in fact interested in these news stories.

2. The media does report sufficiently on the killings of journalists

- The high number of people ticking 3 should not be mistaken as a lack of interest. Rather there was uncertainty amongst participants about whether the news media don't sufficiently report or whether the participants don't pay enough attention when flicking through a newspaper or watching the news on TV.
- Various participants contacted me after the sessions and told me that they had talked to friends about these issues, looked up more detail on the cases we spoke about and did more specific research on the Internet into possible reasons for a) the killings of journalists and b) impunity.

3. I would like to know more about the situation of press freedom in Britain

- The answers show is that there is a general interest in the issue of press freedom in Britain.

4. I would like to know more about the situation of press freedom in Western countries.

- The answers show is that there is a general interest in the issue of press freedom in Western countries. It is almost equal to the interest expressed in British press freedom.

5. I would like to know more about the situation of press freedom in the Near East (Egypt, Syria, Pakistan, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan...)

- There is a slightly higher interest in the situation of press freedom in the Near East than in that of Britain/Western countries. What this indicates is that the public think that a) the intentional deaths of

journalists are a global concern; b) we live in an interconnected world and that news journalism shouldn't be restricted to national issues and c) that the public show that it has an interest in the situations in other countries. In fact, some participants criticised that the killings of Western journalists generally receives more news coverage than that of those in other countries.

6. I would like to know more about why it is difficult to combat impunity.

- The answers reflect some of the things that were said in the focus groups. The public disapprove of the killing of journalists and generally agrees that there should be an investigation bringing perpetrators to justice. However, the participants also said that there are many situations such as war crimes or authoritarian regimes where such investigations are difficult. Never the less they believe that the media should report on the issue of impunity as the answers to the next question equally confirm:

7. The media should do more to highlight the rates of impunity for crimes against journalists

- There is strong interest in the issue of impunity. Not one of the participants was aware of the issue of impunity with regard to the killings of journalists (see results main questionnaire) and most of the participants were shocked by the fact that 9 out of 10 crimes against journalists is not investigated.

8. The media should report on more important issues than the situation of journalists

This is the question where there is no clear majority for any of the answers.

- In the focus group session the following statements were made:
 - If the media reported on all the journalists that get killed then this would be all there is on the news and so the news risk neglecting the investigation and reporting of other issues.
 - The media should report about the killings of journalists because this is part of a news story. For example, reporting a war also includes reporting on difficult access for the media as well as the threatening or killing of journalists.
 - So many people die every day across the world in conflicts and just as it is not possible to write about all of them
 - The killing of journalists should definitely be reported but not automatically be the story with the most news value and coverage

- The killings of journalists should be reported. The media need to give the political context in which the killings happened and should give follow ups about the situation, investigations etc.

IV. Analysis of the data collected

Thirty nine participants participated in a series of six focus groups. These focus groups aimed at examining the following four aspects:

- 1) The extent to which the wider public are aware of, interested in, or shocked by the statistics of journalists getting killed/attacked
- 2) Examine the extent of their knowledge and views on issues of impunity
- 3) Examine the public's view of how and whether news media reports serious attacks on journalists and those exercising freedom of expression around the world
- 4) Test public attitudes to the 'standard' perception among many media editors that audiences/readers are uninterested or resistant to stories about attacks on journalists or the related issue of impunity

The data collected further pointed to different conceptions/understandings of journalists which will be addressed in point 5.

In response to the above four lines of enquiry the following results emerged:

- 1) **Killing of journalists.** The majority of participants thought that journalists only get occasionally killed in war zones by accident. As pointed out above, only 3 out of 39 participants were able to guess how many journalists got killed in 2013 which testifies to the participants' lack of awareness of the fact that journalists are specifically targeted across the world. Two observations can be made with regard to the intentional killings of journalists: first and especially visible in the discussion of Terry Lloyd's death, participants expressed doubt about the possibility of journalists getting killed intentionally. Despite the participants being informed about the circumstances of Terry Lloyd's murder, the suppressed evidence at the trial and the verdict of unlawful killing by US troops they remained doubtful about the US army intentionally killing Terry Lloyd. Rather they believed that a young and inexperienced soldier shot at the mini bus either because he lost his nerve or in the 'heat of the moment'. This doubt seems to be related to the perpetrator being the US. Namely that participants seemed doubtful that the US army committed such a crime¹¹ whereas they easily accepted an official authority/government as the perpetrator in the case of the Russian journalist Anna Politkovskaya. Here, the participants acknowledged that Russia was very different from the US or the West in terms of its political

¹¹ See Paterson, C.A. (2014) *War Reporters Under Threat: The United States and Media Freedom*. London: Pluto Press. Paterson examines the reality of the threat and execution of violence from the United States and some of its close allies against journalists.

regime and the degree to which citizens are allowed to exercise their civil liberties. Accordingly, participants were much more inclined to believe that the Russian regime was behind the contract killing. Similarly, it believed unhesitatingly that the Syrian government might be guilty of the attack on the press building that resulted in Marie Colvin's death. It is therefore possible to draw the conclusion that whether participants believe that authorities/politicians' governments intentionally kill journalists depends on their preconception of these authorities/politicians.

2) Impunity. 35 out of 39 participants were unaware of the meaning of the term 'impunity' and did not know that in 9 out of 10 cases the perpetrators of the killings of journalists are not brought to justice. Most of the participants were shocked by the high impunity rate and yet, when discussing the different cases they were quite acceptant of the fact that there was impunity and cited several explanations for the lack of prosecution. These explanations included that

- The killings occur in conflict zones where no prosecution is possible at the time
- Investigating these crimes would potentially put the investigators into danger
- There are problems of jurisdiction
- That the international community does not push hard enough for prosecution out of self-interest (economic or political reasons). The reactions to the killing of journalists as well as the issue of impunity appear to depend on the way participants conceive of journalists (see below).

Interestingly, the majority of the participants emphasised the need for the international community to act a) when journalists are imprisoned by putting pressure on the government of the country in which the journalist is being held and b) to ensure that governments of sovereign states are held accountable and responsible for the killings of journalists under international law. Interestingly, the beheading of James Foley led to participants being more forceful in their emphasis on the need for international action and more critical of the UN. The UN has been perceived as being passive, too lenient and in risk of becoming irrelevant and losing credibility.

3) News media reporting. The participants made two main comments with regard to the news media reporting of the deaths of journalists: first, a majority of participants thought that the killings of journalists do not receive

sufficient media coverage¹² and second, especially the participants who participated in the focus groups that were held after the James Foley execution heavily criticised the media reporting for their focus on showing horrible images and for sensationalising the case rather than providing explanations of the reasons and the political context in which this beheading took place. Participants asked for 'in-depth analysis', 'context', 'detailed explanations', 'follow-ups of investigations' instead of sensationalising angles, horrific pictures and focusing on 'evil vs. the great journalist'. They emphasised the need for a way of reporting that reveals problems of transparency and accountability, that has an impact i.e. gets the international community to cooperate and the UN to act. As it stands, so the participants argued, the media help ISIS with their focus on pictures because they instil fear and make people angry. It also represents ISIS as more dangerous to us than they might be.

Some of the participants speculated about the lack of media coverage and believed that editors refrain from reporting the killings of journalists:

- Whether a killing gets reported depends on whether the journalist is well known or a Western journalist
- If the news organisation reports about the killing of journalists they might lose access to the country the journalist was killed in
- News organisations rather cover the death of journalists up then to report on them. They don't want to report on miseries of their employees.
- Such stories don't sell and therefore news organisations prefer to report gossip and celebrity news
- News organisations have specific narratives and maybe a journalist's death doesn't fit into these narratives

Most of the participants **did not** agree with the editors' belief that the public don't want to read about these stories and emphasise that the killings of journalists were part of what was happening in the world and should therefore be reported.

4) Public attitudes/interest. The following five observations can be made with regard to the participants' interest in stories on the killings of journalists and issues of impunity:

¹² N.B. A few participants who became aware of their lack of knowledge regarding the topics discussed wondered whether the news report on these issues but they just haven't noticed these stories.

1. Participants were generally interested in reading more about the killings of journalists and the issue of impunity.
2. They said that they'd prefer the news media to report about these things than about gossip and celebrity stories.
3. They said they believe that journalists should be able to report about themselves as part of the stories they report: 'journalists are part of the world they report'.
4. Whereas participants showed interest in these stories they also pointed out that they would not get personally involved and take an active part in the fight against impunity.
5. Their attitudes towards the killings of journalists appear to be linked to their understanding of journalists (here below).

5) Public perceptions/understandings of journalists. As noted above, the focus group discussion suggested that the participants' attitudes to the killing of journalists and issues of impunity varied according to how the participants understood/conceived of journalists, their character and their role. The following five understandings of journalists can be discerned:

1. The journalist as an employee

When understanding the journalists as employees, participants were interested in who sends the journalists into danger zones and in whether their employer makes a risk assessment before sending them on their mission. The risk of getting killed was seen as a professional risk when gathering information and was compared to the risks policemen and soldiers take. Participants thought that journalists were aware of the risks they are taking. That participants considered journalists voluntary risk-takers was revealed when they described the character of journalists (see below). Never the less they agreed that everybody should be able to carry their job out in safety and that no one should die for their job.

2. The journalist's character

Some of the participants believed that even if their employer told journalists not to go into danger zones they would go anyways. This is because, according to the participants, journalists

- Are driven
- Are brave and their courage is admirable
- Follow their vocation rather than just doing a job
- Ignore warnings and take risks
- Want the stories no matter what...

3. The journalist as a foreigner/intruder

The understanding of the journalist as a foreigner/intruder became apparent when comparing the Peter Greste case to that of Anna Politkovskaya. The former was seen as a foreigner/intruder into Egypt who didn't respect the way the government worked, the restrictions that were imposed upon press freedom. Participants said that there are always two sides to the story and that the fact that Greste was not from Egypt led him, involuntarily, to distort what he was reporting on. The Politkovskaya case was met with much more sympathy and participants emphasised that she was reporting within her own country and that journalists across the world should be able to criticise their own government without risking imprisonment or even death. This reaction points to two things: first, it points to the participants' underlying belief in the sovereignty of states/territoriality and a need for journalists to respect national borders, cultures and different 'ways of doing things'. Second, the participants showed an underlying belief, reflecting liberal-democratic values; that citizens (including journalists) have a right to hold their government accountable, to request transparency and to investigate any wrong-doing undertaken by the government or power holders.

4. The journalist as a human being

When journalists are understood as human beings they are seen as a few of many who die every day in conflict zones across the world. Here, participants either said that journalists are just like any other victim in a conflict zone or they referred back to the risk journalists consciously take and that makes them in a certain way responsible for their own deaths (in contrast to children who had the risk imposed on them rather than consciously signing up to it). With journalists being part of many, the prosecution of their killing is judged as important (but not more) than that of all other victims: 'any crime should be investigated', 'justice needs to be served', 'crimes against humanity need to be investigated'...

Furthermore, participants expressed the view that governments should be able to protect their nationals and to 'get them out' and back to their country when necessary.

5. The journalist as the messenger

The understanding of the journalist as a messenger is closely linked to understanding journalists as doing their job. Participants understand the journalists' job to collect information that will then be revealed to the public. The dominant idea was 'if journalists didn't do their job we

wouldn't know' and 'if journalists didn't reveal the information they have political regimes would get away with anything they do' (i.e. Russia, Syria and Israel in the current Gaza conflict). Journalists being able to collect information benefits the public, according to the participants, in the following four ways:

1. Enables the public to obtain information and knowledge about what is happening in the world
2. Enables the public to be able to make personal decisions based upon this knowledge (i.e. where to go on holidays and be safe)
3. Journalists raise awareness which then leads to public initiatives such as charities to support good causes and help
4. With the information provided by journalists the public and authorities are able to hold 'wrong-doers' to account (Human Rights violations; Russia; Israel...)

When understanding journalists as messengers, participants expressed a more pressing concern to combat impunity. Participants believed that if the perpetrators of the killings of journalists get away without punishment journalists will no longer investigate the same topic someone else got killed for because they will be scared that the same will happen to them. This would then lead to political regimes and authorities being able to get away with crimes as they can commit these away from the public eye.

APPENDIX 1: Pre-group questionnaire

Q. Gender *What is your sex?*

- Male
- Female

Q. Age *In what year were you born?*

Q. Education *What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? If currently enrolled, mark the previous grade or highest degree received.*

- No schooling completed
- Nursery school to 8th grade
- 9th, 10th or 11th grade
- 12th grade, no diploma
- High school graduate - high school diploma or the equivalent (for example: GED)
- Some college credit, but less than 1 year
- 1 or more years of college, no degree
- Associate degree (for example: AA, AS)
- Bachelor's degree (for example: BA, AB, BS)
- Master's degree (for example: MA, MS, MEng, MEd, MSW, MBA)
- Professional degree (for example: MD, DDS, DVM, LLB, JD)
- Doctorate degree (for example: PhD, EdD)

Q. Employment Status *Are you currently...?*

- Employed for wages
- Self-employed
- Out of work and looking for work
- Out of work but not currently looking for work
- A student
- Retired
- Unable to work

Q. Ethnicity *Please specify your ethnicity.*

- British White
- White
- Black or African American
- Asian

- Other

Q. What news organisations do you obtain your news from (press, online, radio, TV)?

- BBC
- ITV
- Sky
- The Guardian
- The Independent/I
- The Sun
- The Daily Mail
- The Mirror
- The Daily Express
- The Times
- Al Jazeera
- Fox
- CNN
- Other (please name):
- None

Q. Which of these journalists have you heard of?

- Peter Greste
- Marie Colvin
- Anna Politkovskaya
- Kathy Gannon and Anja Niedringhaus
- Daniel Pearl
- Terry Lloyd

Q. How many journalists do you think were killed in 2013?

- Less than 10
- 11-19
- 20-39
- 30-39
- 40-59
- 60-79
- 80-99
- 100-149

APPENDIX 2: Main questionnaire

1) Every participant needs to state their first name and say where they live.

This is merely to have their voices recorded so that the transcriber can identify the different voices. The moderator will try to keep track of who talked and the first two words of what was said. If that works this will then be passed on to the transcriber as an additional aid.

2) Introduction i.e. very short briefing on background and purpose of focus groups.

This briefing leads into the impunity issue.

3) What goes through your mind right now? (Shocked, interested, confused, indifferent...)

This question is meant to get the discussion going and to record the range of participants' reactions

4) Do you understand what impunity means?

Make sure there is clarity about the issue debated.

Impunity is the failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice. Persistent patterns of Impunity are evident in the failure by states to investigate and prosecute crimes against journalists. Authoritative evidence shows that in nine out of ten cases the perpetrators of killings of journalists in the course of their professional duties are never prosecuted.

5) Were you aware of the problem of impunity?

Question aims at revealing whether there was any knowledge

6) Why do you think could it be a problem that people who commit crimes against journalists are not brought to justice?

This question is aimed at finding out whether the public can see without assistance that impunity for attacks on journalists in particular sends a signal to the wider public to keep quiet about corruption, environmental damage or human rights violations and possibly encourages self-censorship across a society and an erosion of public faith in the judicial system.

7) Can you remember being informed about any cases where journalists were murdered or silenced in other ways in the news?

Question attempts to make the issue more personal/concrete

8) I gave you some names of journalists at the beginning. Shall we have a look at what happened to them?

Talk about the examples of

- Marie Colvin
- Terry Lloyd
- Peter Greste
- Anna Politkovskaya

This is aimed at giving participants some more information, assist their memory of whether they have read about it but forgot.

9) What do you think now?

This question aims at collecting reactions. It will take this as a bridge into asking whether the public is interested and whether the participants think there should be more media reporting.

These were examples of British Journalists being murdered or incarcerated without the perpetrators being brought to justice. However, this is a world-wide phenomenon.

10) From your own experience do you think that these things are sufficiently reported in the media?

11) Would you like to read more about it? Why? Why not?

Make sure that they know that saying 'no' would be OK

12) Should journalists be able to report about themselves?

13) Would you take the initiative to tweet about these stories in order to spread them?

Make sure that they know that saying 'no' would be OK

14) By show of hands: who thinks that a story is never worth a journalist's life?

APPENDIX 3: Post-group questionnaire

1. It is important that the media report on the killings of journalists
2. The media does report sufficiently on the killings of journalists
3. I would like to know more about the situation of press freedom in Britain
4. I would like to know more about the situation of press freedom in Western countries
5. I would like to know more about the situation of press freedom in the Near East (Egypt, Syria, Pakistan, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan...)
6. I would like to know more about why it is difficult to combat impunity
7. The media should do more to highlight the rates of impunity for crimes against journalists
8. The media should report on more important issues than the situation of journalists

APPENDIX 4: Consent form

The University of Sheffield. Centre for Freedom of the Media (CFOM), Department of Journalism Studies	CFOM RESEARCH ON 'PERCEPTIONS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST JOURNALISTS AND IMPUNITY FOR CRIMES AGAINST JOURNALISTS IN TERMS OF NEWS VALUE: A PARALLEL STUDY OF PERCEPTIONS AMONG NEWS MEDIA EDITORS AND NEWS CONSUMERS IN THE UK'
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Researchers

Professor Jackie Harrison is the principal investigator. Dr Lada Price and Dr Stef Pukallus are research assistants and will be involved in preparing and running the focus groups. All three will have access to the data and be involved in its analysis.

Any questions contact Stef Pukallus by email s.pukallus@shef.ac.uk or by phone 0114 222 2509. There will be a person transcribing the group discussions. However, this person will not have any personal information pertaining to the participants' identity.

Purpose of the research

We are trying to find out whether you as representative of the wider public:

- 1) are aware of, interested in, or shocked by the statistics of journalists being killed
- 2) think that the news media should report serious attacks on journalists
- 3) know what impunity is
- 4) know some of the reasons of why journalists get killed

Who will be participating?

We are inviting 40 adults over 18 who have access to UK media.

What will you be asked to do?

We will ask you to complete a brief demographics questionnaire so that we have a profile of our participant group. Then we will conduct a group interview which will last about 60 minutes in order to collect your opinions and thoughts on the questions asked and the material shown.

What are the potential risks of participating?

The risks of participating are the same as those experienced in everyday life.

What data will we collect?

We will audio record the entire session. This will allow us to store the data and to analyse it in order to be able to answer our four research questions (listed above).

What will we do with the data?

We will be analysing the data for inclusion in a report that will be presented to the United Nations in November 2014. The data will be treated confidentially and your names will not appear anywhere. This guarantees anonymity.

Will my participation be confidential?

As already indicated above we will anonymise the data and code your participation with a random number. No identifying information will be retained. However, we cannot guarantee that participants in your group will not discuss what was said although we will request that they not do so.

What will happen to the results of the research project?

The results will be compiled in a report that will be presented to the United Nations in November 2014. You can obtain parts of this report by contacting Stef Pukallus (s.pukallus@shef.ac.uk) after November 2014.

I confirm that I have read and understand the description of the research project, and that I have had an opportunity to ask questions about the project.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences.

I understand that I may decline to answer any particular question or questions, or to do any of the activities. If I stop participating at all time, all of my data will be purged.

I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential, that my name or identity will not be linked to any research materials, and that I will not be identified or identifiable in any report or reports that result from the research.

I give permission for the research team members to have access to my anonymised responses.

I give permission for the research team to re-use my data for future research as specified above.

I agree to take part in the research project as described above.

Participant Name (Please print)

Participant Signature

Researcher Name (Please print)

Researcher Signature

Date _____

Note: If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about, any aspect of your participation in this study, please contact Professor Ralph Negrine, Research Ethics Coordinator, Department of Journalism Studies, The University of Sheffield (r.negrine@sheffield.ac.uk) or to the University Registrar and Secretary.