THE KIDNAPPING OF JOURNALISTS

REPORTING FROM HIGH-RISK CONFLICT ZONES

ROBERT G. PICARD AND HANNAH STORM

REUTERS
INSTITUTE for the
STUDY of
JOURNALISM

UNIVERSITY OF
OXFORD

I.B. TAURIS
LONDON · NEW YORK

About the Book

This book explores the complex organisational and journalistic issues surrounding the capture or kidnapping of journalists in areas of conflict and risk. It explores how journalists becoming news is covered and the implications of that coverage, how news organisations prepare for and respond to such events, and how kidnapping and ransom insurers, victim recovery firms, journalists' families, and governments influence actions of news enterprises. It considers how and why journalists are kidnapped, how employers and journalists' organisations respond to kidnappings, why freelancers are particularly at risk, and best practices in preventing and responding to kidnappings.

Chilling, practical and timely – this is the most comprehensive and useful account to date of every journalist's worst nightmare.

Christina Lamb OBE, Foreign Correspondent, *Sunday Times*

Journalists are no longer just reporting from dangerous front lines, they are the front line for kidnappers – this is essential reading for anyone who works with this worst of risks.

Lyse Doucet, Chief International Correspondent, BBC

About the Authors

Robert G. Picard is North American Representative for the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, and a fellow of the Royal Society of Arts.

Hannah Storm is Director of the International News Safety Institute, and the author of *No Woman's Land: On the Frontlines with Female Reporters.*

What follows is a short extract from this book.
More information can be found at: www.ibtauris.com/reuters

RISJ CHALLENGES

CHALLENGES present findings, analysis, and recommendations from Oxford's Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. The Institute is dedicated to the rigorous, international comparative study of journalism, in all its forms and on all continents. CHALLENGES muster evidence and research to take forward an important argument, beyond the mere expression of opinions. Each text is carefully reviewed by an editorial committee, drawing where necessary on the advice of leading experts in the relevant fields. CHALLENGES remain, however, the work of authors writing in their individual capacities, not a collective expression of views from the Institute.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Timothy Garton Ash
Ian Hargreaves
David Levy
Geert Linnebank
John Lloyd
Rasmus Kleis Nielsen
James Painter
Jean Seaton
Katrin Voltmer

The editorial advisers on this CHALLENGE were Richard Sambrook and Ian Hargreaves.

Contents

List of Illustrations

About the Authors

Robert G. Picard is North American Representative for the Reuters Institute in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Oxford and a fellow of the Royal Society of Arts. He was formerly Director of Research at the Institute and a research fellow at Green Templeton College (Oxford). He is the author and editor of 30 books and has been editor of two leading journals. He received his PhD from the University of Missouri, Columbia, and has been a fellow at the Shorenstein Center at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He has consulted and carried out assignments for governments in North America, Europe, Africa, and Asia and for international organisations including the European Commission, UNESCO, and the World Intellectual Property Organization. He has been a consultant for leading media companies in North America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Hannah Storm is Director of the International News Safety Institute (INSI), which provides safety advice and training to journalists working in dangerous situations. Its members include the BBC, CNN, and Al Jazeera. Before joining the INSI in 2010, Storm spent more than a decade working as a journalist in television and radio, and online for outlets including the BBC, *The Times,* and ITN. She started her career as a graduate trainee at Reuters after reading English at Oxford University. She is the author of *No Woman's Land: On the Frontlines with Female Reporters*, which explores the unique safety issues of women who work in the media. She also works as a freelance consultant for different UN agencies with a specific focus on gender and media.

EXTRACT

1

Journalists are Vulnerable Targets

The practice of journalism is increasingly dangerous and attacks on journalists continue unabated. A particularly troublesome feature of this violence is that a rising number of journalists are being kidnapped for ransom or held as hostages. This growing global problem threatens the practice of journalism and the ability of news media to fully inform the public about events occurring in the world.

Journalists and media workers are highly vulnerable to kidnappings because they often work in dangerous locations, seek access to adversaries involved in conflicts, and may have to rely on shadowy contacts and sources in carrying out their work. Just how vulnerable journalists are in kidnap scenarios was starkly illustrated by the executions of James Foley, Steven Sotloff, and Kenji Goto by Islamic militants in 2014 and 2015. Their killings represented an escalation of the price paid by journalists and news organisations trying to cover developments in locations of crisis and conflict around the world.

This book explores the challenges faced by news organisations in attempting to protect journalists, in responding to kidnappings of their journalists, and in covering abductions of one of their own. It explores the familial, governmental, and economic influences on news organisations during kidnappings and lays out some good practices for avoiding, preparing for, and responding to the horror of a kidnapping. The intent of this volume is to increase the understanding of the environment in which kidnappings and their responses occur, the issues they pose, and the challenges that the journalism community encounters as it responds to these abductions. This publication attempts to improve journalists' and news executives' understanding by exploring what happens when news organisations and other parties involved must react to the kidnapping of journalists.

The capture and detention of journalists in conflict zones by combatants has long been an unwelcome consequence of pursuing stories

during wars and conflicts. These detentions sometimes result in assaults on journalists, but the journalists are typically released within a relatively short time. In recent decades, however, there has been an increase in the number of journalists kidnapped for exploitation as hostages or for ransom. These are highly worrisome because these kidnappings sometimes continue for years, result in the deliberate killings of journalists, and tend to halt – or at the very least hinder – on-the-ground coverage of regions where they occur by reducing the willingness and ability of news organisations to send reporters to the areas.

Kidnapping of journalists itself is not a new phenomenon and has been a concern for decades, but a sharp rise in the number of kidnappings and the deliberate killing of hostage journalists have made the phenomenon particularly significant today. The kidnapping issue first gained considerable attention with the widespread kidnapping of Western journalists covering Lebanon in the late 1980s and early 1990s, with the captivity of the Associated Press's Terry Anderson, the *Guardian*'s David Hirst, and ABC News's Charles Glass. Later conflicts in Arab countries led to kidnappings including that of the *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl, who was detained and beheaded in Pakistan in 2002, and *Christian Science Monitor* reporter Jill Carroll, who was held for two months in Iraq in 2006.

Western journalists, however, are not the only kidnap targets, though they tend to get higher international media coverage. Hundreds of others from around the world have been held, attacked, taken hostage, and killed in the Middle East, Latin America, and Asia. In 2014 alone, 119 professional journalists and eight citizen journalists were kidnapped (up from 87 in 2013), according to Reporters Sans Frontières, an organisation that tracks abuses against journalists. Ukraine, Libya, Syria, Iraq, and Mexico were the locations for most of the abductions and 90 per cent involved domestic reporters while only 10 per cent involved foreign reporters.[1]

The kidnappings are one part of the increasing overall violence against journalists worldwide. Almost 1,500 journalists and news media workers died in the course of their work between 2004 and 2014, according to a recent report by the International News Safety Institute.[2] More than 800 were killed in locations not caught up in warfare, and the majority were local journalists working in countries where the absence of a rule of law, the pervasive presence of corrupt gangs, officials, and business people, and an almost over-riding impunity gives a green light

to those who wish to silence journalists. The attacks are designed to threaten and intimidate those who seek to bear witness and hold the powerful to account in nations where the development of independent local journalism is now challenging the power of authoritarian leaders and economic elites.

Journalists are jeopardised when they work, travel, or live in locations in which civil authority is absent, rule of law is lacking, or human rights are disregarded. Because of the journalistic principles of bearing witness to events and seeking multiple views of conflicts, many journalists travelling and working in high-risk conflict zones seek out differing perspectives, which may offend opposing parties. In addition, the nature of their work may mean they need to seek assistance in getting to hard-to-reach locations to understand developments and gain interviews with figures in conflicts. Sometimes the only way to do this is to put their trust in and work with mysterious and unknown figures whose motives are not always clear.

These issues put journalists in perilous positions. Their presence is often unwelcome. They may be perceived as aligned with opponents and, in some cases, they are suspected of being spies. This view is often incorrect, but also viable, because security services of many states have used journalism as a cover for their agents.

Although this book is concerned with the kidnapping of journalists for ransom or as hostages, some of the safety and organisational issues involved also appear in other types of capture and killing of journalists, so it is important to understand how they differ and why broad safety training and preparation of different potential organisational responses are necessary.

One type of capture involves journalists detained or imprisoned by combatants in conflict zones. These sometimes result in assaults on and injuries to journalists, but typically do not involve holding journalists hostage for ransom or other purposes. In most cases this type of captivity involves journalists being seized and interrogated by combatants, but they tend to be released within a relatively short time period once their identities are established or outside pressures are applied to obtain their release. Examples of this type of seizure include:

- A group of journalists from CBS News, BuzzFeed and Sky News were detained as they travelled to the Ukrainian city of Slavyansk in early 2014. The group was stopped by militants at a checkpoint, blindfolded,

and then interrogated during their ordeal; one of the CBS crew members was beaten.

- *Guardian* journalist Ghaith Abdul-Ahad was detained in the Libyan town of Sabratha in February 2011 by the country's army. Brazilian journalist Andrei Netto of *O Estado de Sao Paulo* was detained with him, but released on 10 March. Abdul-Ahad was released on 16 March, after the Turkish government stepped in and *Guardian* editor Alan Rusbridger flew to Libya to help win his release.
- Swedish journalists Johan Persson and Martin Schibbye were imprisoned in Ethiopia for more than 400 days after they were charged and found guilty of entering the country illegally and supporting a rebel group because of their contacts with the Ogaden National Liberation Front. The journalists maintained that they were only doing their job and trying to investigate the activities of a Swedish oil company active in the region.

This type of capture is often given significant attention by news safety organisations and gains prominent news coverage in order to pressure the combatants involved to release the journalists. The challenges created by such detentions were among the precipitating reasons for the creation of training programmes for journalists entering conflict zones and have led many large international news organisations to establish protective internal policies related to the deployment of personnel in conflict zones.

Another related phenomenon is the deliberate abduction and killing of journalists by groups and individuals to silence specific media workers or to stop their coverage. In these cases perpetrators do not make demands for their safe release, but use the killings as a warning to other journalists. These types of kidnappings include:

- The body of Mexican journalist Jorge Torres Palacios was found in June 2014 four days after he was kidnapped near his home in Acapulco. A journalist for 20 years, he wrote a regular column in *El Dictamen,* often exposing police abuses and corruption.
- French journalists Ghislaine Dupont and Claude Verlon were kidnapped and killed in Mali in November 2013 after interviewing a leader of a separatist group in Kidal for Radio France Internationale.
- Ayham Mostafa Ghazzoul, a journalist for the Syrian Center for Media and Freedom of Expression, died in 2010 under torture after being

detained four days earlier along with his colleagues who documented human rights abused by the Assad regime.

This type of danger is most often found in nations where high levels of lawlessness exist or where governments choose not to – or cannot – act against perpetrators. Journalists and news organisations have tended to respond to such killings with condemnation, provision of safety training for journalists entering these environments, or by reducing news coverage.

A third category of attacks on reporters in combat zones occurs when journalists are killed in crossfire or as the result of genuine mistakes or wilful indifference by combatants. Examples of this type of journalistic casualty include:

- Germain Kennedy Mumbere Muliwavyo from Radio Télévision Muungano, who was shot and killed in February 2014 in Oïcha, Democratic Republic of the Congo. He had been riding in a Congolese military vehicle with a number of other journalists when it was attacked by a rebel group operating in the eastern part of the country.
- Mayada Ashraf, a journalist for *Al-Dustour*, was shot and killed in Cairo, Egypt, in March 2014, while covering clashes between security forces and the Muslim Brotherhood protesters in eastern Cairo's Ain Shams area.

News organisations and journalists can do little to prevent such attacks, but can be trained to avoid or mitigate such risks or deploy only in areas where the risks for such dangers are lower.

The fourth type of danger for journalists in regions of conflict – kidnapping for ransom or hostage – differs from the three previous types of attacks because it presents a range of challenges well beyond those of the other types of attacks. Journalists in cases of kidnapping for ransom and hostage have been deliberately targeted or become kidnap victims after they were detained by combatants in conflict zones. The growing use of journalists as hostages to pressure their governments and to obtain ransoms is creating significant safety challenges and leading to a reduction of insightful coverage of developments in regions in which they occur.

The most dangerous countries for journalists, 2004–14

1. Iraq
2. Philippines
3. Pakistan
4. Mexico
5. India
6. Somalia
7. Syria
8. Iran
9. Brazil
10. Russia

Source: International News Safety Institute

Growing concern in news organisations and governments

The problems of harassment, injury, and death of journalists in areas of conflict, the capture of reporters, the deliberate killing of media workers, and the holding of journalists for ransom have spawned efforts by organisations such as the Committee to Protect Journalists, Reporters Sans Frontières, the International News Safety Institute, and other media, governmental, and non-governmental organisations to bring attention to the need to protect journalists and to help them better understand how to improve their safety during hazardous and potentially hazardous reporting activities.

Most news organisations, however, do not have crisis management plans in place to respond to the kidnapping of their journalists and lack capabilities to respond to them. These deficiencies make it very hard for media organisations initially to respond to abductions. Larger, international news organisations often have basic plans in place, but little ability to rapidly recover kidnapped journalists. 'You have protocols in place for death but with a kidnapping you don't hold too many of the cards', says the Associated Press's Sandy MacIntyre.[3] Preparation helps reduce the

alarm, confusion, and organisational inertia that can be generated when a kidnapping occurs.

The rising dangers faced by journalists globally is leading to greater levels of concern and support for efforts to improve their safety and to hold accountable those who endanger, harm, hold, or kill journalists. Two significant actions calling attention to the issues occurred in 2015 involving the United Nations and news publishers. The UN Security Council passed a resolution calling for the protection of journalists in areas of armed conflict, the release of journalists held hostage, and urging governments to act against those who attack journalists.[4] Concurrently, the Board of the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA) passed a resolution urging governments, international institutions, and the media industry to make journalists' safety a priority and denounced the impunity surrounding the killing of journalists in many locations.[5]

Bringing the issues to the attention of governments and gaining public recognition of the responsibilities of these authorities to protect journalists has been a slow process. Responding to pressure from journalism organisations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has spearheaded a campaign for the past decade to promote safety and counteract the issue of impunity with a plan of action for the UN as a whole. It argues that

> *Most abuses against media professionals remain uninvestigated and unpunished. This impunity perpetuates the cycle of violence against journalists, media workers and citizen journalists. The resulting self-censorship deprives society of information and further impacts press freedom. The killing of journalists and its impunity directly impacts the United Nations' human rights based efforts to promote peace, security, and sustainable development.*[6]

The UNESCO effort received backing from the UN Chief Executives Board and Executive Board in 2012 and 2013 and an action plan for the safety of journalists was discussed by the UN Security Council in 2013. In late 2013, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution on safety and impunity, calling on governments to protect journalists and to bring those who attack journalists to justice.[7]

Despite this attention, the attacks on and the capturing of journalists continue unabated and news organisations increasingly have to prepare

for the possibility of abduction of reporters and media personnel working for them. Although each kidnapping is unique, takes place under varying circumstances, and involves groups with different backgrounds and motives, each presents some common issues to the media organisations and the journalists involved.

These kidnappings tend to take place in locations with weak governments that do not fully control their territory and occur in the midst of international or domestic armed conflicts. Because of these characteristics, waves of journalistic kidnapping and hostage taking have tended to take place as varying countries and regions have been plunged into conflict and warfare. Kidnappings also take place in countries with domestic instability caused by struggles with violent political or crime groups. In Mexico, for example, drug cartels are engaged in an ongoing conflict with the government that has claimed more than 100,000 lives since 2006, including about 60 journalists. Continuing conflict between authorities and criminal gangs in Brazil has led to attacks on government facilities, *de facto* control of some communities by gangs, and attacks on and kidnapping of journalists.

Because of the locations and parties involved, the abilities of news organisations, journalist associations, and public authorities to respond and deal with the abductions are often limited. Most news organisations remain ill-prepared to handle kidnappings of their personnel, cope with the emotional turmoil created by such abductions, and to expend the time and money required in seeking their release. Kidnappings of journalists force managers of media organisations into responses to situations in which lives are at risk, in environments full of ambiguities and complexities, with uncertain outcomes, and pressures from families, loved ones, and governments.

Those who have experienced abductions of their staff talk of the high levels of anxiety they create, how the kidnappings become an all-consuming focus of activities, and the emotional toll they take on everyone involved. 'It is a nightmare like no other you can ever go through,' says GlobalPost President/CEO Philip Balboni, who dealt with the capture of James Foley by forces loyal to Colonel Gaddafi in Libya during the 2011 uprising and then his kidnapping in Syria in 2012 that ended in his beheading in 2014.[8]

There is no way to fully prepare an organisation or its managers for the stress of a kidnapping, but knowledge about the issues and processes involved in a kidnap response and preparation of contingency plans can reduce uncertainty about how to respond, guide actions, and inform responses should the terror of a kidnapping occur.

Why are journalists kidnapped?

The kidnapping of journalists can be either premeditated or opportunistic. Premeditated kidnappings most often occur for the purpose of killing and silencing specific journalists, but sometimes are undertaken to hold journalists hostage or for ransom.

Most kidnappings in which journalists are held hostage are opportunistic because the immediate circumstances surrounding their capture make it possible. In some cases the journalists may be detained by combatants and then passed on to other groups so that the initial act of capture can transform into a hostage or ransom kidnapping. Journalists are kidnapped for a variety of reasons, but the primary reasons are to obtain ransoms, to use them in propaganda by the captors, to put pressure on governments of the journalists' home countries to change policies, or because captors believe them to be spies or apologists for their enemies.

The motives for kidnappings can change over time because kidnappers may alter their purposes or demands, because continued confinement places burdens on those holding captives, or because kidnapped journalists may be traded to other organisations in the conflict with different motives. This trading of journalist hostages among combatant groups and tribes has been a particular feature in the Levant since the start of the Arab uprising because some groups are better prepared to hold hostages or they view them as trophies for gaining a reputation among other combatants.[9] A journalist might be captured by a smaller independent combatant group which trades him or her to a larger group for weapons or money. This problem has been a significant feature in Syria and Iraq in recent years and makes it more difficult for hostage recovery teams to determine who is holding the journalist and what their interests might be.

The demands of kidnappers range from money, to release of prisoners, to national apologies and changes in government policies. These demands can change over time, complicating any negotiations for release.

Regardless of the motive of the hostage takers, journalists are available and attractive targets because their capture will be noticed and the media platforms of their employers have the potential to carry kidnappers' political views, making journalists high-value hostages if media blackouts are not employed.

The kidnapping of journalists raises significant questions about the practice of journalism in high-risk areas and about the responsibilities of employers to their journalists, whether full employees or freelancers.

In the past, for example, many news organisations have provided training, special equipment, and support for their employees but not freelancers. Some would employ freelancers to provide coverage in areas in which they would not deploy their own employees for safety reasons. This has changed more recently with several major news organisations, such as Agence France-Presse and the *Sunday Times*, publicly stating that they will not accept non-commissioned material from freelancers for fear that doing so would attract greater risk-taking. However, the stakes are high for competitive news and for every organisation prepared to follow AFP and the *Sunday Times*, there are others who are less scrupulous. Many have had freelance journalists working on the frontlines of battlefields and in dangerous locations where other media are less willing to assign reporters.

The increased hazards, however, are forcing even many aggressive young news enterprises to take measures to protect both employees and freelancers, and freelancers themselves are increasingly expecting support from those commissioning their work in dangerous settings. This situation is significantly different from the past when the dangers were lower. It is notable that signatories of the Global Safety Principles and Practices in 2015 were primarily legacy news enterprises and journalism organisations, but also included rising digital news providers such as Vice News, Mashable, and Round Earth Media.

The kidnapping of news workers also raises ethical questions for the industry because journalists and news media generally appear to be more willing to cover the kidnappings of one of their own than the kidnappings of non-journalists, partly because of self-interest and because of the effects of publicity efforts by journalist safety organisations. There are also allegations from journalists that news organisations are more willing to be silent about the kidnappings of journalists when asked to do so than they are regarding kidnappings of other persons. Whether journalists deserve more coverage and special treatment compared to other individuals because of the democratic functions served by media is debated by journalists and social observers.

Suspicion of journalists

A significant challenge for journalists in conflict zones is that some combatants or sides in the conflict may believe journalists are propagandists or spies for their enemies.

When the Associated Press journalist Terry Anderson was taken captive in Lebanon in 1985 by Hezbollah, he was accused of being a spy and held until 1991. After his release he understandably became a vocal critic of government use of journalists to obtain information and the deployment of actual spies using journalist covers. Nevertheless, those practices continue despite being long condemned by journalists' associations as putting journalists at risk.

Being a well-informed and multilingual reporter can also be problematic. After Peter Theo Curtis was captured in Syria in 2012, his hostage takers believed him to be a CIA agent and tortured him because he was knowledgeable about the Middle East and Islam and fluent in Arabic, French, German, and Russian.[10]

Suspicions that journalists are spies are not completely unwarranted. The US Central Intelligence Agency's recruitment of journalists or placing of agents undercover as journalists was purportedly banned in 1977, but CIA director John Deutch in 1996 said that the agency had a waiver that gave it the right to continue to do so.[11] A BBC investigation in 2013 revealed British journalists at the *Observer*, the *Sunday Times*, the *Telegraph*, the *Daily Mail,* and the BBC collaborated with that country's secret intelligence agency MI6 during the Cold War.[12]

The practice appears widespread and continuing. In 2006 it was revealed that the German Federal Intelligence Service (BND) used and paid at least 20 journalists working abroad as part-time spies in the late 1990s and first years of the twenty-first century.[13] Canadian journalist Mark Bourrie resigned from China's Xinhua service after being asked for information of interest to China's intelligence agencies and wrote about the problem in *Ottawa Magazine* in 2013.[14] A review of Soviet intelligence activities showed that they recruited journalists for their access, insights, and confidential information.[15]

The practice of using journalists as spies or for such intelligence gathering or using journalist covers thus increases the vulnerability of all journalists in hostile zones.

Responses to kidnappings involve multiple interests

When journalists are kidnapped, a number of stakeholders with differing interests become involved, including the hostage's employers, family, the government of the journalist's home country or countries, insurance firms, and recovery teams.

News organisations that employ a journalist or have a freelance contract with a kidnapped journalist become involved because of moral and legal responsibilities to care for personnel in the field. Kidnappers often see them as points of contact and sources of ransom, as they are likely to have greater resources than the journalist or the family of the journalist.

The families of kidnapped journalists are likely to experience great uncertainty and stress about the potential outcomes. Understandably, not least because of their close emotional involvement, they typically are asked not to play the central role in investigations and negotiations because those require a level of detachment to be effective. Sometimes choices are made to withhold some information from family members to protect them from further emotional pressure during the process. Nevertheless, families tend to be informed partners in the response process and often make the riskiest decisions when private recovery efforts take place, but they tend to be less involved when government security agencies are involved in the recovery.

The governments of kidnapped journalists' home countries become involved to varying degrees, but this can become complicated when journalists hold passports from more than one country as dual citizens. US government agencies, particularly the State Department and FBI, have traditionally liaised with and briefed families and media companies involved, but often to a minimal degree. Although government officials exhibit concern and sympathy and share their assessments, they typically do not become deeply involved in recovery efforts and have been criticised for using contacts with families and their advisers to gain intelligence that can be employed in other ways – such as to plan attacks on hostage takers that may not be in the best interest of the hostage. Continental European governments have tended to be more involved when their citizens are kidnapped because they have historically been more open to negotiations and payments on the behalf of their citizens than the US or UK, even though they ostensibly reject ransom payments – a factor that will be explored later in this publication.

When a kidnapping takes place, providers of kidnapping and ransom (K&R) insurance play a significant role in the response if the journalist's employers are covered. Most media companies do not disclose they have K&R insurance if they do because it can lead to demands for higher ransoms or encourage copy-cat scenarios.

Most insurance companies keep a low profile during kidnappings. They typically have arrangements in place with security consultants and turn over the case to them when a kidnapping occurs. These consultants investigate, make recommendations about how to proceed, and carry out agreed courses of action to try to recover kidnap victims. These consultancy firms are typically staffed by former intelligence and military special operations personnel. They tend to directly bill the insurance firm for services or can be hired by media firms without insurance or by family members of kidnapped journalists.

Balancing the interests of these parties requires significant managerial attention to create an effective response team and determine the best reactions to a journalist's kidnapping. It is a process that is not discussed much publicly, but is growing in importance and application as journalists are increasingly targeted by combatants.

In the coming chapters, this book will discuss the uneasy and sometimes adversarial relationships between those trying to recover kidnapped journalists and the governments of the countries from which the journalist derives. It will explore how employers and industry organisations respond to kidnappings, what scope of action the organisations have, the efforts they make to recover victims, and what they are doing to avoid future kidnappings. It develops lessons from the experiences of journalists, their families and loved ones, and media organisations during kidnappings and reveals the influence of external pressures on media firms from different groups, including relatives and insurance and recovery firms. It will investigate whether the news media cover journalistic kidnappings similarly or differently from the kidnappings of other individuals or groups of individuals under similar conditions and why. It discusses the roles of journalist safety organisations before and during kidnappings and lays out good practice suggestions for employers who need to respond to journalist kidnappings, as well as for other news organisations covering them.

Kidnappings involve journalists and media organisations globally, including many from regions where organisational resources and support for journalists in the field are more limited and local professional associations that can train and advocate for them are absent or less robust. The perspectives of this book are, admittedly, skewed towards established, wealthier media organisations operating from the Northern Hemisphere, particularly Europe and North America. This is not to diminish the global scope of the kidnapping challenge or its toll on journalists elsewhere, but

reflects the asymmetrical roles of media and journalism associations in developed countries in producing, organising, and utilising resources, training, and recommendations for addressing the challenges posed by kidnappings. News organisations and journalists worldwide can learn from and adapt practices from their experiences and responses.

To purchase this book,
or to see others in the
Reuters Institute Challenges Series,
please visit I.B.Tauris' website:

www.ibtauris.com/reuters