Equally Safe

Towards a feminist approach to the safety of journalists



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About this project

What might a feminist approach to the protection of journalists look like? What concrete benefits might it bring? And could it provide solutions to the well-documented – and highly gendered – abuse that women¹ journalists face every day?

While journalists and communicators² worldwide experience threats, surveillance, attacks, arbitrary arrest, detention, enforced disappearances, and murder for carrying out their vital work, women journalists deal with additional, gendered threats, violence, abuse, and harassment – in their workplaces, when out reporting, and online. They bear the brunt of not only the increasingly hostile environment affecting all journalists but also pervasive gender-based violence, gendered discrimination, and 'gendered censorship'. These risks multiply for women journalists who experience multiple, overlapping discriminations on the basis of race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, sex characteristics, gender identity/expression, and religious beliefs (among others).

Current policies and practices – even those deemed 'gender-sensitive' – are failing to protect women journalists from these risks. A bulletproof vest may be useful in some contexts, but it will not protect a woman from sexual harassment in her newsroom, abuse when she shares her stories online, or assault on public transport when she travels to an assignment. Due to this lack of effective protection measures, women journalists have, in some cases, taken the situation into their own hands, creating solutions to keep themselves and their colleagues safe. These solutions are grounded in diverse feminist approaches that place women's everyday experiences, lived realities, and protection needs front and centre.

In 2021, ARTICLE 19 set out to make these sometimes invisible practices more visible, building on our <u>existing programmes</u> on the safety of women journalists worldwide. We undertook original research globally and specifically in six countries – three in Asia (Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka) and three in Latin America (Brazil, Chile, and Paraguay) – guided by the questions:

What might feminist approaches to the protection of journalists look like, and what benefits might they bring?

From national organisations to grassroots networks, our findings document women's monumental efforts to make structural changes, tackle entrenched patterns of gender-based discrimination and violence, and enhance the safety of women journalists. The initiatives showcased in these case studies are a testament to the creativity and resilience of those working on the feminist frontlines.

1. Introduction

Country context: Paraguay

Paraguay became a democracy in 1992; before then, it was largely ruled by authoritarian governments. In ARTICLE 19's <u>Global Expression Report 2022</u> – a global, data-informed, annual look at freedom of expression worldwide – Paraguay is categorised as Less Restricted, with an overall GxR³ score of 73 out of 100.

However, social and economic inequality still run deep in Paraguay, exacerbated by territorial conflicts and collusion between politicians and organised crime; 70% of the National Police have reportedly been infiltrated by organised crime, while 'criminal networks financed by drug trafficking have permeated Paraguayan government'.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, according to the UN Development Programme's <u>Regional Human Development Report 2021</u>, of 18 countries in the region, Paraguay scored the worst on perceptions of unfairness and inequality; 95% of Paraguayans believe the nation is 'governed in the interests of a few powerful groups and not for the greater good of all', and 90% 'believe that income distribution is unfair'. The media sector is no exception; just four people – one of whom is a former president – own 36 media outlets.

Paraguay is ranked 21st of 26 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean in the World Economic Forum's (WEF) <u>Global Gender Gap Index 2021</u>. In 2020, the Public Ministry recorded 25,953 complaints of domestic violence (violencia familiar) – over 70 a day – and 33 cases of femicide,⁴ while 17.9% of women in Paraguay experience gender-based violence in their lifetimes. The country is also facing a growing wave of conservatism and opposition to fundamental rights, especially for groups at risk or in situations of discrimination.⁵

Between 1991 and 2021, 19 journalists were murdered in Paraguay – but just three of these cases were solved, reflecting a culture of impunity. Journalists also regularly experience intimidation from criminal groups and criminalisation by the authorities. Those investigating international crimes, gunrunning, and drug trafficking, and their connections with politicians and local security forces are especially vulnerable.

Yet despite this difficult context, journalists and social communicators in Paraguay are challenging these threats to their safety and freedom of expression. The feminist movement is an important protagonist here, as are international and national initiatives to tackle violence against journalists.

Violence against women journalists in Paraguay

Women journalists in Paraguay experience <u>online harassment and abuse</u>, work-place harassment, sexual abuse, and widespread noncompliance with gender equality legislation. A 2017 <u>survey</u> found that 73% had experienced workplace harassment, 61% had suffered gender-based discrimination at work, and 51% felt their maternity and health rights were not guaranteed. However, the statistics on violence against women journalists in Paraguay are likely to be an underestimate, for reasons explored in this section.

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María's story

María,⁶ a journalist covering national politics and economics in Paraguay, has experienced numerous incidents of gender-based violence in her 20-year career, illustrating the many challenges facing women journalists in the country.

She was once assaulted when leaving an assignment, and her phone and notes were stolen. She has been strangled and sprayed in the face with an unknown substance in the street. Another time, she was assaulted when leaving work. The only people to help were her female colleagues.

'The men were watching soccer and didn't move to help.'

Some of María's aggressors were politicians and people connected to organised crime. Nobody – neither her employers, nor the police, nor witnesses to the attacks – protected her or investigated the crimes against her.

'I never had help or support from the company where I worked, and even after denouncing the cases to the police, the investigations got nowhere. None were solved or punished.'

To protect herself and her family, María is now guarded about who she speaks with – and about what.

'Nowadays, I look behind my car, by the rearview mirrors, and take additional measures of protection while getting out to work or on a coverage.'

She is also part of a group of journalists that uses an instant messaging platform as a kind of protection network.

'When a partner feels threatened, inform the others, and we try to help each other.'

Economic vulnerability

In Paraguay, journalism is a precarious sector that carries an ever-present threat of economic vulnerability. This threat is heightened for women journalists, for whom the unemployment rate is more than twice that for men (9.9% compared with 4.8%). This has a chilling effect on journalists' ability to do their work, as Vivian López, Judge in the 18th Civil and Commercial Court and member of the Asociación de Magistrados Judiciales del Paraguay (Judges Association in Paraguay), explains:

'There is no salary equity across men and women journalists. Authorities don't care about that. The economic factor is the most important aspect to avoid reporting [about sexual or psychological harassment] because it implies losing your job and it is best to stay quiet.'

In other words, Vivian says, economic vulnerability silences women journalists: 'Keep quiet to be able to eat and feed your children.' This silencing is compounded by widespread impunity and lack of media plurality, as Santiago Ortiz told us:

'How is it possible to denounce an attack experienced if there is no proper punishment? ... Where will she find a new job if just three groups own almost all media outlets?'

A <u>survey</u> of 55 journalists confirmed our interviewees' views. It found that 64% had self-censored at least once to keep their jobs – a situation that only worsened under Covid-19; approximately 100 journalists were fired in 2020 alone.

Femicide classified as a 'crime of passion'

In the last two decades, three women journalists have been murdered in Paraguay. However, the police only classified one of these murders as related to their profession as journalists. This was the case of 19-year-old Antonia Almada, assistant to Pablo Medina, an ABC Color correspondent who investigated organised crime. Both were ambushed and murdered on 16 October 2014. An ex-mayor of Ypehú, his driver, and his nephew were convicted.

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The other two journalists, Yamila Cantero and Ángela Acosta, were shot and killed in 2002 and 2006 respectively. However, the police investigations, rather than treating both cases as femicide, concluded that they were so-called 'crimen pasional' (crimes of passion). The crimes remain unsolved.

Additional intersectional risks

While all women journalists in Paraguay face gender-based challenges, those who are also members of groups at risk or in situations of discrimination face further, intersectional risks.

Women from the lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, and intersex (LGBTQI+) community are one such group. According to Ramón González (journalist, LGBTQ+ activist, and audiovisual producer), LGBTQ+ journalists in Paraguay are forced to choose between working in the press and being 'out':

'Some journalists never came out of the closet and will never come out of the closet ... I think many media owners believe that LGBTQ+ people within their staff give them a bad image.'

Indigenous women communicators who defend their rights and cultures are another such group. Floris Yegros, an indigenous social communicator, told us the indigenous community in Paraguay is constantly exposed to risks and dangers related to land conflicts.

'We are territory defenders. Sometimes [as social communicators], we face some dangers and harassment when we are taking a picture to denounce some issue, but it is not that different to what all indigenous face daily.'

- César Centurión, indigenous communicator

Maria José Centurión, Coordinator of the Federación por la Autodeterminación de los Pueblos Indígenas (Federation for Self-Determination of Indigenous People) (FAPI) trains indigenous communicators to produce content that promotes their communities' cultures and provides them with information about services. This is because they are not represented in mainstream media coverage due to 'racism and discrimination', she told us.

Existing protection mechanisms in Paraguay

The <u>1992 Constitution</u> recognises the rights to freedom of expression and press freedom, but implementation of these rights lags behind, and the country's institutions remain weak. As José María Costa⁷ (Director of Transparency and Access to Information at the Supreme Court of Justice, and Coordinator of the Roundtable for Journalists' Security in Paraguay) writes:

'The Constitution protects the "free exercise of the press", but censorship through violence – and the worst means of censorship: murder – is scathing, and most of the time remains unpunished, contradicting the ideal of a free and fearless press.'8

In 2016, the <u>Mesa para la Seguridad de Periodistas</u> (Roundtable for Journalists' Security in Paraguay) was created, which is an <u>inter-institutional body</u> that brings together organisations from public security forces, the justice system, civil society, and UNESCO. The roundtable monitors crimes against journalists, develops protection measures, and trains public servants and the judiciary. In 2021, it began an initiative to identify the types of violence journalists are exposed to and which journalists are most at risk.

In 2017, the *Polícia Nacional* (National Police) published the *Protocolo de seguridad* para periodistas en situación de alto riesgo (Security Protocol for Journalists in High-Risk Situations), which defines protection procedures for journalists facing high levels of risk, such as death threats.

In 2018, the Ley de protección integral a las mujeres contra toda forma de violencia (Law to Protect Women from All Forms of Violence) (Law 5777) was passed. It tackles workplace harassment, stereotypes that degrade women, and respectful reporting on violence against women. As such, it could be a vital tool to protect women journalists in Paraguay. However, it lacks enforcement mechanisms.

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Furthermore, sexism is deeply embedded in Paraguayan society, and not all judges are trained in gender-based crimes – which makes enforcing the law even more difficult, as Vivian López explains:

'There is a lot of sexism in the country. It is a general issue because there is an invisibilisation of this problem due to gender discrimination and a lack of a gender perspective. ... There is too much delay and the idea of the "macho" man is so attached to the society that it is very difficult to combat it.'

Another bill, Ley de protección a periodistas y defensores de Derechos Humanos (Freedom of Expression and Protection of Journalists, Press Workers and Human Rights Defenders), is still awaiting a vote. Maria José Centurión told us that FAPI and Sindicato de los Periodistas (SPP) (Journalists Union in Paraguay) attended a meeting at the Senate to debate the bill in September 2021, but that it was not a priority for legislators. Following pressure from civil society organisations, they managed to get the process back on track and to develop a new bill to protect journalists, communicators, human rights defenders, and indigenous populations, with an intercultural perspective. In April 2022, an international seminar was held to discuss this regulatory framework with relevant organisations.

The feminist movement in Paraguay

The feminist movement in Paraguay stretches back to 1920, when María Felicidad González – a feminist teacher and activist considered to be the founder of Paraguayan feminism – represented the country at an international conference in Baltimore. Subsequently, the *Centro Femenino del Paraguay* was founded, followed by the *Unión Femenina del Paraguay* in 1936.

Feminist demands became more institutionalised in 1992, when gender equality and other human rights were defined as fundamental principles in the Federal Constitution.

The movement has garnered significant support in recent decades. In contemporary Paraguay, write Lilian and Clyde Soto, 'the debate about feminism and gender is configured as one of the main fields of social debate'.⁹

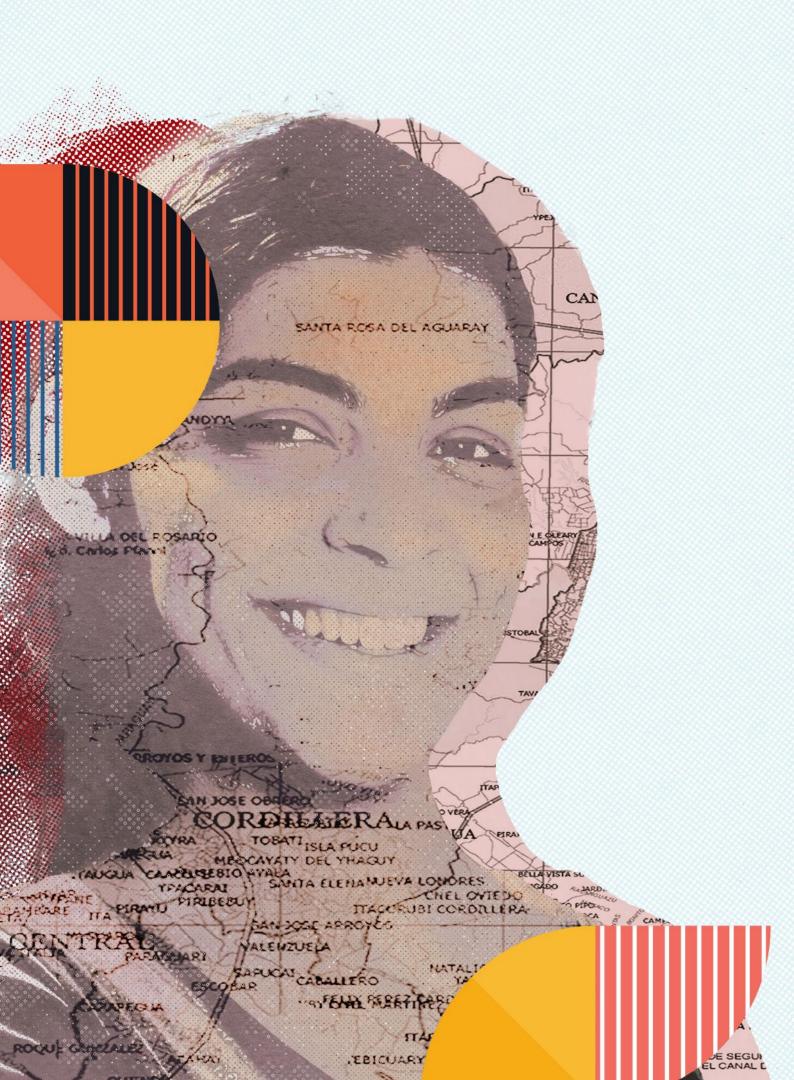
Anti-feminist backlash

However, the feminist movement has many vocal detractors in Paraguay, particularly among conservative politicians, churches, and mainstream media outlets. As Concepción Oviedo, a journalist at SPP, told us:

'There is a very strong reaction against everything related to feminism, legal abortion, and human rights. They talk about "global agenda", "gender ideology", "cultural Marxism".'

Oviedo explained that this reaction is deeply ingrained in key institutions that should play a role in protecting women's human rights – including those of women journalists.

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2. Case studies

Introduction

We began this exploratory, qualitative study by undertaking desk-based research to understand Paraguay's media sector, journalists' employment conditions, violence against them, and protection initiatives. To do this, we first analysed international studies before homing in on country-specific reports, studies, and media articles, paying particular attention to reports with a gender and/or intersectional perspective. We also drew on legislation on the protection of women, LGBTQI+people, indigenous communities, and journalists and communicators.

Due to the lack of information on violations against women journalists and social communicators in Paraguay, it was first necessary to map and categorise them. We began by reading news articles about violence against journalists in general (with a particular focus on incidents since 2015), which yielded a list of journalists who had experienced some type of violence. We then searched online in Spanish and English for information about attacks against women journalists in particular. This enabled us to create a list of cases of gender-based violence against journalists or communicators, and to map out existing protection mechanisms and authorities' responses.

We also conducted online research to find intersectional feminist protection initiatives for journalists. Only two such initiatives were found. We therefore decided to showcase these two initiatives as our case studies. Both focus on a frequent, yet under-studied, type of violence against women journalists in Paraguay: harassment in the workplace. They are:

- → No me acoses, respetame (Do not harass me, respect me) a campaign created by SPP to raise awareness and create a safer environment for women journalists; and
- → Red de Mujeres Periodistas y Comunicadoras del Paraguay (Women Journalists and Social Communicators Network of Paraguay) an online group made up of 88 women journalists from across Paraguay, who debate, campaign, and draw attention to gender-based violence and sexism.

Having identified our two case studies, we conducted interviews with women involved in them, as well as with other journalists and representatives of human rights and media organisations in the country – a total of ten interviewees. Finally, we interviewed a further two journalists (identified through our desk research) whose professional and life experiences helped to illustrate the human realities of

being a woman journalist in Paraguay. One of them, the aforementioned 'María' (who requested anonymity), has faced various risks and threats over more than two decades, with almost no response or protection. The other has a wealth of expertise in LGBTQI+ activism.

One of the main methodological challenges we faced was finding case studies that fulfilled the intersectional feminist criteria set out in the research objectives. Such initiatives are yet to be developed in Paraguay. Nevertheless, existing interinstitutional actions to protect journalists and social communicators have the potential to promote intersectional measures.

No me acoses, respetame (Do not harass me, respect me)

Beginnings

On Journalists' Day (7 April)¹⁰ in 2017, the gender and human rights division of the SPP journalists' union launched a campaign called *No me acoses, respetame* (Do not harass me, respect me). The campaign, which ran for two years, aimed to raise awareness of the invisibilised issue of workplace sexual harassment of women journalists, and to create a safer environment for them. A central part of this was inviting journalists to debate, denounce, and stop these practices, in newsrooms and beyond.

Flavia Borja, who is currently Coordinator of Communication at *Coordinadora de Derechos Humanos del Paraguay* (Human Rights Coordinator of Paraguay), was Secretary of Human Rights and Gender for SPP at the time of the campaign's launch. She told us that the campaign was instigated because, while women journalists are frequently the targets of sexual harassment and abuse from colleagues, bosses, and sources, they rarely speak out about it due to the lack of protection mechanisms; speaking out can mean getting fired and/or losing job opportunities.

'It was the first time that we talked about these openly in the newsrooms,' Flavia said, recalling that the campaign was met with strong support from women and strong resistance from coworkers, directors, and even some union members.

Campaign activities

No me acoses, respetame developed training, supported women who wanted to report abuse, and called on authorities and civil organisations to improve their treatment of women journalists – in terms of not only harassment but also working conditions and media coverage. The campaign initiated and participated in major feminist movements in Paraguay, both online and offline.

Online, using the hashtag #Hórama (#ItsTime) the campaign invited women journalists to share their experiences of inequality of conditions, abuse, stigmatisation, harassment, attempted sexual assault, and other forms of violence they faced daily from newsroom colleagues (the majority of whom were in positions of power and virtually guaranteed impunity) and/or sources.

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Breaking the silence

As part of the campaign, María del Pilar Alonso told her story publicly in 2019. For at least a year, a male colleague had systematically harassed her, sending texts and WhatsApp messages and making unpleasant comments at work. María and her co-workers reported the case to their bosses and the SPP, and the man was ultimately fired. She told her story to motivate other women journalists to do the same and break the silence around workplace sexual harassment.

Offline, the campaign trained journalists on how to cover gender-based violence from a feminist perspective. Flavia recalls that a key component of this was teaching journalists to name femicide cases as femicide cases, rather than 'crimes of passion' as they were previously known. Training activities included the first Seminario Internacional Periodismo, Género e Igualdad (International Seminar on Journalism, Gender, and Equality), a two-day event in November 2017, which attracted around 300 journalists and experts from across Latin America. Flavia told us: 'We invited men and women to promote a debate with everybody, but from around 300 people, 99% were women.' Still, the event had an important impact on women communicators and journalists in Paraguay; it was the first time they had got together to debate gendered issues within the profession.

Many of the campaign's activities had both online and offline components. For example, it mobilised journalists and communicators to participate in a symbolic 10-minute strike in newsrooms on International Women's Day in 2017. This action, called #LasPeriodistasParamos (#WeWomenJournalistsStopped), drew attention to gender inequality in the media industry. The campaign also used social media to mobilise a significant number of women journalists to represent the movement at the International Women's Day march itself, where they called for media outlets to guarantee maternity and breastfeeding rights, employ more women in decision-making roles, reduce employment precarity and staff shortages, and tackle sexual harassment and other types of discrimination.

The campaign also mobilised women journalists to take part in the 27 November 2018 demonstrations in which they called for an end to sexual harassment and the implementation of effective protection measures. Dozens gathered on the streets and online – using the hashtag #NoNosCallamosMas (#WeDontShutUpAnymore) – to break the culture of silence by speaking out against sexual harassment in newsrooms, salary inequality, and sexist coverage of survivors of gender-based violence.

Legacy and lessons learned

After two years and a change in the SPP's board, the campaign ended. Flavia told us that, while there was interest in continuing the campaign, it also carried a heavy burden for those involved:

'Some colleagues that helped us on the campaign got fired, others suffered threats or attempts to diminish them inside the newsrooms and even in the union. Sexism is too high in our society and media organisations that it is difficult to fight against it without being affected.'

There is clearly a long way to go before gender equality becomes a reality in Paraguay's media, which dictates public discourse from a largely conservative point of view.

But despite this, the campaign succeeded in raising awareness of sexual harassment and pushing for change in media coverage. As Concepción Oviedo told us, 2017 saw the biggest demonstrations against violence against women that Paraguay had ever seen, and has had a lasting impact on media coverage ever since. 'Until then, they publicised our claims one, two days in advance. Nowadays, it is a topic contemplated in the media coverage,' she said. Talking of the campaign's activities to educate journalists, she continued: 'Their mobilisation was essential to guarantee a more equal and precise coverage on human rights and gender-based violence.'

The campaign's legacy can also be seen in our second case study, in which the organisers' work continued.

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Red de Mujeres Periodistas y Comunicadoras del Paraguay (Women Journalists and Social Communicators Network of Paraguay)

From campaign to network

While the *No me acoses, respetame* campaign was relatively short-lived, the journalists who created it did not abandon the issue. Instead, they started an informal women's network to discuss, debate, and speak out about gender-based violence, feminism, journalism, and media coverage of these topics.

Red de Mujeres Periodistas y Comunicadoras del Paraguay (Women Journalists and Social Communicators Network of Paraguay) is a self-organised, online group made up 88 women journalists from across the country. One of its co-founders, journalist Noelia Díaz Esquivel, told us that the group first got together to organise a football match on International Women's Day 2018 and grew organically after that. Today, Red de Mujeres aims to change discriminatory media coverage of violence against women and to improve coverage of human rights, gender, and feminism. By doing so, it aims to create a more respectful and diverse media discourse.

Groundbreaking actions

In 2020, Red de Mujeres launched a social media campaign criticising some media outlets' coverage of gender-based violence. They created and posted a <u>video</u> in which women journalists shared statistics on femicide in Paraguay and asked the media to stop sensationalising gender-based violence. Noelia Díaz Esquivel explained that, in Paraguay, media coverage of such violence often stigmatises and offends survivors and their families, and sometimes even portrays them as criminals.

Flavia Borja, who is also a member of the network, told us it also functions as an informal network of protection and solidarity:

'With the pandemic, some people needed help to pay bills, buy food, and with other problems beyond harassment or other types of labour abuses. For instance, a lawyer can provide advice on some topic posted to the group.'

In November 2021, Noelia told us about an important win for the network:

'A member of our network made a complaint directly to the media outlet about a news story that was released on a website in Paraguay. They received her comment and reviewed the story, publishing a note correcting the wrong information and clarifying the content.'

This was the first time something like this happened in Paraguay, and represents a significant step forward.

Independent, self-organised women's networks like *Red de Mujeres* are a common characteristic of feminist initiatives to promote journalists' safety in Latin America (see ARTICLE 19's Brazil and Chile case studies for further examples). In the absence of formal protection initiatives for women journalists, they are a crucial means of supporting each other and pushing for change.

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3. Conclusions

his report shows that while Paraguay faces deep challenges regarding freedom of expression, journalists' safety, and human rights protection, there are significant initiatives addressing these challenges, led by feminist and other civil society organisations, including journalists' groups, from which we can learn and develop.

There are not enough data and information on the situation of women journalists in Paraguay. This is problematic, as it means there is no accurate picture of the type of risks and challenges women journalists face in their work. This in turn weakens awareness-raising and advocacy campaigns to improve legislation and policies. The need to start collecting and publishing information on violence against all women journalists is therefore urgent.

Sexual harassment at work is one of the main challenges mentioned by interviewees. To address this, media outlets need to develop and effectively implement appropriate policies, and other institutions must also act on violence against women journalists – and, more broadly, against all women. For example, the state should ensure that the judiciary and law enforcement agencies have the capacity to deal with these types of cases appropriately.

The report highlights strategies already adopted by women journalists in the country. The interviewees point to the creation of networks and collective campaigns of denunciation as the two main means to combat violence.

Given this ongoing context, Paraguay must urgently ensure that it properly lives up to its commitments on the protection of journalists. It must improve and invest in protective public policies and implement intersectional, gender-focused monitoring. The state should take an intersectional approach to violence against all women, as the most effective way to combat such violence. This requires it to carry out a broad internal process of diagnosing what aspects of the structures and culture of the state reinforce and feed inequalities of gender, race, and class. From these data, the state should develop and implement policies that eliminate such structures and build firm foundations to ensure freedom of expression is truly based on equity and equality in Paraguay.

Notes

- 1 ARTICLE 19 uses 'women' and 'men' to refer to all those individuals who identify themselves as such.
- ARTICLE 19 uses a functional definition of journalists and communicators, as per the <u>UN Human Rights Committee General Comment 34</u>: 'Journalism is a function shared by a wide range of actors, including professional full-time reporters and analysts, as well as bloggers and others who engage in forms of self-publication in print, on the internet or elsewhere'.
- ARTICLE 19's <u>Global Expression Report</u> metric (the GxR metric) tracks freedom of expression across the world. In our 2022 report, 25 indicators were used to create an overall freedom of expression score for 161 countries, on a scale of 1–100, which places each country in an expression category.
- In this report, we use the definition of 'femicide' from the <u>Pará Convention</u>: 'Femicide is the violent death of women based on gender, whether it occurs within the family, a domestic partnership, or any other interpersonal relationship; in the community, by any person, or when it is perpetrated or tolerated by the state or its agents, by action or omission' (p. 6).
- These concerns have been reported by organisations including Amnesty International, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, and *Coordinadora de Derechos Humanos del Paraguay*.
- 6 María is a pseudonym to protect this journalist's anonymity.
- 7 Also known as Pepe Costa.
- Original version in Spanish: 'Paraguay este territorio donde se consagra constitucionalmente el "ejercicio libre del periodismo", pero la censura de la violencia, y la peor censura, de la muerte, actúan de manera contundente, y la mayor de las veces, impune, en contra del ideal de una prensa libre, sin temores, sin ataduras.'
- Olyde Soto, Coordinator of the Women's Department at the *Centro de Documentación* y Estudios (Documentation and Study Centre), and Lilian Soto, Doctor in Medicine at the *Universidad Nacional de Asunción* (National University of Asunción), analysed the evolution of feminist movements in Paraguay in their eBook *Políticas antigénero* en América Latina: Paraguay (Anti-Gender Policies in Latin America: Paraguay).
- Journalists' Day, which has been held since 1950, commemorates the death of Czechoslovakian journalist and writer Julius Fucik in 1943.



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