

Editors' Code of Practice Committee

Private and confidential

Minutes of the Editors' Code of Practice Committee meeting held at the offices of the Newspaper Society/NPA, 18-20 St Andrew's Street, London, on 16 April 2009.

Present:

Chairman: Paul Dacre (NPA)

Jonathan Grun (NPA) Ian Murray (NS) Harriet Wilson (PPA)
Neil Wallis (NPA) Douglas Melloy (NS)
Alan Rusbridger (NPA)

Attending:

Baroness Buscombe (Chairman, PCC); Tim Toulmin (Director, PCC); Ian Beales (*Secretary*).

Apologies:

Apologies were received from Neil Benson (NS); David Pollington (SDNS); June Smith Sheppard (PPA); John Witherow (NPA).

Minutes of the meetings held on 15 April 2008 were approved and signed.

Business arising:

1. **Mike Gilson:** The secretary reported that Mr Gilson, having left the editorship of The Scotsman, had resigned. He had sent best wishes.
2. **Exploitation by freelance agencies:** An email from John Dale criticising the committee's failure to introduce rules to stop exploitation was noted.

Protection of judges: The secretary said the House of Lords Select Committee on the Constitution had expressed disappointment at the Code Committee's rejection of its call for judges to be protected from "inaccurate and intemperate" press reporting. The Judicial Communications Office had been helpful in saying that the current system worked, but had hinted that it might wish to raise wider principles of judicial privacy. The secretary said he had not sought clarification, as that was for the JCO to pursue.

Coroners' Bill: The Code Committee welcomed the news that the Justice Ministry had accepted that changes in the Code were not needed. The Chairman said there were still issues over the Bill's plans for restrictions on inquests, but they did not affect the Code.

Code Committee website: The annual number of hits to the website from its launch in January 2008 was 100,160. Breakdown: *Unique visitors: 3,063; Number of visits: 4,183; Pages: 13,165.* Traffic for January-February 2009 was up in all categories on the same period in 2008: *Unique visitors: 635 (+33%); Visits: 930 (+61%); Pages: 3,593 (+110%); Hits: 21,643 (+20%).* The Codebook relaunch triggered a lift in March, with traffic equalling 25% of the 2008 total: *Unique visitors: 744; Visits: 1,212; Pages: 4,225; and Hits: 33,762.*

Relaunch of The Editors' Codebook: The secretary said the launch had gone to plan. The new guidance on suicide reporting - reprinted in the PCC's annual report - was widely welcomed, including by the Samaritans, Papyrus, and Madeleine Moon, MP for Bridgend. Media coverage reflected this. Sales and downloads of the Codebook had been encouraging.

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APPENDIX A

ANNUAL CODE REVIEW

Suggested amendments from the public, civil society and the industry were considered.

Accuracy

Clause 1i – Obligation of care: Schillings solicitors suggested the Code should state that *where there was an intention to publish serious allegations, the relevant parties should be given an opportunity to reply, and the gist of their response published.* They claimed this reflected PCC policy. The secretary said that, in fact, PCC policy was that a failure to give all relevant sides of a story, *if unremedied*, could lead to a breach.

Committee members agreed on the general principle of giving all relevant sides of the story, but felt there were circumstances where there would need to be exceptions. The Chairman said these would be difficult to codify. Neil Wallis said where it had always been policy for the News of the World to make a 4.0'clock phone call to the subject of an expose, that was now impossible because of the risk of being successfully injuncted, at the hands of Saturday duty judges. Alan Rusbridger said that while it could not be an obligation, approaching the subject of such a story was usually desirable. The Codebook might usefully make that clear.

* **Decision:** No change.

Privacy

Clause 3iii - Identifying homes: Schillings, again suggesting it was current PCC practice, said the Code should state explicitly that information that might lead to the identification of home addresses should not be published where it might expose individuals to increased risk.

The secretary said the PCC policy was specifically to prevent *increased risk*, such as from stalkers or criminals. Committee members agreed that a blanket ban would seriously limit the role of the regional press, where local information was essential, and the reporting of court proceedings, where a detailed address was often necessary to avoid mistaken identity.

* **Decision:** No change.

Clause 3iv - Publishing serious allegations: Schillings urged that *Where there is an intention to publish serious allegations concerning a person's private life, sufficient notice must be given to relevant person prior to publication.*

The suggestion was rejected for similar reasons to those for Clause 1i above.

* **Decision:** No change.

Protection of relatives: [redacted] who said his 18-year-old daughter had been featured in a story simply because of the family link, asked that the Clause 6v protection for the children of the famous or infamous *should be extended to include adult relatives.*

The committee agreed that the existing privacy rules protected relatives from gratuitous mention.

* **Decision:** No change.

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Harassment

Clause 4ii - Identification of Journalists:

Schillings wanted the Code to ensure that – on request - journalists in 'harassment' situations identified themselves, so that complainants could make contact with employers or agencies and make a formal request to them to desist. "It is not suggested that there ought to be a general obligation on journalists to identify themselves when asked to do so by a member of the public."

Schillings' proposal:

4ii) They must not persist in questioning, telephoning, pursuing or photographing individuals once asked to desist; nor remain on their property when asked to leave and must not follow them. *If request is made, they must identify themselves and who they are working for.*

The secretary said most publications already complied with that. The Chairman said that, while there might be difficulties, he agreed with the basic principle – and there would be protection if the press activity were in the public interest. The committee members agreed.

* **Decision:** It was agreed that the Code should be changed to say:

4ii) They must not persist in questioning, telephoning, pursuing or photographing individuals once asked to desist; nor remain on their property when asked to leave and must not follow them. *If requested, they must identify themselves and whom they represent.*

Intrusion into Grief

Suicide coverage: Choose Life, an NHS Scotland group, proposed that suicide reporting should be separated from Clause 5 and become a freestanding Clause in its own right, with new restrictions, including guidance on the use of photographs, graphics and language that might tend to desensitise or legitimise suicide.

It was agreed that it would be premature to consider Code changes until the effect of the new guidance published in *The Editors' Codebook* had been monitored. That guidance had gone a long way to meeting concerns of the suicide prevention groups. Neil Wallis said the Committee had done some excellent work on suicide, but asked: how far should we go? He had met members of this lobby who would not be satisfied until reporting of suicide was totally banned. He said there had been industry concerns that many newspapers had been found in breach of the Code when reporting the 'chainsaw suicide'.

The secretary said he had also heard murmurs of concern. It was important to carry the industry with us when making changes. Jonathan Grun was concerned that we should be careful about self-censorship when covering public courts of law. Ian Murray said his newspaper followed the Code on the chainsaw massacre, but was still blamed by readers for other media reports. Doug Melloy said inquest reports provoked more complaints than any other topic, largely due to a lack of understanding that inquests were held in public. Tim Toulmin said the Ministry of Justice was working on improved educational publicity alerting the public to the role of the Coroners' courts. Neil Wallis said the Society of Editors was also helping.

* **Decision:** No change.

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Children

Clause 6iv – Payment to children: The secretary suggested the case of Alfie Patten, the 13-year-old originally claimed to have fathered Chantelle Stedman's baby, raised issues over Clause 6iv, which says *Minors must not be paid for material involving children's welfare, nor parents or guardians for material about their children or wards, unless it is clearly in the child's interest.* The Patten story begged several questions, including:

- Should the *payment* be in the child's interest, or the *publication of the material*, or both? Can they be trumped by an exceptional public interest?
- Is the clause too paternalistic or invasive in that it requires newspapers – and ultimately the PCC – to over-ride the opinions of parents or guardians?
- Is this sub-clause more noble than practical – does it do more harm than good?

Tim Toulmin said the PCC had conducted an own-volition inquiry, which had not yet been fully considered by the Commission. The interim view was that while commissioners might have reservations, some involved matters of taste. For example, there were issues over the appropriateness of parents being paid to discuss their children in Health pages.

Neil Wallis said the clause had worked well for 12 years and that the Code Committee should not make changes based on an unprecedented case, such as Alfie. It was agreed to await the outcome of the PCC's inquiry.

* **Decision:** No action.

Clause 6iv – Photographing children: Schillings urged that 'to prevent the taking and publication of photographs of children', the Clause v restriction on publishing details of a child's private life solely because of the fame of their parents, should be extended to include the words *or for taking or publishing photographs of them.*

The Chairman said the industry was already self-censoring by pixelating pictures of children, often unnecessarily. Alan Rusbridger said that, while there were issues over children's welfare, there was a difference between taking pictures and publishing pixelated pictures. Tim Toulmin said the change was unnecessary, as the current Code's restrictions on 'details of a child's private life' would include pictures.

* **Decision:** No change.

Discrimination

Clause 12 – Reporting Gipsies and Travellers: The secretary reported on a presentation by the Brighton-based Travellers Advice Unit in which they claimed gipsies were one of the few minority groups still being openly maligned in the press on grounds of ethnicity. Broadly, they wanted the Code modified to prevent inaccurate and abusive reporting against groups and to avoid stereotyping. He said the Code Committee had remained steadfast that allowing complaints about discrimination against groups would interfere with freedom of expression.

* **Decision:** No change.

Confidential sources

Publication not in the public interest: Schillings sought a change in the Code, removing the journalist's moral obligation to protect confidential sources where the source disclosed matters not in the public interest, or was acting in bad faith.

The committee agreed that this would dilute a fundamental principle of the Code.

* **Decision:** No change.

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Miscellaneous

Suggestions for changing the Code to prevent universities breaking their own embargoes [redacted] and to allow publication of information placed under immunity by other jurisdictions [redacted] were reviewed and rejected.

* **Decision:** No change.

APPENDIX B

PRIVACY AND THE CODE

The committee considered the secretary's paper on Privacy and the Code. This suggested that the balance between the competing rights to privacy and freedom of speech had swung so far in favour of privacy that it was difficult for the media to succeed in a legal action. At the same time, extortionate costs as a result of CFAs and after the event insurance prevented editors contesting unmeritorious claims. This made the courts more attractive to high profile claimants, which left the PCC sidelined in an important area of its remit.

Discussion focused on two possible amendments to the Code, which might, if agreed, have a bearing on the findings of judges hearing privacy cases, who are required to take into account the Code. The amendments required that when considering possible intrusions, account should be taken of whether the complainant had compromised their own privacy by speaking of similar matters; and whether the editor had a reasonable belief that he or she was acting in the public interest.

The Chairman said neither the Government nor the Opposition were happy with the current situation and the committee had the opportunity to do something positive to change it, by adopting the amendments. Alan Rusbridger disagreed. He was not convinced of the timing; there had been some marginal to poor cases where the public interest had been knocked back by a judge, but not a serious case. Neil Wallis said this was the third time the committee had discussed such an amendment and now the snowball had accelerated downhill. He cited cases where newspapers, including regionals, were adversely affected. Lady Buscombe said the issue here was not the privacy of ordinary people – it was about celebrity image rights. Jonathan Grun said this was not an extension the Code, merely the incorporation of existing PCC policy – a statement of the current situation. Harriet Wilson said the magazine industry would welcome the greater clarity. Tim Toulmin said the PCC wanted these amendments and hoped the industry would consult more widely on them.

The Chairman suggested the amendments should be put out to the industry, noting the objection of one member of the committee. The secretary said he would circulate a form of words to the committee. Mr Rusbridger agreed, as long as the context was neutral, and suggested that a private approach to Lord Chief Justice Judge, pointing out that the Code was being frustrated by the judiciary, might be beneficial. The Chairman said that was a sensible suggestion.

{Secretary's Note: Following informal discussions after the meeting, the privacy-related amendments were revised and legal advice sought that altered the proposals to go out for consultation. These were put to the committee for decision by email. These developments will be reported to the committee in full at its next meeting and minuted accordingly.}

NEXT MEETING: It was left to the Chairman and secretary to call the next meeting, probably in September or October.

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Suggested amendments agreed by the Code Committee:

CLAUSE 3: *This change codifies current PCC practice of taking into account relevant previous disclosures made by the complainant.*

3 *Privacy

- i) Everyone is entitled to respect for his or her private and family life, home, health and correspondence, including digital communications.
- ii) Editors will be expected to justify intrusions into any individual's private life without consent. *Account will be taken of the complainant's own public disclosures of information.*
- iii) It is unacceptable to photograph individuals in private places without their consent.

Note - Private places are public or private property where there is a reasonable expectation of privacy.

CLAUSE 4ii: *This change, based on an external suggestion, was accepted by the Code committee because it codifies practice already widely adopted by editors: it would be unusual for journalists to engage in persistent questioning etc, without revealing who they were or who they worked for. The clause is subject to the public interest exception, which means a journalist need not provide such details where it would be in the public interest to withhold them.*

4 *Harassment

- i) Journalists must not engage in intimidation, harassment or persistent pursuit.
- ii) They must not persist in questioning, telephoning, pursuing or photographing individuals once asked to desist; nor remain on their property when asked to leave and must not follow them. *If requested, they must identify themselves and whom they represent.*
- iii) Editors must ensure these principles are observed by those working for them and take care not to use non-compliant material from other sources.

THE PUBLIC INTEREST: *Currently, editors invoking the Public Interest exception must show how the public interest was actually served. This amendment, following legal advice, allows editors to argue that they had reasonable grounds for believing that they were acting in the public interest, even if no demonstrable public interest emerged or, indeed, where nothing was actually published. This reflects recent data protection legislation and the Code's current policy, as expressed in Clause 16ii. This allows editors to make a payment to a criminal where there was good reason to believe the public interest would be served, but disallows publication if no public interest emerges as a result.*

THE PUBLIC INTEREST

There may be exceptions to the clauses marked where they can be demonstrated to be in the public interest*

1. The public interest includes, but is not confined to:
 - i) Detecting or exposing crime or serious impropriety.
 - ii) Protecting public health and safety.
 - iii) Preventing the public from being misled by an action or statement of an individual or organisation.
2. There is a public interest in freedom of expression itself.
3. Whenever the public interest is invoked, the PCC will require editors to demonstrate fully how the public interest was served that they reasonably believed that publication, or journalistic activity undertaken with a view to publication, would be in the public interest.
4. The PCC will consider the extent to which material is already in the public domain, or will become so.
5. In cases involving children under 16, editors must demonstrate an exceptional public interest to over-ride the normally paramount interest of the child.

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Appendix B

PRIVACY AND THE CODE

Summary

THIS review of the problems of the press over privacy does not claim to be exhaustive. Advice was sought from, among others, the PCC, media lawyers, specialist QCs, and a former senior judge. Their responses often conflicted. But there was a reasonable consensus on identifying the key issues.

First, judges' interpretations of the Human Rights Act mean the right to privacy regularly trumps freedom of expression. Second, CFAs and after the event insurance grossly inflate litigation costs while loading the risk on defendant newspapers. This makes a legal remedy attractive to a significant number of high profile privacy complainants, who by-pass the PCC.

The effects are far-reaching. Excessive CFA fees have a chilling effect on freedom of expression. Also, the PCC is sidelined in a major area of its remit, denying the self-regulatory system the chance to set landmark precedents. As well as making privacy law under the HRA, judges also *interpret the Code* - but without any regard for PCC precedents. Having parallel jurisdictions interpreting the same rules is potentially damaging to consistency and certainty - and public trust.

While the Government's current consultation on changing CFAs and ATE insurance could genuinely transform the landscape on costs, there is no matching optimism on legal changes to rebalance the competing rights of privacy and freedom of expression. In reality, the Government has little scope for manoeuvre while the UK remains signed up to the European Convention on Human Rights.

A variety of suggestions for rebalancing the system were explored:

- **Changing the Human Rights Act** - e.g. to restrict celebrities' control of their image rights.
- **Reversing Lord Woolf's direction** to judges to disregard PCC adjudications.
- **Changing the Code** to influence judges to hear defences that claimants compromised their own privacy; or that *editors reasonably believed they were acting in the public interest*.
- **Making the PCC more attractive to complainants** by extending conciliation to include awards and/or considering a form of bolt-on arbitration on damages.

Conclusions: There are no magic bullets. Expected CFA changes could transform the current economics, but legal options on rebalancing the competing rights of privacy and freedom of expression are limited by the HRA and Strasbourg precedents.

Amending the Code is the only real option available for influencing the judges in the short term and possible amendments have been drafted. Effecting legal changes would require a revolution in the current judicial mindset here and in Strasbourg.

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Introduction

1. Privacy is an issue with porous borders. It is notoriously difficult to define where the lines should be drawn and when they have been crossed. Several attempts to introduce a privacy law have foundered as a result. The one area of consensus is that there is no consensus. Therefore, any analysis of the particular problems of the press and the developing judge-made law of privacy could easily become mired in a wider philosophical debate.

2. To narrow the focus, this review attempts not to find a cure for the disease, but to identify the symptoms – the effect on the press and self-regulation – and concentrate on possible remedies for those, particularly where they might involve the Code.

3. Advice was sought from, among others: the PCC, in-house newspaper lawyers, specialist QCs and a former senior judge, together with published and private statements by political leaders. Their views, sometimes expressed under Chatham House rules, often conflicted and frequently led down blind alleys. Some suggestions that emerged were beyond the remit of the Code Committee. This study has explored these, in case they formed part of a matrix of measures, but makes no claim to be exhaustive.

The problem

4. The issue of privacy in all its forms – including intrusion into grief, protection of children, harassment and the use of clandestine devices – accounts for nearly 20pc of the PCC's complaints. That is a significant proportion, which has resulted in an impressive body of jurisprudence used by the press and complainants alike. It is difficult for critics to represent that as a failure. The Commission's decisions, on a case-by-case basis, have built a set of rules on privacy that has helped shape British journalism.

5. But since the introduction of the Human Rights Act, the landscape has changed. First, judges' interpretations of the Act – often influenced by European Court of Human Rights rulings – have resulted in the right to privacy regularly trumping freedom of expression.

6. Second, an amendment to s12 of the Act that required courts to take into account a relevant privacy code has proved ineffective. It was intended to allow the principles set out in the Editors' Code to be considered by judges. But a direction by Lord Woolf specifically precluded them from looking at PCC jurisprudence, thus effectively asking them to interpret the Code in their own way.

7. Third, the advent of CFAs and after the event insurance has grossly inflated litigation costs while loading the risk on defendant newspapers. This makes a legal remedy attractive to a significant number of high profile privacy complainants, who by-pass the PCC in favour of seeking cash awards at little or no risk.

8. The consequences for freedom of expression, the press and the self-regulatory system are far-reaching:

- The balance of the competing rights of privacy and freedom of expression has swung so far in favour of privacy that it is extremely difficult for the media to succeed in an action.
- Excessive CFA fees themselves have a chilling effect on freedom of expression. Newspapers routinely spike stories or settle claims rather than risk facing extortionate costs by contesting a claim, even where such a defence would have legal merit.
- The self-regulatory system is sidelined in a crucial area: when high profile cases go to the courts the PCC is denied the chance to set its own landmark precedents on privacy.
- Having judges interpret the Code regardless of PCC jurisprudence creates a danger of parallel jurisdictions interpreting the same rules differently, making editorial judgments extremely difficult, undermining reasonable expectations of consistency and certainty, and diminishing public and industry trust in the Code.

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Reviewing the options

9. The immediate priority is to rebalance the system to protect freedom of expression and to prevent self-regulation being sapped. A variety of suggestions were put forward, including:

Changing the law – seeking amendments to the Human Rights Act, and to the rules governing CFAs; reversing Lord Woolf's direction to judges on PCC jurisprudence.

Changing the Code to re-establish freedom of expression and publication in the public interest, in a way that would influence judges.

Changing the way the PCC works to make it more attractive to complainants.

10. Each is set out below. The most obvious route for effecting changes would be to amend the Code of Practice, in a way that might influence judges. Changes to the CFA rules are the subject of a fast-track Ministry of Justice consultation.

Changing the law

11. **The Human Rights Act:** Jack Straw says he is prepared to look at changes to s12, which emphasises the public interest, especially in the light of the current DCMS inquiry. It would be helpful if the Government could be persuaded to introduce measures that restricted people's image rights, where they had compromised them by previously using the media to project a particular - especially different - image.

12. However the Government's room for manoeuvre appears limited while Britain remains signed up to the ECHR. Some senior lawyers are sceptical of any change that might seem to conflict with Strasbourg judgments. Even the Tories, who are pledged to replace the HRA with a Bill of Rights, privately admit their proposal would have only marginal effect because the Convention – and ECtHR rulings on it – would remain binding. *This could make Code changes the most attractive option (see 15 below).*

13. **CFAs:** Straw has been supportive of changes publicly – and even more so in private – and has promised action in October following the MoJ's fast-track consultation. The Associated Newspapers/Oxford University research demonstrating that Britain's legal costs dwarf the rest of Europe's is particularly damning, but there are suggestions that Lord Jackson - who is conducting a review of legal costs generally and who reports in December - may not be so committed to radical change.

14. **Reversing Lord Woolf:** The reasoning behind the directive to judges to ignore PCC adjudications when taking into account the Code's rules on privacy is not clear. One suggestion is that Woolf did not want to load judges with unnecessary paperwork. Another is that he thought PCC adjudications might be lightweight. Senior lawyers believe the direction could be overturned, given that Woolf has retired, but some are unconvinced that the judges will give much weight to the PCC in any event.

Changing the Code of Practice

15. **Influencing judges:** If the Woolf Direction is not reversed and the Human Rights Act is not changed, the simplest and fastest route for influencing the judges would be by changing the Code to stress the importance of freedom of expression. Two proposals have been put forward.

16. Trinity Mirror lawyers have suggested the Code should incorporate PCC jurisprudence that takes into account the extent to which complainants may have compromised their own privacy by talking publicly about similar matters. The PCC actively supports such a change on the grounds that it would help deal with the problem of image control developing on the back of legal privacy suits, which is happening at the expense of freedom of expression and the public's right to know.

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17. Meanwhile, Antony White QC, as part of News International's submission to the DCMS Select Committee, suggests current High Court judgments on privacy are flawed, as they do not allow a defence that an Editor *reasonably believed publication was in the public interest* at the time. The defence applies only if the judge rules that it actually *is* in the public interest.

18. White argues that this is inconsistent with public policy as expressed in Data Protection legislation, which has a defence of reasonable belief. He believes that while there is a strong case for introducing legislative changes, or establishing the principle in common law, amending the Editors' Code would be a fast and effective route with an instant application.

19. In reality, both these amendments reflect broadly what the PCC does already under the spirit of the Code, and so they would not be likely to affect future adjudications. However specific amendments to the Code would at least have to be considered by judges deciding privacy cases. Clearly, great care must be taken in drafting.

20. Lawyers are divided on how much notice the judiciary would take. There is a view that the judges' mindset is such that they would not readily be influenced by PCC adjudications. The question is not solely whether the changes would do any good, but also whether they might do any harm.

21. Some concern has been expressed that if the image control amendment conflicted with the thrust of current Strasbourg rulings, it could expose the PCC to a future risk of judicial review, but that is an unknown. The Irish Press Code already includes something on vaguely similar lines. The PCC believes we should not be inhibited by the threat of judicial review and that the introduction of such a change could be a strong card with the DCMS Select Committee.

22. Antony White's amendment would also have limits. Editors would need to demonstrate their reasons for believing they were acting in the public interest, which the courts would probably restrict to 'responsible journalism'. This would not offer great comfort to editors running kiss and tell stories. The Max Mosley case would probably have been on the cusp.

Changing the PCC

23. Two suggestions from within the industry for making the PCC more attractive to complainants were explored as part of the study into CFAs. Both fell outside the Code Committee's remit and, as they involved compensation payments, would need PressBoF and PCC approval. They are included for information. Briefly, the proposals were:

- That the MoJ's plans to rebalance CFAs should include a pre-action protocol which requires that CFAs should not be applicable until reasonable attempts had been made at conciliation via a recognised body, such as (but not exclusively) the PCC.
- That where the PCC upheld that the Code had been breached, there should be a form of bolt-on, fast-track arbitration - where a complainant seeking damages could go to arbitration on the amount. It was suggested that this would be much quicker and cheaper than going through the courts.

24. The PCC has huge advantages over the judicial system. It is fast, cheap and offers an apology or retraction - not usually part of a court settlement - which research suggests is usually the complainants' prime aim. Also, in its role as conciliator, the PCC already helps broker settlements that include *ex gratia* payments agreed by the parties.

25. However, extending this in any manner that led to damages or fines would breach the PCC's current constitution and would almost certainly change the nature of self-regulation in a way that would be unacceptable to the industry and to the Commission. The danger is that it would become slower, more legalistic and expensive and less accessible to ordinary complainants, thus replicating many of the faults of the legal system.

26. The suggestion of bolt-on arbitration on damages, while attempting to preserve the PCC's role as the adjudicator on the Code, is already an option to the parties, if they want it. One risk in institutionalising such a system is that it would raise expectations of cash awards among the majority of complainants who currently settle for an apology or correction.

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Conclusions

27. No magic bullets emerged from the review. There was one common feature among all the substantive options explored: ultimately they would need to be aimed at lawyers, either to implement or interpret. But, predictably, there was no great consensus among the lawyers consulted on the desirability or probable effectiveness of any of them. However, it would be a mistake to be overly influenced by that: the dangers of paralysis by analysis are obvious.

28. Perhaps the more appropriate tests should be:

- Which schemes had the widest support, and the least resistance?
- Which would be within the immediate competence of the Code Committee and the PCC?

29. By those tests, the proposals to change the Code in order to restore a proper balance between the competing rights of privacy and freedom of expression, and to allow for an editor's genuine and reasonable belief that publication was in the public interest, become clear favourites.

30. First, they both are forms of protecting freedom of expression, which is in the public interest, rather than a self-serving device on behalf of the press. They reflect existing PCC policy and thus conform to the original spirit of the amendment to s12 of the Human Rights Act. The Commission wants them and sees the theoretical risk of inviting judicial review as worth taking to restore freedom of information as an issue considered by judges. Any other doubts centre not on the harm they do, but on the limits to the benefit they might yield.

31. Second, they offer speed of execution. Draft changes are offered below. If the Code Committee agreed, they could go out for consultation and be ratified by the PCC in August.

32. However, while these must be the strong options for immediate short-term action, they should not preclude consideration of a longer-term approach by the industry. Whatever changes are intended by amendments to the Code can still be frustrated by legal, judicial and cultural mindsets both in the UK and Strasbourg.

33. It is worth recalling that the Lord Woolf who once suggested that there was a public interest in newspapers publishing stories that interested the public is the same Lord Woolf who was a principal architect of CFAs, and who instructed judges not to take account of PCC jurisprudence. Judges studiously ignored Woolf's more liberal notion of press freedom, but followed his PCC direction to the letter. The legal system devoured CFAs. Undoubtedly, much of that owes a lot to the law of unintended consequences, but it may also offer a useful insight into judicial and legal values in the UK.

34. Meanwhile, there is the Strasbourg mindset. When Princess Caroline won her victory at the European Court of Human Rights, her lawyer Mattias Prinz, said: "This is very good for my client and for all people in Europe because the court is raising the standard of protection of private life to a level higher than in Germany – to the level of France".

35. The Oxford University study of comparable costs shows a mammoth disparity in legal expenses in the UK and the rest of Europe, including France. So Britain is effectively importing French legal values, but not French legal costs. It is a dystopian combination with potentially dire consequences for freedom of expression. Yet the issue remains largely unaddressed.

36. And it is a reminder that changes made by the Code Committee would necessarily be working only in the margins - treating the symptoms. Changing the legal fundamentals would require a revolution in that wider mindset. That must remain the long-term challenge if we are to cure the disease.

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Draft amendments:

3 *Privacy

i) Everyone is entitled to respect for his or her private and family life, home, health and correspondence, including digital communications. **When determining whether there has been an intrusion into an individual's private life, consideration will be given to whether a complainant has compromised his/her privacy by disclosing publicly any similar matters.** Editors will be expected to justify intrusions into any individual's private life without consent, and, where appropriate, to demonstrate that they had reasonable grounds for believing that an intrusion was justified in the public interest.

ii) It is unacceptable to photograph individuals in private places without their consent.

Note - Private places are public or private property where there is a reasonable expectation of privacy.

THE PUBLIC INTEREST

1. The public interest includes, but is not confined to:

i) Detecting or exposing crime or serious impropriety.

ii) Protecting public health and safety.

iii) Preventing the public from being misled by an action or statement of an individual or organisation, **including misleading information about an individual's private life.**

2. There is a public interest in freedom of expression itself.

3. Whenever the public interest is invoked, the PCC will require editors to demonstrate fully how the public interest was served.

4. The PCC will consider the extent to which material is already in the public domain, or will become so.

5. In cases involving children under 16, editors must demonstrate an exceptional public interest to over-ride the normally paramount interest of the child