

Investigative Journalism and Social Responsibility Theory: A Press Appraisal

*Sarmad Iqbal**
*Zahid Yousaf***

Abstract

In mid 20th century most of the developing countries and third world nations have used the social responsibility theory of press which is associated with "the Commission of the Freedom of Press" in United States at 1949. In the book "Four theories of Press" (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm) it's been stated that "pure libertarianism is antiquated, out dated and obsolete." That paved way for replacement of Libertarian theory with the Social responsibility theory. Social responsibility theory allows free press without any censorship but at the same time the content of the press should be discussed in public panel and media should accept any obligation from public interference or professional self regulations or both. The theory lies between both authoritarian theory and libertarian theory because it gives total media freedom in one hand but the external controls in other hand. Here, the press ownership is private. The social responsibility theory moves beyond the simple "Objective" reporting (facts reporting) to "Interpretative" reporting (investigative reporting). The total news is complete facts and truthful but the commission of the freedom press stated that "No longer giving facts truthfully rather than give a necessary analyzed or interpretative report on facts with clear explanations"

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* Ph.D Scholar, Centre for Media and Communication Studies, UOG, Gujrat

** Associate Professor & Chairman, Centre for Media and Communication Studies, UOG, Gujrat

in one hand but the external controls in other hand. Here, the press ownership is private. The social responsibility theory moves beyond the simple “Objective” reporting (facts reporting) to “Interpretative” reporting (investigative reporting). The total news is complete facts and truthful but the commission of the freedom press stated that “No longer giving facts truthfully rather than give a necessary analyzed or interpretative report on facts with clear explanations”.

Introduction

Investigative reporting is critically important to a democratic society as it uncovers important illegal and/or unethical behavior of those holding power and supposedly acting in public interest (e.g. Anderson and Benjaminson, 1976; De Burgh, 2000; Randall, 2000). The studies of investigative reporting have, to date, mostly centered upon the various constraints that have arisen because of the economic and/or political pressures hindering investigative reporting in different parts of Europe (e.g. Barnett, 2004; Chalaby, 2004; Marron, 1995; Merljak Zdovc and Poler Kovac̃ić , 2007; Nord, 2007), North America (e.g. Berkowitz, 2007; Just et al., 2002), Africa (e.g. Mudhai, 2007), Australia (e.g. Beecher, 2009) and Asia (e.g. Tong, 2007; Tong and Sparks, 2009; Zhao, 2000), thus demonstrating the widespread perception in the media and academic circles that investigative reporting has declined in quality and quantity (e.g. Cordell, 2009; Franklin et al., 2005). Only rarely have researchers focused on journalists’ interpretations of investigative reporting and its limitations (e.g. De Burgh, 2003; Marron, 1995); few studies have addressed, for example, how journalists deal with the constraints during their work and whether they have developed any particular strategies to cope with pressures or lack of staff and resources.

Investigative reporting is simply the reporting of concealed information (Anderson & Benjaminson, 1976). It is not unlike the reporting involved in various areas other than investigative reporting; it’s a complex activity (Forbes, 2005). Investigative journalism should report not only something new but it must educate, expose and uncover secrets also. It is the reporting through one’s own work product initiative and matters of importance which some person or group wants to help secret (Ismail et. al 2009). Pakistan is a poor country with a dearth of

democracy, rule of law and justice. Access to information can be increased to bring a revolution of information and reforms in the society but a special legislative process is required to handle this serious task.

This study reveals all the factors that bear adverse effects on investigative journalism, i.e., lack of reporter's interest, security threats to the journalists, media commercialism, media corruption and media policy (Yousaf, 2013). The present study intends to explore the investigative reporting in Pakistan since the promulgation of Freedom of Information Ordinance (FIO) 2002, and also find out the relationship between the changing structures of investigative reporting and the killings of journalists since 2002. In Pakistan, the situation of investigative journalists is not only grim but also alarming. From December 4, 1994 to December 2011, forty one journalists have been killed in Pakistan (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2012). If we deeply analyze the statistics of Committee to Protect Journalists (2012), the condition seems to be more critical. Only six journalists were killed from December 4, 1994 to October 25, 2002 before the Promulgation of FIO, while 35 journalists were murdered from October 26, 2002 to November 6, 2011 after the promulgation of FIO.

Significance of the Study

This study will be helpful for the future investigative reporters and researchers for getting the glimpses of the structure of investigative reporting in two different presidential regimes of General Pervaiz Musharraf and Asif Ali Zardari. This study will be an effort to establish the relationship between the killings of journalists, especially the killings of investigative reporters in Pakistan and the changing structure of investigative reporting. This study will find structure of investigative reporting on yearly basis since the promulgation of Freedom of Information.

Rationale for Selecting Dawn, The News, Jang and Nawa-i-Waqt:

Nossek (2004) wrote in his study that the elite press (leading newspapers) analysis always provided a strong base to investigate research questions regarding media content. In an era of advanced communication technologies, newspapers still

provide basic and model professional journalistic norms across all media (p.353). To highlight the importance of press, Graber (2002) maintained that the role of the press is not limited to communication. *Dawn, The News, Nawa-i-Waqt and Jang* are the leading newspapers of Pakistan. They have a vast circulation and a tremendous popularity among readers of English language and are playing an important role in the formulation of public opinion in Pakistan on national and international issues. These newspapers appeared regularly during the period under study from 2002 to 2011.

Rationale for Selecting Front Pages

Front pages are selected out of the belief that major investigative reports, requiring significant investment of staff and budget, would be highlighted on page one (Greenwald & Bernt, 2000).

Objective of the Study

The present study will analyze the content of investigative reporting in Pakistan after the promulgation of FIO 2002 till 2011 and find out a relationship between changing structures of Investigative Reporting in Pakistan and gradual escalation of journalists' killings since 2002. The present study will also analyze the influence of political structure on investigative reporting. The objective of the study is to analyze investigative reporting of the following issues;

- Reporting of Political issues
- Reporting of Social issues
- Reporting of Economic issues
- Law Enforcing agencies related reporting
- Journalism related issues
- Education related reporting

Research Questions

- i. What is the policy of each of the newspaper on the investigative issue?
- ii. What type of investigative stories was highlighted in the selected dailies?

- iii. What was the quantum of investigative reporting in the elite English newspapers?
- iv. What was the quantum of investigative reporting in the elite Urdu newspapers?
- v. Did the selected newspapers published investigative stories for the betterment of the society?

Hypotheses

- i. The media under study gave significant importance to highlighting investigative issues under study.
- ii. The selected newspapers covered most issues negatively.
- iii. The quantum of investigative reporting in the elite English newspapers was less?
- iv. The quantum of investigative reporting in the elite Urdu newspapers was greater?
- v. The social issues are given more coverage than rest of the issues.
- vi. The issues related to journalism are given least coverage.

Literature Review

The present chapter of the study aims at referring to different studies conducted on the same relevant as the researches, for example, on the social responsible role of media in the society to explore hidden biases, satanic diseases, and collective or individual wrongdoings, i.e., media and public interest, media and social responsibility, media and government and media and access to information.

Denton & Thorson (2003) in another online article *Civic Journalism: Does It Work?*, state the dominant social responsibility theory of the press holds that news media enjoys freedom and some privilege in the United States so that they can carry on essential functions in society.

Pilger (2005) in *Tell Me No Lies* relates that there are two types of social responsibilities. The real and the so called. The latter are those who play in the hands of the government. The real journalists face the cumbersome circumstances as a result of the task they perform. Their stories are not pretty and no one likes to read them.

Good (1989) on another place states that the sensationalistic and often immoral journalistic practices destroy

public faith on the journalist, such as in case of “Iran gate” in 1986 as well as the televised suicide of Pennsylvania Treasurer R. Budd Dwyer when the journalists exposed redundant aspects of the reality. Perhaps he thought that the reporting was right but the public did not like that because that investigative reporting carried a huge amount of sensationalism with it.

Good (1989) says the press received high applaud during Watergate but afterward the reporters tried to dig up scandals, hoping to achieve similar recognition like Bob Woodward and Bernstein. As a result an increase in muckraking decreased public faith in journalism. West (2001) says public thought that the press had become blood thirsty and did not remain objective.

Forbes (2005) comments that investigative journalism requires more than asking question, recording, and seeking out sources. The organization is involved in this particular job through money and time effort. The newspaper is to show patience for weeks or months in order to get a story filed by the investigative journalist. The Inkathagate Funding Scandal which is considered as Watergate of the history of South African investigative reporting was not the result of any investigation. They received documents in fax machine. They just checked out the documents then and there and filed the story. Ettema and Glasser (1988) commented that the investigative journalism not only proves innocence but also digs out the guilt.

Smith (1988) carefully analyzes libertarian press theory and practice in the context of republican ideology and Enlightenment thought--paying particular attention to the cases of Benjamin Franklin and his relatives and associates in the printing business--and concludes that the generation that produced the First Amendment believed that government should not be trusted and that the press needed the broadest possible protection in order to serve as a check on the misuse of power.

Forbes, D. (2005) cites the Executive director of the World Press Institute, John Ullmann, and gives two historic examples of investigative reporting and differentiates. The pentagon papers published by the New York Times reveal the disturbing papers of the American government during the Vietnam War. The publishing of the papers led to a court war when the US government tried to ban its publication. The other one is the Water Gate scandal that not only showed the true face of American

democracy but also forced the powerful president leave the White House.

Burgh (2005) remarks that it is often said that journalism is the first rough draft of history; by contrast, investigative journalism provides the first rough draft of legislation.

James Madison in his Bill of Rights to the Continental Congress in 1791 argued that “The people shall not be deprived or abridged of their right to speak, to write, or to publish their sentiments; and the freedom of the press, as one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty, shall be inviolable” (Madison 1999, p.442).

Literature suggests that the press performs two functions in maintaining democracy. One role is to inform the public of current events, government activities and activities of political candidates (Levy 1985). This purpose enables a well-informed public capable of keeping the government in check and selecting good leaders (Smith 1988, Levy 1985).

The press also serves as a means of communication between the government and the people (Lichtenberg 1987). With a free exchange of ideas, ideally the government can respond to needs of the community and enact change to better serve the public (Baker 2002). These two functions work together to create an effective democracy where the informed public elects officials who listen and act on the public behalf.

Studies have shown that the press’ adherence to these functions has often correlated with public opinion about the press’ performance (Good, 1989). During the era of “yellow journalism,” for example, when many press organizations focused sensationalism and exploitation and therefore did not strive to accurately inform the public and serve as a forum for free exchange of ideas, public faith in the press dramatically decreased (Good, 1989). Soon after, as the press began to aim at accuracy and balanced reporting, credibility strengthened and remained strong from the 1930s until the late 1970s (West, 2001). In the early 1980s, public confidence in the press once again plummeted when it was suggested that the press strayed from its original functions. Problems with accuracy, a decrease in media outlets and a thirst for sensationalism impaired the press’ ability to provide correct information and provide a public forum for exchange of ideas (McKenna 1982, Good 1989, West 2001). Since the 1980s, studies have shown that press credibility has been at an all-time low (Urban, 1999). Representations of journalists and the press in

popular culture have generally followed this historical pattern of public confidence in the press.

Keeler, Brown and Tarpley, (2002) state that the reporters in the yellow journalism era did not focus balanced stories nor did they stick to the facts of the story. Thus, objective media was in contrast to the yellow journalism. Instead, their stories were often one sided and reporters opinions were apparent in news stories. West (2001) articulates with the rise of the objective media, the news stories gather only the straight facts, with several sides of the story untouched.

Palmerton and Wilkins (2002) state that according to Thomas Patterson and Lee Wilkins in *Media Ethics 2002*, media organizations have become so powerful; they constitute their own ruling class within a democratic society.

According to Proress (1991), investigative journalists are reformers not revolutionaries. They seek to improve the American system by pointing out its shortcomings rather than advocating its oust. By spotlighting specific abuses of particular policies or programs, the investigative reporter provides policy makers with an opportunity to take remedial measures without altering the division of power.

Baker (2002) remarks that this trend of investigative journalism could not ensure the role of investigative media as corporate media interests are tied with government affairs. The journalists also become closer to government officials in order to guarantee inside sources.

Good (1989) says that studies show that during the era of yellow journalism when many press organizations focused sensationalisms and exploitation the public faith in the press decreased dramatically

By serving as a forum for public opinion, the press plays an important role in maintaining democracy (McKenna 1982).

Time has not dulled the impact of "All the President's Men". It's been thirty years, now, since the thwarted break-in at the Watergate. Most of the higher-ups in President Nixon's administration have passed away, and subsequent generations reared on Iran-Contra and Whitewater may not even remember what the fuss was about. But from the very first page of this book, history becomes life and events rush forward to the inevitable conclusion that still seems impossible today.

Woodward and Bernstein's reporting is the major thrust of the first half of "President's". We watch both reporters work late into the night, interviewing reluctant and/or anonymous witnesses in an attempt to find out just why the Watergate burglars had connections with the White House and how far up the political chain of command those men were connected. Along the way, mistakes are made and reputations are wrongfully derailed. But the story -- the crimes and the subsequent cover-ups may have indeed been directed by the President of the United States himself! --takes on a life of its own, and Woodward and Bernstein become witness to the defining story of an era.

Much of "All the President's Men" by Woodward has passed into legend especially the unrevealed identity of Woodward's executive branch contact known only as "Deep Throat". The Watergate players, to this day, still debate just who Deep Throat was -- John Dean seems to publish a book on the subject every five years. Time has proven most of the accusations correct -- for an interesting exercise, try comparing Woodward's and Bernstein's discoveries with the corresponding daily entries in "The Haldeman Diaries"). The book gives so few clues as to make the exercise nearly impossible even to those of us who've read all there is to read about Watergate and Nixon. Was it John Dean? Alexander Haig? Perpetual Nixon apologist Bill Safire? The answer will be made known in my lifetime, but I would like to think sooner rather than later.

Protest, et al. (1991), in *The Journalism of Outrage: Investigative Reporting and Agenda Building in America*, examine the historical roots, contemporary nature, and societal impact of this controversial form of reporting which they call "the journalism of outrage." Contrary to the conventional wisdom that depicts muckrakers and policymakers as antagonists, the authors show how investigative journalists often collaborate with public policymakers to set the agenda for reform. Based on a decade-long program of research--highlighted by case studies of the life courses of six media investigations and interviews with a national sample of over 800 investigative journalists, they develop a new theory about the agenda-building role of media in American society.

In the treatise, *Investigative Journalism that Changed the World*, Pilger (2005) discusses a fragile balance between the three branches of government with a free press that is not afraid of criticizing, confronting or telling the people of this country what in

fact the country was doing in the name of freedom when it killed overseas people in order to maintain its influence and keep "communism" out of areas when the threat was less real except in the minds of the politicians back here. Even the military that have to fight the wars speak up because they are there and are training hooligans to do the dirty work to uphold dictators. There is integrity of government and at the same time there are so called social responsibilities of government and show them as the fourth arm of the state. It makes the reader really question whether or not this country really believes in democracy the way it really proclaims it does.

Forbes (2005) expresses the term investigative journalism that is frequently used to cover the reporting activities at large scale including the simple news regarding enquiries to the high level secret operations. Discussing the definition of investigative journalism or the investigative reporting, a difference is occasionally made between the general investigations in different fields or areas and stated also that investigative journalism involves the in-depth reporting in the larger public interest, whereas the rest of the people consider this concept of investigative reporting or investigative journalism as a myth which might be given the notion that in real what good journalism should be.

According to Forbes (2005), investigative journalism requires a number of questions and that more than asking questions there should be more in hand of the reporter reporting investigative issues. The media organization or group should be involved in this particular job through money and time effort. For the successful investigative reports the newspaper has to show patience for some time that can reach weeks and can even take months in order to get a successful story filed by an investigative journalist. Madison (1999) in his Bill of Rights to the Continental Congress in 1791 argued that, "The people shall not be deprived or abridged of their right to speak, to write, or to publish their sentiments; and the freedom of the press, as one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty, shall be inviolable" (cited in Yousaf, 2013).

Protest (1991) says that the people affiliated with the investigative reporting, that is, investigative journalists are the reformers not revolutionaries. He argues that such journalists by their journalistic efforts seek to improve the US system by highlighting its faults rather than advocating it. By highlighting the specific maltreatments of the particular policies or programs, the

investigative reporter, through his reports, provides the policy makers an opportunity to take necessary measures as remedy without disturbing the system or the smooth working.

In view of Baker (2002), investigative reporting as a corporate media are basically tied with the government affairs. He further points out that the journalists also become closer to the government or the officials to provide assurance to the internal sources.

According to Good (1989) during the age of yellow journalism when several press organizations were focusing sensationalism and exploitation, the public faith in the press was decreased dramatically. Skjerdal (2001) projected to study the Normative Theories of the press in post-apartheid South Africa in the work on 'press as watchdogs' where he applied the discourse analysis to analyze method. He further says that the press and government have colliding interests in any democratic society.

The full horror of Abu Ghraib was to be told by Seymour Heresh in the New Yorker magazine. As journalist Nick Davies points out, Seymour Hersh's investigative reporting on the war on terror has been exemplary, not least on Abu Ghraib:

Generally, Seymour Hersh has been there way out in front of just everybody and although CBS ran Abu Ghraib pictures before him, it is clear they were dithering and eventually put them out only because they heard that he was about to run them in the New Yorker. (Davies, 2007)

In September, the UK government published a dossier based on material from British intelligence, making the case that Saddam and Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. It had a foreword by then British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, which said:

The document discloses that his military planning allows for some of the WMD to be ready within 45 minutes of an order to use them. (Blair, 2003)

The obligations of the private media are far fewer. The essence of a free media environment is that broadcasters and journalists are not told what they may or may not say or write. The best guarantee that the varieties of political ideas are communicated freely and accurately is often understood to be for the media to be allowed to get on with their job unhampered. But this does not mean that private media have no obligations at all. Professional journalistic standards will demand accurate and

balanced reporting, as well as a clear separation of fact and comment.

Krimsky (2003), the former head of news for the Associated Press World Services and author of 'Hold the Press', in an online article "*The role of media in a democracy*" said that in a free-market democracy, the people ultimately make the decision as to how their press should act. The issue of whether a free press is the best communication solution in a democracy is much too important at the close of this century and needs to be examined dispassionately.

The "press" is supposed to be a serious member of that family, focusing real life instead of fantasy and serving the widest possible audience. A self-governing society, by definition, needs to make its own decisions. It cannot do that without hard information an open exchange of views. Abraham Lincoln articulated this concept most succinctly when he said, "Let the people know the facts, and the country will be safe."

Kunzik (2002), in his research article '*Media and democracy*' described the relationship between press and politics. He discussed the role of media in a democratic system. According to Kunzik, the media are the main source of information about politics. The mass media has power to set the agenda which includes also the power to define what is important in politics. Information conveyed by the media becomes its own reality. Media is significant in serving the public, government and politicians. In a democracy, journalism always has to take a fundamentally critical position. This is not the same as rejecting one's state but it is to function as a 'watch-dog'. Participation of people is most important in democracy and media has the duty to maximize it. Journalism must be continuously aware that information affects power in society. Democratic journalism can never be a neutral, non-participating factor. Only in a dictatorship there is no conflict between journalism and government.

Skjerdal (2001), in his research regarding the 'press as watchdogs' intended to study the Normative Theories of the press in Post-Apartheid South Africa by applying the method of discourse analysis to analyze 102 newspaper articles from 1996-99. He stated that in a democratic society the press and the government have colliding interests. The government wants to see positive coverage of its achievements, though not through a curbed press, while the press aims at critical reporting on the government,

though not through sensationalist journalism. Both institutions need to maintain their credibility.

The analysis in this treatise shows that the South African press is highly informed by Western libertarian ideologies. Both journalists and politicians agree that a free press is a necessity for democracy. The particular function of the press is to watch over the government, which induces the watchdog discourse. The watchdog discourse establishes the press as a homogeneous industry with common interests and goals. Libertarian ideals within the press frequently intermingle with ideals of freedom of expression but the ideals are rarely explored or questioned. The libertarian ideology and freedom of expression are assumed to be self-evident and unchangeable. Libertarian dilemmas such as ownership commitment are discussed only to a very limited degree. The government is more likely than the press to favor the social responsibility model but the model is seldom referred to by that name. Rather, images of nation building are used; thus, social responsibility is exchanged for nationalism. The nationalistic model of the press must not be seen as detrimental but is rather a framework which grows out of the efforts to develop social structures in a country that for many years has been split by apartheid. Nonetheless, the nationalistic model that the government generates tends to censure critical reporting. The analysis shows that the distinction between 'critical' and 'negative' is blurred.

The study in hand is different from the previous studies in a way that it focuses investigative reporting. The researcher will adopt both the qualitative and quantitative content analysis along with a method of survey called 'interviews' for the purpose as it was found the best method for such type of study.

The literature review presents the insight picture about investigative reporting that this kind of reporting is essential for democratic norms in the society. To investigate the wrongdoings, investigative reporters have to face the consequences. While performing its role as the watchdog, press has to pay the plenty. In the past studies very few researches were conducted on the content of the investigative reporting. Therefore, there is the need of time to investigate intensity, quality and structure of the investigative reporting in Pakistan.

Theoretical Framework

Every research has some specific theoretical framework according to its nature and objectives. Theoretical framework specifies the relationship between the concepts in a study and provides a context for examining the problem.

Libertarian Theory

Media scholar Wilbur Schramm said that the libertarian movement was “foreshadowed in the sixteenth century, envisioned in the seventeenth, fought for in the eighteenth and finally brought into widespread use in the nineteenth” (Cited in Wilson & Wilson, 1998: 47). The scholars of Libertarian theory believe that the common citizen has a right to hear all sides of an issue to distinguish truth from falsehood. Altschull (1984) says that in the libertarian concept the press was totally free altogether unfettered, Libertarianism demanded two duties of the press:

“To serve as a *watchdog*, as an extra legal check on government or to serve as an *instrument of adult education*, since the success of democracy was posited upon on intelligent and informed electorate. To carry out these duties, the press, “head to be completely free from control or domination by those elements which it was guard against.” (p.183)

The present study is focused to analyze the watchdog role of media and the investigative reporting regarding certain issues in Pakistani English and Urdu press. In the light of ‘libertarian theory of the press’, the researcher aims to explore that whether the English and Urdu Press of Pakistan is free to place diverse views regarding the coverage of investigative news/stories in the open marketplace of ideas or not? Whether the press by practicing the freedom performs the “watchdog” and “mirroring” role in covering the various investigative stories?

Social Responsibility Theory

The theory deployed for the study in hand is Social responsibility theory that is optimistic about the media’s willingness to meet its responsibilities and the efficacy of self-control. According to McQuail, media accountability refers to both

“voluntary and involuntary processes by which the media answer directly or indirectly to their society for the quality and/or consequences of publication” (McQuail 2005, p. 207).

Now we are witnessing the situation in Pakistan, killings, torturing, threats and harassments to journalist by individuals and groups. The journalists who were recently, victimized of these consequences were Javed Naseer Rind, Faisal Qureshi, Shafiullah Khan, Asfandyar Khan, Saleem Shahzad, Nasrullah Khan Afridi, and Wali Khan Babar. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (2012), In Pakistan, the most common cause of death among journalists who have suffered violence is murder (57%), and the most common perpetrators are political group (54%) and Government Officials (21%). Therefore, the researcher intends to explore that whether the investigative reports printed in Pakistani press were the exposure of power abuses and official neglect or the focus of these investigative stories was the exposure of other wrongdoings in the society.

Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda-Setting theory is selected by the researcher for this treatise because in most of the studies reviewed regarding the topic media and foreign policy coverage of the different nations the Agenda-Setting theory was employed. According to the Agenda Setting theory media have strong impact on the society for attitude change, media is changing the minds of the people and their views regarding the happenings in the society and this concept should be taken as serious one (Severin & Tankard, 1991). In view of Shoemaker & Mayfield (1994) the agenda setting concept of media suggests that with respect to the realities of the society the media is not a mirror but can be regarded as a searchlight which is affected by different interest groups (Lippmann, 1922) cited in (Severin & Tankard, 1991).

Methodology

To study the treatment of investigative reporting, the researcher adopted ‘content analysis’ a method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from the text (Weber, 1990). In present study researcher used quantitative and qualitative content analyses techniques to analyze the content of investigative

reporting printed in of *Dawn*, *the News*, and *Nawa-i-Waqt and Daily Jang* from October 01, 2002 to December 31, 2011.

Universe of the Study

All the investigative reports published on the front and back pages of *Dawn*, *the News*, and *Nawa-i-Waqt and Daily Jang* from October 01, 2002 to December 31, 2011.

Sample

Newspapers do not publish investigative reports on regular basis. Any sampling technique can miss any valuable piece of investigative reporting. So, all the investigative reports published during the time period (2002-2011) were analyzed in this study which definitely provided the more objective picture of reality.

Newspapers

1 = "*Dawn*"

2 = "*The News*"

3 = "*Nawa-i-Waqt*"

4 = "*Jang*"

Following categories and directions were analyzed for the coverage of investigative reporting in elite press of Pakistan.

Categories

A) Political

- a. Government
- b. Political Parties
- c. Politicians
- d. Administration

B) Social

- a. Women issues
- b. Employment
- c. Health
- d. Slavery

C) Economic

- a. Businessman
- b. Industrial sector
- c. Economic Sector

D) Law Enforcing

- a. Missing persons
- b. Civil
- c. Military

E) Journalism

- a. Killings of Journalists
- b. Life threats to journalists
- c. Corruption by media/journalists

Directions

The selected categories are further tested/ analyzed in the given directions.

- Positive/Supportive
- Negative/ Non Supportive
- Neutral/Balanced

Operationalization

A) Political issues are positive if investigative reports are given showing no biasness or personal opinion and it is in favor of the larger interest of the nation regarding the below mentioned sub categories. If the story shows distorted facts and is not reported in an objective manner is negative because it tries to damage the facts and true nature of the story. The neutral stance is being displayed if both aspects that is positive and negative are given in a story and a balanced stance is shown by the newspaper regarding following political issues.

- e. Government
- f. Political Parties
- g. Politicians
- h. Administration

B) Social issues are positive if investigative reports are given showing no biasness or personal opinion and it is in favor of the larger interest of the nation regarding the below mentioned sub categories. If the story shows distorted facts and is not reported in an objective manner is negative because it tries to damage the facts and true nature of the story. The neutral stance is being displayed if both aspects that is positive and negative are given in a story and a balanced stance is shown by the newspaper regarding following social issues.

- e. Women issues
- f. Employment

g. Health

h. Slavery

C) Economic issues are positive if investigative reports favor the country's interests and are showing no biasness, the true nature of the investigative story is given. The reports would be negative which are not favoring the country's interests whereas neutral where both the positive and negative aspects are observed or mixed story is presented.

d. Businessman

e. Industrial sector

f. Economic Sector

D) Law Enforcing coverage is positive if investigative reports are given showing no biasness or personal opinion and it is in favor of the larger interest of the nation regarding the below mentioned sub categories. If the story shows distorted facts and is not reported in an objective manner is negative because it tries to damage the facts and true nature of the story. The neutral stance is being displayed if both aspects that is positive and negative are given in a story and a balanced stance is shown by the newspaper regarding following law enforcing issues.

d. Missing persons

e. Civil

f. Military

E) Journalism related news or stories are positive if investigative reports are given showing no biasness or personal opinion and it is in favor of the larger interest of the nation regarding the below mentioned sub categories. If the story shows distorted facts and is not reported in an objective manner is negative because it tries to damage the facts and true nature of the story. The neutral stance is being displayed if both aspects that is positive and negative are given in a story and a balanced stance is shown by the newspaper regarding following issues.

d. Killings of Journalists

e. Life threats to journalists

f. Corruption by media/journalists

Findings and Discussion

The study is focused on the investigative reporting in the press of Pakistan which includes Daily Dawn, The News, Jang and Nawa-i-Waqt from October 01, 2002 to December 31, 2011. The

major focus of the study was to determine the investigative reporting of the following issues in the selected press reporting of Political issues reporting of Social issues, reporting of Economic issues, Law Enforcing agencies related reporting and Journalism related issues

Political issues which include Government, Political Parties, Politicians and Administration. Social issues include Women issues, Employment, Health, Education and Slavery, Economic issues includes Businessman, Industrial sector and Economic Sector, Law Enforcing includes Missing persons, Civil and Military issues whereas Journalism includes Killings of Journalists, Life threats to journalists and Corruption by media/journalists. The investigative stories on the above mentioned issues were checked in three directions including positive, negative and neutral stances.

The overall coverage given by the selected newspapers during the selected time period that Daily Dawn has given 1577 (18.6%) stories, The News has given 2048 (24.2%) stories, Daily Jang has given 2750 (32.5%) stories and Nawa-i-Waqt has given 2098 (24.8%) investigative stories. Total 8473 (100%) investigative stories are given by the selected newspapers. The front pages of the selected newspapers have given 3609 (42.6%) investigative stories whereas back pages have given 4864 (57.4%) investigative stories. Total 8473 (100%) investigative stories are given by the selected newspapers.

The political investigative stories that 2364 (27.9%) stories related to government, 1104 (13%) related to Political Parties, 736 (8.7%) related to Politicians, 880 (10.4%) related to administration are given. Total 5084 (60%) stories related to political issues are given. Social investigative stories that 486 (5.7%) stories are related to women, 251 (3%) related to employment, 481 (5.7%) related to health, 196 (2.3%) related to education and 206 (2.4%) stories are related to slavery. Total 1620 (19.1%) stories are given on social issues. Economic sector 311 (3.7%) investigative stories are given on Businessman, 201 (2.4%) on industrial sector, 432 (5.1%) to economic sector. Total 944 (11.1%) stories are given to the economic sector. Stories related to the law enforcing that there are 155 (1.8%) stories are related to missing persons, 296 (3.5%) on civil law enforcing whereas 257 (3%) on military law enforcing. Total 708 (8.4%) stories are given to the law enforcing. Investigative stories on journalism that 24 (0.3%) stories are

related to killings of the journalists, 44 (0.5%) related to life threats to journalists, 49 (0.6%) on corruption by journalists/media. Total 117 (1.4%) stories are given to journalism related issues. Political issues that there are 1594 (18.8%) positive coverage, 1631 (19.2%) negative coverage whereas 1859 (21.9%) neutral coverage. Total 5084 (60%) coverage is given to political issues. The social issues that there are 510 (6%) positive coverage, 626 (7.4%) negative coverage whereas 484 (5.7%) neutral coverage. Total 1620 (19.1%) coverage is given to social issues. In economic issues there are 371 (4.4%) positive coverage, 305 (3.6%) negative coverage whereas 268 (3.2%) neutral coverage. Total 944 (11.1%) coverage is given to economic issues. Law enforcing issues there are 225 (2.7%) positive coverage, 288 (3.4%) negative coverage whereas 195 (2.3%) neutral coverage. Total 708 (8.4%) coverage is given to law enforcing stories. The journalism related issues there are 13 (0.2%) positive coverage, 60 (0.7%) negative coverage whereas 44 (0.5%) neutral coverage. Total 117 (1.4%) coverage is given to journalism related issues.

Cross tabs of the Social issues showing that in daily Dawn there are 107 women related news, 37 stories related to employment, 119 related to health, 22 related to education, 36 related to slavery. Total 321 stories are given by daily Dawn on social issues. In the News there are 167 women related news, 71 stories related to employment, 99 related to health, 43 related to education, 23 related to slavery. Total 403 stories are given by daily the News on social issues. In daily Jang there are 144 women related news, 92 stories related to employment, 151 related to health, 50 related to education, 75 related to slavery. Total 512 stories are given by daily Jang on social issues. In Nawa-i-Waqt there are 68 women related news, 51 stories related to employment, 112 related to health, 81 related to education, 72 related to slavery. Total 384 stories are given by daily Nawa-i-Waqt on social issues. Total 486 women related news, 251 stories related to employment, 481 related to health, 196 related to education, 206 related to slavery. Total 1620 stories are given by selected newspapers on social issues.

(Chi-Square = 120.473; $p=0.000$) which shows significance of the data.

The economic issues that daily dawn has given 37 stories related to businessmen, 26 related to industrial sector, 63 on economic sector. Total 126 news stories are given to economic

sector by daily Dawn. The News has given 62 stories related to businessmen, 46 related to industrial sector, 89 on economic sector. Total 197 news stories are given to economic sector by the News. Daily Jang has given 117 stories related to businessmen, 71 related to industrial sector, 163 on economic sector. Total 351 news stories are given to economic sector by daily Jang. Nawa-i-Waqt has given 95 stories related to businessmen, 58 related to industrial sector, 117 on economic sector. Total 270 news stories are given to economic sector by Nawa-i-Waqt. In total there are 311 stories related to businessmen, 201 related to industrial sector, 432 on economic sector. Total 944 news stories are given to economic sector by selected newspapers.

(Chi-Square = 2.548; $p=.863$) which shows non significance of the data.

In the law enforcing in daily Dawn there are 21 stories on missing persons, 83 related to civil, 68 military where total 172 stories are given. In the News there are 51 stories on missing persons, 68 related to civil, 90 military where total 209 stories are given. In daily Jang there are 61 stories on missing persons, 98 related to civil, 73 military where total 232 stories are given. In Nawa-i-Waqt there are 22 stories on missing persons, 47 related to civil, 26 military where total 95 stories are given. Overall there are 155 stories on missing persons, 296 related to civil, 257 military where total 708 stories are given. (Chi-Square = 24.154; $p=.000$) which shows significance of the data.

Journalism related news in daily Dawn there are 4 news stories related to the killing of journalists, 7 related to life threats to journalists, 10 related to corruption by journalists and media whereas total 21 news stories are given by Dawn. In the News there are 6 news stories related to the killing of journalists, 10 related to life threats to journalists, 17 related to corruption by journalists and media whereas total 33 news stories are given by the News. In daily Jang there are 12 news stories related to the killing of journalists, 22 related to life threats to journalists, 10 related to corruption by journalists and media whereas total 44 news stories are given by the daily Jang. In Nawa-i-Waqt there are 2 news stories related to the killing of journalists, 5 related to life threats to journalists, 12 related to corruption by journalists and media whereas total 19 news stories are given by the Nawa-i-Waqt. Overall there are 24 news stories related to the killing of journalists, 44 related to life threats to journalists, 49 related to

corruption by journalists and media whereas total 117 news stories are given by the selected newspapers. (Chi-Square = 11.829; $p=.066$) which shows non significance of the data.

The directions of the political issues that daily Dawn has given 278 positive, 402 negative and 257 neutral news stories where as total 937 news stories are given. The News has given 296 positive, 476 negative and 434 neutral news stories where as total 1206 news stories are given. Daily Jang has given 526 positive, 433 negative and 652 neutral news stories where as total 1611 news stories are given. Nawa-i-Waqt has given 494 positive, 320 negative and 516 neutral news stories where as total 1330 news stories are given. Overall 1594 positive, 1631 negative and 1859 neutral news stories where as total 5084 news stories are given. (Chi-Square = 158.799; $p=.000$) which shows significance of the data.

The social issues that in daily Dawn there are 86 positive, 115 negative and 120 neutral stories whereas total 321 stories are given. In the News there are 113 positive, 178 negative and 112 neutral stories whereas total 403 stories are given. In daily Jang there are 145 positive, 208 negative and 159 neutral stories whereas total 512 stories are given. In Nawa-i-Waqt there are 166 positive, 125 negative and 93 neutral stories whereas total 384 stories are given. Overall 510 positive, 626 negative and 484 neutral stories whereas total 1620 stories are given. (Chi-Square = 41.262; $p=.000$) which shows significance of the data.

The economic issues that in daily Dawn there are 53 positive, 33 negative whereas 40 neutral news stories whereas total 126 news stories are given. In the News there are 59 positive, 79 negative whereas 59 neutral news stories whereas total 197 news stories are given. In daily Jang there are 145 positive, 118 negative whereas 88 neutral news stories whereas total 351 news stories are given. In Nawa-i-Waqt there are 114 positive, 75 negative whereas 81 neutral news stories whereas total 270 news stories are given. Overall there are 371 positive, 305 negative whereas 268 neutral news stories whereas total 944 news stories are given. (Chi-Square = 14.917; $p=.021$) which shows significance of the data.

The direction wise coverage given to law enforcing that daily Dawn has given 32 positive, 73 negative whereas 67 neutral stories. Total 172 stories are given by daily Dawn. The News has given 45 positive, 102 negative whereas 62 neutral stories. Total 209 stories are given by the News. Daily Jang has given 95

positive, 79 negative whereas 58 neutral stories. Total 232 stories are given by daily Jang. Nawa-i-Waqt has given 53 positive, 34 negative whereas 8 neutral stories. Total 95 stories are given by Nawa-i-Waqt. Overall there are 225 positive, 288 negative whereas 195 neutral stories. Total 708 stories are given by selected newspapers. (Chi-Square = 67.887; $p=.000$) which shows significance of the data.

In journalism issues there are 2 positive, 11 negative whereas 8 neutral stories are given. Total 21 stories are given by daily Dawn. The News has given 5 positive, 18 negative whereas 10 neutral stories. Total 33 stories are given by the News. Daily Jang has given 4 positive, 22 negative whereas 18 neutral stories. Total 44 stories are given by daily Jang. Nawa-i-Waqt has given 2 positive, 9 negative whereas 8 neutral stories. Total 19 stories are given by Nawa-i-Waqt. Overall there are 13 positive, 60 negative whereas 44 neutral stories. (Chi-Square = 1.544; $p=.957$) which shows non significance of the data. The hypotheses of the studies were

1. The media under study gave significance importance to highlight investigative issues under study.

Result: The study proved that all the selected newspapers gave significant importance to highlight issues under study through the coverage given to the issues which proves hypothesis.

2. The selected newspapers covered most issues negatively.

Result: A significant negative coverage was observed in the study which proves hypotheses.

3. The quantum of investigative reporting in the elite English newspapers was less?

Result: The quantum of investigative reporting in the elite English newspapers was less than Urdu newspapers which proves hypothesis.

4. The quantum of investigative reporting in the elite Urdu newspapers was greater?

Result: The quantum of investigative reporting in the elite Urdu newspapers was greater which proves hypothesis.

5. The social issues are given more coverage than rest of the issues.

Result: The social issues are given less coverage than political issues but more coverage is given to social issues than other issues i.e. economic, law enforcing and journalism so hypothesis is partially proved.

6. The issues related to journalism are given least coverage.

Result: The issues related to journalism are given least coverage which proves hypothesis.

The overall study proves that in Pakistani media the selected issues were represented with liberty exercising the libertarian theory for which libertarian systems are based on the idea that individual rights are more important than rights of the state or society as a whole. It holds that the media should serve the people rather than the government and that the best way to find the truth is to have as many opinions aired as possible. Under a libertarian orientation, there is a trust of the masses, a belief that the majority, through free expression, will come closest to the truth and make rational decisions (Hiebert & Gibbons, 2000: 47). Altschull (1984) says that in the libertarian concept the press was totally free altogether unfettered, Libertarianism demanded two duties of the press: "To serve as a *watchdog*, as an extra legal check on government or to serve as an *instrument of adult education*, since the success of democracy was posited upon on intelligent and informed electorate. To carry out these duties, the press, "head to be completely free from control or domination by those elements which it was guard against." (p.183), the study also highlighted that how Pakistani English and Urdu press set its agenda regarding the selected issues.

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