

Investigative Journalism in Europe

Dick van Eijk (Ed.)

VVOJ

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Postbus 92049
1090 AA Amsterdam (The Netherlands)
Tel. +31 30 219 3011
secretariaat@vvoj.nl
www.vvoj.nl

Rozenweg 4b
B-1731 Zellik (Belgium)
Tel. +32 2 705 59 19
secretariaat@vvoj.nl
www.vvoj.be

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Preface

Research into (investigative) journalism has been an important activity for the Vereniging van Onderzoeksjournalisten (VOJ) since this Dutch-Flemish 'association of investigative journalists' was founded in 2002. The ambitions to increase our knowledge about the different cultures in which we do our jobs came up in a very logical fashion: in order to be able to formulate the future activities of the newborn association, the founders had to know more about the professional skills, choices, opinions, ambitions and working conditions of investigative journalists in the Netherlands and Belgium, as well as the preconditions under which they have to do their jobs.

The project 'Investigative Journalism in Europe' is the result of the same way of thinking. In order to be able to draw up a programme for the Global Investigative Journalism Conference 2005 that meets the needs of many journalists, the VJO had to know more about journalism culture and practice in other countries. We also needed to find excellent investigative projects that could be an example to others, and experienced investigative journalist who would be great speakers.

It turned out a research project is the best way to gather this information, especially for an association that has no paid staff to organise a conference. We have been able to find funds for the project, so we could hire journalists to do the part of the research for us. But even more important is that the project has resulted in this book, a unique comparison of the current state of investigative journalism in twenty European countries. Information about professional practices and newsroom culture in various European countries is now available to journalists seeking cooperation with foreign colleagues, to media wishing to develop cross-border investigative journalism, and to training institutions with international ambitions. This will be a first step towards laying the foundations for a European network of investigative reporters and editors.

The focus on 'Europe' in this project should be seen as a practical limitation. We would have loved to do a project 'Investigative Journalism in the World'. Let us hope future hosts of the Global Investigative Journalism Conference will pick up what we left over: research into investigative journalism in Africa, North America, South America, Asia.... Wouldn't it be great to have an overall picture?

'Investigative Journalism in Europe' is the fourth research project the WOJ has conducted. The first project 'Onderzoeksjournalistiek in Nederland en Vlaanderen' ('Investigative Journalism in the Netherlands and Flanders') was presented at the first WOJ-conference in November 2002 and played an important part in shaping the association in the years after. 'Investigative Journalism in the US and Sweden' was the first WOJ-report in English and got into the differences between journalistic culture in the USA, Sweden, the Netherlands and Belgium. 'Lesmateriaal voor Computer Assisted Reporting' ('Courseware for Computer Assisted Reporting') helped us organise training.

What is striking in all these projects is that there is so much that we don't know about our own profession. The WOJ feels it is an important job for organisations like ours to fill this gap. We have to be able to define what we are doing and why we are doing it, in order to be able to defend and stimulate investigative journalism. A pilot can't fly an airplane if he doesn't know which buttons to press.

I would like to thank the Bedrijfsfonds voor de Pers, The Guardian Foundation, Stichting Democratie en Media and the Open Society Institute for their financial support to this project. I thank the journalists – most of them WOJ-members – who went abroad to do the fieldwork and who wrote the country reports. Some of them were not paid, or only very little. Without them, the WOJ wouldn't have been able to present a project that covered so many countries. I would also like to thank the 200 interviewees in twenty countries for their time and willingness to share their knowledge with us. And finally I thank WOJ-board member and project editor Dick van Eijk who put so much effort and time in accomplishing 'Investigative Journalism in Europe'. It's been an honour for me to support the project as business manager and fund raiser.

Marjan Agerbeek

President WOJ

September 2005

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Part one: Introduction

Any European journalist asked to mention two American investigative reporters, comes up with Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, although there may be some in the younger generation who think they are movie characters. But most European journalists asked to name two European investigative reporters, who are not from their own country, will remain silent.

There is very little cross-border knowledge in Europe about journalism in general and about investigative journalism in particular. This is completely understandable, because most Europeans cannot read each other's newspapers or understand each other's radio or television programmes. The European Union alone has 21 official languages and an additional 27 recognised minority languages; the native languages of millions of recent immigrants are not even included. And remember Europe is a lot bigger than the European Union...

That most Europeans do not understand each other's media is largely, but not only, a matter of different languages. It is also down to different nations, different public opinions and different cultures. Even if they master a foreign language, most people – and most journalists – do not take notice of national or regional news media from other countries. While this may make sense from the point of view of the private life of those involved, it is a pity from a professional point of view.

Professionalisation profits from scale. It is a process that needs a community of professionals. And for the good journalists to become better, they need other good colleagues to exchange information with and to challenge their views. In the field of investigative journalism, such a community of professionals existed and still exists in the United States and in several other countries. Recently, this kind of community has started to emerge on a global scale. In 2001, the first Global Investigative Journalism Conference took place in Copenhagen, followed by a second one in 2003. At the latter, a Global Investigative Journalism Network was founded. The *Vereniging van Onderzoeksjournalisten* (VVOJ), the Dutch-Flemish organisation of investigative journalists, hosted the third global conference in Amsterdam, in 2005.

These global conferences have shown that journalists can learn a lot from experiences of colleagues in other countries. The context in which

they work may differ, but a lot of the problems and challenges are the same or at least similar. However, what is missing so far is a systematic overview of such experiences that goes beyond the story of the individual. This research project aims to fill this void, at least in part.

Structure of this book

This book is a result of a research project that carries the same name: *Investigative Journalism in Europe*. It is an initiative of the VVOJ, partly meant to support the preparations for the third Global Investigative Journalism Conference in 2005 in Amsterdam. However, the project has more offspring: presentations have been and will be given at conferences and other events and an online database of investigative projects is being developed.

This book consists of four parts and two appendices.

The first part is an introduction that explores the terrain – what are we talking about when we discuss ‘investigative journalism in Europe’ – and describes the scope of the research project. It includes accounts on methodology and sources, as well as remarks on the limitations of this research project. Much attention is paid to defining ‘journalism’ and ‘investigative journalism’, because these terms turn out to have different meanings and practices in different times and places.

The second part consists of twenty reports, which describe the current state of affairs in investigative journalism, including a sketch of the historical contexts in as many European countries. Most of the authors of these reports can be considered experts on the countries they cover. They did additional fieldwork to supplement their local knowledge.

The third part is an analysis of the situation in these twenty countries. It attempts to raise questions on similarities and differences and when possible and appropriate, hazards an answer. On the one hand, this should be a reflection on investigative journalism as conducted in Europe, on the other hand it also serves practical purposes, especially in the professionalisation process of journalists in the Old World. This part closes with a section on implications for journalists that seek transnational cooperation.

The fourth part consists of descriptions of 198 investigative projects that were recently conducted in the twenty countries under investigation. The aim is to give an impression of the actual scope of investigative journalism in Europe. They contain the names of the journalists that did the investigations, as well as those of the media that published the stories that evolved out of the research. These project descriptions will be available in a searchable online database as well.

Finally, one appendix lists the two hundred persons interviewed for this research project and the second appendix contains short biographies of the authors that contributed to this book.

Defining journalism

In the previous paragraphs, the terms ‘journalism’ and ‘investigative journalism’ were used without further explanation, as if their meaning is obvious to everyone. In reality, this is not the case. There are many different definitions of what (investigative) journalism is and what it should be. This is not merely an academic debate, but it involves the self-definition and the self-image of the journalists involved.

For example, take an editor of a corporate magazine published by a multinational company: is he a journalist? Or someone that interviews and selects people for shows like the Oprah Winfrey show, where people talk about their personal problems: is he a journalist? A more recent phenomenon is a blogger. Is he a journalist? In all these cases the question may be answered with ‘yes’ or ‘no’, or even with maybe: it depends how narrowly or how widely one defines journalism. The corporate editor may consider himself a journalist, but a newspaper reporter may perceive him as a PR person and not as a colleague. He serves the company, not the public, the newspaper reporter would probably say, while the corporate editor would reply by stating that he serves both. Who is right in this case depends on the question whether serving two different, sometimes even opposing, parties is included in one’s conception of journalism.

New media watcher Steve Outing avoids answering the question in a general sense whether bloggers are journalists: ‘Among the millions of people now publishing blogs – and among the relatively small number who blog professionally and/or have built up huge audiences – some act as journalists, some do not. Some bloggers see themselves as journalists; some do not.’ One of the most famous bloggers, Glen Reynolds, blogging under the name Instapundit was quoted in Outing’s article. He stated that his approach to the information he comes across is profoundly different from how a traditional journalist would set about it. Reynolds said he would publish immediately. He would not contact other sources, such as experts, because they would be among members of his audience and would react to his contribution. Checking the story has become part of the publication process – and it is done by readers – instead of something that happens before publishing. That makes it different from traditional – i.e. mainstream American – journalism. Whether one considers it journalism, non-traditional journalism, bad journalism or no journalism at all, depends on how important checking a story before publication is in one’s conception of journalism.

These simple examples underline the fact that definitions of journalism can differ and as a consequence the determination of who is a journalist and who is not differs as well. One can disagree on such a definition. Such disagreement may not be without consequences: a political party deciding whom it will give access to press facilities during its political convention, decides who can report live from the convention and who cannot. Last year, for the first time both political parties in the United States gave access to bloggers at the political conventions where they elected their presidential candidates.

In the United States, journalists may appeal to the First Amendment to refuse revealing their confidential sources. In 2005, Apple Computers tried to force bloggers to reveal who their sources were that leaked information, which Apple considered trade secrets. Their sentence and possible imprisonment depends on whether they will be recognised as a journalist.

So definitions of journalism matter and may have important consequences. Also, one may substantially disagree on these definitions, even in court. This calls for a few pages on the definition of 'journalism', and 'investigative journalism' in particular. One more reason is that a good and explicit definition of investigative journalism was necessary for the fieldwork of this project. If one discusses the subject with foreign colleagues, there has to be a mutual understanding of what one is talking about: if not, we are comparing apples with oranges in the overall analysis.

In this section we shall concentrate on defining 'journalism', in the next section 'investigative journalism' will be dealt with.

There are three fundamentally different approaches to defining journalism: empirical, normative and analytical. In the empirical approach one looks at what journalism is in the eyes of relevant persons and organisations. Usually their ideas are practical in their circumstances, but they may be inconsistent or illogical. The normative approach addresses what journalism *should* be. Because journalism has, in the eyes of many, a moral component, normative aspects cannot be discarded in a discussion on what journalism is. An analytical approach seeks to define journalism in such a way that the similarities and differences with neighbouring disciplines such as science or literature become apparent. These three approaches all have their worth and to come to grips with what journalism is, one has to consider all three of them. However, if one wants to look at differences and similarities between (investigative) journalism in various countries, a uniform analytical definition is required, while empirical and normative definitions may differ per country. After a discussion of these three approaches, we shall be able to formulate an analytical definition of journalism.

First, the empirical approach. This approach makes it very easy to define journalism: journalism is whatever people generally recognised as journalists do when they say they are doing their jobs. This may seem like circular reasoning, but it is not. This is because this approach necessitates a decision on who is a journalist and who is not, it often has many practical consequences. Such decisions are being taken every day. They concern practical matters, like who has access to press facilities in Parliament, in court or in a sports stadium; but they may also be of legal nature, like who is allowed to refuse to reveal his sources in court, or who is entitled to journalist union membership. So thousands of organisations decide whom they recognise as journalists. Hardly any of them ever discusses what journalism is. Their decisions affect people, not what these people do.

Of course the phrasing ‘generally recognised as journalists’ leaves room for dispute. In some countries one needs a government license or similar accreditation to work as a journalist, or to be allowed to present oneself as such. This is not only the case in non-democratic countries. For instance, in Belgium one is punishable with a fine if one presents oneself as a professional journalist (*beroepsjournalist*) without the formal requirement, in this case membership of the association of professional journalists. A foreigner wanting to report from the United States needs a special journalist visa, which involves the formal recognition of the foreigner as a journalist by the United States of America.

The development of the Internet as a popular means of distributing information has fuelled the discussion on who is a journalist and who is not. New categories of reporters have emerged, like ‘citizen reporters’ and ‘bloggers’. The question whether they are to be considered journalists, and whether they consider themselves to be journalists, remains open.

Secondly, there is the normative approach. As remarked above, strictly speaking this concerns a different question: not ‘what is journalism’, but ‘what should journalism be’. It is important to be aware of this distinction, because many discussions about what journalism is, are blurred by arguments on what it should be. In this respect it is not uncommon to hear phrases like ‘real journalism is’, while what is meant is: ‘journalism ought to be’. Because journalism has a specific ethics – the content of which may vary – normative components are unavoidable when discussing what journalism is. By its nature, journalism is in part a normative activity.

This is not the appropriate occasion for an in-depth treatise on what journalism should be, for that is not what this research project is about. But because of the normative nature of journalism, any effort to define it in a more analytical way is futile without referring to normative

aspects. Therefore, normative aspects will return in the following paragraphs, where we will deal with the analytical approach.

Whereas the empirical approach is dominated by decisions of organisations on who is a journalist, and the normative approach by discussions among journalists themselves, the analytical approach is influenced by media scholars and – to a lesser extent – by journalists reflecting on their profession. To grasp this approach one has to plunge into the literature.

One will soon find out, however, that short, clear and sound analytical definitions of journalism are extremely rare, if not non-existent, in the current literature. In a review essay, the American media sociologist Michael Schudson remarks that ‘journalism simply never became a major topic of study among historians or social scientists’. Journalism schools have never developed a research tradition as a companion to professional training – unlike law schools or medical schools.

Serious studies of journalism may be rare in the United States; they are even rarer in Europe. As Hugo de Burgh writes in the (British) book *Investigative Journalism, Context and Practice*: ‘Journalism is studied and written about much more in the USA than in Europe’ and ‘British and other European academics working on journalism are few and far between’. This is why this introduction to a book on investigative journalism in Europe will refer relatively more frequently to American sources.

There are several reasons why serious literature on defining journalism is rare. For one thing, journalists do not read much scholarly literature on journalism. On the contrary, they tend to disqualify it as irrelevant to their work. Which in turn does not stimulate the quality and relevance of scholarly work either, as this is obviously served by good relations with the object of its study.

Not only do journalists not want to read about what journalism is, they do not even want to think about it. Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel write in their book *The Elements of Journalism*: ‘In the United States in the last half a century or so the question “What is journalism for?” has rarely been asked, by citizens or journalists. You owned a printing press or a broadcasting license and you produced journalism. In the United States, journalism has been reduced to a simple tautology: It was whatever journalists said it was.’ (Our empirical definition) They quote Maxwell King, former editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, saying: ‘We let our work speak for itself.’

Now this may no longer be sufficient, if it ever was. The public is becoming increasingly sceptical toward the media; newspaper circulations are dropping, as are the viewing rates of news programmes. ‘Whether it is secrecy or inability, the failure of journalists to articulate

what they do leaves citizens all the more suspicious that the press is either deluding itself or hiding something', write Kovach and Rosenstiel.

In recent years, a couple of analytical books about journalism have been published that actually reached an audience of journalists, maybe because the authors had already earned a reputation as a journalist, such as Kovach and Rosenstiel. Fortunately, they provide some clues that may help us to define journalism. Kovach and Rosenstiel formulate a goal and nine principles of journalism: *the elements of journalism*. The goal and principles are very normative in their nature, but they can be used in a more analytical approach.

Such an analytical approach should enable us to distinguish journalism from other activities that are similar to journalism in one way or another. To mention a few: literature, politics, law, accountancy, religion and science. They all produce stories. In that sense they are neighbouring traditions. In some countries it is not unusual to be a journalist and a writer, or a journalist and a lawyer, or a journalist and a politician, a journalist and a priest, or a journalist and a scientist. What then makes journalistic stories distinct from those by the other professions?

The first two of Kovach and Rosenstiel's nine 'elements of journalism' are key: 'Journalism's first obligation is to the truth' and 'Its first loyalty is to citizens'. Seeking the truth sets journalists apart from writers and politicians. Writers deal with fiction, politicians with wishes. That does not imply that truth is irrelevant for them, but it is not their core business. But the others share the obligation to the truth, although the priest may say that he does not seek it, as he already knows it. Loyalty introduces a further distinction, however. Lawyers' first loyalty is to the law, just like for judges and police for that matter. Priests' first loyalty is to God. Accountants definitely serve the public, in the sense that their audience is the public, but the field they cover is much more limited than that of journalists or scientists. Scientists serve an audience of peers, although some of their work also reaches a wider public.

Most scholars and journalists that have given journalism more profound thoughts, usually deal with a particular kind of journalism: news reporting for the general public. This is the kind of journalism that forms the core activity of newspapers, news bulletins on radio and television, general interest newsmagazines and current affairs programmes. Traditionally, these target a readership or audience in a particular city, region or country, starting from the idea that the readers, listeners or viewers have to be informed in such a way that they can realise their citizenship in that particular city, region or country. For instance, the published information may help them to make a choice at elections. In this context, the citizen serves our definition well, but we shall later see that this central role of the citizen creates some conceptual problems.

The British scholar Hugo de Burgh distinguishes journalism from the work done by police, lawyers, auditors and regulatory bodies by its legal foundation: journalism lacks this, contrary to all the other professions that he mentions. But he does not mention scientists, whose work also lacks a legal foundation, but still differs from journalism. This difference goes beyond the theoretical, as we shall see in some country reports: some journalists explicitly state that they do not conduct particular investigations, because they think the issues at hand are the responsibility of (social) scientists. Nevertheless, journalists and scientists sometimes look into the same matters, and even use the same methods. But they differ in their outlook. Take a graph with a lot of data points and a trend line: the scientist will generally be interested in the trend line, and if he can, get rid of the disturbing outliers. A journalist, however, does not think the outliers are disturbing: he writes stories about them. Scientists, as a rule of thumb, are interested in the general, journalists in the exception. Scientists' work is explicitly cumulative, contributing to an ever-growing body of knowledge in a particular discipline. In that sense their first loyalty is to a knowledge community of peers, not to non-contributing citizens.

If we combine these views it will lead us to a concise analytical definition of journalism: *Journalism is truth-seeking storytelling, primarily serving citizens, without a legal foundation.* This definition at least describes journalism and it sets it sufficiently apart from neighbouring storytelling traditions.

As announced earlier, the central role of the citizen creates some conceptual problems, which will be elaborated on in the following paragraphs. This will not lead to a different definition, but the discussion will address some issues one has to bear in mind when thinking about journalism in an international or even global context in the twenty-first century. These issues can be considered footnotes to our definition.

In a global context, citizenship is a fuzzy concept. Citizens exist within a state; the citizen and the state are two sides of a coin. So if one defines journalism in relation to citizens, one associates journalism with the state. This close connection is implicit and explicit in many texts and declarations. Take for example the term 'the fourth estate', used to describe the press in the United States. What is meant is the fourth estate of state power, after the traditional three distinguished by Montesquieu that have found their way into most constitutions: the legislative, the executive and the judicial power. Another example: the (American) Society of Professional Journalists concludes its code with: 'Adherence to this code is intended to preserve and strengthen the bond of mutual trust and respect between American journalists and the American people.'

This role of the citizens is not really disputed among journalists, yet it creates problems. In three different cases the kind of conceptual problems caused by the ties between journalism and the state and its citizens will be illustrated: journalism before the emergence of citizenship, journalism in times of conflicts between states, and journalism after the decline of citizenship.

First, we shall address the question of journalism before the emergence of citizenship. If journalism by definition serves citizens, then there cannot be any journalism if there are no citizens, for instance because there is no functional state. In early and mid eighteenth century America – that is before the Declaration of Independence, when there was no de facto state in most of North America, as Britain did not have an effective control over its American colonies – several authors published critical accounts of what was going on in society, thereby exposing hitherto unknown facts and addressing wrongdoings. In *The Journalism of Outrage* David Protess mentions several examples of such publications, which were meant to fuel the public debate. Maybe these publications were not journalistic, because there was a lack of citizens in a formal sense. But if this is not considered journalism, it was at least proto-journalism. On the other hand, there may have been no state and thus no citizens, but there was certainly public debate. These publications can be considered journalism-in-the-making, like there was citizenship-in-the-making.

This is in striking contrast with the situation in contemporary Europe. Although the European Union has a Parliament, a court and a score of other agencies that tend to be associated with statehood, it is not a full-fledged state. It does not have a head of state, it does not have citizens, and moreover, it does not have a public opinion. Of course British, French, German, and other journalists write about the European Union, but they do this within their own national contexts, in their national media. There are no European newspapers or general interest magazines. There is no European news programme on television. There is no European journalism. Here the relation between state and journalism does seem to make sense: no state, no citizens, no journalism; no citizens-in-the-making, no journalism-in-the-making.

The concept of ‘citizen’ implies some sort of democracy. In traditional, pre-modern states the people were subjects of the king or whatever other sovereign ruler, they were not citizens. It is clear that newspapers existed in France under the *ancien régime* and in other European countries before the dawn of democracy. But can we call their content journalism? The answer is negative if we define journalism in the context of citizenship. But as in eighteenth-century America, we may speak of proto-journalism. Some of the authors definitively had the intention to be critical and to develop citizenship.

The same question may be asked about newspapers in contemporary totalitarian states, or more generally, in countries without freedom of the press, for instance in Eastern European countries before 1989. The people who worked for newspapers there were commonly recognised as journalists, also in the West. They obtained accreditations for all sorts of events and their unions were members of the International Federation of Journalists. But it is very questionable if their work would serve Kovach's and Rosenstiel's purpose of journalism: 'to provide people with the information they need to be free and self-governing'. Kovach's and Rosenstiel's approach is well rooted in American history, but does not have much eye for the rest of the world.

Secondly, we shall address the question of journalism in times of conflicts between states. If states, and thereby their citizens, have taken sides in a conflict, then tension arises between the first obligation of journalists – the truth – and their first loyalty – the citizens. This is a common problem for journalists all over the world, also in countries with solid legislation in the field of freedom of the press. Even American media are reluctant to criticise their country's executive when it is at war. Take the history of the weapons of mass destruction in Iraq: several media published declarations in which they stated that with hindsight they had not been critical enough about the evidence that had been presented on the existence of these weapons that were never found.

Unwanted truths are difficult to deal with, especially when the citizens that journalists claim to serve don't want them. Publishing the truth inevitably leads to accusations of unpatriotic behaviour or worse, although history's final verdict may well be very different. We may conclude that the close connection between journalism and the state and its citizens interferes with journalism most when the state itself is at stake. A direct consequence of this state of affairs is that the truth becomes the first casualty of war.

Thirdly, we shall address the issue of journalism after the decline of citizenship, in a nation state that has eroded due to the process of globalisation. The state is a territorial unit. But globalisation has created a world society that ignores national boundaries with its multinational businesses, communication networks, market relations and personal lifestyles. States have more means than ever, yet they are losing power. The number of other relevant actors is growing steadily. Numerous authors have described this process, for instance the German sociologist Ulrich Beck in *Was ist Globalisierung?* ('What is Globalisation?')

Of course the 'citizen' has always been just one of the many roles a person has, but as people develop more and complex ties with people beyond their geographical area, other roles gain importance at the cost of citizenship. People develop more diverse and conflicting loyalties. This is a problem for the state, and its politicians, who lose legitimacy

because of this process. But it constitutes a problem for journalism as well, for also its fate is tied to the geographically demarcated state. Virtually all newspapers in the world are national, or regional or local, but in the latter cases they are always distributed and read within national boundaries. Even neighbouring countries with a common language like the Netherlands and Belgium do not have newspapers that cross the border. Television does not differ much.

Emerging technologies play an important role in this respect as well. By its nature the Internet is a global distribution channel. On it communities evolve that are disassociated from geography and traditional territory-based politics. These communities seek information and they generate information. It seems that there is work for journalists here, but not in the form of a journalism that is defined as primarily serving citizens.

The ties between journalism and the state and its citizens have been profitable for journalism, but they have started to hurt. The galling bonds between journalism and the state are especially relevant for a book on investigative journalism in Europe – as there is no European journalism – and a Global Investigative Journalism Conference, where participants, although working in national or sub-national contexts, seek cooperation and exchange with colleagues abroad. Many conference participants have somehow experienced that their national media infrastructures are not up to the gargantuan task of reporting on the issues that bother the world today, but they also realise that suitable infrastructures are not even available in blueprint. They are pioneers and they know it.

What they seek, although they may not define it that way, is something like ‘global journalism’, which is disengaged from local and national forms of citizenship. Earlier, we mentioned that definitions of journalism that tied journalistic activity to citizenship were rooted in general news reporting. However, there are other styles or domains of journalism. Especially in the magazine world there are numerous publications that are not targeted at citizens all at. They focus on people in an entirely different role, such as ‘woman’, ‘amateur gardener’, ‘parent’, ‘photographer’, ‘food marketer’ or ‘nurse’. People who write for these magazines are generally considered journalists, yet ‘the citizen’ is an irrelevant concept in their work.

A small minority of these magazines, but still probably thousands of them, have a truly international readership. Maybe they can offer a model for the further development of traditional ‘general news’ journalism of newspapers, general interest magazines and news programmes on radio and television into an activity that is less intertwined with the state. The aim of this model would be to further the watchdog role of journalism on a global scale: thereby creating ‘global journalism’, which

would appeal to a global-citizenship-in-the-making. However, there are hardly any serious academic or other publications on this kind of journalism, there are most certainly fewer than articles on general news journalism. There is so much we do not know about our own profession. The definition that was formulated earlier in this section: *Journalism is truth-seeking storytelling primarily serving citizens, without a legal foundation*, can still serve as a sensitising concept, as long as one takes the problematic aspects of the role of citizens into account. For the time being, the lack of journalism on a global scale is a shortcoming of journalism itself. One cannot expect a definition to compensate for this failing.

Defining investigative journalism

In this section we shall focus on defining ‘investigative journalism’. Of course ‘investigative journalism’ is ‘journalism’, but what makes it ‘investigative’? This question is a topic of vigorous debate, not in the least among investigative journalists themselves.

The VVOJ regulations state: investigative journalism is critical and in-depth journalism. The following section describes what others have said on this subject, and why the VVOJ definition is both analytically sound and practically suitable for an international research project.

We shall start this section with a look at the literature on investigative journalism, thereby generally following the historical outlook of most publications. Then we shall deal with some common issues that are addressed in much of the literature, like whether investigative journalism is by definition about scandals, or about information that someone is trying to keep secret. We shall try to ignore history and develop a definition that is valid regardless of time and place. Finally we shall deal with some linguistic aspects: how does one translate ‘investigative journalism’? Of course the latter question is paramount if one is to interview respondents in different languages, as was done for this research project.

‘Everyone knows what investigative journalism is’, Hugo de Burgh writes in the second paragraph of the introduction to his book on the topic. Later on, it turns out to be not as easy as that, because he returns to matters of definition several times and also refers to definitions proposed by others, which are not always in line with his own. Gene Roberts starts the foreword of David Protess’ *The Journalism of Outrage* with: ‘One of the problems in writing about investigative reporting is: How do you define it?’

Of course we can formulate an empirical definition of investigative journalism in analogy to that of journalism in the previous section. Investigative journalism would then be ‘what investigative journalists do when they say they are doing their job’. Whereas this works very well

with journalism in general, because decisions on who is a journalist and who is not are practical ones, it is pointless for investigative journalism, because deciding who is an investigative journalist and who is not is hardly ever a practical decision that is made. It is a judgement without consequences. Usually this question is just a matter of debate among journalists themselves. The rest of the world could not care less. Exit the empirical approach.

A normative approach to investigative journalism does not so much fail, it just does not add anything. As far as normative rules for investigative journalism are about ethics, they are not really different from the general ethical rules for journalism. The various codes of conduct for journalists do not make exceptions or formulate additional guidelines for investigative journalists.

There certainly are discussions among journalists about what investigative journalism should be, but if one sets the ethics aside, these discussions usually are analytical discussions in disguise: they are about what constitutes investigative journalism, about what elements should be represented to define a particular work of journalism as 'investigative'. The idea behind these discussions is that the epithet 'investigative' may be considered a label of honour: it is a 'higher form of journalism', which requires additional criteria above the ones for journalism in general. We shall deal with these criteria in the analytical approach.

The irrelevance of the empirical and the normative approach leaves us in need of an analytical definition of investigative journalism. What we are looking for is a definition that adequately describes what distinguishes 'investigative journalism' from other kinds of journalism, even from 'ordinary journalism', for that matter. As difficult as it is to find concise definitions of journalism, as easy it is to find definitions of investigative journalism. Almost any book on investigative journalism contains a definition, or a discussion on defining investigative journalism. So much for the good news, the bad news is that these definitions differ widely. This is understandable: while journalists hardly dispute what journalism is, they vigorously disagree as to what constitutes investigative journalism.

As American literature on investigative journalism is at least as prolific as American literature on journalism in general, many analytical definitions of investigative journalism refer to American journalism history and to the so-called muckraking era and the Watergate affair in particular. They have their roots in the American culture of investigative journalism, like the journalism definitions tied to citizenship are rooted in the culture of American news reporting. These American definitions may not suffice in the end, but they are a good start to explore the issue.

The muckraking era starts at the beginning of twentieth century America. It led to many outstanding pieces of investigative reporting, such as Ida Tarbell's 'History of Standard Oil' (*McClure's*, 1902) and Graham Phillips' 'The Treason of the Senate' (*The Cosmopolitan*, 1906). Even fiction played a role: Upton Sinclair's account of the meat industry – *The Jungle* (1906) – was published as a novel, although it was based on participating observation and it revealed many verifiable facts.

What these authors had in common was a drive to expose systematic wrongdoing on a substantial scale. Their drive was based on morals, but they chose to reveal facts as a method. Their stories were widely read and considerably annoyed the men in power, both in politics and in business. It was president Theodore Roosevelt himself who used the term 'muckrakers' for the reporters who dug up shit. While it was meant as an invective, reporters soon took it as an honour to be called a muckraker.

The moral drive of the original muckrakers was often based on a clear political stance. For instance, Graham Phillips campaigned openly for direct elections of senators. At that time senators were elected by state representatives. Upton Sinclair did not hide the fact that he was a socialist and he campaigned for better labour conditions. Their contributions have to be seen in the context of the 'progressive era', during which many reforms were formulated and implemented, partly triggered by the publications of journalists.

The American journalism professor David Protess sees the emergence of muckraking at the turn of the twentieth century as the more or less coincidental convergence of two developments: the increasing demand for information by an increasingly literate public and a fierce competition between different media. In 1916, there were 2,461 newspapers in the United States, the largest number ever. Apart from the newspapers, there were numerous general interest magazines. Their number peaked in 1910. That combination of factors had not occurred before and would not occur again until the sixties, according to Protess.

The muckrakers were often actively involved in reforms. Several of them were regular guests at the White House for instance, among them Upton Sinclair. In 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt was so convinced of the positive contribution of the muckrakers that he ordered all governmental officials to cooperate with Lincoln Steffens' investigation of federal corruption, Protess quotes from C.C. Regier's *Era of the Muckrakers*.

Such examples underline that it is too simple to consider the reforms during that time a result of the muckrakers' publications. Muckraking and reforms were consequences of similar developments in society; they were influenced by the same social and political climate. There was a

demand for critical and factual stories, not only from the public, but also from the government.

After 1910, things started to change. The growth of the number of newspapers levelled off and competition between them diminished. The percentage of one-paper cities rose almost by half in ten years' time. Companies withdrew advertising from muckraking publications. Some of them, like *American Magazine* and *Everybody's*, were forced into bankruptcy. Others, like *McClure's*, were taken over by large corporations and subsequently softened their content.

In the presidential election of 1912, many of the muckrakers supported one of the candidates. Journalistic competitors became partisan rivals, Protesse states. With Woodrow Wilson's victory, leading muckrakers joined the administration to press for changes inside the government. As fast as it had arisen, muckraking faded away.

The muckrakers' rhetorical style and their moral stance served as examples for later generations of investigative journalists, in the United States but to a substantial extent also elsewhere: they let facts convince the readers, and they addressed wrongdoing. These authors were hardly explicitly moral in their writings. They did not convict the 'bad guys' they portrayed; they usually were not sarcastic in their descriptions. But their stories were intentionally moral by implication: the stories often exposed wrongdoing or unfair treatment, usually by large companies.

The detached rhetorical style of the muckrakers is understandable in the context of the media they worked for. Most of their stories were first published in a then relatively new medium, the commercial mass magazine, like *McCall*, *McClure's*, *The Cosmopolitan*, *Everybody's*, *The Arena* and *The Outlook*. Because of the commercial character of these magazines, the stories had to be well written and personal. And they were. The muckrakers hardly ever wrote about the deeper causes of the situations they described. They wrote stories, not theories. And because they were 'only' journalists, their opinions were not considered important in the public debate. They were not politicians, scholars, clergymen or leaders of social movements. The irrelevance of their opinions forced the muckrakers to stick to the facts. And the commercial context of the publications and the libel laws forced them to present the facts correctly. The magazines hardly ever lost any lawsuits for publishing incorrect.

Documents played an important role in the work of some muckrakers. Ida Tarbell for instance, spent much of her time researching archives. Documents often contain the ultimate facts. They speak for themselves, literally, without a journalist between them and the audience. They are the textual equivalent of photographs, which in the eyes of many have a truthfulness of their own.

The two factors that, due to their concurrent occurrence in the beginning of the century, stimulated the emergence of muckraking appeared again in the sixties, according to Protes. They generated a new wave of investigative journalism in the United States. An early sign of recognition for this was the introduction in 1964 of the category 'investigative journalism' in the Pulitzer prizes. Initially, investigative journalism was mainly to be found in alternative publications, but gradually the new investigative reporting found its way to newspapers and the major television networks. An important issue reported on in these stories was corruption in government agencies. Whereas in the muckraking era commercial companies were the villains, their place was now taken by government employees and politicians.

Watergate gave investigative journalists celebrity status in 1972. Thereafter, journalism schools were crowded with ambitious young students who wanted to become Woodward and Bernstein. They became icons, not only in the United States, but all over the world. The movie *All the President's Men* (1976), with two of the most famous actors of that time, Robert Redford and Dustin Hoffman as Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, will definitely have contributed substantially to the newborn status of muckraking. As Robert Greene writes in the foreword to the first edition of *The Reporter's Handbook*: 'The place: Boston. The time: a rainy Friday night in 1976. Some 600 college students have elbowed their way into a small auditorium to hear a panel discussion on investigative reporting. One of the panellists asks how many of the students intend to become investigative reporters. More than 300 raise their hands. The catalyst was Watergate.'

So much for American history. Although it does not generate a definition of investigative journalism by itself, it can be used as a heuristic tool for developing one. Any sound definition should at least include the above-mentioned obvious and famous examples of investigative journalism. By analysing their similarities, we may be able to formulate some criteria for journalism that can be called 'investigative'.

The major stories of the American history of investigative journalism have several aspects in common. First, they were moral by implication in the sense that they addressed wrongdoing: the stories often portray obvious villains and victims. Second, they usually dealt with social problems or other particular wrongdoings that could be addressed with reforms or policies. Third, they often – but not always – exposed things that some person or organisation tried to keep secret. Many definitions of investigative journalism refer to these three aspects.

These aspects will guide us to a widely cited definition, which was used by Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) among others. Robert Greene formulated the definition in the foreword to *The Reporter's*

Handbook, a publication of IRE as such: ‘It is the reporting, through one’s own work product and initiative, matters of importance which some persons or organizations wish to keep secret. The three basic elements are that the investigation be the work of the reporter, not a report of an investigation made by someone else; that the subject of the story involves something of reasonable importance to the reader or viewer; and that others are attempting to hide these matters from the public.’

Watergate is a classic example of investigative reporting, Greene continues. Another major story of those days, the Pentagon Papers, is not. The disclosure was certainly of vital importance to the public, and the US government definitively tried to keep the documents secret, but the government had conducted the investigation that led to the Pentagon Papers, not the press. The documents had been leaked. ‘The publication of the Pentagon Papers clearly was not investigative reporting’, Greene concludes.

Although widely cited, this definition is not undisputed. We shall briefly examine the main points of criticisms forwarded by some eminent journalists. Some authors have tried to address these issues by defining a different kind of journalism, adjacent but slightly different from investigative journalism. Before we arrive at our own definition, we shall look into some of the linguistic pitfalls that one has to deal with when discussing investigative journalism in a multi-lingual context.

Green’s definition is criticised on two points: the moral aspect and the condition that someone tries to keep the information secret. Other authors are more general in their criticism, objecting to the term ‘investigative journalism’ itself.

Not only Ettema and Glasser, but also Protess go to considerable lengths to show that the moral component is essential in investigative journalism as they see it, even if the reporters themselves say that they are ‘just reporting the facts’. Protess criticises definitions that are like Greene’s: ‘These definitions, although accurate, fail to capture the full flavour of investigative reporting. Investigative reporting is “the journalism of outrage”. More than a news-gathering process, the journalism of outrage is a form of storytelling that probes the boundaries of America’s civic conscience.’ Unsurprisingly, he stresses the exposure of wrongdoing. According to him, it is the motive of investigative reporters to initiate changes in society: ‘They seek to improve the American system by pointing out its shortcomings.’ Notice the explicit orientation on the nation-state and its citizens.

He points out that investigative reporters hardly ever advocate changes explicitly, but that a moral stance is often hidden in their narrative: ‘Villains’ hats are black, not grey. “Corrupt”, “wasteful”, “greedy”,

“lazy” and “scandalous” commonly pepper the investigative narrative. Just as muckrakers intend to engender empathy for victims, they mean to provoke anger against villains.’ Note that the acronym for Investigative Reporters and Editors is IRE – ire meaning anger.

Ettema and Glasser write on investigative reporters: ‘Their stories call attention to the breakdown of social systems and the disorder within public institutions that cause injury and injustice; in turn, their stories implicitly demand the response of public officials – and the public itself – to that breakdown and disorder.’

Where Protes, De Burgh, and Ettema and Glasser stress the moral aspect of investigative journalism and want to limit the term to reporting covering wrongdoing, to stories about villains and victims, some eminent journalists wholeheartedly disagree with them. Gene Roberts – in the eighteen years that he was the editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, the newspaper won seventeen Pulitzers, after he left it only won one in twelve years – prefers to avoid the term altogether because of its connotation with scandals: ‘One of the reasons I don’t much use the term ‘investigative reporting’ is that it misleads and confuses. To many people, investigative reporting means nailing a crook or catching a politician with his pants down. This, I think, is too narrow a definition. [...] At the *Inquirer*, investigative reporting means freeing a reporter from the normal constraints of time and space and letting the reporter really inform the public about a situation of vital importance. It means coming to grips with a society grown far too complex to be covered merely with news briefs or a snappy colour graphic.’

Paul Williams, one of the founders of Investigative Reporters and Editors, was more or less on Roberts’ side when he wrote: ‘The beat reporter’s job is to report that something happened. The investigator’s challenge is to find out why, and tell why it may happen again. His job is to pull things together.’ There is no need for scandals or wrongdoing, or for actors wishing to keep something secret. Note that Williams strongly disagrees with IRE’s definition as put forward by Greene in *The Reporter’s Handbook*.

Even more so than the moral aspect, the question whether investigative journalism by definition exposes information that others try to keep secret is widely disputed. Some defend it vigorously; others deny that secrecy is necessary.

Some even point out that the most important condition for investigative journalism is that someone is trying to keep something secret. The authors of the book *Investigative Journalism* (published in 1976), David Anderson and Peter Benjaminson, were quoted by Protes as stating: ‘investigative reporting is simply the reporting of concealed facts’. And Hugo de Burgh writes: ‘A common definition of investigative journalism

is ‘going after what someone wants to hide’ although not everything that someone wants to hide is worth going after.’

On the other hand, James Steele, one of the world’s most renowned investigative journalists and a two-time Pulitzer Prize winner, does not agree with this at all. He was quoted in James Ettema’s and Theodore Glasser’s *Custodians of Conscience* as saying: ‘If you simply bring something to the light that has not been known, it’s my feeling that you’ve done your job.’

This debate is not limited to the United States. Anders Löwenberg, one of the founders of the Swedish association of investigative journalists, closely follows Greene in his definition. However, Torbjörn von Krogh, one of Löwenberg’s co-founders of the Swedish association, does not agree with him on the point of secrecy.

So far we have dealt with criticism of elements of Greene’s definition. Some authors reject the whole idea behind it: they state that investigative journalism is a tautology, because *all* journalism is investigative journalism, or at least it should be. John Pilger is one of them, as far as the normative part is concerned. ‘All reporting is investigative, because news gatherers seek facts’, Curtis MacDougal writes in his book *Interpretative Reporting* (quoted by Protes). When interviewed about investigative journalism, journalists often put this kind of arguments forward. But they all know that in the real world journalists often simply report on what someone said at a presentation or press conference, or on what they saw when they were witnessing an event. Of course this has always been a primary element of their task as well: reporting on what has happened, to be there and to serve as the eyes and ears of the readers, listeners or viewers.

Alan Rusbridger, editor of *The Guardian*, said in an interview with Hugo de Burgh: ‘All journalism is investigative to a greater or lesser extent, but investigative journalism – though it is a bit of a tautology – is that because it requires more, it’s where the investigative element is more pronounced.’ Jonathan Calvert, investigative reporter with *The Observer*, is more explicit, also in an interview with Hugo de Burgh: ‘Some stories you make five calls on, some twenty. When you are making a hundred, that’s investigative journalism.’ In this sense one could also formulate quantitative criteria for investigative journalism.

However, according to Ettema and Glasser there is a qualitative difference as well between what ‘ordinary’ journalists do and what investigative journalists do: ‘Although daily reporters can merely accept many claims as news, whatever their truth may be, investigative reporters must decide what they believe to be the truth.’ Many statements of politicians, bureaucrats and business officials make day-to-day news, not because they are necessarily true, but because these

persons made them. The words of the President are news because the President spoke them. De Burgh reasons along a similar track when he writes: 'Whereas news deals very rapidly with received information, usually accepting what is defined for it by authority (ministries, police, fire service, universities, established spokesmen) as events appropriate for transformation into news, investigative journalism selects its own information and prioritises it in a different way.' Of course this distinction is by no means absolute, De Burgh stresses.

It is clear that there is reporting that involves extensive research and non-obvious selection of information, but does not reveal a scandal or exposes information that someone is trying to hide. Some authors would call this kind of reporting investigative anyhow, in disagreement with Greene. Others have tried to save Greene's definition by introducing various other terms for this kind of journalism. These newly coined genres could then be considered neighbours of investigative journalism. Examples are: analytical reporting, interpretative reporting, and precision journalism. We shall briefly look into these adjacent genres.

Hugo de Burgh distinguishes news reporting from analytical reporting: 'News reporting is descriptive and news reporters are admired when they describe in a manner that is accurate, explanatory, vivid or moving, regardless of the medium. Analytical journalism, on the other hand, seeks to take the data available and reconfigure it, helping us to ask questions about the situation or statement or see it in a different way.' According to De Burgh's definitions many broadcasts of the BBC's flagship current affairs programme *Panorama* are not investigative – they do not reveal something that someone is trying to hide – but analytical. In the words of *Panorama*'s Clive Edwards: 'Panorama is telling you about things that you do not know enough about. Even a relatively innocuous subject such as house prices will be treated such as to show you the way they are affecting society and to bring to your attention the problems caused by the situation that most people take for granted. We are trying to get to the bottom of exactly what is happening, the forces behind it.'

Interpretive reporting is a term Ettema and Glasser use for reporting that for instance is more 'concerned with revealing large-scale patterns of discrimination' than pinpointing individual villains. The term refers to stories that show what is happening in society that was hitherto unknown or not explicit. There may well be a moral aspect involved, or even a scandal, but this cannot be attributed to the wrongdoing of a particular person or institution. It is reporting that takes the step from individual cases to social patterns, and in that sense is somewhat closer to social science in its outlook, and often in its methods, because identifying patterns usually requires some sort of statistical analysis.

Applying the methods of social science in journalism is the topic that Philip Meyer put on the agenda in the early seventies when he coined the term 'precision journalism' in his book of the same title. He advocates 'to push journalism toward science, incorporating both the powerful data-gathering and -analysis tools of science and its disciplined search for a verifiable truth'. His plea only concerned methods, not the content. Social science methods may be used to reveal wrongdoing, but also to reveal patterns that were unknown, but nobody's fault.

Evaluating the critique on definitions like Greene's and the proposals to address this critique by coining new terms for different kinds of journalism that are in some way at least very similar to investigative journalism, it is striking that the arguments involve moral and political aspects, aspects concerning sources or the object of investigation, and aspects concerning the actual work of the reporter – often simultaneously. This may seem very complete, but it is also very complex. That's why distilling the arguments from these different domains – morality, politics, sources, objects of investigation, and the actual work of journalists – may clarify a lot.

We can make this separation by looking at the process of investigative journalism. A journalist investigates a particular matter, and then publishes about it, and this publication may have particular political or social effects. Following this process, we may define investigative journalism in three different ways: relating to the input, the output, and the role.

Definitions of investigative journalism that refer to the output describe the nature of the publications involved, such as exposés. Note that not all investigations lead to exposés and not all exposés stem from journalistic investigations (such as the Pentagon Papers), but many authors are not very strict in this respect.

Definitions of investigative journalism that refer to the role describe what happens in society, or in politics in particular, before, during or after the investigation, or as a consequence of investigative journalism. In this kind of definitions there is ample room for outrage, advocacy, appealing to citizens or politicians to invoke reforms. Here the motives of sources and reporters play their parts. Why is someone leaking, or why does he remain silent?

Definitions of investigative journalism that refer to the input describe the activities of the journalists involved. These definitions relate to the news-gathering process. They are about making five phone calls or a hundred, and about taking the word of an authority for granted or not. Such definitions say nothing about the outcome of the process. A possible outcome may even be that there is no story: after all, a thorough and lengthy investigation may check a story to death.

However, according to an input-related definition this does not make the work of the reporter less investigative.

One of these three approaches is not necessarily better than the other two. It all depends on the aim of the analysis that required a definition of investigative journalism. In communication studies, output-related definitions often make sense, because many of the communication processes that are studied start with a publication. They are the raw material for research. In political science, role-related definitions are often preferred, because by them journalism can be given a place in the political process. When studying the inner workings of journalism, however, input-related definitions are most suitable, because they deal with what journalists actually do.

Because the VVOJ is an association that advocates professionalism in journalism, and because the aim of this research project is – in part – to support that, an input-related definition of investigative journalism will fit our needs best. The VVOJ's own definition mentioned in the beginning of this section fulfils this requirement very well.

The VVOJ repeats this definition on many occasions, to clear up any misunderstandings that may arise about the meaning of the term 'investigative journalism'. The founders of the VVOJ deliberately chose a broad definition, to avoid becoming part of a discussion on who is a 'real' investigative journalist and who is not. The association's regulations state:

Investigative journalism is critical and in-depth journalism.

Critical means that journalism works not just as a service-hatch for 'news' that already existed, but that news is being created that would not have existed without this journalistic intervention. This may happen by the creation of new facts, but also by interpreting or connecting already known facts in a new way. In-depth means that a substantial journalistic effort was delivered, be it in a quantitative sense – the amount of time spent on research, by consulting many sources, etcetera – or in a qualitative sense – formulation of sharp questions, new approaches, etcetera – or in a combination of the two.

Referring to this definition the association distinguishes three kinds of investigative journalism that, incidentally, may overlap.

- + Revealing scandals. Tracing infringements of laws, rules or morals by organisations or persons.
- + Examining governments', companies' and other organisations' policies or functions.
- + Describing social, economic, political and cultural trends, so as to trace changes in society.

We started this section with some highlights of the history of American investigative journalism, and we expressed the hope that these would lead us to a useable definition of investigative journalism. The result of this exercise was Greene's definition. The dispute this definition generated involves several distinct domains. By separating these domains, we could conclude that an input-related definition was required for our purposes. The VVOJ definition suits that requirement well.

But before taking the final decision on a definition of investigative journalism for the purpose of this research project, we have to see whether the VVOJ definition is adequate in a multi-lingual and multi-cultural context.

So far this discussion was almost exclusively based on Anglo-Saxon, usually American sources. In this context, terms like investigative journalism, analytical journalism and the like have a particular meaning, connotation and history. But if one discusses investigative journalism with foreign colleagues in other languages than English, other terminology will have to be used. This is more than a matter of mere semantics, seeing that French journalists speaking French will use French concepts that refer to French journalism traditions. This is no different for German, Swedish, Italian, etcetera, journalists. Even before starting this research project, it was obvious that these traditions differ substantially. This introduces new difficulties in defining what we are talking about, as some examples will illustrate.

In the Netherlands there is a word that more or less covers the term 'investigative journalism': *onderzoeksjournalistiek*. This is a common concept among journalists and also in wider circles. But it is not the only relevant concept. When the oldest journalism school in the country, in Utrecht, celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1991, it organised a conference on what we currently would probably call *onderzoeksjournalistiek*. But then the conference, and subsequently the book that was published as a result of it, had the title *onthullingsjournalistiek*, which could be translated as 'exposé journalism'. The definition of *onthullingsjournalistiek* in the book was very similar to the definitions of 'investigative journalism' in the aforementioned American literature: a form of newsgathering in which the journalist investigates sources systematically and optimally, aimed at revealing (often consciously) concealed information. Note that this definition refers to both input and output, while the term itself refers exclusively to output: the exposé or *onthulling*. The authors considered *onthullingsjournalistiek* to be a better term than the more input-oriented *onderzoeksjournalistiek*, as the latter was seen as a tautological concept, in line with some of the authors mentioned above.

Silvio Waisbord uses the term 'watchdog journalism' in his book *Watchdog Journalism in South America*. Although the book is written in

English, it refers to local journalism traditions in South America that are very dissimilar to those in the United States: ‘South American journalists reject the understanding of investigative reporting in terms of specific methodological requirements that sets it apart from other journalism.’ He sees ‘watchdog journalism’ as a broader concept: ‘reporting that brings attention to wrongdoing through reporting information that some implicated parties want to keep hidden.’ Much of this kind of reporting is not based on extensive investigations by journalists, but on documents and other information leaked by members of competing elite factions – the so-called *denuncismo*. Such stories are often based on only one or two sources.

Exposing wrongdoing in this region has long been an activity of the alternative press, which explicitly rejected the American concept of objective journalism and instead crusaded in the name of various ideological causes. So the whole American concept of journalism in general and investigative journalism in particular does not match the South American journalism traditions. For Waisbord, the consequences of reporting are far more important than the methods. Role and output are dominant in his concept; input is an absent factor.

In France, the most obvious equivalent of ‘investigative journalism’ would – at first sight – be *journalisme d’investigation*. But as will become clear in the chapter on France, this concept refers to a different kind of journalism than Americans tend to think of when they use the term ‘investigative journalism’. It more or less follows the work of the prosecutor. So it relates to input, to what journalists do, but is much more limited in its scope than the usual conception of ‘investigative journalism’. Other concepts exist in France, such as *journalisme d’enquête* and reporting on *les affaires*. But neither of them really fit the American concept of ‘investigative journalism’. Journalism traditions in France are simply very different from those in the US or Britain, as has been underlined by the publications of Mark Hunter and Jean Chalaby.

The Swedish language had a term that corresponded very well with ‘investigative journalism’: *undersökande journalistik*, which is also an input-related term. Yet when in 1989 a group of Swedish IRE members wanted to organise a conference on investigative journalism in Stockholm, they had serious doubts about this term. According to them it had too much of an air of big scandals and macho reporting by tough guys. It would not appeal to women and was too narrow in its scope. That’s why they coined a new term: *grävande journalistik* – ‘digging journalism’. This concept was meant to be more down to earth and input-related as well. It referred to what reporters do: dig.

A year later they founded an association of ‘digging journalists’: *Föreningen Grävande Journalister*. The introduction of the term has been quite successful. Nowadays *grävande journalistik* is a common concept in Sweden.

When a group of Dutch and Flemish journalists joined forces in the autumn of 2001 to found an association of investigating journalists, they were confronted with the same question as their Swedish counterparts were twelve years earlier: to stick to a well-known term with all its connotations, some of which were unwanted, or to coin a new term. In the Netherlands especially, the term *onderzoeksjournalistiek* was less macho-laden than its Swedish equivalent, maybe because there simply was less of a tradition of such journalism. In contrast to the Swedes, they chose not to abandon common terminology, but to add the specific and non-common definition to the term ‘*onderzoeksjournalistiek*’ (investigative journalism) described above.

The VVOJ deliberately chose an input-related definition, which describes what journalists do. It is the journalistic investigation that makes investigative journalism investigative and nothing else. It seems a useable definition in Sweden and France, especially if one explains what is meant by it, as described above.

That it was important to work with such an explicit definition became clear in a research project carried out by the VVOJ in 2002. In this project, 107 journalists from the Netherlands and Flanders were interviewed about investigative journalism in their newsroom or in their freelance work. On many occasions, journalists held the view that investigative journalism by definition covers crime and corruption. Only after introducing and explaining the sense of the wider VVOJ definition, did they recognise that they were actually involved in investigative journalism themselves. The results of this project were published in the VVOJ report *Onderzoeksjournalistiek in Nederland en Vlaanderen* (in Dutch).

As the VVOJ definition had already proven its use in a multi-cultural context – the differences in journalism culture and culture in general between the Netherlands and Flanders are much bigger than people usually think they are – it therefore made sense to use it in this research project as well. The researchers had to explain what we were talking about anyway because local journalism traditions differ widely.

Defining Europe

In order to conduct a research project called *Investigative Journalism in Europe*, one not only has to define ‘investigative journalism’ but one has to define ‘Europe’ as well. Just as deciding on who is a journalist and who is not, the decision on which countries belong to Europe and which do not, is primarily a practical matter. The fierce debates in several countries about the possible future EU membership of Turkey form one example, but also in other international bodies such as the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe,

decisions were taken on which countries to admit. However, not only states make this sort of decisions: for the Eurovision Song Contest and the European championships in various sports, similar choices have to be made. And many multinational corporations have a European division, so they have to decide which countries this division will serve.

The classical geographical definition of Europe covers the area between the Atlantic and the Ural, and between the Barents Sea and the Mediterranean. Two countries straddle these European borders: Russia and Turkey. As there was no particular reason to prefer a 'small' Europe, this project includes Russia and Turkey.

For practical and financial reasons, as well as for reasons of relevancy, it was necessary to make a further selection. The first step was to discard all countries with fewer than one million inhabitants. Furthermore, we wanted to cover at least the largest European news markets, the Low Countries and some countries from Western and some from Central and Eastern Europe. Sponsors made some of the choices for us, by earmarking their contributions. Also, the available knowledge of members of the VVOJ and willingness to take part in the project influenced the final selection. The countries covered are the whole of Western Europe plus Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Bulgaria and Turkey.

Research questions, methodology and sources

To be able to draw conclusions about the state of investigative journalism in Europe several questions need to be answered. They can be divided into three tiers.

The first tier is a simple inventory: Who, what, where? For each country included in the project an overview is required of the media that regularly conduct investigative projects, of the journalists that are involved in these projects, and of the subject matter of these projects. It is important not only to look at the major national media, but also at regional and local media, as well as trade publications. Print, including books, and broadcast media will have to be considered.

The second tier concentrates on the individual level of the journalist and his or her medium. What sort of methods and techniques are being used? How are investigative projects embedded in the newsroom? What sort of problems do journalists run into when they conduct investigative projects, both externally – e.g. related to access to documents – and internally – e.g. related to beats and management in the newsroom? It is also important to get an idea why these media and these journalists conduct these investigative projects, and why they use the methodologies they use. Which role do politics play in journalism for these actors? Questions about how one learns to be an investigative journalist also belong to this second tier. For instance, what is the role of the

schools, of professional associations, and of international cooperation? The third tier raises questions on an aggregate level. What are the differences and similarities between countries and between different kinds of media in Europe concerning the amount of investigative journalism they do, how they do it, why they do it, what topics they investigate and what sort of problems they are confronted with? Is it possible to discern particular patterns and to explain them?

The research into these issues could constitute a long-range research programme. Therefore, this project can only really give a first draft of answers.

The research methods used in this project can be related to the three tiers mentioned above.

For the questions in the first tier the main source of information in most countries will be interviews with key informants. Key informants are people who are supposed to have a good overview of investigative journalism in their country, for instance editors of specialist journalism magazines, board and staff members of organisations of investigative journalists, and journalism professors. Interviews were conducted face-to-face. In some countries, collections of documents could be used in addition to the interviews: if awards for investigative journalism existed, the lists of entries for these awards offered an initial overview of the landscape of investigative journalism in that particular country.

To be able to create a rich and annotated list of projects that had been carried out in each country, it was sometimes necessary to complement the interviews with the key informants with short surveys amongst journalists who have actually done the projects. These surveys are especially meant to gather in-depth information about the projects, for instance about the methods used and about newsroom context in which they were developed. Such surveys could be done by email or by phone. The goal would be to get about ten annotated recent projects from each country.

For the second tier, more in-depth information was required from particular journalists and from particular newsrooms. The main source of information were interviews with reporters and editors working for news organisations that were regularly involved in investigative journalism, as well as some freelance journalists that regularly did larger investigations. Interviews were done face-to-face in all cases but a few. Because of the potential cultural differences, personal interaction was necessary.

The interviews were supported by a literature study if relevant publications were available from journalism books and magazines or scholarly publications.

The interviewers were familiar with the definition of investigative journalism used by the VVOJ and the pitfalls one may encounter when defining this kind of work. They all are active journalists themselves, with experience in investigative reporting. The VVOJ preferred to recruit the interviewers from its membership base: this guaranteed that they had a common conceptual framework, and that they were accessible for briefings. And inasmuch as they had different cultural backgrounds, these are differences the association is familiar with.

The interviewers were very familiar with the countries they were to cover. Some of them work or worked there as a correspondent for the Dutch media, some of them studied there. Others had family ties or other special relations in 'their' country. In all countries but Finland and Bulgaria, the researchers were at least able to read and understand the local language. Most of the interviews were conducted in the respondent's native language. It was left to the researchers whether they wanted to tape the interviews or not, depending on their customary way of working as experienced journalists.

The fieldwork for this project, including the interviews, was conducted in 2004 and early 2005.

The country reports and projects lists formed the raw material for the general part of the book. Desk research on relevant literature supplemented the findings and supported the analysis.

General data about each country in the 'at a glance' tables were taken from the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe's *Trends in Europe and North America 2005*. The data about corruption and transparency were taken from Transparency International's *Corruption Perceptions Index 2004*. The data on freedom of the press were taken from *Freedom in the World 2005*, published by the NGO Freedom House.

Data about numbers of newspapers, their circulation and business model were taken as much as possible from *World Press Trends 2004*, a publication of the World Association of Newspapers. This way uniform standards were used for total circulation per 1,000 inhabitants as well as for the circulation of the largest individual newspapers in each country. As *World Press Trends* does not provide data on individual smaller newspapers, these were taken from various national sources, usually from a national institute for circulation measurement. For the sake of readability we did not include separate references for all these figures. The author of the chapters on Russia and Ukraine considered the circulation data of individual newspapers in these countries too unreliable to reproduce. The author of the chapter on Bulgaria considered the differences in circulation figures mentioned by different sources too big to be reliable. Therefore, detailed circulation figures are absent in these chapters.

The assessment of journalists' knowledge of English, their political involvement, and the involvement of politicians in the media and of newsroom hierarchy came from the researchers themselves on the basis of their experience in the particular country. Unions provided the percentage of female journalists in some countries, but in others nothing more than the researcher's estimates was available. The same is true for journalists' education.

Data on the associations of investigative journalists came from the associations themselves. However, in most countries such associations do not exist.

Limitations

Comparative studies on investigative journalism hardly exist. There are some bilateral studies, e.g. comparing investigative journalism in France to that in the United States, and comparing investigative journalism in Sweden to that in the United States. Silvio Waisbord's study on watchdog journalism in South America covers more countries, but on a different continent. This means that we had to start more or less from scratch.

This is the case both theoretically and empirically. As was discussed in this chapter, the more analytical approaches of journalism in general are rare, and of investigative journalism even rarer. 'Analysis of investigative journalism hardly exists', Hugo de Burgh writes in his introduction to *Investigative Journalism, Context and Practice*. Apart from this analytical vacuum, substantial comparative empirical data on investigative journalism are non-existent. There is some comparative research on journalism, notably the surveys done by David Weaver and colleagues – published in *The Global Journalist* – but these cover a much wider range of topics and countries and only in a few of the countries covered by our research.

The VVOJ had conducted a research project into investigative journalism in the Netherlands and Flanders in 2002. For this study, 107 journalists at 77 different media were interviewed. In these small countries this scale was sufficient to make some careful quantitative estimates on how many journalists are actually involved in more substantial investigations in the Low Countries. It was the first time that such estimates could be made. To achieve a similar result in twenty countries, at least two thousand interviews would be necessary, and probably more, because in the larger countries a hundred interviews would not do as there are many more relevant media. This was and is way beyond the reach of our possibilities. So we knew in advance that we had to be satisfied with more limited results. This study, therefore, does not aim to quantify investigative journalism in Europe.

It was clear from the outset that differences between European countries when it comes to investigative journalism would be big, but we did not know how big. This report is – as far as we know – the first that addresses this question. That is why the results should be considered a first exploration of the matter, and by no means as the final word.

References for the general chapters of this publication can be found at the end of Part Three: Analysis.

Part two: Country Reports

Austria

BY BRAM VERMEER

Since its sovereignty was restored in 1955, Austria has been a neutral buffer between the Eastern and Western power blocs. Because of its neutrality, many UN organizations have established offices there. The opening of the Iron Curtain in 1989 brought the neighbours from the East a little closer. Austria joined the European Union in 1995 and introduced the euro in 2001.

Since 1971, the socialist party SPÖ has been in government almost continuously. In the seventies, the party even ruled by absolute majority, as a consequence of which Austria has become a regulated country.

In 2000 this process came to a halt suddenly. That year, the government was taken over by a coalition of the right-wing populist Freedom Party (FPÖ) and the People's Party (ÖVP). This sent a shockwave through Europe and led to the diplomatic isolation of Austria. After new elections in 2002 and successive months of negotiations, the coalition returned to power in 2003. The FPÖ, however, is losing support, especially because of the severe economic measures the coalition has introduced. In spring 2005, several leading members, including Jörg Haider, left the party. They founded a new party called the Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ).

Current news media landscape

Austria has sixteen newspapers. Over the last fifty years there has been a trend towards concentration. When the Allied Forces left Austria in 1955, there were thirty-five newspapers, most of them founded by the occupying Allied government. One of them was the *Wiener Kurier* – now: *Kurier* (circulation 252,000) – which was set up by the Americans as an instrument of propaganda. Initially, *Kurier* had an American editor, who introduced the country to a new, more popular form of journalism than the readers were used to. This was quite successful and has greatly influenced the shape of post-war journalism. It explains why there were powerful tabloids in Austria long before they appeared elsewhere in continental Europe.

Austria at a glance

+ Inhabitants	8.1 million
+ Population density	96 per km ²
+ Capital	Vienna
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 29,500
+ Language	German
+ Access law	yes, since 1987, but not effective
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	8.4
+ Democracy rank	13
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	21 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	2.5 million
+ Circulation per thousand	308
+ Circulation per household	0.76
+ Newspaper reach among adults	75 percent
+ Number of newspapers	16
+ Dominant business model	subscription
+ Commercial TV since	2002
+ Journalists' education	journalism school or other higher education
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	good working knowledge
+ Female journalists	30 percent
+ Newsroom hierarchy	well-defined, but with relatively much independence for reporters
+ Journalists' political involvement	seldom
+ Politicians' media involvement	-
+ Investigative journalism organisation	none
+ Number of members	-

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

And this is why, in the sixties and seventies, *Neue Kronen Zeitung* (circulation 1.0 million) managed to become the biggest daily in Austria. It represents about forty percent of paid circulation. Nowhere else in Europe is the tabloid press this dominant.

These two big tabloids also managed to obtain strong regional positions, due to their regional editions. By 1970, many other titles had to fold because of the commercial pressure by these giants. Newspapers linked to political parties, in particular, were unable to hold their ground against this advertising power. Several major German publishers bought shares in Austrian newspapers. The publisher Springer took a stake in the re-establishment of *der Standard*, a social-liberal broadsheet (104,000). In 1995, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* took over the stake in *der Standard*. Some independent newspapers are standing firm, the largest by far being the conservative *Die Kleine Zeitung* (298,000).

Since 2000, print media have experienced a permanent economic crisis because of a sharp rise in delivery rates and paper prices, and a drop in advertising. Newsroom staffs have been reduced by ten to twenty percent. This caused another wave of concentration. In 2004, the Austrian publisher Mediaprint joined forces with Morowa, Austria's largest book publisher. The publisher of *Die Kleine Zeitung* merged with the publisher of the influential broadsheet *Die Presse* (120,000). The Austrian government does not seem worried about this concentration.

Mediaprint holds a monopoly over the market of news magazines. The concern now has stakes in a number of magazines, and controls virtually all leading newsmagazines: *News* and *Profil*, and the financial weeklies *Format* and *Trend*.

One remarkable publication is the independent city magazine *Falter*, which was established in 1977 as a critical magazine for students, but has distinguished itself by its critical reporting and investigative journalism. This originally Viennese magazine is now read nationwide.

Until 2002, there was no commercial television in Austria. The public network ORF is still the viewers' favourite, with a market share of 56 percent. But viewers are spoilt for choice. More than eighty percent of them has access to dozens of channels through satellite or cable TV. German foreign networks attract approximately forty percent, mainly RTL, Sat1 and Pro7. The information channel ORF-2 is successful thanks to its regionally differentiated programmes with a lot of local news and reports. In 2002, ATVplus entered the market, the first national commercial network. It attracts approximately three percent of the viewers.

ORF dominates radio broadcasting with an 85 percent market share. Commercial radio is largely controlled by print publishers. Krone Hitradio, owned by Mediaprint, reaches three percent of listeners. A

chain of regional stations, run by regional newspapers, has a joint market share of five percent.

A profession under pressure

Journalists who regularly participate in investigative projects sounded quite frustrated in the interviews. During the past five years, work pressure has greatly increased due to staff cutbacks. Investigative journalists have become soloists, who have to squeeze their research in between other tasks. Several famous Austrian investigative journalists seem to be doing something else now. Or they finally get to do some proper investigations once they are retired.

In our conversations, it was often implied that publishers are not keen on investigative journalism. 'It damages their networks, and often results in legal proceedings. To them, the costs of investigative journalism do not balance the benefits', said one journalist who regularly publishes articles on involvement of politics with business.

Many journalists are worried about the quality of their profession. This has led to the creation of the *Initiative Qualität im Journalismus* in 2000, the initiative for quality in journalism. It is a cooperation of training centres, media scholars and journalists. The association has over 200 members. It aims to examine and discuss changes in media practice and journalism.

This attention for quality has also led to changes in the system of press subsidies. Traditionally, the postal charges of newspapers were subsidised by the government. As of December 2003, the state funding has been split. Now training centres, press clubs and in-house training courses are also granted financial support. Additionally, regional diversity is encouraged and financed, by granting funds to regional papers that are not market leaders. The annual amount of subsidies is approximately 14 million euro. A number of new training courses have been initiated as a consequence of this new system of subsidies.

Several Austrian investigative journalists feel inspired by their German colleagues. *Der Spiegel's* tradition, for example, is well known. But the circulation of German media is smaller in Austria than in neighbouring Switzerland. The increasing role of German publishers on the Austrian market has not led to closer ties with the German journalism tradition.

Newsrooms do not often make use of mid-career training, according to the respondents. As a result of reorganisations, old hands disappear and young inexperienced journalists are appointed on a freelance basis. Freelancers do not have a contract and are paid per word; even for more in depth, long-term jobs they usually do not get additional pay for research. So it is no wonder that none of the interviewees knew of a

freelancer who worked as an investigative journalist. The fact that many investigative publications end up in a lawsuit probably also plays a role. *(see below)*

Electronic resources have obviously brought journalism into a higher gear. As a rule, investigative journalists have access to databases with, for example, economic data. But they have had to teach themselves how to use them.

Despite the time pressure and concerns about quality, different media do not cooperate with one another, not even if they belong to the same company. This is due to stiff commercial competition, but also because they are afraid that someone else might 'snatch the scoop'. However, some regional papers do work together. They have, for example, joint correspondents for foreign sports events and participate in regional radio networks.

Subjects of investigative journalism

Bribery, abuse of information by the secret services, Stasi activities in Austria, construction fraud, malversation in the purchase of military equipment – these issues are no minor challenges for Austrian investigative journalists.

The conservative-populist party FPÖ offers a source of stories that do not occur in other countries, as in the case of an espionage affair in 2000. A member of the FPÖ stated that the party had obtained information from the secret service about an artist, which the party subsequently passed on to the tabloid *Neue Kronen Zeitung*. A large number of investigative journalists threw themselves into the affair. Slowly but surely it became clear that for years the FPÖ had systematically discredited political opponents and had stimulated racism. Dieter Böhmdorfer, Jörg Haider's lawyer, played an important part in this affair. Later, when he was appointed Minister of Justice, the affair led to him sharpening press laws. *(see below)*

Because of its geographic location, Austria also plays an important role in matters concerning the Russian and Balkan mafia and Russian oligarchs. The affairs do not only involve financial transactions, but also infiltration into the government. As became clear from one of *Falter's* disclosures, the police use mafia informants, themselves murder suspects, and the Home Office is involved as well. 'I often find out about similar affairs from Russian journalists', says an Austrian journalist. 'They pass these stories on to me because they are too afraid to publish them.'

Top industrialists are also an interesting subject of disclosures in Austria, especially when it concerns their high remuneration and

malversations with bankruptcies. For example, *Format* disclosed that André Rettberg, the big boss of the Libro chain of bookshops, had embezzled assets after the company was quoted on the stock exchange, but shortly before the company went bankrupt due to their unfortunate escapades on the Internet. Shareholders lost millions of euros.

Many of these affairs have international ramifications. Yet there are only a few journalists who travel abroad or who involve foreign colleagues. Often all they can do is sift through databases with foreign publications.

The Austrian media also regularly present well-researched historical topics that kick up a dust. Austria's history offers many points of departure, with the complications of World War II, the subsequent division in allied zones and the long-standing argument with Italy about the South Tyrol region (Alto Adige).

Two political programmes on ORF2 dominate investigative journalism on television. One example: towards the end of 2004, the entire country was gripped by commotion because of a programme by the ORF on the treatment of conscripts. Soldiers with bags over their head were subjected to 'hostage games'. The programme led to the resignation of the military officers involved.

Freedom of press and accessibility of information

'I never ask a public official about the content of a document', said one investigative journalist. 'Just asking the question is considered as instigating the violation of the code of professional secrecy. Lawyers actually make use of it to lodge a complaint against people. You have to be careful while formulating your questions. I only ask the public official if he has the document at his disposal. If he then starts to talk about the content, at least I have not directly asked him for it!'

The right-wing populist FPÖ-minister Böhmdorfer has even tried to sharpen this rule in 2001, by making the offence punishable with imprisonment. But massive protests of journalists and foreign media organisations have prevented this. Currently there is a bill being drafted which should render government information publicly accessible, at least in principle. But it seems unlikely that it will be passed.

The legal climate in Austria has become increasingly problematic during the last ten years. According to some interviewees this is one reason why there is less investigative journalism than a few years ago. Several investigative journalists have been sued. Usually, the publisher is charged, but sometimes also the reporter. This is probably also explains why there are hardly any investigative journalists working on a freelance basis. 'By practising investigative journalism, young colleagues and the loss-making media risk their continued existence, because of the tightened legislation and the extremely hostile judicial sentences against

investigative journalists', says journalist Wolfgang Fellner. He is the founder of several magazines, including the successful current affairs magazine *News*, which does a lot of investigative work.

Before publishing important disclosures, journalists almost always seek legal advice. That is also why many investigative journalists are extremely well informed about media law. Instigating a violation of a person's professional secrets is a common accusation. It prevents journalists from quoting leaked documents. But not all journalists care about that. 'Convictions are just part of the job. The publisher knows it too, and backs you anyway', says one.

Other grounds for charges are related to privacy law. In the case of an important disclosure on a corruption scandal, it would be very complicated to name the key figures. 'But you can name the company though, and that is often what it is about', states a business journalist. 'You are limited, however, in the way you present the story. If you want to write a vivid story and want to describe people in detail, you have to change their names.' Further more, companies can claim damages suffered as a result of a disclosure. Frequently, the judge awards compensation of 10,000 to 15,000 euro.

Around the turn of the century, the number of court cases was cranked up by the right-wing populist FPÖ. The party took an extremely hostile attitude towards the press – 'Ninety percent of what they write about us is lies'. Slander cases were frequent. Informants of journalists can also expect to be taken to court, once their names come out. Currently the number of political court cases has decreased, probably because of the lack of success and the FPÖ's diminishing electoral appeal.

Several journalists complained about court cases in which the party filing the case does not stand a chance. The journalists involved are convinced that the suing party has the sole intention to silence them. Trials make it hard for journalists to use verbal testimonies as a source, because they are not sure whether sources will be willing to repeat their words in court.

Journalists in Austria are subject to a code of professional secrecy. As a result, in principle, newsrooms cannot be monitored or searched, and it prevents journalists from having to provide testimony in court. But this right does not apply if the journalist himself is accused. In 2002 Florian Klenk, editor of *Falter*, could prove that he was being wiretapped when he spoke to a renegade secret service official. 'I always count on it happening', says a colleague from another medium. 'It means you cannot do much by telephone. Important meetings always take place face to face. And that is very time-consuming.' In our interviews, journalists often shrugged off these practices. 'It is like rain, you cannot do anything about that either. If necessary, you just get wet.'

Many journalists – including investigative journalists – went into PR recently, driven out of journalism by staff cutbacks and simultaneously, commercial companies expanding their PR departments. ‘PR and journalism are no longer balanced; it is becoming increasingly hard to offset the power of advertising. And another journalist said: ‘Once you make an exposé about a company, you can expect a massive counteroffensive. You cannot ignore that.’

As of 2002, the Austrian Press Council became defunct. This was due to a media campaign by the FPÖ and the *Neue Kronen Zeitung* against the Czech nuclear plant near Temelin, on the eve of the Czech entry into the European Union. The Press Council criticized the paper, and was in turn, accused of political agitation. The *Neue Kronen Zeitung* and *Die Presse* withdrew from the Council, and the newspaper publishers VÖZ followed suit afterwards. Consequently, there no longer is a self-regulating press body.

Many respondents do not take the public broadcast network seriously as a platform for investigative journalists. ‘It is a state network, and as such it cannot be critical of government institutions’, it was said repeatedly. The network is indeed subject to considerable political influence. Top positions are political appointments, and many political conflicts are settled in ORF offices. The new broadcast law (2001) prohibits the appointment of politicians to the network, but appointments are nevertheless still influenced by politics.

One incident late in 2001 illustrates the dependence of the network. FPÖ leader Jörg Haider, governor of the federal state of Carinthia, was interviewed near Ground Zero, shortly after the terrorist attacks in New York. The ORF broadcasted the interview in its entirety. The interviewer was Haider’s adviser; the camera crew was hired by Haider. The ORF later justified this by saying ‘that it had had to save on expenses’.

Recently the network has been sailing a more independent course, which could be related to the waning popularity of the FPÖ. Yet the ORF regularly throws a spanner in the works by increasing the broadcast tax, by personal conflicts in the news and current affairs department, and by plummeting ratings and advertising income.

Perspective

Investigative journalists are often the only reporters in the newsroom that work on in-depth long-term projects. In spite of economic and legal pressure, important disclosures are made. Thanks to their massive protest, journalists have managed to counteract a further erosion of media law. Another positive element is that the Parliament is now discussing a freedom of information act.

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Belgium

BY MARK EECKHAUT AND DICK VAN EIJK

After the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, the area now known as Belgium became part of the Netherlands. The Belgian Revolution of 1830 led to a separation from the Netherlands and the establishment of a sovereign Belgian state.

The southern part of the country – Wallonia – is French speaking, the northern part – Flanders – Dutch speaking. In the east are two smaller areas where German is spoken. Language is by no means neutral in Belgium. French used to be the language of the ruling class, and it was not until 1932 that equal rights for both languages were ensured, at least formally. The dominance of French, and with that of persons from the French-speaking population, is eroding slowly. Knowledge of French is more common in the Dutch-speaking part of the country than the reverse. However, in the last decades of the twentieth century, Flanders has become more affluent. Moreover, the majority of the population lives in Flanders, about sixty percent. Formally, Brussels is a bilingual city, but in reality French is spoken far more in the capital than Flemish.

History has created a horrendously complicated administrative structure, with three counties (Flanders, Wallonia and the Brussels-Capital region) and three communities (Dutch, French and German-speaking). Counties and communities have their own tasks, but they do not coincide geographically. Of course there is a federal government, but there is no such thing as Belgian political parties, or a Belgian civil society. The main political parties are either Flemish or French-speaking, and recruit support exclusively in their own regions.

Belgium is a rich country and has an advanced welfare state, like its neighbouring countries in the North of Europe.

Brussels is the main seat of the European Union and NATO, and this has attracted tens of thousands of civil servants, lobbyists, politicians and journalists.

Current news media situation

Just as there are no Belgian political parties, there are no Belgian media. Newspapers, magazines, radio and television channels are either Flemish or French-speaking, and target that particular part of the population. So media-wise Belgium is not a 10 million people market, but it consists of two entirely separated smaller markets.

Newspaper readership in Belgium is lower than in the Netherlands, Germany, Britain and the Nordic countries, but higher than in the Mediterranean countries. The number of newspapers (28) is small,

Belgium at a glance

+ Inhabitants	10.4 million
+ Population density	340 per km ²
+ Capital	Brussels
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 28,100
+ Language	Dutch, French, German
+ Access law	yes, since 1994, but not effective
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	7.5
+ Democracy rank	12
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	11 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	1.5 million
+ Circulation per thousand	144
+ Circulation per household	0.34
+ Newspaper reach among adults	54 percent
+ Number of newspapers	28
+ Dominant business model	mixed
+ Commercial TV since	1987
+ Journalists' education	-
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	common
+ Female journalists	-
+ Newsroom hierarchy	-
+ Journalists' political involvement	-
+ Politicians' media involvement	-
+ Investigative journalism organisation	Vereniging van Onderzoeksjournalisten (VVOJ, Flanders)
+ Number of members	430 (60 Flemish)

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

particularly if one takes into account that no more than half of them are truly autonomous; other newspapers are editions with their own names, but they mostly share content. Belgian newspapers reach about half of the adult population.

The Flemish newspaper market is controlled by three publishers: VUM, De Persgroep and RUG. De Persgroep is active in the Netherlands as well. The largest newspapers in circulation are *Het Laatste Nieuws* (294,000 including regional editions) and *Het Nieuwsblad* (211,000 including regional editions). The two upmarket newspapers *De Standaard* (79,000) and *De Morgen* (51,000) are more important than their circulation numbers suggest. The business paper *De Tijd* (50,000) is remarkably widely read, measured against international standards. Two regional papers exceed the 100,000 threshold by a small margin: *Gazet van Antwerpen* and *Het Belang van Limburg*.

Three big national newspapers dominate the French language market. *Le Soir* is still the biggest (104,000) but the tabloid *La Dernière Heure* is growing fast (83,000). The third, *La Libre Belgique* (48,000) is struggling to survive. *Le Soir*, the most influential newspaper, is in crisis. It is quickly losing readers and therefore wants to become more popular to attract new readers. Apart from the big national newspapers, there are a few regional newspapers. They all focus on the regional news but they have some national pages too. The Vers L' Avenir-group has several regional editions with a total circulation of 101,000. The Sud-Presse group has editions in Liège (*La Meuse*), Brussels (*La Capitale*), and Charleroi (*La Nouvelle Gazette*), with a total circulation of 125,000.

News-wise the most important Flemish magazines are *Knack* (122,000) and *Humo* (245,000). The latter runs the broadcast schedules of television and radio as an important asset. *Trends* and its French language counterpart *Tendences* (combined circulation 39,000) primarily serve the business community, but run stories with a wider appeal as well.

Leaders in the French language magazine market are *Le Soir Magazine*, *Ciné Télé Revue*, *Téléoustique* and *La Libre Match*. They mainly cover life-style and boulevard subjects. *Le Vif L' Express* (82,000) is an exception. In contrast with the magazines mentioned above, it is more orientated towards big political and social issues and takes on the more serious subjects.

Just like in Flanders, the political influence on the French-speaking media gradually decreased. At the beginning of the nineties, there was the socialist union newspaper *Le Peuple*, in addition to the communist *Le Drapeau Rouge* and the catholic workers newspaper *La Cité*. They have all disappeared. Officially there is no longer any political influence on the media. Indirectly, according to some though, there still is. The

French-speaking media are still subsidised by the regional government. Especially for the small newspapers, the money is more than welcome. Some journalists say that is why, unlike their Flemish counterparts, editors hesitate to be too harsh on politicians. Without government money most newspapers would in fact have serious financial problems. But no journalists complain about direct political influence.

Flemish television is dominated by the public service network VRT and the commercial station VTM. When it comes to news, the Flemish viewers have no other choice than these two. The public RTBF and the commercial RTL broadcasting networks cover the whole French-speaking territory. Besides that, there are also a few smaller regional television and radio stations.

Since 2002, the Flemish press has had a self-regulating body, the Journalism Council, to deal with complaints and questions of citizens. There is no equivalent for the French-speaking press. The journalist union has a formal accreditation procedure to distinguish persons as 'professional journalists', recognised by law. This status is necessary to be able to make use of press facilities in parliament, courts and other institutions. It is illegal to present oneself as a 'professional journalist' without the required credentials, and this may be punished with a fine.

History of investigative journalism

The leading upmarket newspapers in Belgium are extremely small in terms of European standards. Their equivalents in much smaller countries like Norway, Denmark or Switzerland are substantially bigger, not only in circulation, but also in the size of the newsroom staff.

Nevertheless, there is a certain tradition of investigative reporting, especially at the upmarket newspapers and some magazines. *De Morgen* had a dedicated investigative team of reporters from 1990 to 1997. During part of this time Walter De Bock was the editor of the newspaper. He is probably the most famous investigative journalist in Belgium, who covered several of the major stories since the late seventies. His investigations relate to the traditional areas of organised crime, corruption and arms trade.

In 1995, the police searched De Bock's home, as well as the editorial office. They were looking for the sources of his stories on connections between the Flemish socialist party and the acquisition of army helicopters by the Belgian State. This is by no means the only example of journalistic source material being subpoenaed in police raids. Recently, a new law was adopted to improve journalists' rights to protect their sources, but it is too early to judge the consequences.

The newspaper *Le Soir*, still the most respected in the French language part of the country, has an important tradition in investigative journalism. In the eighties, journalists like the legendary René Haquin did a remarkable job on, among other things, analysing right-wing extremism in Belgium and its connection with banditism and terrorism. Nowadays, editors, even the editor of *Le Soir*, do not really feel the need for that kind of journalism anymore. Newspapers, magazines and television programmes are perceived as a monitor of daily life and are not expected to reveal important issues. . ‘The editors do not feel the need to look for the hidden face of society because they think viewers and readers do not want to be discomforted’, as one journalist put it.

The investigative team at *De Morgen* was dissolved due to the lessons learned from some high-profile cases in the nineties. The main conclusion was that investigative reporting would thrive more if it were embedded in the newsroom, instead of in splendid isolation. The reporters involved developed a blind spot for particular angles in their stories as a result of lack of critical feedback and support.

A much discussed case is the so-called X-witness case, one of many cases around child murderer Marc Dutroux. Dutroux kidnapped several young girls, held them imprisoned at his home and abused them. The Dutroux case severely upset the whole country. Citizens reacted strongly, among other things, by holding so-called white marches, demonstrations in white as a means of protesting against the authorities that had let this happen (e.g. letting Dutroux escape from a court building).

In the stream of publications about Dutroux, *De Morgen* published a series of articles on anonymous witnesses, the X-witnesses, which supported the idea of a secret network, including high-ranking officials, behind the Dutroux case. Both the Flemish and the French language press were deeply divided between believers and non-believers when it came to the existence of such a secret network. In Flanders, *De Morgen* was among the believers, but *De Standaard* was not.

The battle between the newspapers became more and more of a mutual repetition of viewpoint, instead of a quest for new facts. Partly, this resulted in a bad reputation of investigative journalism as a whole. In a survey by the Dutch-Flemish association of investigative journalists in 2002, several Flemish journalists stated that they did not want to be associated with ‘fabulists and cowboys’.

Investigative journalism has caused a lot of damage to its own reputation, also in the French-speaking part of Belgium. The two most important criminal cases of the country’s recent history – the murder of André Cools and the Dutroux case – turned into a huge quarrel amongst journalists.

André Cools, then a cabinet member, was murdered by professional killers on July 18th, 1991. It took five years before the murderers were arrested. In the meantime, police and the judiciary system quarrelled about the motives. The press did the same.

All journalists investigated the same facts but drew opposite conclusions. They used their own medium to prove they were right, but also to insult other colleagues who held different opinions. The journalists argued against one another in public, even on the weekly Sunday televised debates. Cools turned out to be the beginning of the end of investigative journalism.

Dutroux signified the end. Simple disagreement on facts between journalists again turned into a flood of insults and verbal abuse. The Dutroux-case shocked Belgium; journalists lost their calm. One of the most famous French-speaking investigative journalists was even dismissed because his editor thought he showed a lack of objectivity. This quarrel was, however, in the first place a clash of egos. It seemed the only question that mattered was not 'What are the facts' but 'What are the facts that fit into my theory'.

But, of course, the continuing pressure of the editors cannot be underestimated. In the Dutroux-era, scandal sold newspapers. Editors were not looking for the truth; they were looking for 'the shocking truth'. Investigative had become synonymous for sensational. The tone of the articles in the Dutroux-period was often bitter and offensive.

A special legal issue for investigative journalism in Belgium is the right of answer: anyone mentioned or implied in a story has the right to publish his own view on the matter on the same slot in the newspaper or magazine, and even on television. This view does not have to be true, nor does the original publication have to be false to make use of this opportunity.

Current investigative journalism

A VVOJ survey in 2002 among 107 journalists in the Netherlands and Flanders showed that Flemish journalists who wanted to carry out more extensive investigations had to do so in their own time. This was especially apparent in comparison to their Dutch colleagues. Reporters entirely dedicated to investigative projects are virtually non-existent in Belgium, in contrast to the Netherlands. About three percent of the newsroom staff surveyed in 2002 sometimes participated in an investigative project, in comparison to ten percent of the Dutch media surveyed.

The views on investigative journalism are rather traditional in Belgium, in the sense that it is seen as a matter of personal drive and character,

therefore requiring not only skills but also political commitment. The topics investigated fit into this tradition, with crime, fraud and corruption being the main issues investigated. Quantitative investigations or surveys in a particular field are not very common in Belgium, with the notable exception of some magazines, like *Trends* and *Test-Aankoop*.

The general mood among journalists involved in investigative projects is rather pessimistic, especially compared to the frame of mind of their northern colleagues. However, forty percent of the journalists interviewed estimate that there is more investigative journalism in Flanders now compared to the end of the nineties.

A peculiarity of the Flemish press is the outright hostile stance between media belonging to different media groups. This was mentioned several times as an obstacle to more cooperation among journalists. Respondents note that it is also not uncommon to copy material from each other's investigative stories without any reference to the source and that media openly criticise one another for their revelations. This is not part of a shared quest for the truth, but part of an ongoing media battle to damage each other's reputation.

On the positive side, it should be noted that access to politicians, high-ranking civil servants and business managers is relatively open in Belgium. Journalists are not denied access to these people by large numbers of PR persons, as in many other countries.

On the other hand, professionalism in journalism is a relatively new phenomenon. Regular journalism programmes in polytechnics have existed for a decade or so. Recently, some have started to include investigative techniques explicitly as a part of their programmes. Several VVOJ board members teach in these courses. Belgium has a modern freedom of information act, but journalists have rarely used it. This could also be qualified as a lack of professionalism.

The VVOJ was founded as a bilateral Dutch-Flemish association of investigative journalists in 2002, as an offspring of the Global Investigative Journalism Conference in Copenhagen the year before, where the founders met. Although the Netherlands and Flanders share the Dutch language, this kind of bilateral association is very rare. Dutch and Flemish media are entirely separated, and the journalism culture on both sides of the border differs substantially.

Investigative journalism in Flanders is financially supported by the Fonds Pascal Decroos, a foundation funded by the Flemish community, a government authority, with an amount of almost 200,000 euro a year. Journalists may apply for funding at this organisation. An independent jury, the members of which are anonymous to prevent unwanted pressure, judge the applications. Since 1998, when the Fonds started,

hundreds of projects have been supported. There is no equivalent in Wallonia. In the French-speaking part of Belgium there is currently very little investigative journalism, even less than in the Flemish speaking part. And it is getting worse. French-speaking journalists in Belgium are very pessimistic about the evolution of investigative journalism in their region.

Usually, investigative journalists in the French-speaking part of Belgium are viewed as journalists who dig up scandals. Everybody agrees though, that investigative journalism is also possible in other branches of the profession. Peculiarly, investigative journalism seems to exist only when scandals are revealed. This is predominantly a male thing. There are only a few women active in this sector.

The most important reason mentioned for the absence of investigative journalism is the lack of time and money. One of our interviewees put it like this: 'Intellectually, the editors really want investigative journalism because it is good for the image of the medium. But they do not want to invest time and money in it.' In the French-speaking part of the country there is no organisation that supports or encourages investigative journalism or special journalistic projects. Regular media do not have, or do not want to give the money required to do the job.

There is also no special investigative training for journalists. At the French language universities and polytechnics there are courses in journalism but they tend to be very theoretical. There is no special practical training in investigative techniques. The principle is that you learn on the job, but there are hardly any means to secure extra training.

Basically, editors at present times of circulation and advertising crisis, expect their journalists to produce a daily, measurable production of text. The newsrooms of the big national newspapers have no special departments that are specialised in investigative journalism.

This lack of specialisation can be observed in the fringes of the Dutroux-case. A number of journalists were condemned for libelling civilians, policemen and magistrates. The journalist union AJPB offered its members insurance to cover expenses of lawsuits. The insurance company recently cancelled this policy because it had become too expensive. Too many lawsuits were lost.

As a consequence, investigative journalists have become more cautious than ever. Editors still pay for the lawsuits of their (non-freelance) staff but not wholeheartedly. This results in journalists not taking risks anymore. After all, in Belgium – and especially in the French-speaking part – journalists are not paid very well.

After the Dutroux case, the confidence of the public in (investigative) journalism decreased considerably. One of the journalists interviewed

put it this way: ‘After Dutroux, the editors decided playtime was over. In their opinion the public was fed up with so-called investigations.’ So now the general policy in the French-speaking media concerning investigative journalism is: let’s not cause too much turmoil. The aversion to investigative journalism exists in printed and visual media.

French language public broadcaster RTBF used to have a tradition in investigative journalism with programmes like *Au Nom de la Loi* (In the name of the Law) and *Faits Divers*. Both programs were specialised in long, investigative items, produced in-house. They required a lot of work and money. The monthly programme *Au Nom de Loi* specialised in lengthy crime programmes in which a criminal police investigation was analysed and (often) criticised. The programme had high ratings; still it was dropped. The programme *Faits Divers* that dealt with more general investigations encountered a similar fate. RTBF had to save money and replaced both programmes by daily and weekly quickly-produced reality programmes.

The overall view of investigative journalism is negative. There are a few positive signs, though. Some journalists still try to find a way of doing what they want to do. One *Au Nom de la Loi* journalist is currently involved in investigative projects for the French network TV5, e.g. a sensational documentary about the Outreau paedophile scandal in the north of France, near the Belgian border. This documentary revealed that two men, father and son, were wrongly accused of paedophile acts, because of a simple confusion of names. The trial should have started in May 2005 in Paris but, because of the documentary, it was postponed until the end of the year. RTBF bought the documentary that was produced by its own journalist for the French TV5. Inspired by the Outreau story, RTBF is now planning to revive *Au Nom de la Loi*.

Some magazine editors have recently asked their journalist to start investigating again. Without investigations the media landscape is getting to be boring. Some young freelance journalists continue digging, even if they have to struggle to make ends meet.

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Les Journaux Francophones Belges scl.

Bulgaria

BY GUIDO MUELENAER

Bulgaria is a country with a long history. The oldest archaeological findings in Europe have been made in Bulgarian ground. The Thracian people built up a rich society long before the Greeks and Romans. Bulgaria continued to develop until the Turkish invasion in 1396. From then on, Bulgaria was under Turkish occupation for nearly 500 years. It became an independent country again in 1878, with the help of the Russian Tsar and his army. It signalled the start of a second period during which Bulgaria flourished. The Second World War abruptly halted this development, as Bulgaria came under the power of the Russians after the war. In 1989, the Bulgarian communist regime was abolished. This third period of independence has had many ups and downs. For some years the economy has been stable, but the country is still one of the poorest in Europe. Bulgaria is a candidate member for the European Union. If all goes according to plan, it will become a member in 2007.

Current news media situation

Until 1989, the media were under communist control. Since the collapse of the communist regime in Bulgaria the media landscape has changed a lot. At this moment there are eleven national dailies. Their circulation is estimated at 400,000 but has dropped considerably in recent years. There are also four national weeklies: the popular *168 Chassa*, the more upmarket *Capital* and *Banker*, and the new *Politika*. Important factors are also the many regional and local newspapers. Their quality is often quite poor. The lack of professional standards and the excessive focus on sensation, crime and violence are a big problem for the Bulgarian media. In some print media there seems to be a 'page three girl' on nearly every page. A quality magazine market doesn't really exist. Only *Tema* merits a mention.

The biggest market player in the Bulgarian media market is the German media group Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. It owns the two dailies with the widest circulation: *Trud* and *24 Chassa*. It is also the publisher of *168 Chassa* and has publications in Serbia, Macedonia and Croatia. The Swedish Bonnier Group recently acquired a fifty percent share in the business daily *Pari*.

In the audio-visual media the public Bulgarian National Television is a very controversial station. A lot of political discussions take place about the television and its leaders. bTV is the first private national television channel. Murdoch's Balkan News Corporation owns it. The third national television channel, Nova Televisia, owned by the Greek

Bulgaria at a glance

+ Inhabitants	7.8 million
+ Population density	70 per km ²
+ Capital	Sofia
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 7,300
+ Language	Bulgarian
+ Access law	yes, since 2000
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	4.1
+ Democracy rank	35
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	35 (partly free)
+ Newspaper circulation	no data available
+ Circulation per thousand	no data available
+ Circulation per household	no data available
+ Newspaper reach among adults	45 percent
+ Number of newspapers	63
+ Dominant business model	single copy
+ Commercial TV since	2000
+ Journalists' education	-
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	low, but higher among younger journalists
+ Female journalists	-
+ Newsroom hierarchy	-
+ Journalists' political involvement	-
+ Politicians' media involvement	-
+ Investigative journalism organisation	Investigative Journalists' Association
+ Number of members	30

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

Antenna Group, is also private. Cable television is rapidly gaining ground. There are some national cable TV stations and several regional and local ones, with a total of 155 operators.

Since 2000, Bulgarian National Radio (BNR) has had a competitor in Darik Radio. However, BNR still has the biggest audience. The *Horizont* programme in particular is very popular. In addition, there are 273 private regional and local radio stations.

Freedom House rated Bulgaria's press freedom with 35 on a scale from 1 to 100 (the lower the grade the better). This is reasonably well done in a still developing media market with a lot of financial constraints.

History of investigative journalism

The history of investigative journalism in Bulgaria is a short one. Thorough investigative journalism only really kicked off after the political changes in 1989. The single more or less critical magazine before that time was the national weekly *Pogled*, a publication of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists and the magazine *Obshtestvo I Pravo*, a publication of the Union of Bulgarian Lawyers. In the first years after the changes investigative journalism was not common. 'For a long period almost nobody did any investigations', says Stanimir Vaglenov, investigative journalist at *24 Chassa*. 'It was not considered prestigious and it didn't earn enough money.'

Nowadays a lot of newspapers and magazines are doing investigative work. Among the newspapers: *24 Chassa* (and *168 Chassa*), *Dnevnik*, *Monitor* and sometimes *Trud*. Of the weeklies, *Politika* and *Capital* are involved in investigative projects. *Tema* is the main magazine that covers investigative issues. In the audio-visual media *Reporters*, a weekly programme on bTV, airs investigative stories, although not all respondents agree on the investigative nature of the program.

The weekly TV-programme *Nachisto* is an interesting product of the non-governmental organisation (NGO) Promedia. It is syndicated to nine television stations and to all smaller cable stations, of which only four or five have national coverage. The programme is produced by a team of seven investigative reporters from all over the country. It focuses on corruption and abuse of power. Each programme contains two items, of thirty minutes each. Very popular investigative programmes are *Otkrito* ('Open') of Valia Ahchieva on TV1 and the investigative programme of Svetoslava Tadarakova on TV3 – Nova TV.

Current investigative journalism

Up till now, investigative journalism has been practically synonymous to exposing scandals. This is not unexpected in a country in transition

where corruption in business, daily life and politics is widespread and where the mafia is quite strong.

It might be too early for 'normal' or non-scandalous stories, although some journalists point out that they represent the future.

The emphasis on scandals in a country like Bulgaria also means that investigative journalism is dangerous. Nearly all respondents have been threatened because of one story or another. But the dangers hardly ever materialise. One of the few times threats were executed happened when someone threw acid at Ani Zarkova, an investigative crime journalist at *Trud*, five years ago. The dangers associated with investigative journalism are a reason why a lot of good journalists don't want to investigate.

But there are other risks as well. Investigative journalists in Bulgaria have to live with the constant possibility of being fired. A lot of criminals are powerful and rich and try to put pressure on the editor. A supportive editor, therefore, is very important. But especially in smaller local media the position of the journalist is not always very secure. 'It can get very nasty', says one journalist.

And then there are the courts. A lot of journalists are sued. Some journalists therefore co-operate closely with lawyers who read their texts before publication. In city of Burgas, for example, a reporter wrote a story about corruption in an elite school. Children with influential parents who were not disabled but didn't have high enough marks to get into the school were admitted as handicapped pupils, to fill the quota for disabled children. The journalist was sentenced for libel and fired from the newspaper. The court rejected as evidence the declaration of the inspector of the ministry of Education that the story was true. The court stated the problem was that the reporter had not been careful enough in the use of her words.

The problem is also that libel and defamation are not civil, but criminal offences. The claimants can use the state prosecutor as a lawyer. The journalist has to hire a lawyer himself and has to prove his innocence.

Despite these problems the level of investigative journalism is high. 'The best investigative journalism in the Balkans', according to Zoya Dimitrova, deputy editor-in-chief of *Politika* and president of the Investigative Journalists Association. 'This field of journalism is professionalising. Now we have to do more international investigations, together with foreign journalists. This is the next step we have to take.'

Investigative journalism is expanding in Bulgaria, according to most respondents, but it is often an individual choice. Hardly any newspaper or magazine has separate investigative teams. At most there are one to three or four individual journalists involved in investigations. For all of them the regular job – current affairs – is the first priority. Usually there

is no separate time allotted to investigative projects. ‘But if you start an investigation nobody stops you’, says Alexenia Dimitrova, investigative journalist at *24 Chassa*.

A lot of investigative journalists invest their spare time in investigations: they come earlier, stay longer, work weekends and sacrifice vacation time. ‘I work twelve to fourteen hours in the newsroom and then at home two or three hours on the laptop’, says Stanimir Vaglenov.

But some investigative journalists are confronted with depression and boredom in society. ‘Society doesn’t react to scandals because there are constantly scandals’, says Yovo Nikolov, investigative journalist at *Capital*. ‘Also the state doesn’t react sufficiently to corruption.’ There seems to be a missing link between investigative journalism and the judiciary level. Excellent investigations expose what seems to be a criminal act but the prosecutor’s office doesn’t always consequently launch an investigation. The audience then gets the idea that it doesn’t matter what television shows or newspapers and magazines write, the criminals go unpunished.

In total fifteen to twenty journalists in Bulgaria have worked as investigative reporters for about 15 years. They are all between 35 and 45 years old. The younger generation does not always have the same attitude. A major problem is that editors don’t invest in young people: they are hardly supported, but have to operate on their own, especially at the dailies. An additional problem is the low salaries of young journalists. Top journalists earn 700 euro monthly before taxes.

Another problem is that investigative journalism is not so prestigious as it ought to be. Many investigative journalists try to be popular. Also a lot of articles that are not investigative at all are presented as investigative stories. This often concerns reports based on one source, the so-called ‘leaked stories’. For readers it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish good from lousy journalism.

Nevertheless investigative journalism has become more popular. One of the reasons is the existence of prestigious prizes for investigative journalism. Also the possibility of securing international funding is a stimulus. Foreign funding is a good method to make a distinction between real and fake investigations, because reporters have to write a substantiated proposal to get their project funded.

The financial problem is not a minor one in a poor country like Bulgaria. Bulgarian media don’t have big resources. For all cross-border investigations they have to find a sponsor. One of these sponsors is the project Scoop, founded by Henrik Kaufholz, a Danish journalist at *Politiken*. Scoop has a special programme, financed by the Danish government, that aims to support investigative journalistic projects in Bulgaria, Romania, Moldova, Ukraine and Serbia. Freedom House, an

American non-partisan organisation, is another financier of investigative journalism. Yovo Nikolov carried out his research into women trafficking with their help. It was only with their financial help that he could stay in the Czech Republic for ten days and five days in Greece.

There is already some more cross-border journalism taking place in Bulgaria. Scoop funded an article by Zoya Dimitrova and Milorad Ivanovic about the weapon trade from Ukraine via Bulgaria to former Yugoslavia during the embargo. Stanimir Vaglenov wrote an article about cigarette smuggling from Macedonia and Montenegro in co-operation with the American Center for Public Integrity, which has a lot of expertise in this field. The problem with a lot of older journalists is that they often don't speak foreign languages. This obstructs international co-operation, and it limits the use of foreign sources.

Whenever possible, Bulgarian investigative journalists travel abroad. A lot of them have been in the United States or in the United Kingdom for courses or conferences. At the two Global Investigative Journalism Conferences in Copenhagen, Bulgaria was well represented.

An important legal tool for investigative journalists is the law for Access to Information. Already some journalists have sued governmental authorities and institutions for not giving access to the information requested. There is a non-governmental organisation, the Program of Access to Information, that monitors the law and helps everybody – not just journalists – who wants to use the access law. The goal of the organisation is the facilitation and implementation of freedom of information. It is a member of the International Freedom of Information Network. It currently employs eleven people.

Before 1991, Bulgaria only had a constitutional text on the freedom of information. In 1991, the Parliament accepted a new environmental protection law, which had a chapter on access to environmental information. This law led to changes. The Environmental Act was the first to discuss the freedom of information. This was partly due to the Chernobyl disaster, about which the Bulgarian people were uninformed.

In 1999, the government published a draft law on access to information, but it met with a lot of criticism. Then some parts were amended and in June 2000 the law was accepted. But in 2002, two new bills limited the possibilities of the first law: a law on classified information and a law on data protection.

According to Zoya Dimitrova, the law on access to information is working, but very slowly. For low level information there is no problem, but at a higher level there is rarely a response. She requested, for example, information about Petrol-gate (petrol from Iraq) from the Bulgarian president. The president had declared he would make all information on the involvement of Bulgarian companies in deals with

Saddam Hussein transparent. But he refused to give the requested information. Dimitrova and the Programme of Access to Information sued the president for denying access to information of public interest. The court decided in March 2005 in favour of Dimitrova and the NGO.

A second case, in which Dimitrova is involved is pending: request for information on the activity of the intelligence service during the Zhivkov era, which was also refused. Zhivkov was the Communist leader for years until 1989. Dimitrova wanted to write a story on the Scientific Technical Intelligence that had to steal new technology from Western companies. This branch was dispensed with in the nineties. Dimitrova demanded information from the period 1970 till 1990. The government answered that the archives were so chaotic that they couldn't give her the information she'd asked for.

The Programme of Access to Information is very proud about the case they won for the Bulgarian journalist Christo Christov who investigated Georgi Markov, a Bulgarian dissident who was murdered in London in 1978. Christov won the first annual award of the Investigative Journalists Association for this investigation. He wrote a book about it and made a documentary movie. He was refused access to state archives by the new government. The NGO won the case and the government had to release the information.

The Programme of Access to Information awards a prize for journalists who use the Freedom of Information Act in their investigations. Zina Sokolova, a journalist at *168 Chassa*, won the prize in 2004 with an article on the health insurance fund. Twelve articles were nominated for the award, but eight were based on only one source.

Training is an important issue in Bulgarian investigative journalism. A lot of courses are being organised throughout the country. Some of the respondents of this survey are themselves trainers. The EU finance project Phare and the Bulgarian Finance Ministry are funding some courses. The BBC organised a training course in the beginning of 2004 and educated several Bulgarian journalists as trainers.

Recently, a series of training courses for small local media has started. Journalists working for these media are very eager to gain knowledge and are very motivated. A course that was organised on a Saturday and Sunday attracted 25 people. The course was deliberately offered during the weekend, because the journalists of these smaller local media don't have time during the week. In addition, the foundation Promedia has trained television journalists since 1999.

Bulgarian journalists are computer literate and use the Internet frequently. Trade registers are a popular source among economic journalists. Yovo Nikolov has a big database that was computerised in 1997. These registers are not available online. The newspapers with

foreign owners or foreign alliances of owners sometimes take advantage of their foreign links. *Capital* for example has an alliance with *Handelsblatt* in Germany and can use their databases for foreign information.

Bulgaria has an Investigative Journalists Association. It is, however, a very small organisation with only 25 to 30 members. All these members are well-known investigative journalists. The steering committee consists of Yovo Nikolov, Zoya Dimitrova, Ana Zharkova (*Trud*), Velislav Rusev (*Sega*) and Christo Christov (*Dvevnik*). The association organises courses and has a website with translations of Bulgarian investigative articles. The association also published a book on all available sources of information.

Every year, the association awards a prize for the best investigative journalistic article in national and regional media. The first winner in 2002 was Christo Christov who wrote about the Georgi Markov case. In 2003, Krassimir Dobrev from *Sega* won with a high level corruption story. The 2004 winner was Desislava Stoyanova from bTV *Reporters* with a story about a show business star who was involved in women trafficking abroad. Every year between forty and sixty journalists compete for the prize. The first prize is funded by the Guardian Foundation. It is a fifteen day placement at the English newspaper *The Guardian*. The regional media have a separate prize. The winner gets a fifteen-day stay at the regional newspaper *The Manchester Evening Star*. The second and third prize is an amount of money. In 2004, the regional prize went to the journalist Rumjana Emanilou from Burgas.

Denmark

BY DICK VAN EIJK

Physically, the kingdom of Denmark is the smallest of the Nordic countries. At the same time, it is by far the most densely populated one. The averages are misleading however, because about half of the population lives in Copenhagen and its immediate surroundings, so most of the country has a rural character. Denmark has been a stable democracy for a long time, but does not share the tradition of openness and access to public information of its Scandinavian neighbours.

The population is quite homogeneous, the substantial increase of the numbers of immigrants, mainly asylum seekers, is recent. Immigration is quite a hot issue in domestic politics, and fierce, but generally non-violent, anti-immigrant sentiments determine the debate. This kind of nationalism seems to be in stark contrast with the outward orientation of the population. Knowledge of one or more foreign languages is common, as is travel abroad.

Danes can read Norwegian and Swedish without major difficulties, and usually understand these languages fairly well.

Current news media situation

The per capita newspaper readership in Denmark is on a par with that of countries like Germany and the Netherlands, but lags behind that of the other Nordic countries. Also, the number of daily newspapers is much smaller than for instance in Norway: 34 versus 78, while the population size of the two countries is similar. The number of independent newspapers in Denmark has been declining rapidly since World War II. Regional and local newspapers in particular have had a difficult time. The largest regional newspaper – *Jyllands Posten* – successfully converted into a national newspaper, and is now actually the largest newspaper in the country.

The decrease in the number of newspapers has also changed the character of these papers. Denmark used to have a party press, the so-called four-paper system, in which every region or major city had four newspapers, each representing one of the four major political movements. With the closings and mergers this external pluralism developed into internal pluralism, resembling the structure the public service broadcast media has had since its conception.

On a national level, there is fierce competition between the national newspapers *Jyllands Posten*, *Politiken* and *Berlingske Tidende* in the upmarket segment, and *Ekstra Bladet* and *BT* in the tabloid segment. The circulation of the upmarket papers is higher than that of the tabloids.

Denmark at a glance

+ Inhabitants	5.4 million
+ Population density	125 per km ²
+ Capital	Copenhagen
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 29,900
+ Language	Danish
+ Access law	yes, since 1964
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	9.5
+ Democracy rank	2
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	10 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	1.9 million
+ Circulation per thousand	351
+ Circulation per household	0.76
+ Newspaper reach among adults	80 percent
+ Number of newspapers	34
+ Dominant business model	subscription
+ Commercial TV since	1988
+ Journalists' education	journalism school or other higher education
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	common
+ Female journalists	-
+ Newsroom hierarchy	low
+ Journalists' political involvement	seldom
+ Politicians' media involvement	-
+ Investigative journalism organisation	Foreningen af Undersøgende Journalistik (FUJ)
+ Number of members	150

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

Regional and local newspapers tend to have a local or regional monopoly, but are still not very profitable. An important determining factor in the media landscape is the availability of free regional papers that are usually published once or twice a week. They attract advertising, but generally do not have an extensive newsroom staff. However, they play an increasingly important role in local news coverage.

Denmark has a strong public service tradition in radio and television. In 1988, the first commercial television station, TV2, was launched, but from the start this station also had particular public service obligations. This does not apply to newer commercial stations such as TV3.

As in the other Nordic countries, union membership is almost universal among journalists. Professional education for journalists has existed since 1972, firstly only at the Aarhus school of journalism, but since the nineties it is also provided at the universities of Odense and Roskilde. What is important in the development of professional skills are the certain number of days of training that many journalists are entitled to on the basis of the collective labour agreements. For this purpose the institute *Den Journalistiske Efteruddannelse* was founded at the Aarhus journalism school in 1979. The union and the publishers' association financed it. Annually, more than 2,000 journalists attend their courses.

But training can also take place at other institutes, even abroad, for example in the case of foreign language courses. Furthermore, Danish journalists took part in courses and seminars offered by the American association Investigative Reporters and Editors under this agreement. In 1998 the *Center for Journalistik og Efteruddannelse* was established, with the aim of becoming a expert centre for such activities, but not providing training courses itself.

The leading trade magazines are *Journalisten*, published by the journalists' union, and *Dansk Presse*, published by the newspaper publishers' association.

Upholding methodological and ethical standards are part of the journalistic profession in Denmark. Checking facts and hearing both sides are a second nature for most journalists. Reporters usually do not have a strong political bias in their stories; however, the distance between politics and journalism is relatively small in Denmark, at least measured by northern European standards. Especially at the national newspapers and broadcast media, politics are the main focus of interest. But this closeness is mutual. Two examples – a formal and one more informal one – may illustrate this. *DR Dokumentar*, the leading investigative and documentary programme on public television, is not judged by the ratings it gets – a common practice in most developed countries – but by the amount of debate it generates. If newspapers

write about it, if members of parliament ask questions about it, then the programme has done a good job. A more informal example is a former minister who became the editor of one of the country's national newspapers, *Ekstra Bladet*, shortly after he had left the cabinet. These close relations between journalism and politics mark the difference between Denmark and other Nordic countries. The most common complaint among investigative journalists in Denmark is that its political and social impact is not what it used to be. This may be the result of the looser ties between journalism and politics than in the past, even if they remain close to Scandinavian standards.

History of investigative journalism

Denmark has a particular tradition in investigations for television. Documentaries of the public service broadcaster, DR, have been broadcast all over the world. This was related to two factors: the outstanding quality of the programmes and subject matters with international appeal. This international perspective is still common in investigative journalism in Denmark, also with (national) newspapers.

The reason this kind of journalism developed in the audio-visual media can be partially explained by the non-partisan tradition of public service broadcasting, as opposed to the party press. However, when journalism professionalised in the seventies, the big newspapers acquired a reputation for investigative journalism as well. This was true for both the tabloids and the broadsheets, for the Copenhagen newspapers and especially for the Aarhus-based regional newspaper, *Jyllands Posten*, with its national ambitions.

Investigative journalism had become a kind of subculture in the eighties. Many of the journalists involved at the national media knew each other, or were even friends. In these circles the initiative to found an association emerged. In December 1989, the *Foreningen af Undersøgende Journalistik* was founded at a seminar where Rick Tulskey, a two-times Pulitzer prize winner and reporter at *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, was a keynote speaker. Inviting the first keynote speaker from the US – and not from Britain or Germany for instance – may be considered a statement on what kind of investigative journalism the founders longed for. They viewed Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) as an example, an association that had made the exchange of investigative methods and skills its top priority. Training and exchange of experience, not debate, would be the core activities. The Danish association was the first of its kind that was established outside the United States, although the Swedes started their activities earlier without formally founding an association.

From the start, the association had a somewhat difficult relation with the journalists' union. On the one hand the union paid one of the founders on a part-time basis to set up the association, but on the other hand the union was afraid of possible competition. In the first couple of years, the association organised many courses, often taught by the founders. But gradually more and more communication managers from companies participated in these courses, 'to learn about the enemy', as one of the trainers put it. This was unavoidable because of the relation with the union: communication managers and journalists belong to the same union in Denmark. For some of the founders this was a reason to quit.

IRE's promotion of computer-assisted reporting particularly inspired some members. Nils Mulvad and Flemming Svith, then at *Jyllands Posten*, took part in an IRE boot camp in 1996, and they wrote a proposal for their newspaper in the plane on their way back. The association of investigative journalists did not do enough in their view to promote the new opportunities of information technology. Therefore, they decided to found *Foreningen for Computerstøttet Journalistik*, the association for computer-assisted journalism. The Excel and Access courses they started teaching soon took up so much of their time that they could not combine it with their regular jobs anymore. The newly founded association established DICAR, the Danish Institute for Computer-Assisted Reporting, which was modelled after its American sister NICAR. Both Mulvad and Svith took jobs at the new institute, founded in 1999. The Aarhus school of journalism hosted DICAR.

Two years later, both associations merged again, and DICAR became an association of training institutes, associations and media. In that same year, 2001, DICAR, the associations and IRE together organised the first Global Investigative Journalism Conference. This event that took place in Copenhagen attracted about 350 journalists from all over the world.

Current investigative journalism

The journalists interviewed for this survey agreed that the amount of investigative journalism in Denmark decreased at the end of the nineties, mainly due to the difficult economic situation of newspapers. Currently, the situation is improving. Several newspapers are strengthening their investigative teams. Newspapers are spending more money on investigative journalism than a couple of years ago, although they are still in a difficult economic situation: advertising is low and this is by no means compensated by a rise in circulation. On the contrary, newspapers have difficulty to maintain the number of their subscribers.

All of the national broadsheets and some other newspapers have dedicated investigative teams. These teams may have different names, for instance at *Jyllands Posten* it is called *Indsigtsredaktionen*, or 'insight

desk', after the *Sunday Times*' famous example. Their presence is ample proof of the commitment of newsroom management to investigative journalism. The size of these teams may vary, from two or three at most papers, up to eight at *Politiken*. The actual investigative effort may be even larger, for at *Politiken* several reporters who are not part of the investigative team still spend a substantial amount of their time on larger projects. They differ with their colleagues on the team in that they also cover day-to-day news, usually on a particular beat.

Newsroom management has held a tighter grip on what's going on in the newsroom, our respondents report. Not only on a strategic, but also on a tactical and day-to-day level, the influence of editors and editors-in-chiefs has increased. Still, most of the investigative work done at newspapers and other printed media is reporter-driven, albeit less than ten years ago.

Some veteran investigators complain that it is difficult to interest younger colleagues in their kind of work. Doing investigative work does not offer interesting career opportunities, one of them explains. This has indeed never been the case, however, apparently having a career has become more important than it used to be for ambitious journalists.

Public television and radio still play a role in investigative journalism, but their efforts did not increase in line with those of the newspapers. Budget cutbacks demand their toll. The leading programme remains *DR Dokumentar*, which fills a one-hour slot every week, usually with only one item. Many of the items are produced in-house; some are bought either from abroad or from external Danish production companies. The main investigative radio programme is also called *DR Dokumentar*.

Buying ready-made investigative items from external production companies bears some risks, *DR Dokumentar* found out. One such item caused a lot of debate and a severe decline of public trust in the programme. This item was on violence against, and bad treatment of, small children in day-care institutions. The footage suggested that a staff member hit a child in a particular kindergarten. Some viewers were so angry about this that they filed a complaint with the police. The problem was that the television crew was the only witness of the event. The footage showed the attendant seemingly hitting a boy, and in the next image the boy cried and held his hand against his cheek. However, it did not show an actual blow. Only after several police interrogations did the reporter admit that a blow had not taken place. The core of the story was faked. The turmoil this raised in society created a backlash for journalism as a whole: it is not obvious anymore that what you see on television in a well-respected documentary programme is true.

For commercial broadcast media, investigations are not of strategic importance anymore, and they do not systematically invest in them; not

even TV2, which has some public service obligations. The common opinion among the respondents is that commercial television has abandoned investigative journalism. Emotion has taken over, as several respondents comment.

Politics may not be the main theme, but it is certainly the main angle of investigative journalism in Denmark. Quite a few stories cover political issues in a narrow sense, such as the involvement of the country in the Iraq war. Others have a political perspective, not always to the liking of the reporter. One reporter experienced how the editor drew a long investigative project on the life of immigrants into the political sphere, while the reporter aimed at an in-depth description. Given this interference and preference at the management level, projects that can be presented with a political slant in Denmark seem to offer foreign journalists more opportunities for cooperation with Danish colleagues than stories without direct political relevance.

The dominance of politics can also be seen in the annual conferences of the association of investigative journalists: most of the projects presented have a political approach. Several also have an international angle. This clarifies why hardly any local or regional reporters attended the 2004 conference. As one editor of a regional newspaper put it: 'look at the topics: Iraq, national politics, even an American speaker on American elections; my reporters say this is not about us.'

That is not to say there is no investigative journalism in the local and regional media, or no ambition in that direction. But they find little connections with what the national media are doing in this field. So the local and regional media started their own conference, outside the *Foreningen af Undersøgende Journalistik*. And they launched their own prize for local and regional investigative reporting. It was awarded for the first time in 2004. This conference of local media in 2004 attracted more participants than the national conference did earlier that year.

One other striking feature of the national conference was that all of the speakers were male. This is remarkable in a Scandinavian country where the large majority of women hold jobs. It was not easy to find out why there were no female speakers: when asked, most people came up with explanations that women have children and therefore have other priorities in life. But that was not a very satisfactory explanation, as women have children in Sweden as well. At the Swedish investigative journalism conference there were many female speakers.

In Denmark women do not play a substantial role in newsroom management. There is not one major newspaper with a female editor. The men in charge influence investigative journalism in two ways: by their choice of personnel and their choice of topics. Tough guys seek equally tough guys for investigative reporting, guys who resemble them.

As a managing editor of a national newspaper said: 'I don't want women in my investigative team that have to collect their kid from day-care.' And men choose male topics: the news agenda is dominated by traditionally male topics such as (international) politics, terrorism and crime.

Computer-assisted reporting got an early foothold in Danish journalism, with the establishment of a dedicated association and DICAR. Between 1997 and 2004, DICAR trained about 500 journalists. Although some important and innovative investigative projects have been carried out in which information technology played a substantial role, this massive training effort has not led to a situation where a broad range of CAR-skills is common in newsrooms. Moreover, the annual conferences do not offer training in CAR skills.

DICAR transformed itself in 2004 into a different kind of institute, with a different name, albeit with the same acronym: the Danish International Center for Analytical Reporting. It is modelled more after the Center for Public Integrity in Washington DC than after NICAR. The media may now insource DICAR specialists for particular projects. In addition, the institute wants to set up its own projects and publish reports about them. The point of focus is shifting from skills to methods.

Both methodological and agenda-wise Danish journalism is rather traditional, says an experienced newsroom manager. Many stories are still based on tips, not on systematic prioritising particular research on society.

The law on access to government information is often utilised by investigative journalists, even though it is not as powerful a tool as in other Scandinavian countries. *Politiken* encountered a striking example of this when the paper requested documents from the Danish government on a Danish prisoner in Guantánamo Bay, and from the Swedish government on a Swedish prisoner in the same venue. They obtained a lot more information from Sweden.

Danish journalists often compare their situation to those in Norway and Sweden, because many are familiar with at least some media in these countries. In television especially, the general idea is that Swedish investigative journalism (on television) is more advanced and more aggressive than in Denmark.

Given the somewhat international tradition of Danish investigative journalism, it will not come as a surprise that reporters at national newspapers in particular regularly cooperate with foreign colleagues. But, surprisingly enough, more with colleagues from countries like Britain, Germany or Spain, than from other Nordic countries. DICAR also has a tradition of international cooperation: they offer courses to foreign journalists. Henrik Kaufholz, reporter at *Politiken* and one of the

founders of the *Foreningen af Undersøgende Journalistik*, coordinates Scoop, a support network for investigative journalists in Bulgaria, Romania, Moldova, Serbia and Ukraine. The Danish foreign ministry funds this network.

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Finland

BY DICK VAN EIJK

Although Finland is an old country, it is a relatively young state. From the Middle Ages until 1809, it was part of Sweden, after that it became a Russian duchy. Since 1917 it has been a sovereign state, albeit one that has a complicated history with its big eastern neighbour – including two wars. The foreign policy related to the more or less forced intimate relations with the Soviet Union after the Second World War became known as ‘finlandisation’. During most of this era, Urho Kekkonen was president, from 1956 to 1981. Before this period he was prime minister for six years.

Finland was a perfectly decent democratic republic during these years, but the uncomfortable relationship with the Soviet Union had its consequences: there used to be a widely shared consensus on foreign policy matters, and anything however distantly related to this topic would not be criticised in the media. Not because it was illegal, but because it was ‘not done’. In this sense, self-censorship was common.

At the end of the eighties, the situation changed dramatically with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Since 1995, Finland has been a member of the European Union, and contrary to its fellow Nordic members Sweden and Denmark, Finland introduced the euro as a currency as soon as this was possible.

Finland has a Swedish-speaking minority of about 300,000 people, six percent of the population. They call themselves Finland-Swedes and live mainly along the west and south coast. The province of Åland, islands in the Gulf of Bothnia, is entirely Swedish speaking. Many Fins have a working knowledge of Swedish, and about two-thirds of the Finland-Swedes also speak Finnish.

Current news media situation

Finland is a country of readers. Newspaper density (copies sold per thousand inhabitants) is among the highest in the world. Also the numbers of books and magazines published are extremely high judged by international standards. Newspapers receive about half of the total budget spent by advertisers, which is probably more than in any other European country.

As in the other Nordic countries there used to be close ties between political parties and newspapers. They are no longer significant. Newspaper publishers merged or were bought by competitors. The newspaper market is currently dominated by three companies: SanomaWSOY, the Alma Media Group and Väli-Suomen Media. They

Finland at a glance

+ Inhabitants	5.2 million
+ Population density	15 per km ²
+ Capital	Helsinki
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 27,400
+ Language	Finnish, Swedish
+ Access law	yes, current law since 1999
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	9.7 (least corrupt in the world)
+ Democracy rank	1 (most democratic in the world)
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	9 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	2.2 million
+ Circulation per thousand	423
+ Circulation per household	0.94
+ Newspaper reach among adults	87 percent
+ Number of newspapers	53
+ Dominant business model	subscription
+ Commercial TV since	1957
+ Journalists' education	often professional or academic
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	varies widely
+ Female journalists	55 percent
+ Newsroom hierarchy	rather high
+ Journalists' political involvement	seldom
+ Politicians' media involvement	low on a national level
+ Investigative journalism organisation	Tutkivan journalismin yhdistys
+ Number of members	100

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

are also active in book publishing and broadcasting. The country has 53 daily newspapers, of which *Helsingin Sanomat* (circulation 429,000) is by far the biggest. Like the largest tabloid, *Iltta-Sanomat* (circulation 205,000), it belongs to SanomaWSOY. The most important news magazine is *Suomen Kuvalehti* (circulation 95,000).

Finland has had commercial television broadcasting from the start, in 1957, in specific time slots on the public channels. Since 1993, the commercial station MTV (not related to the international music channel) has its own channel, MTV3. The public broadcasting system has two channels, YLE TV1 and YLE TV2. In 1997, a second commercial channel was launched, Nelonen. The public channels do not air commercials. MTV3 is part of the Alma Media Group; SanomaWSOY is the major shareholder of Nelonen.

Forty percent of the households have a cable connection, with access to foreign channels such as CNN, Eurosport and Discovery. Although there are many Swedish-language media in Finland they are of course small. Especially on the west coast, people watch a lot of Swedish television.

Radio coverage of the news is largely dependent on YLE. Dozens of commercial radio stations compete for the audiences, but they lack journalistic significance. Music is their core business.

To deal with citizens' complaints about the media there is a council for the mass media, with representatives of the media and people from outside. People may also sue the media in court, which has happened more often recently. The court may order the media to pay compensations, but the council lacks that competence.

History of investigative journalism

Finland was a fairly closed society for a long time. This definitely had its consequences for journalism in general and for investigative journalism in particular. Some important investigative journalism can be traced as far back as the fifties, but it remains an exception to the rule. Investigative journalism became more common at the end of the eighties, but still it cannot be compared to the ample volume of investigative journalistic work available in the other Nordic countries.

As Kuutti describes in his dissertation on the topic in 1995: 'The Finnish mass media has not had any significant role in watching over the exercise of power in the society [...].' He did a survey among 500 journalists, and additionally interviewed approximately 50. 'According to Finnish journalists, the so-called watchdog role of mass media should be more pronounced than in reality it is.' It must be noted however, that the research done for this book dates from the early nineties, and most

of our respondents say Finnish society has definitively become more open since then, and the amount of investigative work has increased. Also, there are a few very important earlier examples of investigative journalism.

Much of the early investigative work was done in business reporting. *Suomen Kuvalehti* already published investigative stories on Finnish business in the fifties. A landmark publication was a book by Esko Seppänen – now a member of the European Parliament for the Left Alliance. In the sixties he unravelled the ownership structure of the major Finnish companies for the first time. Lists of shareholders were still confidential at that time. Seppänen bought stock in publicly-traded companies, and thus obtained access to internal information intended for shareholders only. By combining this source of information with many other sources he could describe the networks of ‘the twenty families’, in which much economic power was concentrated.

Another important book, titled *Tamminiemen pesänjakajat* (the inheritance of the presidential palace), was published in the early eighties. It deals with the concentration of political and administrative power in the Kekkonen era. The author was a pseudonym for a group of political reporters of *Helsingin Sanomat*, who were not allowed to write this kind of stories in their own newspaper.

At the end of the eighties, Harri Saukkomma revealed in a series of articles in the weekly *Suomen Kuvalehti* how the two leading banks in Finland battled for dominance and power. Later he published a book on the same topic. His publications re-invigorated investigative journalism at the magazine, although it remained dependent on a few individual reporters. These three publications have in common that they expose important components of the hidden power structures in Finnish society.

Crime reporting has always been a more or less separate branch in Finnish investigative journalism. *Helsingin Sanomat* in particular, has a long-standing reputation in this field.

In 1993, a group of reporters, mainly from public broadcaster YLE and *Helsingin Sanomat*, founded an association of investigative journalists, *Tutkivan journalismin yhdistys*. They were inspired by the Swedish example of *Grävande Journalister*, that had been founded two years earlier. Several of the founders of the Finnish association had attended seminars in Sweden, and at the first meeting in Finland there was a representative of the Swedish association. In contrast to Sweden, it was a rather small group of twenty to thirty reporters. There is reluctance among Finnish reporters to refer to themselves as an ‘investigative journalist’. In the Finnish context the term has – for many journalists – a connotation of superiority. Such an attitude is not appreciated.

From the start the association was very active: it organized seminars, established awards for investigative work and published a yearbook with stories by award-winners, accompanied by explanations of how the stories had been produced. The book also contained examples of investigative work from Sweden and the United States. However, the production was so costly and the labour so intensive that it remained a one-off operation. The annual award, however, still exists.

After a couple of years the association became less active. The group of people involved remained small, and not all investigative journalists were members.

Current investigative journalism

According to most of our respondents, Finland has become a more open country during the nineties, with more space for investigative journalism. In addition, the professional pride of journalists has increased. But the traditional self-censorship has by no means disappeared. ‘Mentally, we are not trained to be open’, a reporter explains. ‘Fins have a stronger belief in authorities than the Swedes’, another adds. Fear to disturb external relations of journalists or media seems to be an important factor. In the Kuutti survey of rank-and-file journalists, 51 percent were afraid that external relations would be influenced negatively by investigative journalism, of the editors and editors-in-chief, 63 percent thought so, and of the publishers 71 percent. In short, the higher in rank, the more fear-driven.

YLE and *Helsingin Sanomat* – power factors in their own right – seem to be more or less exempt from this fear. Once a bank threatened to retract advertising from the newspaper after some unpleasant publications. The newspaper responded by refusing to run advertisements for this bank for a year. This is difficult, however, for local and regional newspapers: they rely more heavily on local advertisers. Besides the commercial pressure, the close-knit personal networks of the local elites, of which the editor and publisher are often members, also frequently exercise influence.

Several of our respondents state that investigative journalism should start at the local level. Regional reporters, however, seem to be reluctant. ‘We don’t have the local knowledge; they don’t have the guts’, a reporter at a national medium says, claiming that local media tend to defend ‘their’ schools or hospitals if they acquire a bad score in a national comparison. This, at least, is the experience at MTV3, which does this kind of comparisons regularly.

A factor to consider is that there is very little competition in Finnish journalism. One-paper cities are common, and at the national level *Helsingin Sanomat* is so powerful it does not really have to bother about

what other newspapers do. Its only serious competitor is public television. Nevertheless, one may note that lifestyle and human-interest stories have gained importance, as a result of the spirit of the times.

Almost every single respondent at some point in the interview used the term ‘the bosses’ to refer to powers within the newsroom or the company, but outside his or her area of influence. Nowhere else in the Nordic countries this kind of terminology was used. ‘The bosses’ are considered a major obstacle to investigative journalism. There seem to be three factors behind this: production pressure, management style, and mentality. For that matter, criticising ‘the bosses’ is not unusual in Finland, also outside the field of journalism.

The general perception is that ‘The bosses’ are more interested in quantity than in quality. Reporters are required to produce many stories. ‘The journalistic ‘wandering’ or ‘choosing your own way’ that is essential to investigation is forbidden because it will weaken journalistic productivity’, Kuutti writes in his dissertation.

The dominant management style is to control, not to stimulate. Several reporters experienced that their work is respected, but all the initiative has to come from them. If they don’t do it, an editor will not ask them, or anyone else, to do an investigation. A few exceptions exist, however. Television has some havens of investigative journalism, notably YLE’s weekly program *MOT*. And *Helsingin Sanomat* had an investigative team of three reporters and two researchers for a couple of years. The team was dissolved, but the reporters remained active investigators. They are better equipped to maintain their network of sources when they cover day-to-day news as well. And a wide and in-depth network of (secret) sources is important in Finnish investigative journalism. Many major stories would not have been produced without them. On the other hand, the pressure to cover news stories means that the journalists take fewer risks. They have to be pretty certain they have a case before they invest a substantial amount of time in it. When it all comes down to individual reporters, there is a risk: after three reporters who were regularly involved in investigative projects left *Suomen Kuvalehti*, investigative reporting at this magazine nearly disappeared. A new managing editor – an established investigator – is to revive the tradition.

As noted earlier, ‘the bosses’ in particular seem to be afraid to disturb their relations. ‘The bosses know everybody at the top’, a reporter explains. Not that they have formal obligations or carry party membership. ‘But they play golf with the rulers’, a reporter notes. ‘The bosses’ are not to blame for everything. Finnish reporters seem remarkably reluctant to work more hours than they are paid for. They have a general feeling they do the work for their employers, not for themselves. Whereas young ambitious reporters tend to invest dozens of hours a week in some other countries, this is hardly the case in Finland.

One does an investigation if one is awarded the time to do so. And then quick results are often desired.

When it comes to methods used in investigative reporting, leaks and secret, anonymous sources are crucial. Most investigative projects result from tips. This is obviously a legacy from the closed society Finland once was. There is little mobility between different beats: a business reporter often remains a business reporter during his whole career. The same is true of crime reporters and political reporters. However, an advantage is the long-term benefits of maintaining sources.

Nevertheless, formal documents are important as well. The legal framework for journalism is exemplary in terms of international standards. Finland has a Freedom of Information Act that seems to work reasonably well, according to our respondents. It is rarely necessary to sue for being denied access to public documents.

If a publication is challenged in court, a reasonable doubt is sufficient to continue the publication. This is different if the privacy of private people has been involved. Finland has only had a privacy law since 1995, but several media have already been convicted for publishing information considered to be private. Several of these cases were taken to the European Court of Human Rights by the media involved, because they argue the judges did not strike a right balance between privacy and freedom of speech. A final verdict has not been delivered.

In spite of a strict definition of privacy, many personal data are public. For example, data on places of residence, salaries, as well as social security numbers, are public. One has to pay for these data. The ownership of companies is also public, although there are initiatives to limit the obligation to publish these data for smaller companies.

Finnish journalists sometimes watch Swedish television with envy when a hidden camera is used. In Finland there are very strict rules for using hidden cameras and microphones, as a result of which these methods are rarely employed.

Finland has some notable examples of computer-assisted reporting, but they remain exceptions to the rule. Quite a few reporters use Excel, and the use of online sources is common, but larger investigative projects that draw on data analysis remain sparse. *Helsingin Sanomat* did some data analysis, for instance they analysed the network of former Stasi informants in Finland. But the leading medium in data analysis is the commercial television channel MTV3. Some of their projects concerned the rate of attendance of members of parliament, and the comparison of the performances of schools and of hospitals. Typically, this would result in a few news items, whereas the data itself would be published on the channel's website.

An obstacle in the realisation of this kind of projects is the restriction of the Freedom of Information Act to paper documents. For its annual overview and analysis of school performances MTV3 had to extract the required data from 30,000 pages of paper. The case has been in court for several years now, but a final verdict has not yet been delivered.

The association of investigative journalists organises a one-day seminar and several smaller meetings a year. But they do not offer specific training in, for instance, data analysis. Quite a few Finnish journalists have learned this kind of skills abroad. There are several funds that support journalists that want to attend seminars and courses abroad, so they are not entirely dependent on their employers.

The association currently has about one hundred members. More so than is the case in journalism in general, where women are abundant, investigative journalism is dominated by men, although television has become an exception to this situation in recent years. Several established investigative journalists are not members of the association, but they have joined other journalism associations. Important in this respect are the associations of crime reporters and of business reporters. The latter is more affluent than the association of investigative reporters, because its annual membership catalogue generates substantial advertising. Part of this is spent on scholarships for reporters. Both associations organise debates and other meetings, and in that way compete with each other for time. That is a restricting factor, given the reluctance reporters have to invest their own time in their work.

The spirit of cooperation that marked investigative journalism in the early nineties, of which the association is a result, has become less solid, some old hands complain. They think the concentration of media ownership has caused this.

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France

BY PIETER VAN DEN BLINK AND MARIJN KRUK

France has always had, and will probably always have, a centralised model of governance, in spite of numerous efforts to abolish it. Political, cultural, intellectual and industrial powers all are located in Paris, and so is every national newspaper and magazine. In France, anyone who wants to make a career in one direction or another knows that *monter à Paris*, ‘climbing up’ to Paris, will be an inevitable first step.

The centralised power of the state institutions in Paris might seem to be in contrast with the number of political levels that influence the country’s governance. The 36,860 municipalities form 95 *departements* (plus 6 outside the French mainland), and these departments sit together in 23 regions. But this contrast doesn’t bother Paris, and nothing can happen in the smallest village that hasn’t been approved by in the capital. For example, the 2004 municipal and regional elections led to an impressive victory for the socialist PS, but as national power remained in the hands of the centre-right coalition UMP-UDF, nothing changed.

The tradition of centralism not only explains the power of the state, but also the high esteem for the people employed by it. A career as *haut fonctionnaire*, in the higher regions of the civil service, is what many a French schoolboy dreams of, if not he, then his future mother-in-law. The dominance of the public over the private domain can be seen in the curriculum of most universities: there are more courses in politics than in business, with the *École Nationale d’Administration* as *nec plus ultra*.

This comfortable position of the state has given way to what many French call arrogance. In the context of this survey, the poor accessibility of information is one example of this arrogance and the *commission de la carte* (commission for the press cards) is another. Much information that journalists demand is classified as *secret de défense* (strategic classified information), and databases are not easily accessible. The journalists or others have to engage in complex and disheartening procedures to obtain information from the state. But there are other ways to gather information, as we will see.

Apart from the centralism, two other elements of French life are to be kept in mind. First: the country has a strong belief in its universal vocation. This often leads to disagreements and even tensions with the US, recently over the invasion in Iraq and the way to deal with terrorism. The second element to keep in mind: the socialist tradition is strong. *Les acquis sociaux*, the rights that the working class has obtained through struggle and strikes, are sacrosanct. Concerning this last point, the tables started to turn in 2002, under pressure from the centre-right government, which is, in economic terms, very liberal.

France at a glance

+ Inhabitants	61.5 million
+ Population density	112 per km ²
+ Capital	Paris
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 27,800
+ Language	French
+ Access law	yes, since 1978, but not very effective
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	7.1
+ Democracy rank	16
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	20 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	8.0 million
+ Circulation per thousand	130
+ Circulation per household	no data available
+ Newspaper reach among adults	45 percent
+ Number of newspapers	84
+ Dominant business model	mixed
+ Commercial TV since	1984
+ Journalists' education	higher education, 20 percent in journalism
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	rare
+ Female journalists	40 percent
+ Newsroom hierarchy	medium
+ Journalists' political involvement	occasionally
+ Politicians' media involvement	occasionally
+ Investigative journalism organisation	none
+ Number of members	-

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

Media landscape

French dailies have a total circulation of around eight million, which is relatively small compared to other Western European countries. One out of four Frenchmen reads a national newspaper on a regular basis and two out of three read a regional or a local newspaper.

There are three upmarket newspapers: *Libération* (216,000), *Le Monde* (399,000) and *Le Figaro* (359,000) – this order signifies their political tendency from left to right. The national newspapers take up 25 percent share of the newspaper market. This lack of dominance is remarkable, given France's centralist tradition in other fields of society.

All in all, there are 23 national newspapers, most of them with a circulation well below the 100,000 mark. Two are business dailies – *Les Echo's* (166,000) and *La Tribune* (92,000) – and two are sports dailies – *Paris Turf* (96,000) and *L'Equipe* (350,000). In Paris and Marseille two free newspapers, *Metro* and *20 Minutes*, are distributed five times a week. Total circulation of the national newspapers dropped substantially to just above two million between 1975 and 2005.

The regional daily newspapers seem to be better off. *Ouest France* (783,000) is the largest regional newspaper not only in France, but also in the whole of Europe. Other important regional newspapers are *Sud Ouest* (326,000), *Le Voix du Nord* (315,000), *Le Progress* (260,000) and *Le Dauphiné libéré* (259,000).

The French may read few newspapers, but they are among the world's most avid readers of magazines: nearly three billion copies purchased a year. In contrast to the newspaper market, the magazine market is flourishing with 590 weeklies and biweeklies, 1,350 monthlies and bimonthlies and 1,570 quarterlies.

Leading weekly magazines are *Journal du Dimanche* (291,000) and *Paris Match* (707,000), situated on the centre-right, *Marianne* (118,000) with a slightly nationalistic slant with influences from the right and left, and *Le Nouvel Observateur* (544,000), *L'Express* (554,000) and *Le Point* (358,000) situated on the centre-left of the political spectrum. *The Courier International* (180,000) which offers a weekly survey in French of the international press is steadily on the rise.

The most notorious of all French periodicals is the satirical and investigative *Le Canard Enchaîné* (430,000). It is known for its independence and does not publish any advertisements. If most major French newspapers are reluctant to challenge government corruption, *Le Canard* is not. Each Wednesday, its seventy well-paid reporters and editors – all of them male – deliver eight pages of 'insider knowledge'. *Le Canard* is well informed on the French political scene, but its international coverage is patchy. It has a left-wing political bias, but

publishes incriminating stories on all political parties with no preference. It is also somewhat anti-clerical.

As in most countries, one part of the French audio-visual media is owned by the state and various private enterprises control the rest. Public television and radio are financed by a yearly surcharge of 116.50 euros for each household (76 percent) and advertisement revenues (24 percent). The average French household watched five hours and 36 minutes of television a day in 2004.

There are six channels that broadcast nation-wide. France 2, France 3, La Cinquième (France 5 and Arte) are owned by the French state; TF1, M6 and (mostly encrypted) Canal Plus are commercially exploited.

Relevant journalistic programmes are scarce on TF1. But the same company owns the theme channel LCI on cable, which is entirely dedicated to news and background stories. Significant journalistic programmes on LCI are *Question d'actu*, an in-depth news show; *Le journal d'économie*, concerning business and finance; *Le 18 heures*, a daily news bulletin; and *Ferry/Julliard*, a debate show hosted by philosopher Luc Ferry and historian Jacques Julliard.

France 2 has the task of stimulating social cohesion and preserving the French cultural identity. The programme *100 minutes pour convaincre* has journalistic value, as does *Question ouverte*, both are talk shows with prominent politicians. Also worth mentioning are; *Face à l'image* that critically evaluates the news of the past week; *Complément d'enquête*, which analyses from different angles a single item related to French society; *Envoyé Spéciale*, a programme that has in-depth reporting and interviews; and *Un oeil sur la planète* reports from all over the world.

France 3 provides only two in-depth news shows. *Pièces à conviction*, which provides thorough reporting of current issues of social injustice; and *France Europe Express*, a show in which decision-makers in both France and Brussels are questioned.

M6 programmes with journalistic value are *Capital*, which critically evaluates the prices and quality of consumer goods; and *Zone Interdite*, with serious reporting from all over the world.

France 5 offers *Arrêt sur Images*, an excellent show in which a panel critically evaluates the media in France; and *Ripostes*, an intellectual debate on cultural, political and social themes; lastly, there is *C dans l'Air*, a programme with studio debates and investigative reporting.

The channel Arte has quality documentaries and highbrow cultural programmes. Their journalistic programmes are: *Arte Info*, news and reports from an international perspective; *Reportage*, a programme that provides thought-provoking reports on political, social and cultural issues from all over the world.

Canal+ is a pay-TV channel with nearly five million subscribers in 2004. It offers two outstanding journalistic programmes: *Lundi Investigation* and *90 minutes* with serious reports on social and political issues within France and in the rest of the world.

In December 2004, Prime Minister Raffarin announced the launch of a permanent news-station – a ‘French CNN’ – that should start broadcasting in 2005.

Radio is an important medium in France: 85 percent of the population above 13 year old listen to the radio on a daily basis. French radio is based on a dual system; it is partly owned by the State, and private enterprises own the other part. Three public radio companies operate on a national level: Radio France (France Inter, France Musiques, France Culture, France Info and France Bleu); RFO (RFO 1 and RFO 2) and RFI. Europe 1, RMC Info and RTL are major commercial stations for a broad public.

The independent Conseil supérieur de l’audiovisuel (CSA, Supreme Board for the audiovisual media) was created in 1989. It appoints the CEOs of the public broadcasting channels – of both television and radio. In accordance with European rules, the CSA monitors the degree of political pluralism on national television. Since 2001, TF1, France 2, France 3, Canal + and M6 have submitted to the *principe de référence*. According to this principle, channels have to allow exactly the same speaking time to representatives of the government, as to members of the parliamentary majority and members of the parliamentary opposition.

To compensate for France’s electoral system – a system of districts – the CSA also compels the channels to allow speaking time to political views not represented in Parliament. Each month, the CSA reports to both the presidents of the Assemblée Nationale and the Senate as well as the leaders of the various political parties represented in both houses.

Every important television and radio channel in France has its own website and so does the printed press. Newspapers such as *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro* and *Libération*, and weeklies such as *Le Nouvel Observateur* and *L’Express* excellent and partially free internet sites, which offer a variety of services, such as forums and the use of a large digital archive.

Four out of five journalists in France enter the profession without a diploma from a journalist academy. Their backgrounds merit closer study. At first sight, it seems that a certain number of male journalists fulfilled their ‘alternative military service’ in a journalistic environment and stayed there. There are also many journalists with a university degree.

Among the national newspapers, *La Croix* (96,000) is closely related to the Catholic Church and *L’Humanité* (50,000) to the French Communist

Party. All other national dailies have a political identity, such as the conservative *Le Figaro*, the leftist *Libération* and the centre-left newspaper *Le Monde*.

In the history of the French press there are many cases of government manipulation and curtailment of the press. A famous case took place in 1973 when agents of the secret service, disguised as plumbers, tried to wire the offices of *Le Canard Enchaîné* with bugs. The Watergate-style operation failed when an editor of the paper caught them in the act. A similar case, in which telephones of certain journalists were tapped by order of president Mitterand himself, is still pending (March 2005).

Does this mean French politics control the media? The answer is no. As a veteran Paris correspondent wrote: the political desks of French newspapers are like submarines; built to resist very strong pressure from the outside. To continue this metaphor: only the captain decides in which direction the ship goes, and when it fires.

A greater danger than direct manipulation by the state is the commercial pressure exerted on editorial staff. Every title is owned by one of the very powerful conglomerates such as the Groupe Dassault or the Groupe Lagardère. These groups are not familiar with the notion of editorial independence. When Dassault took over *Le Figaro* in 2004, Serge Dassault himself claimed access to the pages. But the 'submarine' resisted.

A yearly survey shows that only thirty percent of the French think that French journalists are independent from political powers and 28 percent think French journalists are independent from commercial parties.

Investigative Journalism – a culture of secrecy

Critical and profound investigation is quite a new phenomenon in French journalism.

As *Le Point* wrote in March 2003, after it decided investigation was a 'weakness in the French press': 'We might be brilliant in our editorial comments, we seem to be very average in the documentation of facts.' The country's journalistic tradition has always given more importance to the interpretation of facts than to the facts themselves. As a result, the highlights in the history of the French press are to be found on the opinion and debate pages more than in the news section.

In the printed media, only *L'Express* and *Le Canard Enchaîné* have a long tradition in investigative journalism – the latter focuses entirely on the Parisian microcosm of political and industrial rulers. Focus will be on the national press, because the regional newspapers and magazines did not respond to our survey. They don't seem to consider themselves as investigative media at all.

In the audio-visual media landscape, investigations were non-existent until the mid-nineties. And still, as a producer of a major investigative programme says: ‘Television has to try to catch up with the printed media as far as investigative journalism is concerned.’ The producer probably had in mind the disclosure of newspaper *Le Monde* – and not a television programme – of a declaration the late Jean-Claude Mery made just before his death, incriminating Jacques Chirac in a financial scandal before he became president. The declaration, however, was on video.

A few notable reports mark the beginning of a more competitive approach of journalistic investigation in the printed press. It was *Le Canard* who discovered that president Giscard d’Estaing had accepted a glittering gift from the African dictator Bokassa in 1979. After this disclosure, *L’Express* and *Le Monde* set up their own investigation desks, followed by *Le Point*, *Le Nouvel Observateur* and others. The journalists Jacques Derogy (*L’Express*) and Edwy Plenel (*Le Monde*) still have the most often cited names when investigative journalism is discussed in France.

When asked about their personal motivations for entering the profession, French investigative journalists tend to give an idealistic answer, but as soon as one mentions the word ‘idealism’, they back off or become ironic. Nevertheless, they say things like: ‘I want to make a change’ or ‘I see it as a fight’ or ‘I want to challenge the powerful and defend the powerless’. The Nestor of French investigative journalism and editor-in-chief of *Le Canard Enchaîné*, Claude Angeli, told us he wants to operate ‘as a watchdog, to expose to the public what the powerful try to hide’. This drive of French journalists seems to be more related to morals than politics. There is no political agenda behind any editorial line, but political preference does exist. Journalists do not have to write from a certain political viewpoint that is dictated from above. When journalists say they want to influence the course of events, they express their hope their article or television or radio item will be a wake-up call concerning an issue they consider important.

From the interviews with French journalists it emerged that they commonly understand the term ‘investigative journalism’ – *Journalisme d’investigation*, which is also the title of Mark Hunter’s book on the subject – to be: following the prosecutor, telling the public about violations of the law, or even just the suspicion the law has been violated. When other media pick up the same case, it becomes known as *une affaire*, regardless of what actually took place.

Les affaires represent a large part of French journalism. When an *affaire* becomes too complicated to be handled in a single article or broadcast, the media splits it up by distinguishing *les affaires dans l’affaire*, so-called sub-*affaires*. A famous example is *l’affaire des financements occultes*, the obscure financial practices of the former Gaullist party RPR (part of the

UMP since 2002). Within this affaire there was the affaire of Alain Juppé, the leading right-wing politician who had to carry the can for Chirac in this. Consequently, at the day of his trial a third level of *affaire dans l'affaire dans l'affaire* emerged, when the judges announced that people had tried to break into their offices and computers, apparently to read their verdict. When police investigation showed that there were no traces of such efforts it became *l'affaire dans l'affaire dans l'affaire dans l'affaire*. Why the three judges came forward with the allegations and the identity of the persons who wanted to know the verdict in advance, are questions that have since remained unanswered.

The VVOJ definition of the term investigative journalism is 'critical and in-depth journalism'. In French this is best translated as *journalisme d'enquête*. When one poses questions such as whether a medium has a special desk for investigation, the distinction between *investigation* and *enquête* must be made.

Almost every newsroom has a desk for *les affaires*, which produces stories that are preceded by a criminal investigation. As one respondent, an editor of a four-man investigative desk, put it: 'You can't investigate just anything. Our role is to follow wherever the police and the judges go.' In many cases, the *cellule d'investigation* (investigation desk) is part of the political desk.

This conception of investigative journalism is logical in a society marked by a 'culture of secrecy'. This phrase was used spontaneously by a vast majority of the respondents. They explain the phrase by pointing out that everybody, including the media, understands there is no need to speak or write about everything one might know. The clear and present influence this culture has on investigative journalism seems beyond discussion to our respondents.

As a result of this culture of secrecy journalists wait until the judiciary comes forth with information. A second consequence is that journalists have only very limited possibilities to obtain information through the official ways, which makes them totally dependent on their network.

Another observation that should be made in defence of French journalists who follow the lead of the public prosecutor, is that there are, as a matter of fact, enough *affaires* going on at any one time in this country to fill your newspaper or programme. The temptation to do so must be big.

Only a few of the national media have created jobs for *enquêteurs* that correspond to the specific VVOJ definition of the term. The prevailing attitude at these desks is that any question is worth unravelling, whether or not the prosecution is involved.

Very few people are involved in the decisions on which topics should be investigated, sometimes it is just the journalist himself who decides and

he or she will automatically obtain permission from his editor. The results of the investigation are considered to be his accomplishment. Many investigative projects turn into books, while the medium that employs the journalist has the first right to bring the news. During the investigation, there is very little or no control on how and when the work is done

In conversations with journalists working at investigative desks, the admiration for the Anglo-Saxon approach comes up naturally, which is a rare thing to experience in France. For example, Canal+ named its investigative program *90 minutes*, an echo of the famous investigative program on CBS, *Sixty Minutes*. An editor-in-chief of the French programme says: 'I was amazed by what I saw in the US and in Sweden, how easily accessible the information is in those countries.' He and others think that such transparency is impossible in France.

Methods and organisations

As a consequence of this strong emphasis on *affaires*, French investigative journalism has developed a method of its own. Paradoxically, the 'culture of secrecy' has led to a tradition of sharing secrets. Policemen, prosecutors, lawyers and even judges leak systematically to the press. Ethical, emotional and strategic considerations cause them to leak. Some wish to inform the public – if they don't leak, the information will not come out – others wish to compensate for their income by gaining fame and last but not least there are those who use the press to influence the prosecution.

A journalist, who had just published a book based almost entirely on leaked secrets of the DST, (*Direction de Sécurité du Territoire*, the homeland security service) says that journalists who receive secret documents, know how to deal with the information in a responsible way. 'Nobody writes down everything he knows', this person claims.

This may be true, but many examples illustrate the opposite. The affair Allègre during 2004 is one. The former mayor of Toulouse and president of the CSA was said to have participated in sexual orgies, to have sympathised with a drug dealing pimp and to have ordered the murder of at least one prostitute. None of this has ever been proven, but the damage was done. What was proven though, was that the editor-in-chief of a local newspaper that reported on the affair had a grudge against the mayor.

Which instruments do French investigative journalists use? One journalist smiles at the question and points at the two objects on his desk: a coffee cup and a telephone. 'It's the art of knowing when to call someone to invite him or her for a cup of coffee.'

The journalistic journal *Les Medias* published a remarkable *mea culpa*. A long-time investigative journalist of *Le Nouvel Observateur* described how close his relations were with some judges, at the cost of his objectivity. 'I practised a sort of embedded journalism *avant la lettre*' he wrote.

Journalists-enquêteurs, who investigate other subjects than crime issues, largely depend on information from third parties as well. Either governmental research institutes or commercial opinion poll agencies deliver the facts, and the media merely pass them on, without adding much themselves.

In June 2004, *Le Monde* published a front-page story on the life expectations of the French as the result of a journalistic survey. But after a closer look at the article it turned out the national bureau for population survey provided the figures. There are many more similar examples. The use of databases is not common among journalists. They do, however, collaborate with professional data analysts.

In spite of a large number of press-clubs, there is no specific association for investigative journalists in France, though different efforts to found one are being made. Mark Hunter, the author of a French book on investigative journalism, is the initiator of a group, but so far no formal organisation has been founded. This is because of a lack of time, several of the people involved say. It is obvious that such an initiative does not fit in with French journalism tradition, and therefore requires substantial time and effort.

With no formal structures or conferences on investigative journalism it is hard to estimate the number of investigative journalists in France. The journalists we interviewed did not seem to feel the need for such an association personally, but when they spoke of the branch in general, the absence of a frame of reference was regretted. An association could prove to be an important instrument of self-regulation. And that could reduce the amount of time and money invested in legal proceedings.

On the other hand, it is doubtful if self-regulation would work in the French context. In this respect, the reaction of a senior investigative journalist was typical: 'We prefer to be condemned by a judge rather than by a colleague.'

The sociologist Edith Rémond researched the future plans of 1,400 graduates from journalism schools in 1999. The survey showed that almost every graduate hopes to work for television rather than the printed press. But Rémond was most surprised by the fact that only *sixteen* of them mentioned investigative journalism as an exciting option! It may come as no surprise that none of the journalists we met had attended journalism school.

In the absence of self-regulation, the amount of legal complaints against the press is high. 'It has come to a point where not suing for slander when you have been the subject of a journalistic investigation, is understood as acknowledging the truth of everything that's being said about you', sighed a journalist.

The word *étouffeur* comes from *L'omerta française*, a book on the French culture of secrecy. It is derived from the verb 'to suffocate'. *Les étouffeurs* are those who hold the 'culture of secrecy' alive by using every available method to keep the information about their activities behind closed doors.

One journalist related how his publisher became frightened of publishing the book he had written on Bernard Arnault, the owner of the luxury group LVMH, after having received 'a phone call': 'Because he also publishes a number of magazines, he was informed certain companies might retract their advertisements on his pages if he published my book. He came to me and asked me if I could understand.' Another publisher took over the contract.

French journalists are individualists. They tend to work alone – which explains the difficulties in setting up an association of investigative journalists. Journalists from the written and audio-visual press told us they were disappointed because there were no efforts to join forces. 'As soon as we had something cooking, they published it', said an investigative journalist at a commercial TV station. And another one: 'For television, things need to be explicit. You have it on camera or you don't and when you don't, you have nothing.'

On the other hand, an investigative journalist with many contacts in the television world, said he was no longer interested in cooperating with the aim of a double production. Only one of our respondents, who had investigated the life insurance company Executive life, told us he cooperated with foreign colleagues when he investigated the part of the scandal that took place in Germany. Although one could easily think of more cases in which cooperation between French and German journalists would be worthwhile, he didn't seem to be very keen. A major obstacle for many French journalists is that their English is very limited.

The idea of an international conference, however, was welcomed by all our respondents.

Obstacles in collecting information

We've seen that as far as investigation into *affaires* is concerned, information is accessible for those who know how to make coffee and phone calls. Precisely in the field where the secrecy of information is part of the democratic process, almost every bit of it comes out in the

open. But apart from the *affaires*, the ‘culture of secrecy’ stands firm. As the political scientist Laurent Cohen-Tanugi writes: ‘Freedom of the press is not considered as an instrument to control public powers.’ That explains why France does not have a law like the American Freedom of Information Act. Anyone who wishes to access documents of the public administration has to apply to a commission that decides on these matters. A third of our respondents actually applied to this commission (*Commission d’accès aux Documents administratifs* or CADA) but without much hope. The rest simply laughed at the idea. The CADA is slow, and each document that contains individual names, is automatically classified as inaccessible. The CADA is regarded as an obstacle rather than as an aid for investigative journalists.

A group of 400 French journalists has demanded a change of the law in this respect. In 2004 this group, called *Libertés d’informer*, had a first meeting about the issue with members of Parliament, but without any result. However, if a change of the law cannot be achieved from the bottom up, it might come from the top down, when France will have to harmonise its law with European regulations in this field.

Money is not really an obstacle for the investigative journalists we interviewed. As described before, the weeklies are doing well. Journalists at *Le Point*, *L’Express* and *Le Canard Enchaîné* told us how they can investigate a case without being pressed to publish. Publishers even take the costs of legal procedures into account when making up their budgets. In the PAF (*Paysage audiovisuel Français* or the audiovisual landscape) the situation is even better.

In February 2004, the French Parliament adopted the Perben II Law. The purpose of this law, named after the French minister of Justice, Dominique Perben, was to enable the Justice department to fight against organised crime more effectively and to improve the general operation of the penitentiary system. The law is considered positive for press freedom in the sense that it brings French legislation in line with the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights by repealing the offence of insulting a foreign head of state.

Concerns remain, however, about the powers of officials of the judicial police, state prosecutors and examining magistrates to requisition. According to articles 28 and 49 of the Perben Law, officials ‘can require any person or private or public company or institution likely to have material or information of interest for an investigation, including data in personal files, to hand it over or to disclose it, without pleading exemption on the grounds of professional secrecy.’ Articles 80 and 116 state that when requisitions relate to media businesses, ‘documents can only be handed over with their agreement’, but only media businesses are referred to, not journalists individually, who are seen just as ‘persons’ and thus, under Perben II, obliged to respond to requisitions.

Robert Ménard, the secretary-general of Reporters Without Borders, (*Reporters sans Frontières*, a Paris-based NGO that defends the freedom of the press world-wide) states: ‘Perben II constitutes a serious threat to the capacity of independent and investigative journalists to protect their sources, because they will be obliged to hand them over to a prosecutor who requires them in the context of a preliminary investigation.’ As a result, Reporters without Borders has formed a working group of journalists, film directors, TV producers, broadcasters, unions, jurists and judges. Its aim is to present specific, detailed proposals to the Ministry of Justice that would prevent investigative journalists from being subjected to systematic bureaucratic obstruction and legal proceedings.

Spotlights and shadows

As soon as a public figure is involved in a legal affair, the media jump. This seems to be the case in France more often than elsewhere. The question who is misbehaving, the public figures or the media, remains unanswered. ‘The State never sues you for libel, so it is a relatively easy target for the media’, explains a journalist who works for TV and the written press. ‘Maybe it is also an old leftist reflex of the press to rebel against the institutions.’ Another reporter, who wrote a book about the *affaire Elf*, a financial scandal around the French oil concern Elf: ‘I want to challenge what’s high and defend what’s low.’

Apart from the *affaires*, the area that is best investigated is health care. The reasons for investigating this area are obvious. The French have the highest intake of medicines in Europe. Furthermore, the pharmaceutical industry is one of the biggest industries in the country. The interest in health care could also be generated by the blood transfusion scandal in April 1991. *L’événement de Jeudi* published a report disclosing the distribution of blood that was contaminated with the hepatitis B virus by the national transfusion centre in 1985 to over 2,000 patients.

An area that remains out of the picture is the commercial side of the cultural scene. There are plenty of art critics, but there are no investigations into the organisation of the art scene.

‘Political and financial scandals have provided the favourite playground for investigative journalism since the 1990’s. There’s an obscure collaboration between the press, the police, lawyers and magistrates. Secret elements of cases that are subject to legal proceedings find their way to the press, complete with the résumés of the hearings. This form of journalism, that violates the secrecy of the preliminary investigation and the presumption of innocence, is more ‘scoop-chasing’ than investigative journalism. Information from a single source is overvalued, fact checking in the field is reduced to a minimum. This investigative

journalism *à la française* might give the sales a boost, in the end it is disastrous in the eyes of the public. The public considers it a threat to the individual freedom and not, as it should be, as a healthy democratic process.' The authors Delporte and d'Almeide conclude this in their history of the French media.

The self-esteem of French investigative journalists seems to be low. The impression that arose from the interviews is that the journalists are responsible on an individual basis but simultaneously they scorn their own profession. Initiatives as the *mea culpa* in Medias and the efforts of *Libertés d'informer* and *Reporters sans Frontières* could mark a new beginning. If French journalists could manage to unite their talent for storytelling with a respect for simple and clear fact-finding, the future of investigative journalism could be beautiful.

Germany

BY BRAM VERMEER

Even though East and West Germany are united, strong dividing lines still run through the country. The Berlin subway is practically empty when the carriages ride through beyond the former Wall; only tourists go from East to West. It is one of the country's imaginary borders.

Other internal borders are less dramatic, but certainly exist. Germans are attached to their own regions. It is not unusual for journalists to work in Hamburg but continue to live in Munich, 800 kilometres to the South, on the good side of the *Weisswurstequator*.

Germany is a country of regions. No wonder, when you consider that historically Germany has been a loose collection of autonomous states since the Middle Ages, the only common factor was the language.

This regional awareness was strengthened considerably by the Allied Forces after the end of the Second World War. Even today, the states (*Länder*) are autonomous where education, media politics and many other areas are concerned. This is why the broadcasting network is structured regionally. Nearly all newspapers are local or regional. National media, centred in Hamburg, Cologne and Munich, often have a blind eye for distant states.

News media landscape

Local and regional press constitute the backbone of the German newspaper industry, with a collective daily circulation of 15.4 million. Almost every one of the 362 newspapers is deeply rooted in a specific region. In an increasing number of regions competition between newspapers has disappeared. After numerous local price wars, the smaller publishers have had to either sell their newspapers or close them. At newsstands, there will be a copy of *Bild* first, with one or two regional newspapers behind it.

The selection of newspapers available at the newsstand is particularly poor in the former German Democratic Republic. Shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall, big West German publishers bought the local newspapers, transformed them according to the western model, and started to take on local competitors everywhere. This ruined the existing media landscape and caused local monopolies to arise in many places. This, in turn, led to smaller newsrooms and increased dependence on local authorities and companies. Similar processes have also taken place in the West over the past twenty years, although they were less extreme.

The serious national broadsheets (1.6 million) have nowhere near the same scope as the regional press. Each one of the national newspapers

Germany at a glance

+ Inhabitants	82.5 million
+ Population density	231 per km ²
+ Capital	Berlin
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 26,300
+ Language	German
+ Access law	yes, since 2005
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	8.2
+ Democracy rank	11
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	16 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	22.6 million
+ Circulation per thousand	274
+ Circulation per household	0.58
+ Newspaper reach among adults	76 percent
+ Number of newspapers	372
+ Dominant business model	subscription
+ Commercial TV since	1984
+ Journalists' education	often an academic degree
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	good working knowledge in the west, in the east only among younger journalists
+ Female journalists	estimate: 30 to 35 percent
+ Newsroom hierarchy	high
+ Journalists' political involvement	Political sympathy is often a factor in appointments, certainly in public service
+ Politicians' media involvement	Direct involvement in important appointments in public service, informal influence may be strong in regional media
+ Investigative journalism organisation	Netzwerk Recherche
+ Number of members	270

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

reaches less than one percent of the population. Furthermore, the supra-regional newspapers are hardly read at all outside their own domestic market. Even *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, a quality newspaper with an international appeal, only circulates ten percent of its newspapers outside Hessen.

Only the tabloid *Bild*, distributed exclusively from newsstands, has a large national readership: 4.0 million copies are sold every day, offering a quarter of the German population a mixture of sensation, gossip and nudity. The tabloid published by Axel Springer has over thirty regional editions, and is a big player in the local markets.

Almost all existing newspapers in West Germany were established shortly after 1945, under the censorship of the Allied Forces, or after 1948, when the freedom of press was restored. Initially, the Allied Forces banned national newspapers. At a later point in time, the distribution of supra-regional publications was hindered by transport problems. At the time, it made sense to organise the press regionally. As individual states gained power in post-war politics, the regional press increased its importance as well.

The GDR had a stronger national press. The communist party SED used the media to spread socialist ideas and carry out anti-western campaigns. Because of censorship independent journalism was practically non-existent.

In the few months between the fall of the Wall and the dissolution of the GDR, the media in the GDR experienced a revival, allowing public discussion on the state of the country. But soon most journalists were shoved aside by Western investors.

The media polarisation that took place during the sixties and seventies is over. The national newspapers still have a clear political signature. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Munich, circulation 433,000) is a liberal newspaper with a comprehensive opinion section. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (381,000) is liberal-conservative, with an extensive network of correspondents and a lot of business news. *Die Welt* (Berlin, 202,000) is conservative, as can be expected from Axel Springer's flagship newspaper: it carries the political signature of its publisher. The *Frankfurter Rundschau* (171,000) is a left-wing liberal newspaper, it often publishes well-documented cases. *Die Tageszeitung* (Berlin, 60,000) was established in 1979 and has affinity with the Green Party. *Neues Deutschland* (Berlin, 50,000) is the only remaining national newspaper from the days of the GDR. It is linked to the PDS, the successor to the Communist Party. Two national newspapers specialise in economic subjects: *Handelsblatt* (Düsseldorf, 147,000) and *Financial Times Deutschland* (Hamburg, 99,000).

German newspapers have experienced a crisis since 2001. Ambitious yet unsuccessful projects with the Internet and pay-TV exhausted publishers' funds. And advertisers are staying away. The national press has suffered a lot because of the drop in job advertisements, often the most important source of income. Until 2001, job advertisements made up approximately sixty percent of the total turnover for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. Because three quarters of the advertising fell away in three years' time, 100 of the 450 editorial staff were laid off. Circulation figures have been falling, and media such as TV and the Internet, have received more attention, especially from young people. This crisis has led to further concentration in the newspaper industry. The newsrooms of the *Berliner Morgenpost* and *Die Welt* joined forces. In an attempt to attract young people, a number of newspapers now produce compact editions next to their broadsheet publication, such as *Welt Kompakt*, *Kölner Stadtanzeiger Direkt* and *News*, from *Handelsblatt*.

In Germany, political weeklies are at least as influential as newspapers. *Der Spiegel*, *Focus*, *Die Zeit* and *Stern* have a tradition of stories that dig a little deeper. *Der Spiegel* (1.1 million) can afford to assign ten investigative journalists to a story. Its direct competitor, *Focus* (760,000), concentrates less on social problems than *Der Spiegel* does, and more on ready-to-use information. *Die Zeit* (484,000), which looks like a broadsheet newspaper, publishes extensive and well-documented cases. *Stern* (1.1 million) puts a lot of emphasis on photo reports and social issues. But the weekly magazines are experiencing tough times as well. *Der Spiegel*, for example, has had to discontinue several of its spin-off publications.

Because broadcasting policy is determined by the individual states, Germany has a patchwork of regional television and radio broadcasters. A supervisory board controls them, with members from political parties and social organisations. Important positions in public broadcasting are politically appointed. The states work together in the two national television stations, ARD and ZDF, and some national radio stations.

Critics say that because of this supervisory system, the public networks show too little journalistic commitment. Direct confrontation between opposing political parties is often avoided in news programmes. For the 2001 elections, a television debate between the party leaders was aired for the very first time, but even that confrontation was highly organised.

The public service system is paid for by a separate tax for people who own a television or radio. The position of journalists who work for public broadcasting companies is considered to be almost equal to that of civil servants, which means it is virtually impossible to dismiss them. That's why many programmes rely substantially on freelancers.

Public broadcasting companies have lost many viewers to commercial broadcasters in recent years. In the East, the commercial networks have become bigger than the public ones.

Until 1984, commercial radio and television was only possible if it was broadcast from neighbouring countries. RTL, for example, had stations in Luxembourg. Commercial satellite TV started in 1984. Until recently, almost ninety percent of private broadcasting was controlled by two media groups: Bertelsmann (RTL, RTL2, Super RTL, VOX) and Kirch (SAT1, PRO7, Kabel Kanal). Kirch imported almost all foreign productions for the public broadcasting companies. This business empire collapsed in 2003 when Kirch went bankrupt. It became apparent how Kirch was linked to important powers in Germany. Ex-chancellor Kohl received 400,000 euro every year as an advisor to Kirch. Some supervisors at ZDF were also on the Kirch payroll.

Radio also has a regional set up. There is just one national public radio station, which has a very limited audience. Each state has its own policy on commercial radio. Sometimes, there is just one powerful commercial station, as in Hessen; sometimes licences are distributed among many smaller parties, as in Bavaria.

History of investigative journalism

In 1962, Conrad Ahlers from *Der Spiegel* published stories about the weakness of the German army, based on secret NATO documents. Shortly afterwards, he was arrested for treason, together with his editor Rudolf Augstein. The rest of the editorial staff was also under investigation. Three months later, after mass protests by press and public, both men were released.

As a result of this affair, the press gained more freedom. *Der Spiegel* developed into an influential medium with a high concentration of Germany's investigative journalism. Investigations by this weekly magazine mainly focus on politics, and many ministers have had their career cut short thanks to reports in *Der Spiegel*.

Der Spiegel published the main bulk of its exposures in the eighties. At the time, the paper wrote about how the industrial concern Flick made illegal donations to political parties, how CDU politician Barschel had his opponents bugged, and how the management of a trade union embezzled funds.

On 11 September 2001, the paper appointed more than twenty reporters to cover terrorism and Islam in the long term, which resulted in various revelations and a number of books.

A second important platform for investigative journalism is the weekly *Stern*, which also concentrates on investigating political affairs. The

dark cloud brought about by the scandal of the Hitler diaries, which the magazine bought for ten million Marks in 1983 without conducting any reliable material research, still hangs over this magazine. The dairies turned out to be forged. *Stern's* circulation has never reached the same heights as before 1983. Nevertheless, it has also published influential reports since that date, and it has a circulation similar to *Der Spiegel*.

On public television the political programmes lead the way in investigative reporting. Important exposures are made in programmes such as *Frontal21* (ZDF), *Monitor* (WDR) and *Panorama* (NDR). Some commercial stations also broadcast programmes with an investigative nature. Akte (Sat1) caused an uproar by exposing traces of cocaine in the toilets in Parliament. RTL2 airs the programme *Focus TV Exklusiv*.

Professional attitude

Stern and *Der Spiegel* set themselves high standards. Both magazines have large documentation departments, which check all stories line by line. *Der Spiegel* employs sixty fact-checkers. Some critics believe this practice leads to 'safe' reporting on facts that are easy to check. It is much harder to prove facts that have been presented verbally, especially if lawyers are looking into the story. Because of these strict rules, *Der Spiegel* has not had to retract one single story in the last ten years nor has it ever been forced to publish a rectification because of a court sentence.

The chequebook is an accepted tool for investigative journalists, in spite of the infamous *Stern* fiasco. Certainly, in the last ten years it has been an accepted practice for *Stern* and *Der Spiegel* to pay for information. Nowadays, interviews with informants start with negotiating a fee, according to one journalist involved. The reporters involved remain silent on the amounts paid, but it is apparent that tens of thousands of euros are involved.

Editors defend this practice: informants always have a motive, whether it is money or something else. But money appears to be an easy cover for other motives. Anyone who wants to set a journalist off on a false track – or worse – only has to ask for money in order to appear as an acceptable informant. One journalist recounted being offered carefully forged information, however, he later found out it came from the organisation that was under investigation. Publication would have meant the end of his career.

Stern's and *Der Spiegel's* successes, also in commercial terms, set the tone for investigative journalism in Germany. Prominent investigative journalists are often from the ranks of these magazines, even though other media do without chequebooks or fact-checkers.

The approach of *Stern* and *Der Spiegel* determines the prevailing view of investigative journalism. Many journalists honour a traditional view on the profession, favouring influential, and particularly political disclosures. 'And that has not happened in the past few years. The affairs that do come to light almost do so by chance. If there had been more systematic research, they would have come to light much earlier', says Hans Leyendecker, a prominent investigative journalist.

Another type of investigative work exists in the German media. The weekly paper *Die Zeit* regularly publishes extensive, well-researched cases exposing important social trends, for example on German slums, genetically modified food, or crimes of honour in Germany. However, those involved do not think that what they are doing is investigative journalism. A project by *Stern* journalist Manfred Karremann, who spent a year working undercover in a child pornography network, is a typical example of this view of the profession. The *Stern* project was nominated for an important award for 'outstanding reporting', not for investigative journalism.

Time-consuming and costly journalistic projects have a hard time in Germany, especially since the press suffer economically. In 2001, this led to the establishment of *Netzwerk Recherche* (research network), the German association of investigative journalists.

The association has 270 members; three quarters of them are freelancers. The main event is the annual full-day convention, during which prominent politicians and political commentators play an important role. The association organises courses in investigative journalism, and tries to get the subject included in existing journalism courses.

The association also wants to improve the image of the profession. The lack of status is a major difference with the image of investigative journalism in the US, according to Manfred Redelfs, a German journalist who received a postdoctoral degree in the US with a thesis on in investigative journalism. Commentators are much higher up the journalistic ladder in Germany. Almost every medium has old and wise, or young and rebellious journalists who want to air their opinions on world events in a loud voice. Investigative journalists on the contrary are usually invisible and unknown. Even if they have a startling scoop, it is the editor, and not the reporter concerned, who appears on a talk show. This is typical for the German situation.

The association wants to improve contacts between investigative journalists. Many hardly know any of their colleagues. And if they do, relations are sometimes strained. It is surprising how German journalists often express anger and envy towards their colleagues.

Variations on a theme

In spite of all the scepticism about the profession, there is a rich harvest of investigative work in Germany. The *Wächterpreis* for investigative journalism in newspapers has distinguished the winners. However, there is little diversity in the subjects. In the last five years, twelve out of fifteen awarded projects have been on the abuse of power in national institutions. Business often plays a role in these stories, for example in corruption cases, but wrongdoing in companies is a far less frequent subject of investigations, judging by this prize.

Research done among members of *Netzwerk Recherche* confirms this. Three quarters of the members work on domestic political themes, while one quarter reports on business.

Every year *Netzwerk Recherche* together with *Initiative Nachrichtenaufklärung* publishes a top ten of neglected subjects in investigative journalism. Over the past five years there were hardly any stories on German national institutions on the list. Obviously the media experts who draw up the list, which is based on recommendations from the press, believe this topic gets enough attention. According to the list, business, the European Union, poverty, health, and the environment are all neglected subjects.

These subjects are, however, often awarded the *Egon Erwin Kisch Prize*, a prestigious prize for journalistic reportage. Winning stories often have an important investigative aspect as well. The awards tend to go to the small group of national print media.

Personal initiatives and editorial policies

Much can be achieved by an enthusiastic approach in the newsroom. A good example of this is the work done by the *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, for which the entire local news desk was awarded the *Wächterpreis* for investigative journalism in 2003. One of the reporters was tipped about local politicians being bribed in a bid regarding an incinerator plant, and managed to convince his colleagues and superiors of its importance. Three of the fifteen local reporters were freed for a year to carry out the investigation. Ultimately, the revelation caused a crisis in the socialist party SPD and caused the newspaper to gain national recognition.

The success of the incinerator scandal led to more investigations by the newspaper, and the reporters involved in the case made career moves. One of them was recently appointed head of the local news desk. He is keen to stimulate investigative work in his team.

Success creates more security for investigative journalism. Colleagues' and superiors' goodwill is crucial, as is the approval of the publisher.

At the *Kölner Stadtanzeiger* – and many other media – the publisher, not the editor, makes the final decision on whether or not a story is published.

Many German success stories started with a self-created investigative haven, often a reporter's personal initiative. But goodwill and collegiality are not always as obvious as in Cologne. Most of the time, investigative reporters have to fight for freedom, time and funding for a project. A large number of them sacrifice their free time. For many reporters, work pressure has increased in recent years, with long-term investigations being the first to be scrapped. Newspapers which have their own investigative desk or which systematically appoint journalists to do investigations are rare. But those that do, score well, such as the *Saarbrücker Zeitung* and *Tagesspiegel* (Berlin). The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* has appointed a prominent investigative journalist in order to distinguish itself. The newspaper wants to present a profile of investigative journalism, and has six reporters that regularly do investigative work. Yet their resources are limited: even domestic travel poses a problem sometimes.

Usually there is no funding or no formal structure for investigative journalism. But there is often room for organising an investigation, though. Differences between the various newsrooms are substantial, largely dependent on company culture and ownership. A lot of distinguished investigative journalism takes place under the ownership of the Holtzbrinck Gruppe, a family business that includes, among others, *Tagesspiegel* (Berlin), *Die Zeit*, *Lausitzer Rundschau* (Cottbus), *Main Post* (Würzburg) and *Saarbrücker Zeitung*.

Under the WAZ group, which has acquired monopolies by employing a sharp price policy, it is much harder to do investigative work. The *Berliner Zeitung* plays a notable role. Since the cartel judge rejected the take-over of this newspaper in 2002, the newspaper has been hovering between two companies. This led to greater editorial independence and boosted investigative journalism.

Television pays more systematic attention to investigative journalism, especially in political programmes. However, journalists have noticed that an entertaining and trendy presentation, with no real news value, often scores better than an exposure. Reporters are therefore not always motivated to spend three months researching a subject. The financing of the public service is relatively generous. The public channels consider the investigative programmes to be flagships, meaning they will not yet be heavily affected by cutbacks.

Cooperation between television and print media is rare, even though there are many complaints about the scarcity of staff and empty wallets. The *Lausitzer Rundschau* has started to cooperate with the regional broadcaster RBB to assign more reporters to a building fraud, but this is

an exception. The few examples of cooperation are always based on a long-term friendship between the reporters involved. The cooperation usually ends when one of the reporters leaves. The general idea is that it is impossible to agree on a time of publication and to share exclusivity.

Another common element of broadcast and press media is the contribution of freelancers. Successful freelancers know how to spread one single investigative project over a daily newspaper or magazine, a television programme and a book, and it is mostly the latter two that bring in the money.

Freedom and dependence

Earlier research has made a lot of fuss about the political manipulation of the media, particularly of the public broadcasting companies. The politically appointed broadcast management would not hesitate to prevent the broadcasting of items or to influence the choice of subject. One respondent recounted how this had happened to him. But other interviewees claimed they had never come across such direct manipulation in television programmes.

Other obstacles are more common. After a confrontational interview, a freelancer was recently charged with instigating treason. He had obtained documents that had been leaked to him by secret service agents. A number of lawsuits ensued, which is an effective way of threatening a freelancer's income, especially if his publisher is only giving him limited financial support.

The local press cannot avoid politics. One journalist recounted how he had not yet been able to release a story about a big building fraud because the local newspapers did not dare take on the politicians involved.

The *Badische Neueste Nachrichten*, a newspaper from a family business with a local monopoly in Karlsruhe, discovered corruption concerning the building of sewers. The editors only wanted to raise the matter in concealed terms. Colleagues at the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, a bit further away, were able to publish it openly. It was only then that the political turmoil started.

Various examples of pressure from companies were also mentioned during the interviews. One reporter at a large supra-regional newspaper was no longer allowed to publish about an important advertiser, after an exposure about this company. Not everyone gives in to such commercial pressure. To this day, Stern has not had a single advertisement from the company Bayer because of a disclosure ten years ago, which costs Stern millions of euro every year. However, no publisher can afford to do that very often, not even *Stern*.

Influence over the media is mainly exercised through advertising, and not through the ownership structure. Commercial broadcasters and publishers constitute a relatively independent group, in which companies from other sectors barely have a share. Advertisement income is only a minor factor in public broadcasting.

Another serious threat to the freedom of investigation, are death threats aimed at journalists. In a limited number of interviews, three very concrete death threats came to light; in addition the journalists were followed and stalked at their homes. Companies – a construction company and a bank – also made these threats. The threats have always led to intensive police protection and in one case to prosecution, though the allegation could not be proven in court.

The investigative journalist's tools

The current generation of reporters has learned the profession in journalism courses. Those employed at leading media often have an academic degree. A number of reputable journalism schools prepare for the profession, such as the Henri-Nannen-Schule in Hamburg, a private school that is supported by the publishers of *Stern*, *Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel*. The way into journalism is almost always via a long-term apprenticeship (*Voluntariat*), which for a long time has been a job guarantee.

Journalists mostly learn how an investigation should be approached on the job. 'Learning by experience' was a phrase that German investigative journalists used a lot in the interviews. Hardly anyone had had any training in investigative techniques. Journalism courses have only recently started to pay attention to these. There are just two German textbooks on investigative journalism. One journalist said he had read one of these textbooks during his investigation, to see if he was doing the right thing.

Various media organise courses, also in investigative techniques, though reporters rarely apply. According to one course teacher, some participate at their own expense secretly, so that colleagues or superiors would not think they fall short in knowledge or skills. Limited budgets are also put forward as an excuse for not bothering with postgraduate education. One reporter, who works with a lot of quantitative information every day, said that CAR training was refused due to lack of funds.

Not everybody considers the computer to be a useful research tool, except for 'googling' or flicking through an electronic address book. This is also related to the prevailing view on investigative journalism. Many interviewees consider large quantitative analyses, for example on school ratings, as the domain of scientists. Furthermore there is little data that can be analysed. Germany has a very restrictive privacy law. This makes

it almost impossible to get personal data, even if aggregated. Also data related to specific schools, police regions or districts, are not easy to obtain. Therefore, one German journalist who focuses on database research uses a lot of foreign sources.

At any rate it is difficult to obtain government information. Until recently Germany had no national Freedom of Information Act. Nevertheless, the German government has an obligation to make information available to journalists. This often doesn't involve anything more than a press officer answering questions. In some states, a journalist runs a personal risk if he initiates legal proceedings to obtain information on the basis of this obligation to make information available. If one wants to access financial information in Bavaria, one may be sentenced to paying a percentage of the interest at stake if one loses a lawsuit. If it involves information on a national bank, the amounts quickly become prohibitive. There are brave journalists who will nevertheless initiate such proceedings, in the hope their publisher will provide support.

Four states have a Freedom of Information Act that goes further than the obligation to make information available (Berlin, Brandenburg, Schleswig-Holstein and Nordrhein-Westfalen). However, journalists barely make use of these laws. Investigative journalists who work in these states also have no idea of the scope and nature of these laws. However, the government does not execute these laws thoroughly either. In many cases, the institution responsible for executing these laws is simultaneously responsible for the protection of privacy in the particular state: this is not a very fortunate combination.

German journalists complain a lot about the reticence of bureaucratic institutions. They usually refer to German history. Bureaucratic reticence and restraint in the German democracy is said to be a legacy from the past.

As well as reticence and restraint, journalists' interpretation of their own duties also plays a role. Because they leave systematic analysis of social trends to science, journalists do not have to demand information on these issues from governmental agencies.

Netzwerk Recherche devotes itself to the development of a national Freedom of Information Act and it has drafted a bill. Many investigative journalists think such an act is very important. Not so much because they want make use of it, but rather because of its symbolic effect. They hope such an act will bring an end to the bureaucratic reticence. Already it helps to quote legal texts on the obligation of the State to make information available. On 3 June 2005, the Bundestag has approved an *Informationsfreiheitsgesetz* that is valid for all national government workers, but it remains to be seen to what extent this legislation will alter the current situation.

On a different level, journalists do enjoy an unusual level of protection, especially when it concerns their sources. Journalists are allowed – in contrast to other citizens – to refuse to testify in court. Journalists from *Der Spiegel*, for example, never appear in any legal proceedings, either at home or abroad. Also, journalists have a more favourable burden of proof in defamation cases.

Journalists are also allowed work undercover, if it serves an important interest – a freedom that was conquered by Günter Wallraff, who by way of undercover work more or less revealed the working methods of *Bild*.

The police are not allowed to intrude on, or monitor journalists, but may tap their phones in serious cases. This was decided ten years ago, after a long series of legal proceedings. It came to light that the police were monitoring journalists when the Freedom of Information Act was called upon in the United States. A German request to extradite real estate agent Jürgen Schneider turned out to contain the transcripts of phone calls with journalists from the television magazine *Frontal21* (ZDF).

Many journalists trust in the legal protection for journalists. Only a few individuals take their own protective measures, for example by encrypting data. Recent legislation weakens the protection of sources, especially for financial journalists, but the actual consequences are not clear yet.

Future perspective

Investigative journalism in Germany is not a structural element of the media, with a few important exceptions. Nevertheless, there are enthusiastic investigators in many places who carry out important projects despite the lack of esteem, funding and support. Taking on subjects that other media don't bother with seems pay off time and time again.

Professional structures in investigative journalism are gradually changing. Journalism courses in higher education nowadays include investigative techniques. *Netzwerk Recherche* also pays attention to CAR courses, which is an underdeveloped area in Germany.

The media themselves are also paying more attention to investigative work. For example, the newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* presumes it will convince readers by attracting a prominent investigative journalist. In the competitive battle between newspapers, distinction in investigative journalism seems to count.

There is a lot of discussion on how journalism colludes with politics and business in Germany. But this is changing. When the German government moved to Berlin, a new generation of journalists came into being, with a more direct and confrontational style. They approach subjects with less restraint.

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Ireland

BY ARJAN DASSELAAR

The Republic of Ireland, or Éire, is a relatively new state but it's an old country. Even though the Republic was founded in 1949, its origins lay much further back. Tradition holds that Ireland's modern history begins in 432, when St. Patrick is said to have arrived on the island and started converting its inhabitants into Christians.

In 1172, a long period of English rule started when King Henry II gained lands in Ireland. English law was gradually introduced from the thirteenth century onwards. Until the sixteenth century, English influence was limited to the capital Dublin and its immediate surroundings, but after the sixteenth century, the English widened their grasp. The infamous potato famine in the 19th century, during which many Irish died and millions of survivors emigrated (mainly to America, Australia and Britain), was also used by the English to gain control over Ireland.

The twentieth century saw the Irish struggle for independence. In 1937, a constitution (the *Bunreacht na hÉireann*) was adopted, proclaiming the state of Éire. Finally, in 1949 Ireland became the republic it is today.

Initially the young country struggled to survive. Economic difficulties led many Irish to emigrate; indeed, shelves in Irish bookstores were filled with emigration manuals until the beginning of the nineties. Also, the violence that ensued from the disputed status of the six counties of Northern Ireland, long portrayed the image of a torn country.

The nineties changed all this. With massive support from the European Union, and huge investments from mainly North-American companies, the country is now outperforming the United Kingdom in terms of GNP per capita. Also, in the late nineties Northern Ireland was finally stabilised to a certain extent. It was still a part of the United Kingdom, but gained increased governing powers of its own.

There have been newspapers in Ireland since at least the early eighteenth century. For example, *The Belfast Newsletter* was first printed in 1737. It still exists, making it one of the oldest newspapers in the world. *The Irish Times*, a household name amongst the newspapers of Ireland, was first published in 1859. The local newspaper *Connaught Telegraph* has been published since 1828.

The first known radio broadcast in Ireland took place during the Easter Rising in 1916, and was a call to arms. The radio station 2BE Belfast started official broadcasts in 1924, followed in 1926 by 2RN Dublin. 2RN Dublin was to become RTÉ, *Radio Telefís Éireann*, Ireland's current public broadcaster. RTE Television started transmitting in 1961,

Ireland at a glance

+ Inhabitants	4.0 million
+ Population density	56 per km ²
+ Capital	Dublin
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 33,000
+ Language	English, Gaelic
+ Access law	yes, since 1997
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	7.5
+ Democracy rank	14
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	15 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	0.8 million, including UK dailies
+ Circulation per thousand	200
+ Circulation per household	0.60
+ Newspaper reach among adults	91 percent
+ Number of newspapers	5 plus 2 UK
+ Dominant business model	single copy
+ Commercial TV since	1998
+ Journalists' education	professional, often in journalism
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	universal
+ Female journalists	40 percent
+ Newsroom hierarchy	moderate
+ Journalists' political involvement	rare
+ Politicians' media involvement	rare
+ Investigative journalism organisation	none
+ Number of members	-

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

although BBC Northern Ireland had already been broadcasting for two years at the time. In 1996, the television station *Telefís na Gaeilge* (TnaG) aired programming in Gaelic, one of the two official languages of Ireland (the other one being English). In 1998, Ireland's first, and thus far only, commercial broadcaster started under the name TV3. As a result, TnaG is now called TG4. However, quite a few Irish households have subscribed to BSkyB, a British commercial satellite broadcaster.

Ireland has had a Freedom of Information Act since 1997, although not many journalists seem to avail themselves of it. The Defamation Act of 1961 is modelled after the British Defamation Act of 1952, and can have an inhibiting influence on journalists. There is no regulatory press council, although Irish journalism organisations are currently debating the usefulness of such an organisation. The existence of a press council that can regulate independent journalism might persuade the government to soften the Defamation Act, according to some proponents. There is still plenty of bickering going on about both issues.

Current news media situation

Because of practical constraints, this survey focuses on the dailies and national broadcasting networks in Ireland. There are quite a few local newspapers, the majority of which do not appear on a daily basis, and the journalistic quality is often disputable. Rather, many of these local newspapers function as a community-binding tool, for example by what seems as attempts to publish at least one photograph of every reader per year. Of course, there are more serious exceptions to this rule, such as the *Galway Advertiser*.

At a national level, the newspaper market in Ireland is unique in the sense that its long ties with the United Kingdom have made it one of the few countries where it is common to read a foreign, i.e. British, newspaper. Out of seven national newspapers in Ireland, two are Irish editions of UK papers. Their influence should not be underestimated. The total daily paper circulation in Ireland is 772,000. The two UK papers make up 227,000, or 29.4 percent, of that total. When it comes to Sunday newspapers, four out of six titles are UK newspapers. Out of 952,000 Sunday papers sold, 417,000 or 43.8 percent are British.

As in other European countries, the sales of newspapers are under pressure. The circulation of Irish newspapers (UK editions excluded) dropped somewhat between 1999 and 2003 (from 567,000 to 545,000 or 3.9 percent) but there has been a more severe fall in circulation in the past two years. In 2002, Irish newspapers still sold 591,000. Figures in 2003 dropped 7.8 percent. Still, nine out of ten Irish people read a newspaper at least once a week. The two largest newspapers are the *Irish Independent* (161,000 copies) and *The Irish Times* (116,000). One of

the few local quality newspapers, the *Cork Examiner*, was renamed the *Examiner* in 1996 and subsequently the *Irish Examiner* (59,000) in 2000, giving it a more national focus.

There are not a lot of Irish television networks. The national public broadcaster, RTÉ broadcasts on two channels with rather serious programmes. As far as entertainment television is concerned, BSkyB channels airs the latest American television shows and European sports are watched in many Irish households. Ireland's only commercial broadcaster, TV3, doesn't add much variety to what is offered. Instead, TV3 offers more of the same. The Irish language channel TG4 has a restricted function, as not many Irish speak Gaelic in daily life anymore, except for those living in the Gaeltachta, the rural areas in Ireland where Gaelic is still widely understood.

When it comes to radio, RTÉ is the dominant broadcasting network. It operates four radio channels, one of which (RTÉ Radio 1) has an emphasis on current affairs. RTÉ also hosts *Raidió na Gaeltachta*, which targets the population of Gaeltachta. There is a nation-wide commercial radio broadcaster called Today FM. It is a music station.

As far as education is concerned, degrees in journalism are becoming more common. There is certainly no shortage of courses on offer. In Dublin, graduate degrees in journalism can be obtained at Dublin City University, Griffith College, Ballyfermot College of Further Education and the Dublin Institute of Technology. Dublin also offers an Irish language (Gaelic) course in journalism at Coláiste Dhúlaigh. Journalism can also be studied at the National University of Ireland in Galway.

Ireland is similar to other European countries in that older journalists tend to have been trained on the job or they are self-taught. When it comes to investigative journalism specifically, quite a few respondents stated that mastery of this branch of journalism is not something that one can learn, but it is rather an art or instinct one possesses a 'knack' for.

This is probably just as well, since Ireland doesn't offer much in the way of mid-career schooling. A lack of interest may be the cause of this, but Ireland's small size could also be a contributing factor, plus the fact that Ireland doesn't have a journalism union. Instead, journalists can become members of the Irish branch of the British National Union of Journalists (NUJ). As was mentioned in the chapter on the United Kingdom, the NUJ has a limited selection of courses on offer, even in the UK.

Because a statutory press council or press ombudsman does not exist, Ireland has no press code to which journalists have to adhere. NUJ members are obliged to abide by the NUJ code of conduct. Some media fill this void with their own editorial codes, such as RTÉ, which has drafted rather extensive so-called *Guiding Principles*. However, these address company goals and cultural values rather than it being a

journalistic code of conduct. *The Irish Times* does set forth what its journalists should or shouldn't do. These rules, that concern matters such as the confidentiality of sources, are published online. It is interesting to note that a common practice in Dutch journalism, the vetting of a story before it is published, is an anathema to *The Irish Times*.

History of investigative journalism

Irish investigative journalism has a track record of violence rather than big scoops. Most big stories, other than sensationalist reports, that have been unearthed by reporters are relatively recent, and therefore will be dealt with in the next section. One notable investigative reporter from the nineties, Sam Smyth of the *Irish Independent*, should be mentioned. He produced a famous scoop in 1996, which revealed cabinet minister Michael Lowry had been receiving payments from businessman Ben Dunne. The latter had also been making payments to former Prime Minister Charles Haughey. The subsequent McCracken Tribunal and later the Moriarty Tribunal marked a watershed in Irish politics, making corruption if not impossible, then at least a lot harder. Until that time, the Irish had very much turned a blind eye to such practices. The Moriarty Tribunal is pending.

1996 also saw a scandal that would lead to the establishment of the Flood Tribunal in 1997. It turned out Ray Burke, at the time Minister of Foreign Affairs, had accepted payments from real-estate developers. This story was first broken by Frank Connolly, then reporter at the *Sunday Business Post*. The Flood Tribunal, otherwise known as the Planning Tribunal, is also still at work.

The most infamous scene in the history of Irish investigative journalism took place in the same year, when Veronica Guerin was shot dead on June 26th at the age of 37. She was a freelance journalist for the *Sunday Independent* and wrote about crime, specifically the Dublin underworld. She had been threatened before by criminal John Gilligan, but refused an offer of round the clock protection by the police. Two men on a motorcycle fired the fatal shots at her while she was waiting in her car at an intersection.

Threats and violence against journalists are not unheard of in Ireland. On November 14, 2003, *Sunday World* crime editor Paul Williams found a bomb planted beneath his car. Subsequently, thirty-seven homes were evacuated, and bomb disposal experts blew up the device. It turned out to be a fake bomb, but Williams still receives 24 hour police protection, and his recently purchased house has been fitted with state of the art security systems.

Williams isn't the only *Sunday World* reporter to have been violently targeted. In 2001, journalist Martin O'Hagan was shot in Northern

Ireland. Although this deadly event took place in the United Kingdom, the *Sunday World* is an Irish newspaper, which is why it is included here. And in 1992, the *Sunday World* offices were raided by gunmen who left a bomb.

All this violence hasn't automatically led to more solidarity, however. In 1998, a scathing biography was published about Veronica Guerin by Irish journalist Emily O'Reilly, in which Guerin was accused of being a reckless reporter who put her own son in danger. Similarly, Paul Williams has been accused of having planted the fake bomb under his car himself (or having used an accomplice to this end), even though there is massive evidence to the contrary.

Current investigative journalism

The past few years have been vital for Irish investigative journalists. Some of them have even turned into superstars, for example RTÉ reporter Charlie Bird. With a salary of approximately 122,000 euro, Bird is extremely well paid by Irish standards. This is with reason, for Bird broke some of the most important stories in recent Irish journalism. He was already a well-established reporter involved in cases of the provisional IRA when he started exposing political and economic wrongdoings.

Together with his colleague George Lee, he broke the National Irish Bank (NIB) story in 1998, setting off a six-year long scandal. NIB turned out to have been encouraging some of its customers to engage in tax evasion through offshore schemes. NIB had also duped another group of customers by overcharging fees and interest. The so-called DIRT inquiry was launched, named after the tax (Deposit Interest Retention Tax) that NIB helped some of its customers to evade. The scandal also had a political backlash. Beverley Flynn, member of the Lower House, was expelled from her party Fianna Fáil in May 2004 because it turned out she had been complicit in the scandal. Before she became a member of Parliament, Flynn had been an employee of the NIB.

The NIB story is typical of Irish investigative journalism in the sense that it revolves around a political or economic theme. It is also typical because it culminated in a governmental inquiry, further examples of which can be found in the history section. However, rather than considering these inquiries to be endorsements of the good work that journalism can do, some respondents fear the inquiries or tribunals are detrimental to the efficacy of Irish journalism. They fear the net result will be that journalists spend their time covering the inquiries, rather than investigating potential new stories.

The NIB story also goes to show the libel law is a problem in Ireland as well as in the United Kingdom. RTÉ paid millions in legal fees when

they defended the NIB and Beverley Flynn stories. Less affluent media would probably have had to give up. Many respondents therefore feel the defamation law inhibits investigative journalism: if you're doing investigative reporting, you're inevitably sometimes going to get things wrong. In October 2004, editor Ted Harding of the *Sunday Business Post* resigned. There is fierce speculation in Ireland that this was due to his coverage of the affairs of businessman Denis O'Brien, which had led to regular legal wrangling.

Interestingly, George Lee thinks the Irish Defamation law is fine the way it is, as he feels it's a journalist's duty to make sure a story is one hundred percent correct. Lee however, holds a minority point of view: most Irish journalists consider the libel law to be a persistent annoyance.

Also, the increasing power of public relations officers is considered to be a threat to investigative journalism. Several respondents mention the practice of them disseminating misinformation, either to the journalist trying to break a story, or to one of his direct competitors, thus creating a diversion. For reasons of competition, journalists are wary of cooperation with other media. *The Irish Times* and the *Irish Independent*, for example, are fierce competitors. This creates a problem as to which newspaper will break a story.

Irish media don't have 'investigative desks' in the newsroom, with the exception of RTÉ's programme *Prime Time Investigates*. However, this programme tends to focus mainly on current affairs stories. For example, both Lee and Bird are expected to do regular reporting work as well. This means investigative journalism becomes a job for 'lone gunmen' who are willing to work long hours. (George Lee acknowledges he couldn't do his job without his wife taking care of his son.) However, they and many other respondents indicate that it is possible to get the time to explore issues thoroughly. Since this informal leverage often depends on the time a reporter has been around and his accomplishments in the field (Veronica Guerin was an exception: female investigative reporters are far and few between in Ireland), there's hardly such a thing as a structured approach to investigative journalism.

When it comes to sources, many journalists mention the usefulness of anonymous tips. Indeed, due to his fame Charlie Bird nowadays gets so many tip-offs that he is probably only half-joking when he says the only thing he has to do these days is to decide which ones are serious enough to follow up. Many respondents stress that relation-building is an invaluable tool. The usage of the Internet seems to be making inroads at the business desk, but not much in other areas of journalism. Chequebook journalism, unlike in the UK, is anathema. Paying expenses is acceptable to some.

As for the current state of investigative journalism, Irish journalists tend to be moderately optimistic. Interestingly enough, some respondents view other types of media with more optimism than their own, which may imply a case of ‘the grass is greener on the other side’ perception. Due to newspaper competition, column space is at a premium, so serious journalism often has to compete with celebrity titbits. One final noteworthy development is therefore the tendency of Irish journalists to write books about their investigative exploits, as this format allows them to bring the full story to the public without having to omit important details. Books also allow a more analytical form of investigative journalism to prosper.

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Italy

BY CECILE LANDMAN

With landscapes that vary from luscious mountains and volcanoes to flower islands, rivers, flatland and seashores, Italy really is a beautiful country, in spite of the clichés. In this country where the *Commedia dell'Arte* originated, soccer is as important as tasty food and wines. When discussing these and other issues people make a lot of noise, with or without ringing cell phones while eventually creating traffic jams and then quarrelling even more loudly. On the other hand, in Sicily the *omertà* (the obligation to remain silent on certain matters you are in the know about) is on the rise again, and so is the Mafia. In 2004, the death toll of organised crime in Calabria reached peaks can be compared to Colombia. In that same year, Camorra clans in Naples fought another deadly war.

The 1848 Constitution of the Kingdom of Sardinia was the first Italian Constitution and it remained so until the establishment of the Italian Republic, in 1946. The current Constitution took effect in 1948. The Italian State has more than two hundred thousand laws. The impact of many of these is doubtful: a 1957 law states that the recipient of state licenses is ineligible for the Parliament.

While Italy is the sixth largest economic power in the world and a member of the G8, the informal organisation of the eight most industrialised countries, the differences between the rich and poor remain very great. In this respect, it is always the South that has the worst figures.

The Vatican keeps a close watch on Italian politics and has a significant influence on society.

Italian journalism has a long tradition of servility towards politics and other centres of power from the very beginning at the end of the nineteenth century. Nowadays, this journalistic servility exists above all in relation to one person, the Premier, and especially on television.

International organisations like the OSCE (the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe) and the IFJ (the International Federation of Journalists) have stated that the 'conflict of interest' of Prime Minister Berlusconi poses a serious threat to the freedom of the media. The European Parliament resolution of 22 April 2004 mentioned the risks of a violation – in the EU and especially in Italy – of the right to freedom of expression and information, which is enshrined in Article 11(2) of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights. *The Economist* published a series of unanswered questions about the Prime Minister's conflict of interest that Berlusconi never responded to.

Italy at a glance

+ Inhabitants	58.1 million
+ Population density	193 per km ²
+ Capital	Rome
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 26,100
+ Language	Italian
+ Access law	yes, since 1990, but rather limited
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	4.8 (most corrupt in Western Europe)
+ Democracy rank	28
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	35 (partly free)
+ Newspaper circulation	7.9 million
+ Circulation per thousand	136
+ Circulation per household	no data available
+ Newspaper reach among adults	39 percent
+ Number of newspapers	99
+ Dominant business model	single copy
+ Commercial TV since	1984
+ Journalists' education	professional, often in journalism
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	rare
+ Female journalists	25 percent
+ Newsroom hierarchy	high
+ Journalists' political involvement	common
+ Politicians' media involvement	common
+ Investigative journalism organisation	none
+ Number of members	-

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

Recent Italian history is known for its intriguing stories that involved organised crime and political, military or financial conspiracies. The Italian language even has a word for it: *dietrologia*, or ‘the knowledge of what is hidden behind’ (*dietro* means ‘behind’). Some examples of conspiracies: in the seventies and eighties important scandals were exposed, such as the raid on the bank with links to the Vatican, Banco Ambrosiano, and the existence of the secret freemason organisation *Propaganda 2* (P2) that served as meeting centre for high officials at political, financial, and military levels. Silvio Berlusconi was a member; his name was on the P2 list that was found in 1981.

Current news media situation

Premier Berlusconi’s conflict of interest goes beyond his ownership of television channels and investments in other important business sectors. According to the 1957 law, Berlusconi should steer clear from ministerial and parliamentary discussions regarding publishing, telecommunications, mobile phone regulations, insurances, wholesale distribution, cinema and audio-visual subjects, construction, real estate, and sports. The conflict has not been resolved yet, despite – weak – national and international efforts to criticise these practices. The Forza Italia member Frattini proposed a law on the conflict. It contained a provision that would suspend a person’s possessions if he had a public function. As a result, Berlusconi gave up on soccer club AC Milan, at the end of 2004.

Of all Italians 82 percent – the highest percentage in the EU – depend solely on television for news. After his victory in the 2001 elections, Berlusconi gained control over the national public broadcaster RAI, in addition to his three private national channels *Italia Uno*, *Rete 4*, and *Canale 5*. The Premier effectively controls about ninety percent of the whole Italian TV audience with Mediaset (the holding company of the private channels) and RAI, whose board is appointed by the presidents of the Chamber and the Senate. Mediaset’s huge debts were dissolved with an incredible tax measure specifically designed for the company. This Tremonti Law was the first legal decree of the first Berlusconi government in 1994.

The change from ‘public monopoly to private monopoly’ of the Italian television started with a verdict in 1974 by the Constitutional Court that declared Italy’s ethereal monopoly unconstitutional. In 1979, the RAI-3 channel was created. Small local television by cable was allowed but the national monopoly still remained in the hands of the public service RAI. The 1990, Mammi Law formalised the Berlusconi/RAI duopoly, which was anomalous from the anti-trust perspective.

The new television law (2004), the *Legge Gasparri*, named after the Minister of Communication, is believed to have been drawn up by Fedele

Confalonieri, the head of Mediaset. The law was presented as a guarantee for plurality and free trade in (television) media. Most critics, however, think the Gasparri Law encourages the extension of monopoly positions in the – digital – TV media landscape. The journalist union FNSI sees the *Legge Gasparri* as another favour to Mediaset, instead of a balanced law on media ownership.

The more than two hundred national and regional newspapers have a total circulation of about 8 million on a daily basis. Leading daily *Corriere della Sera* sells around 679,000 copies per day. *La Repubblica* goes for 622,000 and has about 400 reporters and editors; the regional *Il Mattino* (93,000) from Naples employs 5 reporters. In the North, centre and the island Sardinia, about 130 newspapers per thousand inhabitants are sold, in the South about 60.

The sale of single copies in kiosks goes according to the usual business model. The amount of subscriptions has risen slowly, although logistics are a problem. People are stimulated to buy copies of newspapers or magazines together with videos, DVDs, CDs, books, make-up, toys, so-called ‘presents’ sold at low prices when bought with the papers. This strategy raises circulation figures and profits, and it was the reason why the papers achieved a positive financial balance in the last few years.

Most Italian newspapers have close connections to political parties or big enterprises. This picture is the case across the spectrum. The small but noisy *Il Foglio* (5,000), for example, is owned by the Prime Minister’s wife Veronica Lario and connected to *Il movimento per la giustizia* funded by three (Forza Italia) parliamentarians; which is why it is financed with public money that guarantees the paper’s continued existence. The same pattern occurred in the case of the magazine *Europa* of the centre left coalition La Margherita.

Investigative journalism on a regional scale can differ from paper to paper. Most newspapers do not invest much in investigations and stick to current daily events. But, as the journalist Giampaolo Pansa wrote in 1985: ‘One of the main causes for the small number of investigations is that reality often surpasses fantasy, in the sense that the daily events ... reveal much more than what any investigation could disclose.’ *Il Mattino* in Naples, for example, spends much time on criminality in the town, but only at most three days on an exclusive investigation. The reasons for this strategy are money and time, but also the widely held opinion that more profound investigations have to be carried out by the magazines. A reporter or the editorial board of a regional newspaper can decide to start an investigation.

The advertising market puts a significant weight on the financial balances of the media. Overall advertising incomes for the printed press decreased by 51 percent between 1999 and 2001. According to FIEG (the federation of newspaper publishers): ‘In the first 10 months of 2004

Mediaset alone received 2.45 billion euro in advertising, 126 million more than all the newspapers together.'

By mid-2001, Italy had more than 700 local and regional TV broadcasters and over 2,000 local radio stations. RAI radio suffers from censorship, as was the case with RAI television, through political influence and replacements of personnel. Journalists who don't agree with the so-called 'Panino-style' (the name for the sequence of a political item: government-opposition-majority) get a 'promotion' to less visible positions or otherwise put in a so-called 'shadow-cone'.

About 25,000 journalists are members of the union FNSI (*Federazione Nazionale di Stampa Italiana*), of whom 13,000 with a contract. *UsigRAI* is the union of television workers at RAI television and radio. The FNSI organised protests against instances of censorship. On the other hand, however, journalists find the FNSI too soft in its reactions.

Freedom of the press

According to Article 21 of the Constitution, the press can't be subject to authorisations or censorship. Nevertheless, several journalists were 'banned'. Even the ex-director of the *Corriere della Sera*, Ferruccio de Bortoli, decided to leave the paper after pressure from the Berlusconi government, that couldn't stand his editorials nor the paper's articles on legal subjects.

Some other examples include:

In 2001, comic Daniele Luttazzi invited journalist Marco Travaglio to his TV show *Satyricon* at RAI-2 on the occasion of Travaglio's new book ('The smell of money. Origins and mysteries of Berlusconi's fortunes'). Luttazzi was immediately fired. Berlusconi promised him in person that he would never find a job again. Travaglio later reacted: 'It is not necessary to ban someone to an island anymore; it is enough to have them exiled from television.'

Enzo Biagi worked for RAI TV since 1961. Biagi's last programme ('The Fact') was a fine example of journalism and reached an average share of 23 percent of viewers. The bell for Biagi's last round sounded after an item in May 2002 with filmmaker Roberto Benigni, who talked about Berlusconi's conflict of interest. After this, Communications Minister Gasparri announced the publication of a list of 'intolerant journalists'. It had Biagi's name on it. In April that year Berlusconi phoned from Sofia, to proclaim 'the criminal use of public television' by Biagi and Michele Santoro (*see below*) had to stop. The call is known as the 'Bulgarian Dictate'. Biagi lost his programme.

Anchorman Michele Santoro built up a reputation in RAI TV with various in-depth current affairs programmes with a format of live

connections and journalists on location, with 'people on squares' and guests in the studio. Troubles arose after an interview with Senator Dell'Utri in the studio. Dell'Utri is close with Berlusconi and played central role in the creation of Mediaset and Fininvest, but is also under suspicion of supporting the Mafia. Raising the latter topic is seen as the main reason for Santoro being refused on TV.

Armi di distrazione di massa (Weapons of Mass Distraction) is another example. Several investigative journalists and comic Sabina Guzzanti invented a programme in 5 parts for RAI TV. The first broadcast was around eleven in the evening on RAI-3 with a large number of viewers, but immediately the next show was postponed and consequently cancelled. The journalists and comedians Guzzanti, Gambino, Gomez, and Travaglio continued, now explicitly protesting against censorship. First they performed in a theatre in Rome, then throughout the country, with big video screens outside, and streaming on the Internet.

Famous comic Beppe Grillo had mentioned the Parmalat affair in his shows years before the whole case had been publicised. After talking on the issue, however, Grillo could not perform on TV anymore, only in theatres. Nobel Prize winner Dario Fo didn't manage to air his show *Anomalo Bicefalo* about the conflict of interest of the Premier. It was supposed to be broadcast by the independent *Atlantide* satellite television company and hosted on the Planet channel through the French enterprise Multithematiques. But Marcello Dell'Utri, key-figure in the Mediaset advertising company Publitalia and parliamentarian of Forza Italia, had his lawyers send out a multimillion claim, in case Fo's show was broadcast.

Alternative initiatives against censorship and in favour of publishing information have come to light, for obvious reasons, mainly on the worldwide web. *Articolo 21*, *Megachip*, *ReporterAssociati*, *Il Barbiere della Sera* and *Rekombinant* have daily specialised journalism bulletins. Bigger cities have their own Indymedia website, e.g. in the G-8 revolt in Genoa, 2001, *Indymedia Genova* played an important role in the creation of an extended online archive. *Emi.Li Tv* is an independent satellite TV initiative.

History of investigative journalism

There are recurring subjects in the history of investigative journalism in Italy from the fifties onwards. The Italian investigative journalists are often motivated, relatively solitary people. Journalists like Leo Sisti, who became known in the sixties and seventies, are characteristic in this sense.

An example of an Italian investigative journalist in the fifties was Tommaso Besozzi. His solitary style and nit-picking ways of digging into

matters are still considered outstanding. In the magazine *L'Europeo* his most famous investigation was titled: 'The only thing certain is that he is dead.' It is the story behind the shooting of Sicilian 'Bandit Giuliano' in July 1950. According to the police authorities, the police shot Giuliano in crossfire. Besozzi literally traced the footsteps of Bandit Giuliano, interviewing whoever could tell him anything about it; he puzzled out that nobody had heard gunshots at the spots indicated by the officials. The official version of the story had nothing to do with what had really happened.

In the sixties and seventies, the financial world was shaken as a result of the exposure of the Sindona and Calvi cases, leading to an arrest warrant for Marcinkus, the Pope's financial advisor. At that time, some journalists called themselves *pistaioli*, meaning reporters that were explicitly focussed on the mysteries of the bloodbaths in those years. Others like Leo Sisti specialised in economics, finance, money markets and white collar crime, and while doing so, he confronted many sources: bankers, investigators, magistrates, and Vatican officials. Sisti: 'Everything starts with the concept of the source. It is always necessary to be very annoying, to follow people, telephone a lot, and irritate them! Then collect and recombine all that information.' Legal documents can serve as proof, and can prevent later indictments. This does not always work, charges are brought and 'serve to intimidate' according to Sisti.

Through the eighties, Andrea Purgatori investigated the infamous story of an airplane that exploded in the air in June 1980 and crashed north of Sicily in the sea, killing all of the 81 people in it. Purgatori followed this 'Ustica-disaster' for over seventeen years and published regularly about it in *Corriere della Sera*. Purgatori went to the navy, the Italian secret services and secret services from other countries and to investigative commissions. This turned out to be above all a convincing investigation into the deception by many of those involved, it proved the advantages of continuous specialisation in one subject. As Purgatori found out, a missile had destroyed the plane.

In the eighties, investigative journalism on Sicily produced beautiful examples of in-depth journalism, but the consequences were often bloody; in 1984 the chief-editor Giuseppe Fava of the independent progressive magazine *I Siciliani* in Catania, was shot dead after publishing an investigative article that proved the existence of connections between Mafia, politics and business in Catania. The journalist Gambino, who learned the journalism trade at the magazine: 'We made investigations into the Mafia, a misty phenomenon of which very little was known.' *I Siciliani* became a catalyst for people who wanted to talk. Gambino exchanged Sicily for Rome and concentrated on the Mafia and its connections with state-institutions and big business for *Avvenimenti*, a new independent magazine that had made its own

readers shareholders. Gambino: ‘Without bosses, we had our hands free to investigate more thoroughly correlation between political and economic power and criminality. The magazine anticipated operation *Mani Pulite* (‘clean hands’, a nationwide Italian police investigation into political corruption, ed.) years before it started. We were the first to write about the criminal involvement of police officers with the Uno Bianca (a near copy of the Belgian terror-organisation the ‘Bende van Nijvel’, but they were active eight years later in Bologna), and about Silvio Berlusconi before he entered politics.’

Current investigative journalism

Journalistic researchers often end up investigating the media. To publish about the key problem of ‘pure’ journalism, the conflict of interest can lead to losing a job. Nevertheless, other complex international investigations were made that took years of time and travel. An example of such a never-ending case in which the media itself became an object of investigation concerned the killing of two RAI television journalists in Somalia, 1994.

The case of Ilaria Alpi and Mirat Hrovatin concerns a RAI-3 journalist and her cameraman who were tracing the smuggling of nuclear and toxic waste and arms through Italy, into Somalia. They were brutally killed in Mogadishu, in 1994. The first to investigate the many transnational leads was Alpi’s RAI-3 colleague Maurizio Torrealta. He described his findings in his book ‘The Execution’ and together with Ilaria Alpi’s parents took the initiative to demand a parliamentary investigative commission. But: at the end of January 2005 this same parliamentary commission ordered house searches, of persons connected to the Alpi-Hrovatin case, including the house of Torrealta in Rome, and the editorial office of *RaiNews24* where Torrealta now works, and in Udine the house of a colleague was searched.

Italy may seem a paradise for the investigative journalist, but this view can change to abject desperation. So many stories are interconnected in a spaghetti-like manner. For example, a simple story on a help centre for drug-addicts in Sicily suddenly turned out to be connected to the Alpi-Hrovatin case, as *Famiglia Cristiana* journalists found out. Investigations often involve secret services, politicians, the army and the police. Facts that happened years ago can be the starting point for an investigation, that can turn out to be long or even never-ending, like the Aldo Moro kidnapping by the Red Brigades in the seventies. Indeed, investigative journalists in Italy are often involved in a specific field of research, with spin-offs in related areas, since these recurring subjects are so firmly rooted in society.

Gambino is therefore convinced that a journalist must become a specialist and choose specific fields of interest: 'Good investigations are made if you know the story, the documents, the judges, and if you have created a network of sources in a specific field. Before you start an investigation you should become a determined expert. Without experience in researching, there is a risk the secret services may use the journalist or cause him to write nonsense.'

The magazine *Diario della Settimana* has been in existence since 1996 and concentrates on investigative journalism with its 'Investigations old style'. It is proud of its literary style, sometimes embodied in the figure of the travelling journalist, like Enzo Baldoni, who was killed in Iraq in August 2004. Regularly, the journalists of *Diario* work together on one subject, which, apart from a few individual cases, does not happen often in Italy. The magazine can dedicate more time to research than newspapers, and it discovered time was essential in the Genoa G-8 case, in which the police forces did just about anything to mislead the prosecutor's investigations and the media.

In such situations it is almost impossible not to use anonymous sources. Most of the journalists interviewed said they would protect their source even when charged in court. In August 2002, house searches by a counter-terrorist police force took place at the house of a journalist of the *Corriere della Sera* and another of the Roman daily *Il Messaggero* (252,000). The two were suspected of having cited a secret carabinieri report that focussed on a young demonstrator who was killed during the G-8 in 2001 by a member of the *carabinieri*.

The programme Report on RAI-3 TV gives space to freelance journalists who work with their own cameras, inspired by the newly evolved 'video journalism'. It broadcasts investigative reports on national and international items, and publishes the complete transcripts online. Early in 2005, *Report* produced the documentary 'The Mafia that doesn't shoot' about the renewed and silent extension of *Cosa Nostra* on Sicily. Three months after the broadcast, people from all over Sicily told the filmmaker about how eighty percent of the commercial enterprises pay 'protection money' or *pizzo*, and how the Mafia system is an economy with its own rules and dividends. *Report* was heavily under fire by Sicilian politicians after this programme had been aired. The President of the Sicilian region – himself indicted for Mafia practices – was furious. He called the director-general of public broadcaster RAI and they decided to transmit a 'rectification' program about Sicily a week later to fix the 'damage'. *Report's* policy is to not get involved in political polemics.

Many women are involved in journalism – the RAI-journalists in Iraq were mainly women last year – but they rarely work in traditional investigative journalism.

Writing investigative books is a way out of the time and money constraints, but they often consist of a sequence of transcripts in the original formal and rather complicated language of governmental decrees, legal documents and records. Sisti: 'Many documents in Italy are public and it is often merely a question of tracking them down. Then there are records that are not confidential, but hard to get. We don't have a Freedom of information Act: when secret acts are involved they are secret and that's it.'

The new penal code distinguishes between investigational secrecy and professional secrecy. Investigational – legal – secrecy implies that information can't be published because it conflicts with an investigative process. Sisti, however, thinks: 'There is a duty to publish delicate information. If I am in possession of an order for detention under remand, but the person has not yet been arrested, I will publish it anyhow. And I will be charged for favouring the person. But I don't have to safeguard the legal investigations; that is up to the police and the investigative judges.'

Sisti, like Travaglio and Gambino, received various indictments from Dell'Utri, Berlusconi and Previti. Sisti: 'These charges are used as intimidations. They don't care how much they spend on lawyers, time and trials, but I do.' Gambino's fifteen years of investigations left him with very many charges. He received 70 indictments, won 68, lost two and had to pay an sum of 25,000 euro to Previti, one of Berlusconi's nearest aides. These trials can take up to seven years.

Sisti works online with the network ICIJ (International Consortium of Investigative Journalists). He thinks that the magazine *L'Espresso* needs an investigative team, but finds his bosses are not sensitive to this wish. *La Repubblica's* Giuseppe D'Avanzo tried to create a pool of investigative journalists within the newspaper, but the formula didn't work out. Freelance journalist Marco Travaglio does not work with a pool, but shares a lot of information with journalist friends, and he has written books with some of them.

Gambino has been teaching journalism for the last six years: 'Young motivated people soon find out that they can't sell serious articles. As a result, their attitude changes.' Marina Morpurgo of *Diario* states that students nowadays graduate even less prepared than before: 'They have this relaxed idea of journalism, also because of the Internet that can make you feel like a information magician. They don't learn how to distinguish between reliable and unreliable sources.' Travaglio thinks the schools of journalism in Italy are serving the powers that be: 'The things we do are considered dangerous.'

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Netherlands

BY DICK VAN EIJK

The Netherlands was a republic from 1581 to 1806 and became a monarchy in 1815 after the end of the French occupation. A formal democracy was created by the constitution of 1848. The Netherlands is sometimes called Holland, though strictly speaking only the western part of the country is called Holland.

The border between the catholic and protestant parts of Europe runs right through the country. In contrast to Germany – where this is also the case – religion has always been politicised. Until the seventies, there was a large Catholic political party and several Protestant parties. As they were all losing electoral support, the Catholic party and the two largest Protestant ones merged to become the Christian Democrat Party (CDA), currently one of the three major political parties; the other two being the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Liberal Conservatives (VVD). None of these stands a chance of gaining a majority, which makes it necessary to form coalition governments. All possible combinations of two of these three parties have occurred in the past, usually joined by an additional third party. There is no classic impermeable left-right division in the Netherlands.

The necessity of forming coalitions and therefore of settling differences by compromises is deeply rooted in the Dutch culture. The Dutch usually try to avoid open conflicts and solve them behind closed doors. In a modern media society this is becoming increasingly difficult. Pim Fortuyn, the novice politician who was assassinated two weeks before the parliamentary elections in 2002, politicised topics that had not been politicised before because they could harm coalition building. Since his murder, the debates have become more vigorous and Dutch society has become more turbulent, as have politics.

Apart from Dutch, Frisian is an official language, spoken by a few hundred thousand people. In recent decades, substantial immigration has created large immigrant communities, mainly in the big cities. There are about 900,000 Muslims in the country. A majority of the Dutch population does not consider themselves to be church members anymore.

Current news media situation

Until well into the sixties, the Dutch media were organised along so-called pillarized structures. The four pillars – Protestants, Catholics, socialists and ‘neutrals’ – each had their own national newspapers, weeklies and broadcast organisations. Only in the public broadcasting

Netherlands at a glance

+ Inhabitants	16.2 million
+ Population density	391 per km ²
+ Capital	Amsterdam
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 29,100
+ Language	Dutch
+ Access law	yes, since 1980, current law since 1991
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	8.7
+ Democracy rank	7
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	11 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	4.2 million
+ Circulation per thousand	259
+ Circulation per household	0.60
+ Newspaper reach among adults	71 percent
+ Number of newspapers	32
+ Dominant business model	subscription
+ Commercial TV since	1989
+ Journalists' education	journalism school or other higher education
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	common
+ Female journalists	-
+ Newsroom hierarchy	rather low
+ Journalists' political involvement	little
+ Politicians' media involvement	in public service
+ Investigative journalism organisation	Vereniging van Onderzoeks-journalisten (VVOJ)
+ Number of members	430 (370 in the Netherlands)

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

system have these organisations survived. Newspapers have either disappeared or cut the ties with the pillar they once belonged to. Although national newspapers and magazines still differ in their political orientation, none of them serves a particular party.

The newspaper market is dominated by three publishers, which have ninety percent of the market: Telegraaf, PcM Uitgevers and Wegener. Telegraaf Holding publishes the largest paper by far, *De Telegraaf* (circulation 776,000) and several regional newspapers. PcM Uitgevers owns the other four general interest national newspapers: *de Volkskrant* (323,000), *Algemeen Dagblad* (303,000), *NRC Handelsblad* (262,000) and *Trouw* (107,000). Wegener is the market leader in regional newspapers. At the moment of writing, a merger between *Algemeen Dagblad* and seven regional newspapers is being prepared, as a joint venture of PcM Uitgevers and Wegener. In addition, there are some specialised newspapers, e.g. for the agricultural sector and the construction sector, as well as a general business daily, *Het Financieele Dagblad*. Two free papers compete for the commuter market, *Metro* and *Spits*; the latter is a Telegraaf publication.

General interest magazines are experiencing a difficult time. Some of them have disappeared; others have seen a substantial drop in circulation since their heydays in the seventies. The magazine doing best at the moment is *Elsevier* (circulation 133,000), with *Vrij Nederland* and *HP/De Tijd* as much smaller competitors. Also the more popular *Panorama* and *Nieuwe Revu* are relevant magazines in the field of investigative journalism. And so are some specialised magazines, notably the business weekly *FEM/Business* and the business monthly *Quote*.

The public broadcasting organisations have three channels to broadcast their programmes. Since 1989, there has been commercial television, with currently RTL and SBS (both have three channels) as the main players. The new television company Talpa is to enter the market in August 2005. All of these television networks have news and current affairs programmes, although the public channels offer relatively more. National public radio only has strong commercial competition in the field of music. For serious news coverage, only Business News Radio can be considered a competitor, albeit in a niche market.

Many regional and local television and radio stations offer news and current affairs as well. However, their budgets are relatively small.

The freedom of the (printed) press is anchored in the constitution, but broadcasting television or radio programmes requires a government license. Digital technology may cause considerable changes in this respect, though.

A large part of the population has sufficient knowledge of English and German to read and view media in these languages. The *International Herald Tribune*, *the Wall Street Journal* and some foreign magazines reach a substantial readership.

The self-regulating Journalism Council deals with complaints against the media. Most media have committed themselves to publishing the non-binding verdicts against them, but this has no further consequences. The number of cases before the council has grown rapidly, from 17 in 1994 to 100 in 2004. Of course, one may also bring a complaint to the court. Court cases against 'serious' media, however, are rare, but the number against gossip weeklies is growing. Some newspapers have an ombudsman to deal with readers' complaints.

Professional journalism education has existed since the sixties, when the Utrecht school of journalism opened its doors. Now four polytechnics and several universities offer journalism courses, either as a four-year Bachelor programme, as a one-year Master programme, or as a Major or Minor degree within another study. The polytechnics offer some mid-career training as well, though investigative journalists complain about the level of the courses offered.

History of investigative journalism

Until the seventies, the media were in the first place a platform for a particular pillar that included political parties and social organisations. Journalism more or less served politics, in the sense that it was not uncommon that members of Parliament were also editors of newspapers. This does not mean that there is no tradition of investigative reporting. However, investigative journalism was often related to social criticism: influencing a situation was considered at least as important as revealing it. Incidentally, this was not unlike the muckraking tradition in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century.

A typical example of this tradition was the Dutch magazine *De Baanbreker*, published during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Pieter Jelles Troelstra was the editor of this publication. He was a prominent member of the emerging socialist movement. He revealed the cargo in wheelbarrows in a sugar plant increased their weight from 100 to 180 kilograms in just a few years, making the work there much heavier, and he revealed there were fraudulent pension schemes at the state railway corporation, and that the quality control of meat in slaughterhouses was inadequate. After the foundation of the Socialist Party in 1895, the magazine became the official publication of the party. Gradually, speeches of party leaders became more important than exposing social problems.

During the same era, the magazine *De Controleur* wrote about insurance schemes and criticised these through in-depth investigations and financial analysis. But the content of this magazine also gradually changed from revealing social issues to political commentary. Essays and polemics achieved a prominent place in the magazine.

In the fifties and early sixties, the consensus among the elite had grown so powerful that the Dutch media under such strong political influence did not report on major intrigues in the Royal Family that almost caused a constitutional crisis. Even worse, foreign media that did report on the matter were not distributed in the Netherlands. However, this turned out to be the last time that politics was able to silence the media in such an orchestrated way.

Even as late as the seventies, social criticism was an important driving force for investigative reporting. The weekly paper *Vrij Nederland* took a prominent place in this field and exposed many scandals. This magazine also developed another kind of investigative reporting; the in-depth social reportage, for which reporters spent months researching groups or social environments, made numerous interviews. Their stories were often over dozens of pages. These articles did not bring any politician into trouble; they did not reveal any wrongdoing. But they did expose situations and developments in society not known to the general public. In this respect they brought news.

In one of the main scandals in the seventies, the bribing of Prince Bernhard by aircraft builder Lockheed, it was a newspaper that played the leading role, the socialist *Het Vrije Volk*. The authors of the stories, Rien Robijns and Geert-Jan Laan, formed the first investigative team of any Dutch newspaper. In 1981 they got the national newspaper award for their exposure of the fall of Ogem, a construction company. *Het Vrije Volk* disappeared when the paper merged with the *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* in 1991 to form the *Rotterdams Dagblad*.

Gradually, newspapers became more involved in investigative reporting. Several papers established investigative teams, such as *NRC Handelsblad* in the eighties, and *Utrechts Nieuwsblad* and *Dagblad De Limburger* in the nineties. However, they all dissolved their team after a couple of years. *Vrij Nederland* lost its dominant position in investigative journalism, not only because of declining circulation, but also because some eminent reporters left the magazine after a lot of internal conflict. The popular magazines *Panorama* and *Nieuwe Revu* also had periods in which promoted a profile of themselves as investigative magazines.

Dutch television has the problem that resources are thinly dispersed because of the existing system with many broadcasting associations, each with its own current affairs programme. Nevertheless, some of these programmes developed a tradition of investigative items. This

became easier when politics forced the associations to cooperate in the nineties, leading to a concentration of resources and to the establishment of the dedicated investigative programme *Zembla*.

Political ties do not dominate the media anymore. But some of the mechanisms of the early days still exist, for example, stories are published with a political effect in mind and nobody cares about the rest of the story if this political effect has taken place. An example of this practice was the so-called Arscop case that partly led to the fall of Christian Democrat party leader Elco Brinkman in the early nineties. The television program *Reporter* revealed that Brinkman was a member of the board of a company owned by one of his relatives. This relative and his company, Arscop, were involved in serious fraud. The programme weakened Brinkman's position, which was already under siege because of a conflict with the former party leader and then Prime Minister, Ruud Lubbers. After tremendous electoral loss Brinkman resigned. However, it was never disclosed, whether he knew about the fraudulent activities in his relative's company. And nobody cared, because Brinkman had lost his position.

Computer-assisted reporting was introduced into the Netherlands in the early nineties. Pioneering work was done by *NRC Handelsblad*, which has published major stories based on data analysis since 1993. Among the first were projects about the division of power in social security organisations, good and bad neighbourhoods in Dutch cities, and regional disparities in voting. The smaller national daily *Trouw* established a CAR-tradition as well, with the analysis of national school performances as its claim to fame. To be able to analyse the school data, the paper had to go to court first to lodge an appeal, based on the Freedom of Information Act, against the government that did not want to release the data. Articles on 'school performances' have become an annual tradition of the paper. And the authorities now publish much of the data on the Internet.

Current investigative journalism

In 2001, at the first Global Investigative Journalism Conference in Copenhagen, the Dutch and Flemish participants – most of whom had never met before – were so impressed that they wanted to organise a similar event in the Low Countries. After a couple of meetings later that year, they founded an association of investigative journalists in February 2002: the *Vereniging van Onderzoeksjournalisten*, or VVOJ.

The founders explicitly chose to use a broad definition of investigative journalism: critical and in-depth journalism. They did not want to get stuck in quibbling on who is a 'real' investigative journalist and who is not. It was explicitly stated that investigative journalism is more than

hunting for scandals. They wanted a platform for professionalisation, to share and develop knowledge about methods of journalism.

One of the first activities of the association was a survey among Dutch and Flemish reporters and editors to find out how much investigative journalism was actually taking place, where and how it was done, and what kind of obstacles had to be dealt with. The results were a surprise to many, including the initiators. The researchers found out there were at least 350 journalists in the Netherlands and Flanders that did at least some investigative projects in a year, and about 90 of them could spend almost all of their time on these projects. These numbers were much higher than expected. With hindsight this is understandable, because a lot of investigative work is being done at regional newspapers and trade publications; work that is far less visible than that done by national newspapers and television programmes.

Another conclusion of the research project was that the interviewed journalists, 107 at 77 different media, judged the amount of investigative journalism was increasing in the Netherlands, notwithstanding the budgetary cutbacks that were a direct result of the poor economy and falling circulations.

Most newspapers do not have dedicated investigative teams (anymore), although *de Volkskrant* has just established one. The usual way of working in newsrooms is that some reporters get time to do larger projects as a part of their job. Most of them cover the daily news events as well. It is more common for larger projects to be carried out by pairs of journalists or even larger teams. *NRC Handelsblad* for instance, stimulates cooperation between beat reporters, that have knowledge and contacts on their particular beat, and general reporters, that have more time and usually more experience in larger projects.

Public television has several programmes that are wholly or in part dedicated to investigative journalism, notably *Zembla* and *Reporter*. But also the news programmes of both the public and the commercial broadcasters do some investigations, and the daily current affairs programme *Nova* (public) also does investigative work on a regular basis, as does *Andere Tijden*. The latter is a programme on historical matters. Public radio has one programme with an exclusively investigative goal: *Argos*.

Sharing of knowledge and experience between these journalists has gathered momentum through the three annual two-day VVOJ conferences. They each attracted 200 to 250 participants. The total of 162 different speakers over the years goes to show that investigative work is done by many different journalists. The VVOJ currently has over 400 members.

In 2004, the association established a prize for investigative journalism, the first major journalism prize awarded by journalists themselves. The first winners worked for big national media, *NRC Handelsblad* and *RTL Nieuws*. Four out of five nominees for the 2005 national newspaper award concern investigative work. All of the nominated work was done by journalists in pairs.

Though the annual VVOJ conferences are successful, offering a wider range of opportunities to advance journalists' methodological knowledge remains troublesome. The association organised some successful one-day courses, but not all courses attracted sufficient participation. In Dutch journalism, in contrast to that of Scandinavia, there is no tradition of attending courses once one has a job. Most collective labour agreements for journalist do not contain a training section. The journalism school and the university in Utrecht together offered a Master programme in investigative journalism, but this was terminated after one year, because the formal accreditation was withheld. But the school sticks to its ambition to present a profile of itself in investigative journalism, so maybe new initiatives can be expected.

The government-funded *Fonds voor Bijzondere Journalistieke Projecten* (Fund for Special Journalism Projects) financially supports investigative projects. In 2004, 46 projects were supported to the tune of 373,000 euro. Most of the funded projects concern books. Incidentally, the majority of the applications were turned down.

In the Netherlands, the media usually do not publish the names of criminals, nor their portraits, unless with a black bar over their eyes. They use initials instead. There is no legal obligation to do so, but it is a common standard recognised by all established media. Just recently, some media have started to be more open about the identity of criminals in high-profile cases. In uncomplicated cases with one or two criminals, it is usually no problem to relate the story using initials. But complicated cases become very difficult to recount if one cannot use names. This may be one reason why corruption cases do not get much attention. Even the famous big construction fraud, that *Zembla* exposed and that was further investigated by other media, remained rather abstract, because most of the players were anonymous, despite the fact it led to a parliamentary investigation and criminal prosecution.

The access to governmental documents in the Netherlands is relatively good – at least within a European context. Since 1980 there has been a law that grants access to documents. It has few strong, but many weak exceptions to the rule. Journalists have used the law in thousands of cases. However, especially when a governmental agency relies on the weak exceptions, court proceedings may be necessary and this can take a long time and be discouraging. If the appeal reaches the highest instance – the *Raad van State* – a procedure may last two to three years.

Only very few documents are worth waiting for this long. Recently, journalists and lawyers have complained the courts interpret the law more restrictively, which results in certain information that was released a couple of years ago, now being withheld from the public. Examples concern documents of several government inspections. The education inspection was forced to release data on school performances in the nineties, but the food inspection was allowed to withhold data on food safety in a recent case.

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Norway

BY DICK VAN EIJK

The most rugged country on the European continent is ninety percent mountains and forests. For the inhabitants of Kristiansand in the southwest, Rome in Italy is closer than Vardø in the northeast. Travelling to Oslo from remote areas has always been time-consuming and expensive. The prices of domestic flights were high until recently, also compared to similar services in Sweden or Finland.

Norway has existed as a country since 872, but was a part of the Danish Kingdom during much of its history. In 1814, it became part of Sweden, although the Norwegians had their own constitution. Independence was declared in 1905. The people decided in a plebiscite that the country was to be a monarchy and consequently the Parliament elected a King.

The Nordic countries cooperate closely, but whereas Denmark, Sweden and Finland joined the European Union, the Norwegians declined on two different occasions, by referendums in 1972 en 1994. The country, however, is part of the Schengen area, and a substantial part of its legislation is in accordance with European law.

Norway is a rich, modern country with an advanced welfare system. It ranks number one on the United Nations Human Development Index. With a coastline of 25,000 kilometres – islands not included – its richness tends to come from the sea, from fisheries and in recent decades from oil and gas exploitation. It is the third largest oil exporter in the world, after Saudi Arabia and Russia.

Norwegian is closely related to the Danish and Swedish language and most Norwegians understand these languages fairly well. Knowledge of English is common, especially among younger people.

Current news media situation

Norway has one of the highest newspaper readerships in the world, with over 500 copies sold per thousand inhabitants. In real life these statistics signify that many Norwegians read two newspapers a day. With more than 162 different newspapers for a population of fewer than 5 million, there is enormous diversity, but it must be taken into consideration that ‘only’ 78 of these papers are published at least five times a week.

The leading newspapers are the tabloids *Verdens Gang*, or *VG* (circulation 380,000) and *Dagbladet* (186,000), the upmarket *Aftenposten* (257,000) and the business newspaper *Dagens Næringsliv* (69,000). They can be considered national newspapers, though *Aftenposten* is also the city newspaper for the Oslo area. Bergen,

Norway at a glance

+ Inhabitants	4.6 million
+ Population density	14 per km ²
+ Capital	Oslo
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 36,100
+ Language	Norwegian
+ Access law	yes, since 1970
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	8.9
+ Democracy rank	6
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	10 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	2.5 million
+ Circulation per thousand	543 (highest in Europe)
+ Circulation per household	1.20 (highest in Europe)
+ Newspaper reach among adults	86 percent
+ Number of newspapers	78
+ Dominant business model	subscription
+ Commercial TV since	1992
+ Journalists' education	journalism school or other higher
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	common
+ Female journalists	42 percent
+ Newsroom hierarchy	low
+ Journalists' political involvement	seldom
+ Politicians' media involvement	seldom
+ Investigative journalism organisation	Stiftelsen for en Kritisk og Undersøkende Presse (SKUP)
+ Number of members	none

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

Trondheim and Stavanger have large dailies, the other local and regional newspapers are much smaller.

Three publishers dominate the Norwegian market: Schibsted, A-pressen and Orkla. A-pressen is a remnant of the old social-democratic newspapers. Norway, like the other Nordic countries, used to have a party press, but this system was dissolved in the seventies, though some papers still have political affiliations incorporated in their statute. Orkla is an industrial conglomerate with interests in many sectors. Together, these three publishers control sixty percent of Norwegian newspaper circulation, and have stakes in commercial broadcasting as well.

The total circulation has been decreasing a little since the early nineties. But the collapse of the advertising market in the beginning of the twenty-first century seriously affected the printed press. Newspapers introduced severe cutbacks in their newsroom staff; *Aftenposten* even halved its staff. All papers have been investing more effort in their weekend editions, introducing new supplements and magazines.

Avid readers as they are, Norwegians watch relatively little television. Until recently, however, they did not have much choice either. The public broadcaster NRK only had one channel until 1992, which was the year that terrestrial commercial television started under the name TV2. Norwegian TvNorge and the pan-Scandinavian TV3 already had satellite television at that time. It is not uncommon for the Norwegians to watch Swedish television. Apart from national channels, there are local and regional channels. Many of them combine radio and television in one organisation. The regional subsidiaries of NRK are an example of this.

Magazines do not play an important role in the news arena, which is mainly dominated by the three largest newspapers, *Dagens Næringsliv* and NRK.

Among journalists, union membership is universal. Apart from the journalist union there is a separate association of editors. The percentage of female members in the union is still rising, from thirteen percent in 1960 to a current forty percent. But in the association of editors only twenty percent is female. Even during the period of the party press, job-mobility among Norwegian journalists was high, and it still is. Party affiliation was not required at the reporters' level. Journalists who exchange the leftwing *Klassekampen* for the business newspaper *Dagens Næringsliv* may seem strange to a foreign observer, but it does not raise eyebrows in Norway. Apart from professional opportunities, wage competition plays a role. *VG*, *Dagens Næringsliv* and television offer better salaries.

Professional journalism education is offered at five institutes. The *Institutt for Journalistikk* in Frederikstad offers courses and seminars for professional journalists, and also has a research department. It is very common for journalists to take part in seminars at the institute. Many

newsrooms send most of their staff members to a course once a year. It is quite common as well to send people abroad to attend courses.

A national press council deals with complaints about news media, they judge whether journalists have complied with common ethical standards. Besides this platform, complaints may be filed in court as well, something that has happened more often recently.

History of investigative journalism

There are some early examples of investigative journalism in the seventies and eighties. Erling Borgen, then at *Arbeiderbladet*, and John Olav Egeland at *Dagbladet* for instance, revealed how a major ship owner was hiding substantial parts of its assets abroad, out of reach for the tax authorities. There were several other high-profile cases concerning ship owners, an important business sector in Norway.

After the party press fell apart and a new commercial era was dawning, Norwegian journalists sought a new legitimisation for their work. By the end of the eighties, beginning of the nineties, investigative journalism became fashionable among the leading news media. All the big newspapers started investigative teams.

Espionage and the dealings of the secret services were an important topic of investigation during these years. This was a direct consequence of the end of the cold war and sudden accessibility of the intelligence archives. Norwegians were given the right to access their own files, which led to many stories, scandals and even court procedures. After a couple of years this kind of stories gradually disappeared.

Crime stories, especially murder cases, have always been a focus of the Norwegian dailies. Violent crime is relatively rare in this peaceful country, so if such a case occurs, a dozen or more reporters will flock to the scene of the crime, even in a small village, to find out and describe what has been going on.

After having attended the first investigative journalism seminar in Sweden in 1989, a group of Norwegian journalists took the initiative in 1990 to found an organisation for stimulating and supporting investigative journalism. In contrast to similar initiatives in the other Nordic countries, the Norwegians chose the form of a foundation, *Stiftelsen for en Kritisk og Undersøkende Presse* (SKUP), so that it would not compete with the union. SKUP was formally established in 1991.

The clear goal of the founders was professionalisation. In the eighties they saw a steep increase of the number of PR and communication advisors at companies, authorities and other organisations. They concluded that journalists had to become more professional in their methods and skills. 'We had to sharpen our weapons', said one of the pioneers.

SKUP's annual conferences are among the highlights of Norwegian journalism life, with hundreds of people attending. Every edition hosted one or more foreign speakers, most of them from the United States, Britain and Sweden. Hardly any speakers from the European continent were ever invited, which underlines the fact that the Norwegians are inspired by the Anglo-Saxon journalism tradition.

SKUP published a magazine for a short while, but this turned out to be too costly and time-consuming, as the organisation does not have a permanent staff and had to rely on board members that ran the organisation in addition to their busy jobs.

Interestingly, investigative journalism on television had its debut in a dedicated programme on the commercial TV2. After only a couple of years, NRK followed with *Brennpunkt*, now the flagship of the Norwegian public broadcaster. It is a weekly programme with items that take half an hour.

All the newspapers gradually dissolved their investigative teams during the latter half of the nineties. Their motives may vary, but the general impression is that the results were not up to expectations. As one reporter says: 'Too many big egos had been put together.' An editor says: 'They dug and dug and dug until they never saw the light again.' Often the investigative team was rather preoccupied with scandals, but if they could not be proven, there was no story, or only a weak one. This was considered not really worth all the effort put into it. At several newspapers, reporters note that dissolving the teams did not lead to less investigative journalism. On the contrary, having closer connections to the daily news makes it easier to pick up topics for further investigation.

Current investigative journalism

Our respondents share the view that the knowledge about methods of journalistic investigation has increased in the country's newsrooms. SKUP and the well-founded tradition to send people to seminars have played an important role in this respect. In addition, several newspapers have dedicated specialists in the field of computer-assisted reporting.

Fritz Breivik has researched the more than 600 stories that have been sent in for the annual SKUP-prize since 1991. The annual number of contributions increased from about thirty in the beginning of the nineties to a current sixty. Newspapers are responsible for about sixty percent of these, television twenty. Magazines play hardly any role whatsoever, with only 21 contributions in 14 years. It should be noted, however, that media send in contributions on a voluntary basis and not all media are equally eager to do so. About seventy percent of all contributions come from the national media. Out of seventeen prizes – in some years two were awarded – *VG* won five, *Aftenposten* three and *Dagens Næringsliv* two.

Besides the prizes, *diplomas* – certificates of honour – are awarded too. From the interviews with the winners, Breivik found out that the prizes and diplomas have a positive effect, in the sense that winners say they had been granted time for investigations more readily. Respondents in our own survey confirm that the prize gives status to the recipient.

Incidentally, apart from the SKUP-prize, there are many other awards for journalists in Norway, both at a national and at a regional level. The latter is especially important because for small media it is difficult to compete with the ample resources the major national media have.

Half of the topics dealt with in the stories that were sent in have a national character; a quarter have an international character. The rest are local or regional stories. About two thirds of all contributions dealt with the public sector. The struggle of the common man against powerful institutions is a popular theme for the Norwegian press. The tabloids *VG* and *Dagbladet* require that a story have a human interest: no face, no story. *Aftenposten* publishes more abstract stories that for instance, deal with system failures.

Half of the contributions were made by a single journalist, the other half was team work. In forty percent of the cases at least one female reporter was involved. The fact that so much of the work is done by pairs and bigger teams, proves investigative journalism is well-established in the newsrooms and receives substantial support from the management. Active managerial support is usually necessary to free several reporters concurrently to work on a project. Having said that, Norwegian reporters do tend to have a lot of freedom in picking their own stories, even at smaller media. There may be a production pressure, but there is also opportunity to explore whether a topic has potential for a more in-depth approach than an everyday news story. And if there is this possibility, more time is often granted. 'If you have a good idea, you will be able to work on it', a reporter confirms, although the length and time-span might vary at different media. Other respondents use similar wording.

Even at medium-sized local newspapers it is quite common for a reporter to do a project that takes a couple of weeks. At the leading national newspapers, projects may even last months, or in extreme cases, years. Obviously, in those cases, money is not really an issue. 'If the story requires travel abroad, then you can do so', says a reporter.

But the situation is not as good as it used to be five years ago. The economic crisis in the Norwegian newspapers has definitely affected both daily news reporting and investigative journalism. Every single journalist interviewed agreed that the production pressure has increased. This is not only because of cutbacks in staff, but also because of the introduction of new supplements and magazines, especially at the weekends. Many reporters and editors note that the news cycle has

become shorter in recent years, forcing the media to react more quickly to news generated by other media, leaving little time for reflection. This is seen as a threat to quality and prudence. The general impression is that there is less investigative journalism than a couple of years ago, but that the quality has not declined.

For Norwegians it is a natural thing to compare themselves to Swedes in many aspects, including journalism. Several respondents referred to Swedish investigative journalism as more advanced. Especially at local and regional media more investigative work is being done in Sweden than in Norway. According to Norwegian journalists, their eastern neighbours take a tougher stance on local authorities.

Newsroom management plays a special role in Norway. At a strategic level the commitment to investigative reporting is clear, and resources are generated to enable thorough investigations. At a tactical level, however, management is almost absent. It is very unusual in Norway to have prioritised topics that should be investigated, for instance. This is left entirely to individual reporters who come up with good stories. At the tabloids especially, planning for publication is very difficult, say reporters, because the editor in charge at a particular night will make his own choices from the available stories.

Probably in relation to the wide freedom reporters have, they are not reluctant to invest their own time into stories, particularly investigations. They see their projects as their own.

Recently, there have been two very visible cases of investigative journalism that have led to a backlash on the profession. Both led to debates in society, although the two cases were very different in nature.

In one, the so-called Tønne case, *Dagbladet* revealed the ties the former cabinet member Tore Tønne had with a leading Norwegian industrialist. Other media jumped on the case as well, and much of the publicity was centred on the person of Tønne. He then committed suicide. The media, and *Dagbladet* in particular, have been accused by some critics of more or less having killed the man. When they ran stories about an entirely different case in which somebody was involved in financial irregularities, the editor received letters with messages like 'are you going to kill him as well?' and 'remember what you did to Tønne'. Several reporters say that since the Tønne case they have more awareness of the consequences of a story for the persons involved. They mentioned examples of stories not pursued, because the case was not worth the harm it could bring to the subject. Incidentally, no one ever contested the facts in the Tønne case. The debate centred on the presentation, emphasis, angle, and on the collective behaviour of the press: the media, they hunt in packs.

In the other case, the TV2 program *Rikets Tilstand* accused Norwegian cross-country skiers – undisputed national heroes – in 2002 of doping use at the Lillehammer Olympics eight years earlier. This caused a tremendous turmoil in Norwegian society. The team denied all allegations. The journalists were not able to prove their case, and later had to confess that they had misinterpreted particular documents. The allegations were downright false. The channel had to pay substantial compensations. As in the Tønne case, people felt damaged by investigative journalism. However, in this case the presented facts were actually wrong.

Norway has relatively strong legislation that grants citizens access to governmental documents. A unique feature of the public administration is the so-called mail book, in which a governmental agency has to register every document it sends or receives. Usually these mail books are available through the Internet. Many reporters check the mail book every day to cover their beat. If a document looks interesting one can request it by mail or phone, or sometimes the document itself is online. An agency may claim the confidentiality of a document in the mail book, but this can be challenged at the agency itself or with an ombudsman. Most reporters are quite satisfied with these procedures.

On the other hand, some documents are never mentioned in the mail books. Therefore, it is still important to have internal sources willing to leak information, some reporters emphasise. Also, access to particular information is restricted. In part, this is a consequence of a status change of the agencies: increasingly, public tasks are being performed by quasi non-governmental organisations, so-called *quangos*, that are hardly or not at all subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

Like Sweden and Finland, Norway has always been very open about private incomes. Until recently, certain tax data of every individual taxpayer were public. Some newspapers entered them into a searchable database on their website. However, recently access has been restricted to two weeks a year, in October, and the government does not provide entire copies of the database anymore. The old databases are still available online.

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Poland

BY JOHAN DE BOOSE

Poland is buffered by the Baltic Sea in the north and the Carpathian Mountains in the south, but enjoys no such natural protection to the east and west. The country has always been considered a strategic zone between competing enemies, sometimes profiting from this competition, but mostly it served as a tragic victim.

Poland has an extremely complicated history. It dates back to 996. In the sixteenth century, it was the biggest country in Europe, and in the territory were included parts of current Lithuania, Ukraine and Belarus. It reached from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. In 1795, however, Poland ceased to exist. The neighbouring states – Prussia, Russia and the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy – had divided the Polish territory. In this period, the Polish press and literature was mostly forbidden. Many intellectuals left the country, especially to France. Nevertheless there were local newspapers that tried to publish Polish articles on the turbulent political situation.

After 123 years, in 1918, Poland reappeared on the map as what is called ‘the Second Republic’. This republic originally was welcomed with euphoria, but soon developed into a totalitarian state. During World War II Germany and Russia agreed to divide Poland into a German and a Soviet controlled part. Although Poland was one of the ‘winners’ of the war and cooperated with the Allied Forces to liberate Western Europe, it couldn’t profit from the Marshall Plan and remained under Soviet dominance for almost 45 years. This was a difficult period: Polish intellectuals organised an extensive underground system in order to print books, newspapers and magazines. The official press was completely in the hands of the authorities.

After 1989 the situation changed dramatically. Although the political, economical and cultural transition is slow and difficult, there is free access to public information, and there is a free press. Like in most European countries, journalists are obliged to protect their sources if these wish to be protected. The amount of scandals and huge problems is enormous, but at least it is possible to talk about it, to publish articles, to broadcast meetings of parliamentary investigative committees, etcetera.

The Polish accession to the EU gives Polish journalists hope that they can help their country to achieve a much more stable situation. In big cities the economy is improving because of international investments, but poverty is still high. The welfare system is not yet advanced. In the countryside, where more than 25 percent of the population works in agriculture, poverty is sometimes dramatically high.

Poland at a glance

+ Inhabitants	38.2 million
+ Population density	122 per km²
+ Capital	Warsaw
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 10,900
+ Language	Polish
+ Access law	yes, since 2002
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	3.5
+ Democracy rank	27
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	20 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	3.9 million
+ Circulation per thousand	102
+ Circulation per household	0.29
+ Newspaper reach among adults	32 percent
+ Number of newspapers	50
+ Dominant business model	single copy
+ Commercial TV since	1990
+ Journalists' education	various
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	low
+ Female journalists	30 percent
+ Newsroom hierarchy	rather high
+ Journalists' political involvement	rather low
+ Politicians' media involvement	high
+ Investigative journalism organisation	none
+ Number of members	-

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

Current news media situation

Poland is a very interesting country for curious journalists. Since 1989 – when the communist system collapsed under the pressure of the Solidarity trade union – the country is in a state of permanent transformation. In the beginning of the nineties the Polish people were so deeply frustrated that they were really longed for a new western type of democracy with transparent policies. After Solidarity became a political party and no longer a broadly based trade union, it failed in many ways. The leaders told the people they would become rich in a few months.

After a period of enthusiasm people became frustrated again. In the mid-nineties, the post-communists regained power, and they are still in power as of yet. The fact is that many former communist leaders managed to turn their political power into economic power. The transformation of the Polish economy and political system created a heaven for corruption and crime, especially for a group of powerful, untouchable businessmen, who have connections with certain politicians and some media leaders. They obtained power because of the unclear rules of privatisation. These rules didn't lead to a free market, but created informal business and political 'structures' that controlled the main branches of economy and they even had their own journalists. To a certain extent one could compare the situation with the Russian oligarchs, although they differ in size. The gap between the poor and the new rich is currently enormous. However strange it may seem, there is a mentality of indifference among the people, who don't care that – as one journalist stated – 'the first million dollars must be stolen'.

The press found themselves in a revolutionary situation at the beginning of the nineties. From one day to the other newspapers, magazines and broadcasting companies could express themselves freely, without being controlled by governmental censorship. In fact this had already started at the end of the eighties, partly underground. In the last days of the communist regime some catholic and Solidarity-minded newspapers marked the articles that had suffered from the interference of censorship: these articles had blacked-out lines.

In the same period, *Gazeta Wyborcza* ('Election Newspaper', circulation 542,000) began to appear. It was the fruit of the work of Adam Michnik, an opposition journalist since 1968. This newspaper still exists; Michnik is still the editor, and in fact it is one of the most widely read national papers with local sections in every province. 'One of the priorities of our newspaper is to show how corrupt the post-communist government is', one of the chief editors said.

Another large newspaper is *Rzeczpospolita* ('The Republic', 247,000). *Gazeta* and *Rzeczpospolita*, both liberal papers, are healthy competitors.

Trybuna Ludu ('The People's Tribune'), which was a hard-line newspaper during the communist era, shortened its name to *Trybuna* and became the mouthpiece of the post-communists. The catholic weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny* ('The Universal Weekly') kept its status as the mouthpiece of the still very large catholic population. Important is also *Polityka* ('Politics'), a leftist weekly magazine without obvious post-communist connections. In addition there are *Przekroj* ('Section'), *Wprost* ('Straight') and *Newsweek Polska* ('Newsweek Poland'). On the extreme right there is the paper *Nasz Dziennik*, 'Our Daily', which connected with the *Liga Polskich Rodzin* ('The League of Polish Families'), an ultraconservative party.

A new phenomenon is the boulevard press, which reports on the dark side of the country in a sensational way. The most extravagant one is *Nie* ('No'), headed by the former spokesman of the last communist government of Wojciech Jaruzelski, Jerzy Urban. He is now a self-declared chief of investigative journalism, with a satirical tendency, criticising the catholic mentality. A scandal arose when Urban criticised the pope in a sarcastic, vulgar way. Usually his magazine is rather lax in matters of objectivity and truth. When other newspapers hesitate to publish new scandals because of lack of evidence, Urban goes ahead and publishes nevertheless. Boulevard magazines are *Fakt* ('Fact', 715,000), comparable to *Bild* in Germany and published by the Polish subsidiary of Axel Springer, and *Super-Expres* (406,000).

As a matter of fact, the definition of the political 'right' and 'left' in Poland (and in other former satellite states of the Soviet Union) is strictly connected to the political proliferation of the post-war Eastern European conditions. 'Right' in Poland means: being connected with the movement of Solidarity, which was opposed to the communist regime. 'Left' means a relation with the former communist or with the current post-communist government. Many journalists and other intellectuals stressed that this is a much more narrow definition of political orientations than the same words in countries where democracy has a longer and stronger tradition. Also, terms as 'trade union' and 'social-democrat' have another history and have to be used with care, because they have a completely different meaning.

Investigative journalists – often they don't call themselves investigative journalists; they just say 'they dig in the dirt' – write on a rich variety of themes in the current Polish society. The post-communists seem to be involved in all kinds of corruption. In the newsroom of every big newspaper journalists discuss the headlines every day, their main theme being the grey area between politics and business. As some say: 'We do what the police should do.'

One of the main problems of investigative journalists is their lack of professional education. Journalism courses are a part of political science

courses at universities, especially in the capital Warsaw. A special course for investigative journalism doesn't exist. Young journalists, invited as guest lecturers, try to introduce new attitudes and skills. In the nineties, foreign journalists visited Poland to present their experiences and working methods. A lot of investigative journalists admitted they cast a glance at foreign colleagues and on the other hand keep an eye on elder colleagues, who carried out their investigations in an intuitive manner and were awarded for that, even with international prizes.

For investigative journalists personal contacts matter much. Personal contacts are not the same as informants, because they don't receive money for their tips as informants do. Newspaper journalists can also guarantee their contacts that if they want to remain anonymous their identity will be hidden, even if the reporter has to testify in court.

A very important source of information for investigative journalists is the National Registration Court (KRS), where companies are registered. Most companies are registered in one particular city, so that you won't be able to find it in another city. There are no electronic or Internet registers. Many scandals were revealed with the help of this institution.

A common complaint concerns the financial situation of investigative journalists. Most of them have to divide their time between regular journalism and investigative journalism. Some even have to combine it with other jobs. Sometimes they are really 'lone hunters'.

Apart from the financial obstacles, journalists' work is often obstructed by two phenomena. The first is the pressure of (mostly local) advertisers, who invest in newspapers and can play an important role. The second is the political world. Politicians often hate investigative journalists. At the same time they make use of them, by leaking selective information and trying to manipulate streams of information. Even meetings of investigative committees, largely broadcasted live on Polish public television remain partly secret. Journalists that report on these meetings are always confronted with a dilemma, because they never get to hear the entire truth.

Newspapers play a leading role in Polish journalism. According to rankings they are the most appreciated media. To a certain extent politicians are still trying to control public broadcast media, not only at the national level, but also locally across the country. Commercial broadcast media – two national radio stations, two television companies and hundreds of regional and local radio stations – are focused neither on information nor on investigation, but on providing 'fun' for listeners and viewers. They sometimes conduct investigations, but only if they are relevant for 'ordinary people', for instance if a prosecutor or a policeman accepted a bribe.

History of investigative journalism

Investigative journalism in the true sense did not exist prior to 1989. Nevertheless there is a tradition of mostly underground criticism, expressed by writers and poets. Writers in the nineteenth century often lived abroad and commented constantly on the political situation, through their literary work as well as in semi-journalistic texts. Some of them even became national heroes. They were not journalists, but rather political commentators with the status of historians. The last of this kind was Czeslaw Milosz, writer and poet, who received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1980, and who was constantly commenting on the situation in his country, although he lived in the US.

After World War II, the Soviet occupation started and would last till 1989. Most newspapers became the mouthpiece of the new regime. The press was a very strong weapon in the hands of the regime to impose its ideology on the people. But as Polish intellectuals already had a long tradition of underground activities, going back to the early nineteenth century or even earlier, there were always attempts to publish papers that could escape censorship. The church and all kinds of catholic societies played an important role in this type of resistance. The most popular catholic socio-cultural paper was the weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny*, which still exists nowadays.

Current investigative journalism

Most current investigative journalists complain about the extremely difficult situation in which they have to operate, but they persevere in doing their work, which seems to be extremely important in solving the teething troubles of the Polish democracy and in trying to awaken the people's conscience, although the indifference is widespread.

This indifference takes on two shapes: on the one hand there are a large number of people who don't believe in political institutions anymore and in the diverse ideological interpretations by the press. They feel the membership of the EU has caused more disadvantages than profits. On the other hand, there are a huge number of especially young people who are only interested in making money for themselves as soon as possible, without any concern about the general welfare of the society.

To be complete, one has also to consider a new elite of young people who are extremely ambitious to play a role in the European institutions. These young professionals follow courses at the famous Europe College at Natolin in Warsaw, where professors such as Bronislaw Geremek and Piotr Nowina-Konopka teach, or at foreign university departments of Political Science. They broke away from the traditional lifestyle; they live in big cities, are more tolerant than the older representatives of the catholic mentality and are fluent in four or even more languages.

One could say that the continuing political troubles and the economical instability make the work of investigative journalists difficult, but at the other hand they simplify the choice of subjects. During the last one and a half decade many political and economical scandals have been disclosed by persevering journalists, often with far reaching consequences such as the dismissal of ministers or other high officials. Unfortunately there are also many cases, especially from the mid-nineties, that ended up in court – without any consequences. Sometimes people are fired because of their involvement in criminal practices, but return to their jobs by verdict of a labour court, claiming that firing them breached labour legislation: it was illegal to fire them, despite their criminal practices.

Current investigative journalism in Poland has to deal with four major problems: physical danger, black PR, manipulation, and finally the influence of advertisers.

In countries where corruption is abundant, where it even reaches the ruling political circles, investigative journalists are easily exposed to danger. In extreme cases, when the investigation concerns organised crime, journalists receive police protection. However, in most cases investigators that revealed major scandals and caused the dismissal or the taking into custody of high-ranking officials, feel rather safe. ‘This is not Russia, Belarus or Ukraine’, they say, ‘this is the European Union.’ Some journalists also state that they don’t have to fear anything from the world of politics and business, as long as they continue investigating certain cases. Those cases could be the top of an iceberg. Corrupt people do not perceive investigations into this top as dangerous; it covers the real cesspool.

Maybe, some journalists say, they should be more afraid about being followed and spied on by the security service of their country.

A terrifying note came from a Polish investigative journalist, who gave a talk to an audience of foreign journalists: ‘You must realise, that ‘civilised’ countries are perfect bases for many dirty enterprises of top-ranked people from such countries as Poland. Nobody here (i.e. in Western countries) keeps an eye on them, like we do.’

Black PR occurs everywhere in Eastern Europe, also in Poland. There are specialised firms – led by former journalists and even by policemen – that give information to newspapers. The aim of this information is to blacken the competitor’s reputation, to put him in a bad daylight, or to reveal his corruption. An example of how this works: X has a firm; Y works for a black PR company; X informs Y that his competitor is swindling. Y informs the newspaper about it, with a set of documents to prove the allegations. Evidence is provided through private contacts, email and printed documents. The question to publish or not is

interesting. The information may be true and real, but who is profits from publishing?

Leaks are very common in Poland. The media always have to figure out if they are not part of the political struggle, if they are not being used. Even if the motivation of the leak is purely political – someone wants to damage his opponent – the journalist has to check if he has correct evidence of the story. If it concerns a public matter, he'll run it. But if the story is not well documented, and purely political, and the aim is just to damage the political opponent, he often won't.

The chief-editors of *Gazeta Wyborcza* gave an example: "This is one of the major problems in 2004 with the parliamentary committee investigating the Orlen-affair (which is the most recent scandal in business and politics): the nine members of this committee, each of them from one party, all the time leak selectively. So journalists have to think if it is selected, and what for. What was their objective? They have to be careful, because the next day the other one selects something else against this fellow or this party. It's a web all the time. It cannot be decided once and for all, only case by case."

The local and regional media are often under the influence of advertisers. Local advertisers have connections with local authorities. Local businessmen make the newspapers completely dependent on their advertisements. The advertiser has so much power, that he is able to ruin the newspaper by withdrawing his advertisement. National newspapers are much less dependent on advertisements, specifically on individual advertisers.

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Portugal

BY ROBERT SIKKES

Investigative journalism boomed in Portugal in the decades after the carnation revolution of 1974. Especially weeklies were involved in in-depth reporting. But nowadays, according to media professionals, investigative journalism is hardly practised. Journalists say political and economical powers try to prevent investigative journalism, because the media are under the influence of either the government or powerful media enterprises. Nevertheless, from time to time big cases are discovered; like Felícia Cabrita who stunned the Portuguese public when she revealed in the weekly *Expresso* and on SIC-television the organised sexual abuse of children in the orphanage Casa Pia.

Historical background

Free press in Portugal is relatively young: it has been only been practised for 31 years. Until the 25th of April 1974, when the carnation revolution overthrew the 48-year fascist dictatorship, all the legal press was state censored. Foreign media were also banned (newspapers, magazines) or jammed (radio) when the censors disliked their content. Even on the morning of the revolution, illegally announced by two songs on the radio, the headlines of the Portuguese newspapers that reported on the military columns that were moving towards Lisbon were stamped 'not approved' by the still functioning censors.

Although some legal newspapers tried to 'write between the lines', only the illegal – mainly communist – press was able to write about the reality in Portugal, like the strange circumstances surrounding the death of the opposition candidate Humberto Delgado in 1965, the colonial wars in Africa, strikes, anti-governmental rallies and revolutionary uprisings of young army officials. The Portuguese also read foreign media to inform themselves, especially French newspapers and magazines such as *Le Monde*, *l'Express* and *Le Nouvel Observateur*.

After the revolution nearly all the media were nationalised, but each tended to have its own particular political colour. In the post-revolutionary years, ideological battles took place in Parliament, on the street and in the newsrooms. Dailies, weeklies, radio and television – all had an enormous audience because that was the only way for the public to discover how the battle for power expanded between the military movement MFA, the communist and socialist parties, the large number of even more radical organisations and the still large right-wing opposition. Everything was printed and broadcasted: from good journalistic investigations to rumours.

Portugal at a glance

+ Inhabitants	10.4 million
+ Population density	114 per km ²
+ Capital	Lisbon
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 18,300
+ Language	Portuguese
+ Access law	yes, since 1993
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	6.3
+ Democracy rank	18
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	14 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	0.6 million
+ Circulation per thousand	58 (least in Western Europe)
+ Circulation per household	0.17 (least in Western Europe)
+ Newspaper reach among adults	39 percent
+ Number of newspapers	29
+ Dominant business model	single copy
+ Commercial TV since	1992
+ Journalists' education	professional
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	moderate
+ Female journalists	37 percent
+ Newsroom hierarchy	low
+ Journalists' political involvement	some
+ Politicians' media involvement	often
+ Investigative journalism organisation	none
+ Number of members	-

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

After the coup of general Ramalho Eanes in November 1975, Portugal became a more stable – some called it dull at the time – parliamentary democracy. In the following years many, but not all, newspapers and other media were re-privatised. Portugal was a poor country at that time, according to Western-European standards. Its economy had suffered much from the expensive colonial wars in Africa and the backward dictatorship of Antonio Salazar and Marcelo Caetano. After entering the European Union in 1986, Brussels successfully invested billions in the infrastructure and economic development of Portugal. But still the country remains one of the countries in the EU with a relative low GDP per capita.

Current media situation

Five large public and private groups dominate the current media landscape, each exploiting different kinds of media, such as newspapers, weeklies, glossies, radio and television. These are:

- + PT Multimedia/Lusomundo media is a private group that has old ties to the state, which still holds a golden big share in the company. Lusomundo used to be the former state-owned Portugal Telecom, the telephone company that expanded after privatisation into to a media factory. It owns the big newspapers *Jornal de Notícias* and *Díario de Notícias*. Besides that, it owns the newsmagazine *Grande Reportagem* and many other magazines, the radio station TSF, cinemas and Internet providers. Lusomundo announced at the start of 2005 that it is considering selling its media activities.
- + Impresa is a private group. Their news coverage is mainly done by the prestigious weekly *Expresso* and the TV-channel SIC. In addition, it controls many magazines on showbiz, cars, interior design and television guides.
- + Media Capital, a private group, owns a large number of radio stations like Radio Commercial, RCP and special interest radio, the private TV-canal TVI and production companies for television, as well as women magazines and computer magazines.
- + Cofina is a private company and owns the large newspapers *Correio da Manhã* and sports daily *Record*.
- + The Portuguese state still owns two TV-channels (RTP 1 and 2), various radio stations and the news agency *Lusa*.

The newspapers suffered from a slight decline in circulation in 2002 and 2003, but measured on the long term, daily newspapers gained 25 percent in circulation over the last ten years. This spectacular rise, an unknown phenomenon in most other European countries, is obviously related to the higher standards of living have come into existence since

Portugal joined the European Union. It is also related to the emergence of a more educated and expanding generation of young people after the revolution of 1974. Nevertheless, the circulation per thousand (55) daily newspapers is very low, for example compared to Sweden (483). Due to the small numbers sold every day, most papers have little economic possibilities. For instance, the quality paper *O Público* has a staff of only 110 journalists.

The best-sold paper is not a daily, but a weekly: *Expresso*, an important broadsheet news medium. It sells about 138,000 copies every weekend. The prestigious weekly is famous for its political and economical coverage. Also the weekly magazine *Visão* is popular (110,000). The popular daily *Correio da Manhã* has a circulation of 107,000. Second in line is the *Jornal de Notícias* (102,000), formally a Porto-based newspaper. In the last ten years it has spread out from the north of Portugal to the centre, with a mix of serious and more popular news, combined with special interest in regional news. The well-known *Diário de Notícias* (54,000) is a bit in decline. It was founded in 1864 and one of the oldest still existing papers. It seems to lose readers to the growing *Jornal de Notícias* although it belongs to the same firm, and to some new newspapers. Many newspapers appeared and disappeared in the last thirty years, when they tried their luck on the small but growing newspaper market. But only *O Público*, launched as a quality paper within a small firm in 1990, seems to have achieved a stable position in the market (58,000). Apart from these newspapers, Portugal has several small national dailies, many tiny regional newspapers, and three sports dailies: *Record* (93,000), *O Jogo* (35,000) and *A Bola* (no information).

News reports form an important way to attract public for state television RTP and the commercial channels TVI and SIC. The news is broadcasted on primetime and lasts for an hour or more, with a lot of national and local news. Anchormen and women are national figures. The tendency of the news reporting is a bit sensational. The audience is more or less equally divided between SIC, TVI and RTP 1.

Journalists have to be registered as professionals to obtain a press card. Many journalists belong to *Sindicato de Jornalistas*, the trade union. The union retains the ethical standards at a high level. It provides every member with the ethical code on credit card size. The code, for instance, obliges journalists to check news with at least two or three sources.

In higher education there are some professional programmes in communication, but a practical journalistic Bachelor or Masters programme does not exist. Most journalists do not graduate in communication. The union, government and journalists founded *Cenjor*, a joint programme to improve the quality of journalism with courses of three to nine months.

The law provides free access to nearly every State document (*Lei de Acesso ao Documentos Administrativos*). When a state body refuses to hand over documents, one can appeal at an independent commission that will judge the appeal and has a decisive vote. In most cases the commission decides in favour of publication. Nevertheless, city councils or ministries sometimes try to delay publication, and it might be necessary to go to court to effectuate the decision of the independent commission.

The high commission on social communication (*Alto Autoridade da Comunicação Social*) has the right to intervene in the media when the freedom of press or the right to answer is being frustrated. It has the power to impose a fine on the media or their owners when they don't act according the law. In the beginning of 2005, a restructuring of the AACCS was announced. Most newspapers have a *proverador dos leitores*, a person who deals with criticism by readers and corrects mistakes or the abuse of the newspaper's ethical guidelines.

History of investigative reporting

In the eighties and nineties investigative reporting was one of the main distinguishing points of the high quality weeklies, like *O Expresso* and *O Jornal*. Especially *O Expresso*, a liberal newspaper that started in 1973, just before the revolution, invested a great deal in investigative journalism and the credibility of its articles. It had a team of ten fulltime reporters working on the investigation of major cases. The editors stimulated this development. Investigation turned into *Expresso's* brand. In the end all weeklies and daily newspapers were competing with each other in high quality investigations. Also *O Diário*, a meanwhile disappeared communist aligned daily lead by Valdemar Cruz, was famous for its in-depth reporting.

Expresso won the competition very often. The late Celestino Amaral (1950-1996), became famous when he revealed the GAL-case with his colleague Joaquim Vieira. Their reports on these Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberation in Spain – who killed ETA members with the knowledge and approval of Spanish officials – won various prizes. Vieira gained fame with his coverage of the 'fax of Macau', it exposed the governor of this Portuguese colony in China was fraudulent. The governor had to resign after publication. On television the programme *Grande Reportagem* of the state-owned RTP 1 made documentaries of high quality. *La grande dame* of the television documentary in Portugal is the journalist Diana Andringa, who won several prizes. In 1993 for example, she made a film about the life of a Portuguese 'Schindler', the Portuguese consul in Bordeaux, Aristides de Sousa Mendes, who against the will of the dictator Salazar helped Jews to escape from occupied France to Portugal during World War II.

Current investigative journalism

The main reason Portuguese journalists mention to explain the lack of investigative reporting in the current era, is political and economic pressure. A small elite, journalists say, of business executives and politicians try to prevent investigations into their relations and deals. The concentration of most media in five large enterprises, that also have interests in other business sectors, restricts investigation of journalists into cases that affect their own firm. And indeed, examples of the effect of this influence exist. A sports firm threatened sports daily *A Bola* with the withdrawal of advertisements if it would publish a story on the production of footballs with use of child labour. It was difficult for *Expresso* to write about problems at the television station SIC, which belongs to the same enterprise.

Especially in the state controlled media like television channels RTP, political nominations of the management are considered normal by the government but are of course criticised by media professionals. But also board positions in *Diário de Notícias*, although it is a part of the privatised Portugal Telecom, are subjected to political interventions.

By the end of 2004, a fierce debate erupted on the pressure exerted by the PSD government on the commentary at the private television station TVI. The management of the station wanted to discuss government critique, what led to the resignation of political commentator Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa. Although Rebelo de Sousa was a former politician and still a member of the same party as the government, journalists considered the political pressure exerted on him to step aside as a breach of the freedom of speech.

Lawsuits that 'victims' of investigations start form another important threat. After *Expresso* revealed the odd involvement of the conservative party's leader with the private company Universidade Moderna, the party published a full-page advertisement in all newspapers that it would sue *Expresso* for libel to the amount of five million euro. In the end it turned out to be just a threat that was never effectuated, but employed to influence other media who were investigating the dossier. Journalist Antonio Cerejo of the daily *O Público* states that he is sued all the time to prevent publication. He was condemned twice, and made to pay relatively low fines, but the constantly rising costs of lawyers were problematic for his newspaper. Another complication is the slowness of legal procedures in Portugal: *Expresso's* José Pedro Castanheira only recently closed a case in court that took ten years.

According to journalists this political and economical pressure put on the media are all true, but the lack of investigations is also part of a culture. The culture of independent checking of power should be the nature of all journalists. This attitude, however, is less common than

two decades ago. Some journalists have close ties to political parties and industry. Others become more defensive in their reporting, due to the political and economic pressure. Or as senior reporters say about the new generation: there is no real interest in the checking of democracy, like there was in the immediate post-revolutionary years. Much journalism is CCC, they say, *cús colados à cadeira*, buttocks glued to the chairs, instead of active reporting, networking and fact checking.

Another economic effect that doesn't support a culture of thorough investigation is the economic crisis that has struck Portugal during the last three years. Less advertising has meant many media have suffered from severe budget cuts. The big media enterprises don't want to invest in expensive investigations without secure revenues. Neither the newspapers nor the television stations currently have special investigative teams. Journalists that investigate, have to spend much of their own time on it. The only magazine that pays special attention to investigation is the newsmagazine *Grande Reportagem*, which is now a weekly supplement of several daily newspapers of Lusomundo, having been an independent monthly before. But even at *Grande Reportagem* the economic possibilities are limited, managing editor Joaquim Vieira states.

Although all television channels invest a lot in news, most news is presented as a sensational show, due to the competition for an audience. Jacinto Godinho, staff member of the state-owned RTP and lecturer at the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, thinks television reporters are more interested in presenting the news than in investigation. The channels see investigative journalism as an expensive and insecure investment. Only the news bulletin at SIC, which is part of the conglomerate that also owns *Expresso*, produces more elaborate reports within the daily news programme.

After this grey and gloomy picture painted by the Portuguese journalists, it should be noted that good investigations do exist. Also, some media – *Expresso*, *O Público*, *Grande Reportagem* – seem to create a more investigative atmosphere than others. Antonio Cerejo of daily *O Público* checks cadastral archives, commercial registrations, state documents and local authorities to expose fraudulent politicians who make deals between themselves, to favour particular voters or industries. He published about corruption in Nazaré, Almadovar and the Lisbon region. His stories on the abuse of power by the Soares family – of the former PS party-leader Mario Soares – were breaking news headlines many times. *O Público* and the *Diário de Notícias* were active in the fraud case of the *Universidade Moderna*. The relative easy access to state documents also helps creative journalists to divulge interesting sociological trends, like the publication of school rankings after a successful appeal requesting access to the data of exam results.

Many investigations reconstruct the ‘black history’ of the war in former Portuguese colonies in Africa and the regimes of the dictators Salazar and Caetano. A highlight in this area was the discovery by *Expresso* of the daughter of the chief of the Salazarist secret police PIDE who defected to communist Cuba. The recent portrait on RTP-television of ‘The Iberian brothers’, the dictators Franco and Salazar, also is part of the constant analysis of the fascist period.

The most famous investigation of the last years is what is called the case of *Casa Pia*. After an anonymous tip, Felícia Cabrita of *Expresso* started to investigate rumours about the sexual abuse of boys in the orphanage Casa Pia, which had many well-known Portuguese in the governing board. The first publications in the homosexual abuse of minors, organised by staff members, and known and neglected by the board, shocked Portugal. All the news programmes on television started an ad hoc research desk, especially devoted to the Casa Pia case. Other media also started to investigate, which led to a tsunami of publications of all kinds. Good journalism, but also allegations of abuse of minors by politicians and other well-known Portuguese that weren’t checked.

Due to the Casa Pia publications the discussion about the ‘secret of justice’ revived. According to Portuguese law it is forbidden to influence a court during a trial, for instance by publishing on the case. During the investigations of the prosecutor, the media however, continued to publish anything they could find on Casa Pia. It made politicians eager to strengthen the law on the *Segredo da Justiça* and try to ban publications that could intervene in cases going to court.

Another judicial threat to journalism is the recent case of freelancer Manso Preto, who published a story on drug transports in *Expresso*. After an appeal by the alleged drugs traffickers who were in custody, a judge obliged him to reveal his sources. Preto refused and is now sentenced to one year of prison on probation on the condition he does not repeat his ‘crime’ within the next three years.

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Russia

BY HELLA ROTTENBERG

With the introduction of his policy of glasnost in the mid-eighties, Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev opened the door to the freedom of expression. Journalists had been working under strict censorship for many decades. They knew which topics were permitted, which were forbidden and which were obligatory. Although the skill to read and write 'between the lines' was highly developed under the Soviet system, mass media as such were merely instruments of state and party propaganda. To know what was going on, one had to listen to foreign radio stations and simultaneously to decipher the Soviet news.

The policy of glasnost brought about a radical change in the character and role of the Soviet media. People started to speak their minds, at first carefully, later more and more boldly. They passionately discussed the past, present and future of the Soviet Union and Russia, and set in motion an avalanche of discussion of themes that had been suppressed for so long. Newspapers, journals and television programmes became the outlet for a wide variety of opinions. Not before long, the media identified themselves as platforms for liberal, conservative/communist, nationalist and authoritarian ideas. Censorship was completely abolished after the failed coup attempt in 1991.

It was an exciting period for journalists. They learned to ask questions, to investigate, and to speak out. Some of them learned quickly. Newspapers and journals were eagerly bought and read, some television programmes became national events. Journalism, however, in many cases lacked professionalism and ethical guidelines as a result of years of dictatorship. Opinions, rumours and facts were often mixed in news reports. Journalists longed to communicate their personal opinion. Establishing facts came on the second place. In combination with the chaotic political developments, it became a challenge for the public to make sense of the many different versions of events that were presented.

During the early nineties, more sophisticated newspapers (such as *Segodnya* and *Nezavisimaya*), radio stations (*Ekho Moskvy*) and television companies (such as NTV and TV-6) were founded that were owned by companies that were independent from the state. Journalists of these media, many of them newcomers, no longer suffered from the inhibitions or self-censorship that had characterised the Soviet era. Reporters used their independent position to criticise the authorities freely. The first war against the rebellious Caucasian region Chechnya that president Yeltsin started in December 1994 was the subject of fierce debates and criticism in the media. At the time, independent reporting on and investigations into the war were possible, even on television.

Russia at a glance

+ Inhabitants	143.2 million
+ Population density	8 per km ²
+ Capital	Moscow
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 9,000
+ Language	Russian
+ Access law	no
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	2.8
+ Democracy rank	121
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	68 (not free)
+ Newspaper circulation	no data available
+ Circulation per thousand	no data available
+ Circulation per household	no data available
+ Newspaper reach among adults	7 percent
+ Number of newspapers	449
+ Dominant business model	mixed
+ Commercial TV since	1991
+ Journalists' education	-
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	rare
+ Female journalists	-
+ Newsroom hierarchy	-
+ Journalists' political involvement	-
+ Politicians' media involvement	strong
+ Investigative journalism organisation	none
+ Number of members	-

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

Things changed in 1996, during the presidential campaign. Liberal-minded journalists viewed Yeltsin's re-election as a guarantee for press freedom. 'Journalists were so happy with their newly gained freedom that they no longer kept their distance from the Russian government', says veteran Moscow journalist Leonid Velekhov. 'They became propagandists and thus lost part of their recently-won independence and credibility.' NTV, once the most critical TV channel, changed overnight into a mighty propaganda machine for Yeltsin's re-election.

Newspapers tried hard, but did not manage to make ends meet in the new economy. Fierce competition with radio and television, lack of advertisements, loss of subscribers, sky-high costs for printing and distribution were the main causes for this failure. *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (The Independent Newspaper) had to stop publication in 1995; it re-emerged a few months later as part of the conglomerate of the Russian billionaire Berezovski. *Izvestia* that first went through a phase as a shareholder company owned by its employees, was bought in 1996 by the oil concern Lukoil.

These developments would not have been a problem if the oligarchs had seen the media as a commercial enterprise, while respecting their editorial independence. However, instead of doing so, they used the television channels and printed media as tools in their struggle for the division of state-owned property. Only a few months after Lukoil became shareholder of *Izvestia*, editor-in-chief Golembiovski was dismissed. He had printed an article, taken from *Le Monde*, in which the Prime Minister and energy tycoon Chernomyrdin was accused of self-enrichment. This example of interference by the oligarchs was to set the tone.

Trading *kompromat*

A new vocabulary, such as 'black PR', originated to indicate methods for blackmailing and blackening one's opponents. Virtually all major mass media were involved in the so-called 'information war' between the oligarchs. The big banks and industrial conglomerates employed their own intelligence service to spy on opponents and gather compromising information, so-called *kompromat*. When it was considered expedient, this *kompromat* was made public through the media owned by the oligarchs or by journalists whom they bribed with large sums of money. According to Moscow journalist Leonid Nikitinski, from 1995 on, most Russian publications that were labelled 'investigative stories' were nothing more but one-sided information, neither checked nor independently investigated.

Trading information was big business. Transcripts of private conversations between businessmen and politicians were sold by people

with connections in the various branches of the Russian secret service. Private data on income and tax payments, police records: practically everything became available on the market. In the heyday of the struggle for state property, incredible sums were offered for publishing or withholding pieces of damaging information. Journalists in Moscow and St. Petersburg told me that they had been offered amounts, varying from 25,000 to 150,000 US dollars. These prices were paid for publications in the printed media. Prices for television must have been much higher.

The information war died down when the oligarchs managed to get a hold of their share of state property. The massive leaking of information stopped and the number of revelations dropped sharply. 'We had something like eight or ten centres of influence', says Leonid Nikitinski. 'Now only one centre, the Kremlin, is left. Politics has gone underground.' Pluralism is disappearing, especially after Yukos boss Khodorkovsky was arrested. The rest of the oligarchs took it as a signal that they should obey the Kremlin, and they instruct the media they own to act according to the rules too.

Private data are still widely for sale; only the price has dropped. One journalist showed me a price-list for data on cd-rom that elsewhere would either be freely available, like phone numbers, or not available at all, like bank accounts, police records and information on tax payments. These data on all major cities in Russia are on sale. Mostly they are at least a year old; for up-to-date information one needs special connections.

The struggle for the ownership of state property has been utterly destructive. Corruption has permeated all strata of society, the media not excluded. Journalists are well aware that the credibility of the mass media has been undermined and their profession has become seriously discredited. The public is not naive and is well aware that it is being cheated. When it concerns the genre of 'investigations' in particular, one can expect cynical reactions. Nobody knows who and what to believe anymore. Revelations are seen as simply another hail of bullets in the foggy war that the powerful are waging. The first question people ask themselves is: in whose interest is this bit of dirt being made public? Another effect of the information war is maybe just as alarming. Russian journalists are deeply suspicious of one another, making it easy for authorities to divide and rule.

Those who are still active in investigative journalism sometimes work as well-paid detectives for private firms: publishing information is considered just a sideshow. A group of Moscow reporters, for example, earn their income by writing reports for private firms about other firms or persons. They may publish (part of) this information on their website and in their monthly journal with the apparently ironically intended title *Kompromat.ru*. They see themselves as independent journalists,

who do their own research, while at the same time they write commissioned articles. They do not think these activities might be incompatible. Other investigative journalists work in close cooperation with the police and secret service, which makes it impossible for them to maintain their independence.

Nevertheless, there are still individual journalists and media outlets that manage, against all odds, to maintain a reputation of honest investigating and reporting in an increasingly hostile political climate.

Clean pencils

Leonid Nikitinski, who works as a legal affairs reporter at *Novaya Gazeta*, set up a programme for investigative journalists in 1998 with the telling title 'Clean pencils'. George Soros' Open Society Institute financed this programme. Nikitinski invited journalists to submit plans. After a consultation with an advisory board he would decide if a plan was good, and the journalist would receive a grant of one thousand dollars for expenses and fee. As a condition for receiving the grant, journalists had to send the draft article for comment to the other side, usually the accused party. This elementary rule was thought necessary to obtain a guarantee that the article was not commissioned by an interested party. The programme closed down in 2001 when Soros left Russia. 'It is a pity, because the programme was quite successful', Nikitinski says. A collection of 'Clean pencils' articles in book form reveals which themes were selected for investigations in Russia: abuse of position by high state officials (i.e. enrichment), corruption among army generals and judicial authorities, criminal gangs and high-profile murders, collusion between big business and the state authorities and fraudulent business deals. Some of the authors who participated in the programme are still working as investigative journalists, but quite a few gave up and are now analysing events, teaching, or working as general reporters.

Conducting investigative journalism in a corrupt, criminal, violent and undemocratic country is very tricky business. Many incidents have been registered in recent years in which journalists were threatened, obstructed, poisoned; some disappeared, a few were even killed. Cases remain unsolved for years. Official investigations into disappearances and killings have not led to the conviction of one single murderer.

When asked how they protect themselves and how they find the courage to continue with their work, respondents said that there is hard to find out why certain journalists have been killed. However, journalists do adhere to certain rules, such as: never engage in deals in which information is used as a commercial commodity; don't ever try to blackmail a person using your knowledge; see to it that you are never the

sole bearer of damaging information; never go to risky meetings alone. They seemed to comfort themselves with the thought that the political climate in Russia is becoming more civilised. They are convinced that when they adhere strictly to the rules, the risks are minimal. Still, intimidation and disappearances continue to take place, and it doesn't just happen to unknown reporters somewhere in a faraway provincial town, but also to well-known journalists in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

Broadcast media

Russian television is mainly concerned with entertainment. The authorities strictly supervise news and background information. The Kremlin nowadays controls all five federal television channels. A journalist in St. Petersburg summed up the change of regime in the Kremlin in a simple manner: 'When Yeltsin didn't like a program he switched off his television set. When Putin is irritated, he switches off the network.'

Newspapers are deemed relatively unimportant because of their limited circulation. They therefore still enjoy some freedom of expression. Television, however, is the top priority for the Kremlin. Broadcasts are watched closely. Since 2002, satirical programmes have been taken off the air, discussion programmes have been banned; some television personalities have even been declared off-limits.

Top managers of the federal channels are summoned on a weekly basis – and frequently more often – to the Kremlin and there, they are given 'precious hints' by the authorities. According to Aleksei Simonov, director of the Glasnost Defense Fund, Soviet censorship was in a way easier to bear, because the instructions were clear and the same for everybody. 'Today you never know why something is forbidden and on whose orders. Those vague hints tend to frighten people. Self-censorship has a more prohibitive effect than state-censorship.'

In such a climate it is hard to imagine how investigative reporting can flourish. There are still a few programmes on federal TV that could be labelled 'investigative', but the content, however, is not very exciting. The once famous investigative programme 'Top Secret' is now a shadow of its former self; the programme 'Man and Law' is closely connected to police and justice authorities, and it is rumoured it receives large sums for 'commissioned' programmes.

Besides the federal channels, about a thousand local and regional channels air programmes on television. In small towns, local TV falls under the authority of the local council, which usually means that the channel is tightly controlled. In big cities, the regional or local networks are owned by big industries and private businessmen, besides by the

regional and local authorities. As a consequence, in big regional cities there is room for competition between the networks and sometimes even for independently edited news, background programmes and even some investigative reporting.

TV2, in the Siberian city of Tomsk, is considered the best regional television network in Russia. The imprisoned business tycoon Khodorkovski owns it. Contrary to other regional networks, TV2 deals exclusively with news and background stories. Tomsk has a large student population and it used to be a town where political exiles were sent to. Thus, the population in majority has a liberal outlook. Local authorities do not interfere too much with television reporting. Investigations are a regular part of the work of TV2's twenty reporters. 'The public trusts us and frequently phones in to report abuses', says director Arkadi Mayofis. What makes his life difficult are the frequent lawsuits his network has to cope with. He employs a battery of legal experts to analyse programmes before they go on air, and to defend the network in court. In its thirteen years of existence TV2 lost only one case, Mayofis proudly recalls.

In radio broadcasting, investigative journalism is not a tradition. If one wants to be informed, however, some radio stations stand out as good and reliable. *Ekho Moskvyy* should be mentioned first of all: it specialises in high quality talk radio with a large audience: 750,000 listeners in Moscow and another 750,000 across the whole of Russia. *Ekho Moskvyy* is especially good at broadcasting talk shows, ironic columns and analysis. Many of Russia's finest journalists work for this station. But the freedom of expression is at risk at this station too. *Ekho Moskvyy* was owned by billionaire Gusinsky, whose media empire was taken over by the state-owned gas company Gazprom. The radio station tries to fend off interference by giving airtime to a wide variety of opinions, varying from extremely nationalist to outright liberal.

Print media

The newspapers and journals that flourish commercially belong mainly to the yellow press. *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, *Moskovski Komsomolets* and *Argumenty i Fakty* publish funny stories, articles about sex scandals, gossip, human-interest stories and entertainment. For the few surviving serious, critical or opposition papers life is often made miserable through economic harassment. Sometimes advertisers are 'urgently advised' by shady persons to break their ties with a paper. Or, as happens more and more often, papers are ordered in court to pay incredibly high damages for having published 'false information'. Thus, the quality paper *Kommersant Daily* – a liberal newspaper owned by the run-away billionaire Berezovski – was fined over 10 million dollars in January 2005 for an article that the owner of Alpha Bank disliked. It had

reported that many clients had been trying to draw money from their accounts. With Berezovski as its financier, *Kommersant Daily* can afford such a fine, but for the much less affluent opposition paper *Novaya Gazeta* – financed by a pool of businessmen – it would probably have been a deadly blow. *Kommersant Daily* does not engage in investigative journalism, but *Novaya Gazeta* practices investigative journalism systematically.

The paper, published twice a week, concentrates on journalistic investigations, human interest and the war in Chechnya. *Novaya Gazeta* regularly receives telephone calls from anonymous callers telling them the paper had better not publish certain information. And sometimes even nastier methods are applied to prevent reporters from doing their work, like when Anna Politkovskaya was poisoned in the airplane on her way to Beslan in September 2004.

The fate of *Novaya Gazeta* is very much in the balance. If the Kremlin authorities want to ruin the paper, they would only have to start a series of lawsuits. ‘Courts do whatever they’re asked to do’, says Sergei Sokolov, assistant editor-in-chief. He recalls a case against *Novaya Gazeta* in which the judge decided in favour of the Minister of Atomic Energy Adamov, although the paper could fully document its accusations of self-enrichment against the minister. The judge motivated his ruling by pointing to the fact that the documents referred to Adamov by his first name and second initial, instead of his full patronymic. So this Adamov could be another person, couldn’t he?

Publications on the abuse people in high places exert have no effect whatsoever in the real world, says Sokolov. ‘The secret service is in power, it knows whatever it wants to know and holds the top dogs in its grip. The system is totally corrupt. Not one single publication by *Novaya Gazeta* has led to a criminal investigation, no matter what damaging documents we’ve presented.’ All Moscow and St. Petersburg journalists I spoke to echo his words: whatever you discover, it is ignored. This is at least true for the central levels of power: regional authorities sometimes seem to be more responsive.

Even so, *Novaya Gazeta* continues to do investigative stories, because according to Sokolov ‘we are good at it’, and because ‘maybe somebody somewhere sometime’ will look at the information and act upon it, for instance abroad. Four journalists at the paper are only involved in investigative stories, they write mainly on high-level bribing and corruption, the role of the secret service and the military, the abuse of state funds, and on crime. The other desks engage in investigations now and then if and when it concerns their own specialities.

According to Roman Shleinov, one of *Novaya Gazeta*’s investigative reporters, the field for investigations is endless, but the possibilities of

getting hold of information and checking stories are decreasing. The Kremlin discriminates against critical journalists. They are not included in the pool that receives invitations from the Kremlin; requests for interviews and documents are routinely refused. And since the State Duma (the Parliament) is completely dominated by Putin supporters, it has lost its function as an additional source of information. 'The system has become monolithic', comments Shleynov.

The Agency for Journalistic Investigation, AJUR, is unique in Russia. Andrei Konstantinov, a famous journalist and author of real crime and detective stories founded AJUR in 1998. He teaches popular courses and seminars on investigative journalism and wrote a textbook on his speciality, titled: 'Journalistic investigations: the history of a method and its modern practice'. AJUR currently employs 60 persons, some 25 of whom are reporters. It runs a press agency, a website, and a weekly magazine; all of them specialised in criminal affairs in St. Petersburg and surroundings. AJUR is renowned for its spectacular criminal investigations and the ensuing results. It even handed over notorious criminals to the police after having elicited confessions from them. 'It had to be done', says Konstantinov, 'as an act of civil service.'

AJUR seems to work very systematically. As a rule at least two reporters work on an investigative story. All data are recorded during the investigation, a librarian is included in the team, a dossier and an analysis of the gathered information is made. Only when this procedure is followed, the story is written. Before publication, legal experts analyse the material.

AJUR, however, is not merely a successful journalistic enterprise. The agency earns its income for a large part through its activities as a detective agency and consultancy bureau. AJUR has got a very well documented archive and a professional analytical department, with specialists who once worked in the secret service and police and who therefore still have close ties to their former employers. Foreign and Russian business firms can order dossiers on individual persons or fields of economic activity. Or they can ask for a special investigation to be conducted. According to director Konstantinov there is no conflict of interest with the regular journalistic work of AJUR. 'We always say to our clients: you can order an investigation, but you cannot order the outcome.'

Concluding remarks

The climate for investigative journalism in Russia has deteriorated severely. Media companies have been used as tools and in the process they have lost their independent outlook and integrity. Corrupting practices undermine the credibility of a large part of the media. And

Putin's administration has become more and more authoritarian. Putin has put federal television under his control; he can restrict the free press if he so desires. Yet, at some newspapers and smaller media outlets journalists still work as investigative reporters. But nowadays it is not particularly rewarding. When journalists discover and reveal abuse, the authorities mostly ignore their findings. Initiatives for independent reporting launched by regional groups of newspapers or by individual journalists or regional and local television channels, however, are beacons of hope.

Spain

BY HENK VAN DEN BOOM

The Spanish civil war (1936-1939) and the ensuing dictatorship of Francisco Franco (till 1975) have strongly influenced Spanish media and journalism. Spain became very isolated, and therefore it remained behind in economic, cultural and political respects in comparison with the rest of Europe.

The death of the dictator in 1975 signalled a true transformation. The political forces that had impatiently awaited his death agreed to let the past rest and to focus on the future with a united front. The peaceful 'transición' under the socialist rule of Felipe Gonzalez (1982 - 1996) and subsequently the government of José Maria Aznar (1996 - 2004) enabled Spain to become a modern nation in a time span of just twenty-five years. Currently, it is one of the fastest growing economies in Europe. The press played pioneering role in this process together with the political parties.

The membership of NATO, the entry into the EU, and the influence of the fifty million tourists that visit the country every year, have brought the Spaniards into contact with people from abroad. Whereas the collaboration of the press and politics was considered vital during the budding days of the new democracy, nowadays journalists and politicians view it increasingly as a burden of the past.

With the onset of the twenty-first century, Spain found itself at the start of a new wave of modernisation. The speedy influx of a few million Africans, South-Americans and Eastern Europeans has created a multi-cultural society, which demands an answer from politics and the media.

While the media struggle with problems of expansions, commercialisation and new immigrant readers, the journalists are in an identity crisis, being as convinced as they are of the necessity of depoliticisation and the pursuit of independence.

Current news media situation

The Spaniard does not consider reading the newspaper as a primary need, yet he cannot do without it. Of the approximately fourteen million people who state they read a newspaper every day, there are just 4.2 million people who actually pay one euro for it. The other ten million read the newspaper in a bar, at the office or at friends.

Besides the 4.2 million paid copies, there are fast-growing free newspapers such as *Metro*, *Que*, *20 Minutos*, and *Ahora*. Their joint circulation grew to two million copies within four years.

Spain at a glance

+ Inhabitants	40.8 million
+ Population density	81 per km ²
+ Capital	Madrid
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 23,300
+ Language	Spanish
+ Access law	yes, since 1992
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	7.1
+ Democracy rank	18
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	22 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	4.2 million
+ Circulation per thousand	103
+ Circulation per household	0.30
+ Newspaper reach among adults	40 percent
+ Number of newspapers	135
+ Dominant business model	single copy
+ Commercial TV since	1989
+ Journalists' education	professional or academic
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	little
+ Female journalists	44 percent
+ Newsroom hierarchy	rather high
+ Journalists' political involvement	strong
+ Politicians' media involvement	strong
+ Investigative journalism organisation	none
+ Number of members	-

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

Most national broadsheets (except for the Catholic *ABC* and the Catalan *La Vanguardia*) were founded after the end of the dictatorship. An authoritative newspaper during the process of democratisation, and now still the biggest publication (circulation: 469,000) is *El País*, which is associated with the Socialist Party (PSOE). It is followed by the more recent *El Mundo* (circulation: 308,000), which has connections with the Conservative Party Partido Popular. *ABC* (circulation: 276,000) is the 'newspaper of the church', *La Vanguardia* (circulation: 203,000) and *El Periódico* (circulation: 171,000) are the two main Catalan newspapers with issues in the rest of Spain. The new *La Razón* (circulation: 145,000) tries to appeal to the section of the Spanish population that supports the far right.

A quarter of the approximately 80 regional newspapers have a circulation above 30,000. The larger regional dailies are situated in the Northwest of the country: *La voz de Galicia* (circulation: 108,000), *El Diario Vasco* (circulation: 91,000) and *Diario de Navarra* (61,000). There are newspapers with a circulation below 10,000 especially in the South and on the east coast.

Since 2004, the total circulation of Spanish newspapers has increased slightly, after a crisis that started at the end of the nineties. The upturn is attributed partly to the economic growth in Spain that is stronger than that in the rest of Europe. But a more important cause is the powerful, albeit costly promotion sales. In particular, conditional sales with books and travel guides appeal to a lot of readers.

Four sports dailies (circulation: 800,000) (*Marca*, *AS*, *Sport*, *El Mundo deportivo*) serve football-loving Spain, whereas the two important financial newspapers (*Expansion*, *Cinco Dias*) have a combined circulation of 90,000.

The Spanish magazine market, with over a 150 magazines, which have a combined circulation of 12.3 million, can be considered saturated. However, in the past few years a slight decrease could be observed. The so-called Corazón-magazines (weekly gossip magazines) come first with a circulation of 2.5 million. From this group *Pronto*, with a circulation of nearly one million is in the lead.

The six weekly current affairs magazines hardly reach a joint circulation of 200,000, and the declining tendency seems to be permanent. Gruppo Zeta publishes the two biggest, *Interviú* and *Tiempo*. *Cambio 16*, *El Siglo*, *Epoca* and *La Clave* have a limited distribution and are read by a small, yet solid readership.

Radio and television are closely related to the daily life of the Spaniards. In bars both are usually switched on simultaneously. Public television (TVE), with its two channels, has all the hallmarks of a state-owned broadcasting system. Every new government that has taken office

appoints a new director and the main departmental supervisors. Every time, it leads to unrest among the four thousand members of staff. 'We constantly have to find out what is being expected of us,' says a respondent. According to him, it sometimes happens that an editor-in-chief refuses to accept an item because it does not fall in the line with government thinking. In the past few years, editors and reporters have collectively and openly protested at several occasions against the one-sided coverage imposed on them.

The government of Zapatero has promised to render the broadcasting system more independent. Another promise the government made is to end the towering debt of seven million euro. A commission of eminent persons has designed a new model that mostly resembles the BBC. A broadcasting council, in which members are elected from all sections of society, will have to take over the governmental tasks. Possibly, this new system will be adopted in this term of the government (which is until 2008).

Since 1989, Spain has had three commercial TV channels: Antena 3, Tele Cinco and Canal+. Also in television, the influence of political parties is noticeable; it correlates to the ownership of the broadcasting companies. Antena 3 is in the camp of the Partido Popular. Canal+ and Tele Cinco are inclined towards the PSOE. However, it should be noted that the individual laws of international multi-media developments increasingly clash with the alignment to party politics. In many cases, the power of the shareholder turns out to be greater than that of the sympathetic politician.

The 17 autonomous regions (AACC) in Spain have their own public television channels. Just as their national counterpart, they are controlled by the governing power. The well over a thousand national, regional and local radio stations have good listening ratings. The most listened to is the station Cadena SER with a daily audience of well over five million listeners. Radio Cope is owned by the Spanish Catholic Church and therefore is dominated by bishops.

The concentration of the media has greatly increased in the last few years. Eight companies practically control the whole market, the two biggest Vocento and Prisa own well over a third. Big banks and companies, such as Telefonica, regularly tend to get involved in this battle.

There are 22,300 journalists in Spain; 44 percent of them are female. Especially in radio and television reporting, women are overrepresented, just as in the 'corazón'-magazines. This trend is continuing to increase. 2.3 times more women than men that graduated in journalism in the past four years have found a job in journalism. A hypothetical cause of this big difference could be that Spanish women earn approximately 20 percent less than men and this could be attractive for employers.

Three quarters of all journalists have followed a journalism course at one of the 27 universities. The majority of the graduates evaluate the quality of the courses as 'low'. There are too many general courses such as Law and Economics, Ethics and not enough practice-based subjects. The initiation of Masters courses seems to be a development for the better.

11,000 journalists are members of a union. Of them, 87 percent are dissatisfied with their organisation. Among other things, they think it should stand up more for the independence of the journalist. There is a negative score to the question how independent journalists feel they are, a mere 4.7 points on a scale of 1 to 10.

In Spain there is no clear definition of the journalistic profession. Rights and duties are hardly regulated. The constitution of 1978 that regulates the freedom of the press and of opinion is really the only legal framework which journalists and media consumers can base themselves on. The law that provides access to governmental information is not elaborated sufficiently and doesn't really function very well. Later on, this was even partially reversed. Based on an initiative of the Parliament, there has been a lot of talk about a 'Estatuto del Periodismo Profesional' (a statute for professional journalists). However, the enactment of the proposal has stagnated due to dissension on the content.

Some investigative journalists experience the lack of a legal framework as a positive incidental circumstance, because they cannot be forced to reveal the identity of their sources.

History of investigative journalism

The first half of the eighties was metaphorical Mecca of investigative journalism for Spain. The secrets of forty years of dictatorship, the unsolved issues around the civil war and the terrorist organisation ETA urgently demanded answers. The socialist government of Gonzalez stimulated the media to deal with the past. Journalists were closely affiliated with the new regime and quite often they were prompted and assisted by politicians in clarifying the past.

During the Franco-era, there was hardly any investigative journalism to speak of. Now and then, dissidents of the regime would leak information to journalists, which would immediately be punished by firing the person. For example, in 1969, A TVE programme on the case of Matesa caused an uproar. It concerned a fraudulent affair of import and export of weaving machines, with the involvement of ministers.

There are only a few known cases of what could be classified as investigative journalism in the period before the dictatorship. At the end of the nineteenth century some regional newspapers published articles on social wrongdoings in the agricultural sector of Andalusia.

In the wake of Watergate and following the European trend, there was real race to catch up after the dictator died. The state-run television network TVE created a team of eight investigative journalists, five support staff members and a big budget for investigative journalism. The team worked on two items at a time.

Some of the more spectacular cases concerned the investigation of the financial infrastructure of the Bask separatist movement ETA, the infiltration of the Italian Mafia on the Spanish Costa and the sale of chemical weapons of Spain to Saddam Hussein.

In 1988, when the team threatened to reveal the mass use of chemical pesticides by Spanish farmers, the curtain fell. The TVE board banned the programme and the team was dissolved overnight.

Since then, TVE has not employed any investigative journalists. Baltasar Magro, one of the former team members is convinced the Minister of Agriculture bowed to the strong agricultural lobby and ended the investigative journalism at TVE.

In this period, the newspapers also had ample opportunity to investigate injustice in name of the young democracy. The closeness of the media with process of democratisation became very clear from the explicit front page headlines of the then five years old *El País* the day after the notorious coup attempt on 24 February 1981: 'El País: solidarity with the constitution.'

The newspaper has a team of four or five reporters who were specialised in investigative journalism. The pair Joaquin Prieto and Jose Luis Barberia revealed how in 1985 a group of Franco sympathisers tried to kill King Juan Carlos. *El País* exposed how Opus Dei and the Vatican, in harmonious cooperation, successfully manipulated the canonisation of Escrivá de Balaguer (the founding father of the Opus Dei). Franco's attempts to manufacture an atomic bomb also led to spectacular stories, but did not generate a lot of response abroad, because Spain was so isolated.

The team of *El País* functioned for ten years. The aim in the beginning was to focus on four big investigative issues, as an added value for the newspaper. Later on, the team turned into an assisting group of reporters for current news affairs. The team looked into issues for which the general reporters lacked the time to investigate.

After a brief slump, a second flourishing period for investigative journalism started in the beginning of the nineties. This time around, the motor behind it was *El Mundo*. This newspaper was founded in 1989 by journalist and current editor-in-chief Pedro. R. Ramirez, as a counterweight for the politically influenced *El País*. In 1994, the 'equipo de investigacion' was launched and it persistently sunk its teeth into the

big scandals surrounding the socialist government of Gonzalez. The GAL (Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberacion), units in the Guardia Civil which, under control of the government, fought a 'dirty war' with the ETA as well as the mega fraude of Luis Roldan, the general-director of the Guardia Civil, for years dominated the front pages of the newspaper. The driving force within the team was Antonio Rubio.

The crisis in the PSOE with the dramatic all-time low being the resignation of the Gonzalez government, tainted the journalistic organisation at El Pais. One of the consequences was the dissolution of the investigative team in November 1994. Up until now, El Pais does not have a specific research team. At the start of 2005, the newspaper announced a new section 'Analysis and Research', but the editor admits it is actually a lot of analysis and not much research. El Mundo was able to sustain an investigative team until 2003. After that date, Antonio Rubio has been the only journalist that has been given the freedom to specialise in investigative journalism.

The investigative journalism of the eighties and the nineties was limited to the two big newspapers and the state-run broadcasting network. Also the regional newspapers such as the Catalan daily *El Periodico* and *La Verdad de Murcia*, a modest newspaper from the city of the same name, attracted much attention. In 1985, Joaquin Garcia and Jose Luis Salanova, two reporters from *La Verdad*, won the important Ortega y Gasset prize for investigative journalism. Their disclosures of corruption and the acceptance of bribes by local politicians of the Socialist Party led to resignation of political bigwigs. The weeklies *Interviú*, *Cambio 16* and *El Temps* had similar success.

Apart from the two main affairs, GAL and Roldan, which most Spanish investigative journalists dug into and which had a decisive effect on Spanish politics, there is an investigation that was spun out over three decades and it merits a mention as well. In 2003, a book was published by journalists Manuel Cerdan and Antonio Rubio: *Lobo, Un topo en las entrañas de ETA* ('Wolf, a mole in the intestines of the ETA'). This was a not entirely harmless journey into the crypts of the ETA and the Spanish secret service. During their investigation, they published on the progress in *El Mundo* and they produced programmes for different broadcasting networks.

It is striking that in the eighties and nineties a lot of investigative journalists published their research results in book form. Professor Francisco Casal states in his PhD on 'investigative journalism per computer' that during that period 'bestsellers' were published on controversial issues without any words written on the subject in the daily media, including their own newspapers as well.

Casal says that a few of these projects originated because they were commissioned by the editorial board or by the owners of some of the newspaper companies. The books were mainly meant as a weapon against political or commercial opponents. If necessary, the investigative journalist could even call in the assistance of a detective bureau. Casal regrets this abuse of the genre. The aim of investigative journalism is to check and control the functioning of democracy and to expose wrongdoings in society. In this case, the opposite took place: it reinforced the culture of blackmail, racketeering and fraude.

The heyday in Spanish investigative journalism in the eighties and nineties did not lead to reflection and a deepening of the genre. Journalism courses were not involved and knowledge was therefore limited to separate media. Several attempts to found interest organisations failed because of a lack of interest, but more so due to the opposite interests that were created by the entanglement of politics and journalism.

Current investigative journalism

Nowadays, investigative journalism in the Spanish media has become increasingly scarce. Even though all former investigative journalists acknowledge the necessity of it, cynicism and distrust are rampant with regard to the genre itself and the developments it has been through.

The aforementioned entanglement of politics and journalism is acknowledged by all respondents and is experienced as a negative influence on Spanish investigative journalism. A closer analysis of the bigger research projects often reveals that investigative reporters were misused as pawns in the conflict of interests between parties. The opposition leaked information with the aim of discrediting their opponents. 'Perdiodismo de investigacion' often changed into 'perdiodismo de infiltracion'.

The GAL (the dirty war against the ETA) started as a pure form of investigative journalism when in 1985 the weekly *Interviu* and the Bask newspaper *Deia* exposed the first traces of this dirty war. However, later on, it developed into an instrument for the political parties to finish each other off, by trampling all over the journalists. It even led to the downfall of the Gonzalez government in 1996. Were it not for the articles in *El Mundo*, Gonzalez would not have fallen, claims Antonio Rubio of *El Mundo*, in the survey for this country report.

In addition, the surprising electoral defeat of the Partido Popular on 14 March 2004 cannot claim to be free of certain tendentious media influence. During the period between 11 March, the day of the bomb attacks, and the elections three days later, the media have often been the messenger of the politicians.

In addition, the 'prensa amarilla', the Spanish gossip press, has given investigative journalism a bad name. These magazines have often used the term 'investigacion' for revelations in the gossip scene. The editorial staff of *El País* therefore prefers not to use the words investigative journalism, in spite of the name 'Investigacion y Analisis' the general editorship recently introduced for the new supplement of the newspaper. Chief editor Antonio Caño prefers the term 'periodismo de calidad' (quality journalism).

Another negative factor for investigative reporting are the poor working conditions of the Spanish journalists. Forty percent have a temporary work agreement and the payment is poor. According to the union CCOO, one fifth of the professional group earns less than a thousand euro a month. On top of that there is time pressure for journalists to produce tomorrow's newspaper.

The chief of the documentation department of *El Mundo*, Noemi Ramirez, who specialised in investigative journalism, ascertains that in general there is no time at newspapers to investigate matters in-depth, or to brush up one's knowledge of a certain investigative issue. The attempts of Ramirez and colleague Rubio bring investigative journalism in a broad sense to the attention of the professional group have repeatedly failed.

Many respondents point to the mentality of media companies which are not pervaded with the 'good old newspaper atmosphere' but are solely focussed on making a profit, as a third cause of the death struggle of investigative reporting. In addition, a lot of entrepreneurs are mostly not amused by revealing and confronting stories in their newspapers about their friends, politicians or business partners.

A last but not unimportant cause that hampers Spanish investigative reporting is the hindrance given by the authorities, civil servants, justice and the police. Not only is the legislation ramshackle, the compliance with it is dramatic according to most respondents. Most of them think using official procedures to obtain information is a waste of time.

It took *El Mundo* years to find out what the annual income was of the Prime Minister of the autonomous region Catalonia, which should have been a simple fact, because according to the law, every tax payer has a legal right to know these data. The bag of tricks civil servants produce to deny access to files, is extensive and varied. The phenomenon of the press spokesperson has just complicated matters. Fernando Gonzalez Urbaneja, the chair of FAPE, the Spanish press association, views the increasing pressure that governments and companies exert on journalists as the biggest threat to the freedom of opinion in general and investigative journalism in particular. The government Zapatero has promised to introduce measures to improve enforcement of the right to information.

Is Spanish investigative journalism quietly dying?

Nobody dares to say that aloud. Researcher Francisco Casal, who regularly points out the painful truth, remains optimistic. He hopes that with the use of modern techniques, such as computer-assisted investigation and comparison of information and documentation, investigative journalism will receive a new impulse. It doesn't have to cost a great deal more because the technical facilities are already in place at the editorial offices.

Casal's study revealed that 'research per computer' is practically non-existent in Spain. Therefore there is a lack of research into social issues. In 2003, when a lot of old people died of the heat, the reader and viewer remained in the dark on exactly how many people had died. The numbers varied from tens to thousands of deceased, depending on the news source. In-depth research by the media did not take place.

According to the respondents, the role of education is important. Up until now, there has been little attention for specialisation in journalistic investigation. At just two universities it is an obligatory subject. It is an elective at five other universities. None of the respondents was specifically trained in investigative journalism.

Fernando Gonzalez Urbaneja of FAPE thinks the key to success is to be found within the professional group itself. 'The last fifteen years we just haven't been working very well.' We have been influenced and are guilty of self censorship. All the time we are verifying increasingly less.'

In his opinion, the change should start within the journalistic profession itself. He views this as the most important task of FAPE. Gonzalez appreciates that an individual journalist cannot change a thirty-year-old tradition on his own.

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Sweden

BY DICK VAN EIJK

All the clichés about the Swedish landscape are true: it is a vast country with mountains and forests, as well as expansive rural areas. The cliché of Swedish modernity is even truer. Sweden is at the top of many lists, from gender equality to use of Broadband Internet. It is an affluent country, with one of the most equitable income distributions in the world. It has a very advanced welfare system, and the rate of poverty is low.

The Swedish State dates back to the early Middle Ages and is one of the oldest in Europe. The first constitution was adopted in 1776. A relevant part of this constitution, from the perspective of journalism and the media, was a law that grants citizens access to all documents – with just a few exceptions – in the hands of the authorities. The level of access to public information in Sweden is rivalled only by the situation in the United States. Another important legal provision in Sweden is the obligation for journalists to protect their sources if these wish to be protected. Police, authorities or company executives are not allowed to trace journalists' sources.

Current news media situation

Like other Nordic countries, Sweden has a strong tradition of newspaper readership. There are 94 daily national, regional and local newspapers, with an average circulation of about 45,000, and over a hundred non-dailies that usually have two to four issues a week. Subscription to newspapers is the dominant business model, except for two popular national newspapers, *Expressen* and *Aftonbladet*, and the free commuter newspapers like *Metro* – which is as a matter of fact of Swedish origin. However, since the early eighties newspapers are losing circulation, especially the aforementioned popular newspapers. Apart from some special interest papers the only other daily with a national appeal and readership is *Dagens Nyheter*, the leading newspaper in the country, with a weekday circulation of 363,000.

Radio and television have had a public service monopoly until 1992. In that year, the first terrestrial commercial television station, TV4, started. A few satellite channels had been available before that. Commercial radio started in 1993. Since 1992, public television and public radio are organised in two different legal entities: SVT for television and SR for radio.

Almost every journalist is member of the journalist union, which publishes a weekly trade journal, *Journalisten*. The other major trade journal is *Pressens Tidning*, a biweekly published by the publishers association.

Sweden at a glance

+ Inhabitants	9.0 million
+ Population density	20 per km ²
+ Capital	Stockholm
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 28,100
+ Language	Swedish
+ Access law	yes, since 1776, current law since 1949
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	9.2
+ Democracy rank	4
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	9 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	4.3 million
+ Circulation per thousand	478
+ Circulation per household	0.98
+ Newspaper reach among adults	88 percent
+ Number of newspapers	94
+ Dominant business model	subscription
+ Commercial TV since	1992
+ Journalists' education	professional, often in journalism
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	very common
+ Female journalists	45 percent
+ Newsroom hierarchy	low
+ Journalists' political involvement	very rare
+ Politicians' media involvement	very rare
+ Investigative journalism organisation	Föreningen Grävande Journalister (FGJ)
+ Number of members	1,000

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

Increasingly, journalism is a profession that requires education, not a trade that journalists can learn on the job. This does not mean that the learning stops as soon as the job has started. On the contrary, due to the universal union membership and the strong schooling tradition, each journalist is entitled to a number of days of journalism courses each year. The government funded institute for mid-career training in journalism FoJo in Kalmar is the most important player in the field of mid-career training, but Swedish journalists are also regular participants in courses offered by other institutes, also abroad.

Parts of the professional attitude of Swedish journalists are the methodological and ethical standards that they tend to live up to. Checking facts and hearing both sides are a second nature for most. Using the legal options for access to government documents is quite common. Protecting sources can even be enforced by law. Although it is unusual for reporters – though not for newspapers in their commentaries – to take a political stand in their publications, most would probably agree that they have a role to play as a citizens' watchdog, especially monitoring the spending of tax money. Many investigative projects concentrate on this particular point. Judged by international standards the Swedes are very strict in this respect: even the private use of a couple of thousand euro of public money may lead to a major scandal.

History of investigative journalism

For a long time it was very common for Swedish newspapers to be closely related to, or even owned by, a political party. In 1910, 201 out of the 206 newspapers had such an intimate tie with politics. Investigative journalism did not play a major role in the era of the party press. Nevertheless, some important pieces of investigative work can be found as far back as the fifties, mainly written by authors of books such as Vilhelm Moberg.

During the seventies and eighties, the influence of political parties on the press declined. There were two concurrent developments. On the one hand newspapers cut their ties with the parties, on the other hand new magazines emerged without such ties. It was in these magazines that a new tradition of investigative journalism started in the seventies, most notably in *Folk i Bild/Kulturfront* and *Pockettidningen R*. The latter was founded explicitly as a platform for investigative journalism. Also the tabloid size evening newspapers *Expressen* and *Aftonbladet* became more aggressive in their reporting.

The magazines took their job seriously. *Pockettidningen R* for instance went undercover in a psychiatric ward with six reporters at the same time, some as patients and others as health care staff members.

The most famous investigative story in Swedish history was published by *Folk i Bild/Kulturfront* in 1973. Jan Guillou and Peter Bratt revealed how a domestic intelligence agency, *Informationsburån* (IB), was systematically spying on Swedish citizens, in particular those with communist and other leftist ideas. This happened under the responsibility of a Social Democrat government and without any Parliamentary control. Both reporters were arrested and convicted to a year in jail on the basis of a rarely used law on spying. Of course they became the heroes for an entire generation of journalists.

Jan Guillou was responsible for many other investigations that are still being referred to. He has a status in journalism that is at least on a par with that of Woodward and Bernstein in the United States. Some examples: he made reconstructed the whereabouts of a person who had been convicted for murder, thereby proving the man could never have been at the site of the crime at the time it took place. In addition, he documented the behaviour of a small group of Stockholm policemen against whom more complaints for excessive violence were filed than against the rest of the police force in the capital – the group was known as the ‘baseball team’. In the eighties, Guillou switched career and he now is a very successful novelist, selling millions of copies. The movie made after one of his books – *Ondskan* – won an Oscar nomination for best foreign movie. He also is a regular guest in debates on television and in the press, but he does not do any reporting anymore.

In the eighties, an emancipation process took place in the media, but it didn’t proceed everywhere at the same pace. Journalists were no longer the servants of political parties. The party press was declining and a new commercial media system evolved, but it was not very clear what the role of journalism would be in the coming era. A government survey showed in 1989 that journalists were very unsatisfied with their profession: 94 percent thought that revealing abuse of power was an important task, but only 38 percent thought they were doing that adequately; 77 percent thought it was important to analyse news events in a broader context, but only 10 percent thought this actually happened.

In this period of a rapidly changing media landscape, low job satisfaction and a growing flow of investigative stories by some reporters, a group of five Swedish members of Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) – the American association of investigative journalists – got together and decided to organise a national seminar on investigative journalism. They did this as ‘the Swedish chapter of IRE’.

They had extensive discussions about what terminology they would use. The term ‘undersökande journalistik’ (investigative journalism) was common in Sweden, but it was connected to the Jan Guillou style of ‘hero stories’, revealing big scandals, with a tough, macho image that did not appeal to female reporters. To attract a broader range of journalists,

the five IRE members coined a new, more neutral term: 'grävande journalistik' (digging journalism). Whether it was down to the submerged dissatisfaction in the profession or because of the new term, we'll never know, but their initiative was a smashing success: about 900 journalists attended the seminar in Stockholm, and immediately some of them offered to organise a similar event the following year in Göteborg.

This happened in January 1990, and at this seminar *Föreningen Grävande Journalister* (the association of digging journalists) was founded, the second association of this nature outside the United States. The seminar became an annual event, usually attended by 500 to 800 journalists, depending on where it would be held. The association also started to offer training courses, specifically in the use of information technology (computer-assisted reporting), it published a quarterly magazine about investigative journalism, called *Scoop*, and introduced annual awards for the best investigative projects, called *Guldspaden* (the golden spade). Since then, digging journalism has become an everyday concept.

In the very early days of the new association Anders Löwenberg, one of the founders, published the first book in Swedish about investigative journalism, for which he interviewed thirty investigative reporters. Another founder, Torbjörn von Krogh, used a sabbatical at Stockholm University in 1991 to do a research project on the relation between newsroom culture and investigative journalism.

Grävande Journalister started in a period of rapidly expanding investigative groups in the Swedish media. Public television led the way in this respect, but major newspapers quickly followed suit, *Göteborgs Posten* was the first. Investigative journalism became a structural part of newsrooms, instead of a haphazard activity carried out by 'lone hunters'.

Current investigative journalism

As investigative journalism became more and more an integral part of newsroom activities, even at smaller local and regional newspapers, specific thematic 'waves' of investigative projects washed over the country. One example: the so-called credit card investigations. In the mid nineties, a cabinet member had to resign because a newspaper revealed that she had abused her expense account. Many newspapers started checking the expense accounts of local politicians and civil servants, and revealed similar abuses, big and small, all over the country.

These stories were relatively easy to carry out – one must take into account that politicians' and civil servants' expense accounts are public information in Sweden – and therefore strengthened the spirits in many newsrooms. In the latter part of the nineties, the scope of projects gradually widened. If the projects proposed for the Guldspaden award are any guide in this respect, research by media scholar Gunnar Nygren

leads to the conclusion that local government was the most popular topic for investigative stories, especially at smaller newspapers.

Television put quite a lot of effort into stories that dealt with the legal system. Not so many investigative stories are being done on business, but if so, it is usually covered by major newspapers. As one reporter said: it is so much easier to obtain data and documents on the public sector than on business, so it is no wonder business is not very well researched by investigative journalists. It is more difficult and more time consuming. Another topic that is often left aside by investigative reporters is foreign news. Maybe this explains why there currently is hardly any cooperation between investigative journalists in Sweden and their foreign colleagues. This international cooperation has decreased compared to fifteen years ago, despite the increasing opportunities in communication. In the beginning Grävande Journalister often looked abroad for examples of investigative journalism, but as time went by, more excellent domestic example projects were available. Slowly, Grävande Journalister became more domestic in its orientation, although there was no formal decision taken to do so.

Whether a particular newspaper is involved in investigative reporting is not pure coincidence. Research by journalist Torbjörn von Krogh identified factors that create favourable circumstances for such reporting. A creative editorial team and non-authoritarian management turned out to be the important stimulating factors. Remarkably, economy was not mentioned as an important factor, neither by reporters nor by newsroom management.

In the past couple of years, many investigative teams have been dissolved, at least at newspapers. Some of these groups had become isolated in the newsroom and attracted more envy than support from their colleagues. As one reporter described, looking back: 'We were never really rooted in the newsroom, we had a separate room, and more or less dug our own grave.'

In other cases there were economic reasons to dissolve the dedicated team. And there were cases in which it was decided to organise investigative journalism in a different way, for instance in such a way that any reporter who ran into a potential investigative project would get the opportunity to pursue it, instead of restricting this to the members of the i-team. It made newsrooms more flexible.

So dissolving the teams has not necessarily led to less investigative journalism. On the contrary, projects have become less standard and more in-depth, according to several journalists with an overview of the matter. Also, investigative journalism has closer ties to everyday news coverage, as Ylva Carlsson writes in *Pressens Tidning*, on the basis of a survey done by the trade paper. Some newspapers created teams of

reporters to cover particular issues or beats. A regional newspaper in the north of the country for instance, has two reporters to investigate issues from a gender perspective; a regional newspaper in the south has three reporters to cover the health care system. More and more newspapers are explicitly creating these kinds of priorities in their news coverage.

Television still has some programmes with an explicit investigative mission. Public television leads in this respect – the weekly *Uppdrag granskning* (assignment investigation) has forty staff members – but contrary to many other countries, commercial television is also active in investigative journalism, e.g. the weekly magazine *Kalla Fakta* (cold facts), which has a substantially smaller staff, though.

Over the years, about a quarter of all the Guldspaden winners were women. As for the topics of investigations, there were no major differences between male and female reporters, except for social issues, where women were overrepresented. Many award-winning projects are teamwork, which is also proof of the fact that investigative journalism is thoroughly embedded in newsrooms. It is not dependent on the work of stray individuals anymore.

Of the winning projects about half were classic scoops, revealing abuse or wrongdoing; the other half were projects that surveyed a particular topic thereby revealing new facts that nobody knew of, instead of facts that somebody tried to keep secret.

The size of newsrooms hardly matters anymore. Guldspades have been awarded to very small newspapers and local broadcast media. It can be said that investigative journalism has become self-evident for the Swedish news media. No doubt the association of investigative journalists has played an important role in this. Thousands of journalists have attended their conferences and taken part in training courses. Their membership of about one thousand is huge by any standards – even if one considers that there is an annual turnover of about forty percent.

Since the turn of the century some new threats to investigative journalism have emerged, the most important one being the ongoing restrictions to access to public documents. In five years, there were 85 aspects of the laws on information access that were changed: 80 of them were restrictions, only 5 were extensions. Growing concerns over privacy are part of the development: many data on persons tend to be public in Sweden, however, this is being restricted ever more, in part based on European Union law. Another rising problem for journalism – and investigative journalism in particular – is the increasing critique of the media by politicians and other officials. Journalism in general does not have a strong tradition in dealing with outside critique, and Swedish journalism is no exception.

Also inside the journalism trade, there are a few less favourable developments. The association noticed that fewer journalists take part in training courses, although Swedish journalists probably spend more time on training than in any other country. Over the years, more than one thousand journalists took part in at least one Excel course, and many followed other computer-assisted reporting courses. Basic knowledge of these techniques is becoming ubiquitous, but – surprisingly – major CAR-projects have become rare: there are just a dozen or so a year, according to a veteran CAR-specialist. Part of the explanation seems to be that the authorities are very reluctant to hand over electronic data, so journalists have to deal with piles of paper. But he also refers to an effect of the generations: the pioneers of the early nineties have made career moves, successors, however, remained absent. To be able to do large CAR-projects you need to be a nerd and a good journalist at the same time, he says – a pretty rare combination. In addition, journalism schools spend less time teaching CAR-skills than they did in the mid nineties.

Nowadays, the Guldspade jury is less satisfied with the proposed publications – albeit not with the nominated and awarded ones – than a couple of years ago. Currently it is not yet clear whether this is a temporary dip, maybe related to the difficult economy and a wave of reorganisations, or a structural development. On the other hand, some of the newspapers in very difficult positions are doing remarkable work. *Svenska Dagbladet*, which has been struggling for survival, recently won both *Stora Journalistpriset* (the country's most prestigious journalism award) and a Guldspade award, which illustrates once again that the economy is not necessarily a decisive factor in determining the investment in investigations.

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Switzerland

BY BRAM VERMEER

The message on a newsroom voicemail in Bern is spoken with a Swiss German accent. The telephones in Zurich and Luzern transmit entirely different accents. And for the benefit of the foreign caller, the message is sometimes repeated in High German, the language in which most German-speaking media are published. Switzerland cherishes its cultural singularity. Even the Swiss spelling of High German differs somewhat from that in Germany.

The four linguistic regions in the country each have their very own identity. Almost two thirds of the population is German-speaking, one fifth is French-speaking, eight percent speak Italian and less than one percent Romansh. The different language regions also distinguish themselves from one another by differences in their way of life, political opinion and culture.

The Swiss have frequent contact with their linguistic counterparts on the other side of the border. In the German-speaking part of Switzerland, people watch more German television than Swiss. Newspapers and magazines such as the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Der Spiegel* are widely available. The share of viewers watching a Swiss TV channel in a different language than their own is negligible.

The big differences between the regions are also apparent from their political system. The 26 different cantons are autonomous in many policy fields. They decide autonomously on culture, education, direct taxation, the courts and the relationship with the various churches. Though media policy bears aspects of culture, in practice it is the responsibility of the national government.

The *Bundesrat*, the Swiss government, has always represented all political currents in parliament as well as the language regions. This leads to very conservative and progressive ministers having to work together in one government. The presidency, the *Bundespresidium*, alternates annually.

Because of this political system of representation at the national level, there is a policy of consensus, and there is rarely a public fight for power. But behind the scenes, however, the different parties do attack each other, and the Sunday papers provide a willing instrument to further stir things up.

In Switzerland, parliament and government have less power than in many other Western democracies. When important decisions have to be taken, Swiss citizens vote about them in a referendum. These referenda are considered important national political moments, more so than the elections.

Switzerland at a glance

+ Inhabitants	7.3 million
+ Population density	178 per km ²
+ Capital	Bern
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 31,200
+ Language	German, French, Italian, Romansh
+ Access law	no
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	9.1
+ Democracy rank	5
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	11 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	2.5 million
+ Circulation per thousand	342
+ Circulation per household	0.81
+ Newspaper reach among adults	75 percent
+ Number of newspapers	97
+ Dominant business model	subscription
+ Commercial TV since	1999
+ Journalists' education	journalism school or academic degree in Publizistik (43 percent)
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	a good working knowledge
+ Female journalists	32 percent
+ Newsroom hierarchy	well-defined, with much autonomy for individual reporters
+ Journalists' political involvement	seldom
+ Politicians' media involvement	-
+ Investigative journalism organisation	none
+ Number of members	-

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

Current news media landscape

Switzerland has more than 200 different newspapers, often with a long tradition. But behind these many titles there are only forty fully-staffed newsrooms. After a process of concentration, only a limited number of publishers remained, newsrooms were joined, and local titles were only differentiated by one local page. The concentration has led to local monopolies, which are not always easily recognisable. For example, in the Sankt Gallen region there are different titles, but they all belong to the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* publishing concern.

Almost all newspapers focus on local and regional matters. The regional desk usually is the largest one; the regional editor is the second in command in the newsroom, also at larger newspapers that are distributed supra-regionally.

The two largest newspaper publishers are family-owned concerns. Ringier publishes the tabloid *Blick*, the biggest newspaper in Switzerland (circulation 292,000). Tamedia publishes the quality newspaper *Tages-Anzeiger*, the second largest with a circulation of 235,000. Furthermore, there are seven other dailies with a circulation of more than 100,000, all in German, such as the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, which has strong international ambitions (166,000). The largest papers in French are *24 Heures* (89,000) and *Tribune de Genève* (73,000). The largest paper in Italian is *Corriere del Ticino* (39,500). In some cities free newspapers are distributed among commuters, such as *20 Minuten* (333,000) in Zürich.

The cumbersome economic situation in Switzerland has caused a decline in advertising and circulation. As a result, newsroom staff has been reduced over the last five years. Budget cuts have often affected reporters' jobs, cooperation with freelancers and travel budgets. Larger projects, especially, have had to take the rap. For example, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* has drastically reduced the number of in-depth reports that take a few pages in its paper.

And life is becoming hard for freelancers in particular. Eminent freelance journalists have tried to cover their backs, for example by taking up teaching. There are therefore only a few young journalists that now choose to become a freelancer.

Local monopolies, combined with financial cutbacks, are endangering the journalistic quality of the media, many respondents say. Journalists cannot do much more than copy news reports and there is no time for research. As a result, local papers have become boring and uncritical, and that could be a threat to democracy, since many decisions in Switzerland are taken locally.

Switzerland has a strong weekly press. Four Sunday papers play an important part in the political arena: *Sonntagsblick* (295,000),

Sonntagszeitung (203,00), *NZZ am Sonntag* (108,00) and *Le Matin Dimanche* (208,000). Because of the scandals they expose on Sundays they also determine the agenda of the daily press. Besides these main players, there are many weekly publications that are in strong competition with each other, such as *Facts* (72,000), *Cash* (68,000) and *Weltwoche* (91,000). Lastly, the *Wochenzeitung* (15,000), occupies a special place, as it is an unorthodox left-wing newspaper that is partly financed by donations.

Switzerland introduced public television fairly late, in 1958. The share of advertising is small. Approximately 75 percent of the public network's income is generated by broadcast tax. The country's multilingualism turns television into an expensive affair. The national budget is divided up over the four language regions, and the smaller language regions receive more money per inhabitant from the national budget than the larger ones. Because of inflation, the decrease in advertising income and the increase of broadcast time, however, the budgets for programmes are diminishing.

Guaranteeing neutral media coverage is an important task for the public network, especially during referenda. That neutrality also makes it quite uncommon – yet not impossible – to cooperate with a newspaper since the latter would be a commercial company.

The public TV network has a viewer market share of approximately forty percent, as viewers tend to watch more foreign channels. Commercial television never was a great success. In 1999, the first commercial programmes were aired, especially regional Swiss versions of German programmes. By 2001 all of them had already disappeared because of the huge losses they made. The small, locally differentiated market makes it difficult to make a profit. Some small commercial broadcasters remain. Local commercial radio, however, has been a success though. Currently, these stations are mostly in the hands of newspaper publishers.

Subjects of investigative journalism

For a long time, investigative journalism did not really take off in Switzerland. Several media went through an investigative phase for a while. The investigative trends are determined by big affairs, such as the Jewish assets or some investment scandal. At such times, reporters are assigned to the investigation, which also benefits other investigations.

According to many journalists involved, Switzerland is too small for wide-scale investigative projects. There are no media in Switzerland that could afford to invest more in investigations, several journalists told us. The list with big and small revelations of the last few years is very diverse. Much research has been done into dubious financial practices,

often with implications for politicians and certain companies. The financial element is obvious, considering the country's position as a central node in international financial traffic. Quite often international money laundering, fraud or corruption also have a Swiss dimension – and hence are interesting to Swiss media.

In 1995, Beat Balzli (*Sonntagszeitung*) exposed the story about the Jewish assets that have not been claimed from Swiss banks since the Second World War. The affair soon took on international dimensions. In 2002, Christian Mensch and others revealed how Dieter Behring, the tradesman, had managed to swindle many small investors out of their money by means of an obscure investment system. Immediately after the revelation, the shady dealings were extensively reported on by many media, which led to a series of revelations. The competition is stark, also in the case of investigative projects. Anyone with a solid lead can expect at least ten other journalists to be on the same trail pretty soon.

Social issues also draw a lot of attention, such as a documentary by the political TV programme *Rundschau* on illegal races in Swiss villages. The reporter involved, Hanspeter Bäni, went to several car washes where people from this scene used to hang out, gained their confidence, and was then able to reveal the story.

Politics does not figure in investigative journalism. This is due in part to the national political situation, with its government of consensus in which politicians and press are largely co-dependent. The political editor of *Facts*, Marc Comina wrote a book about the fall of Ruth Metzler in 2003, the first minister since 1872 to be voted out by parliament after being re-elected. Comina spoke to everyone involved and reconstructed the entire political game that was played behind the scenes and at negotiation tables. His colleague, Urs Paul Engeler (*Weltwoche*) made a reconstruction of the involvement of politicians in commercial companies at the time Swiss Air was established, which later became Cross Air. These investigations into politics are the exceptions to the rule.

Several interviewees stated that local issues also remain underexposed by investigative journalism.

The post-war history of journalism has been influenced by the work of Niklaus Meienberg (1940-2003), a controversial left-wing journalist and author who made numerous revelations in the seventies for *Tages-Anzeiger Magazine*.

Structural investigations

The economic pressure on the newsrooms makes it hard to put journalists on investigations, according to several interviewees. Nevertheless, in some newsrooms it does seem possible, in spite of the

pressure. One fine example is the *Basler Zeitung* (104,000), a newspaper with a regional monopoly in Basel, a comfortable position that is detrimental to any journalistic challenge. But a new publisher thought depth was important in order to maintain his paper's position. A reportage team was set up, under the supervision of a renowned investigative journalist. Despite the cutbacks in the Basel newsroom, currently more investigations are being executed in a structural way. The cutbacks were realised by attending fewer press conferences.

They investigated the Combino, for example, a type of tram that has considerable technical defects. It is local news with an international dimension, because the Combino is a thorn in the eye of manufacturer Siemens and a burden for a number of European cities such as Amsterdam.

They also found a creative solution to the problem of pressure due to financial cutbacks at *Rundschau*, the weekly political TV programme on SF DRS. Here as well, there have been cutbacks in the newsroom staff over the last few years. Several reporters were trained as video journalists and were taught to operate a camera themselves. This way they saved money and gained flexibility. As only one person is required, it is easier to go undercover in smaller organisations. Some sharp reports were produced about a psychiatric institution and retirement home. Another reporter was able to film the hidden world of Albanian refugees from Kosovo in Switzerland.

Several other newsrooms have smaller teams for investigative work, for example at *Facts*, *Tages-Anzeiger* and the *Neue Zürcher*. They often have one reporter without a particular beat who is assigned to do larger investigations. These reporters have more freedom as to the subjects they investigate, even though the budgets for travel are being reduced and the pressure to achieve results is increased.

Many newsrooms do not have investigative teams or even single reporters assigned to larger investigations. 'We have chosen not to distinguish ourselves that way', several editors-in-chief said. The budget does not allow it, and the organisation with its different local newsrooms is often already complex enough.

Professional attitude

Research from 2001 (Marr et al.) has shown that four fifths of the journalists consider themselves as having an active part to play in exposing social wrongdoing. To many journalists, revealing wrongdoing is more important than commenting on social trends or offering a forum.

Whether journalists actually try to reveal wrongdoing was not included in the survey. One third of the journalists in the aforementioned study

indicate that the workload and the time pressure are ‘rather unbearable’; at press agencies as many as half of all journalists make this claim.

So it is important to work efficiently and to aim for one’s goal. In this respect, journalists are well prepared. The standard of education in Switzerland is higher than in Germany, according to reporters who have worked in both countries. If you graduate from journalism school, you have been taught the basic tools to practise investigative journalism, but hardly any computer techniques. Some journalists are highly skilled in digital research techniques. They are self-taught and also have good access to foreign databases, which surprisingly often contain information on Switzerland.

There are approximately 9,000 journalists in Switzerland. About one third of them are female. The share of women in larger research projects is approximately the same, according to our respondents.

Almost half of all journalists have graduated from journalism school or have a university degree in mass communications. For many journalists, an extended apprenticeship (*Volantariat*) is the start of their professional career. One fifth of all journalists have taken a retraining course. This option is offered at many newsrooms, but not many take advantage of it.

Swiss journalists are worried about the quality of their work. Many media departments of universities and training colleges in the country have extensively studied aspects of ‘quality’ (only one essay on investigative journalism was ever published in Switzerland, however). In 1999, the association *Qualität im Journalismus* (‘Quality in Journalism’) was established. It currently unites 150 journalists, publishers, trade union representatives and scientists. They organise conferences and the association awards prizes for initiatives that improve the quality of the media.

After the Global Investigative Journalism Conference in Copenhagen in 2003, there has been an initiative to establish an association of investigative journalists. It did not work out, mainly because the people involved were too busy.

Freedom of the press and accessibility of information

When the public radio network SR DRS disclosed details about the past of Minister Kaspar Villiger, a discussion ensued. Is it the public network’s task to engage in investigative work? A commission of experts was set up to investigate the matter. This freedom of investigation was not obvious, although it was confirmed later.

The freedom of the press is anchored in the Swiss constitution, but its exact definition has hardly been established by any legislation. For

example, press freedom does not imply that the government has to answer questions by journalists. In practice, much remains secret, unless the government has an interest in making something public. The Parliament has now adopted a law (*Öffentlichkeitsgesetz*) that reverses this. All documents shall be public, unless some higher interest requires them to remain confidential.

This Freedom of Information Act only applies at the national level. Some cantons already have their own rules. But they are not frequently applied in practice. Bureaucratic procedures often take a long time, and it is quicker to gain information verbally. The latter, however, is especially problematic at the national level. It is becoming difficult for a journalist to have official behind-the-scenes conversations. Officials are afraid that they might be accused of leaking information.

Several journalists have also been sentenced because they have received information from government officials. For example, a journalist from the tabloid *Blick* consulted an official of the Prosecutor's office to see if he could access the criminal records of some people. He received the information but did not publish it. When this came out, he was sentenced for instigating someone to violate the official secrets act. Something similar occurred when the popular *Sonntagszeitung* published a secret fax message from the Swiss ambassador in the US to the Swiss government. The fax concerned Jewish assets in Switzerland. The wording of the ambassador led to his resignation shortly afterwards. Both cases have been taken to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg.

Recently, journalists in Switzerland have obtained a limited right of non-disclosure. The police can no longer enter a newsroom by force to search for details on sources, which happened several times in the past.

Economically speaking, Switzerland is fairly open. The Swiss register of companies is more detailed than in many other countries. Tax details are fairly widely available as well. But anyone who wants an overview of Switzerland often has to refer to 26 cantons, because statistical data are not centralised.

In a growing number of cases, lawyers are consulted before publishing an article. Several journalists have said that they only publish serious allegations once they would actually be able to prove them in court. This implies that it is impossible to work with anonymous sources. The legal climate has become more problematic, they say. 'If you accuse a big company, you can expect a lawsuit.'

Companies frequently also respond with a boycott of the medium involved. Food discounter Denner withdrew all its advertising from publisher Ringier because it felt unjustly criticised by the economics magazine *Cash*. Supermarket chain Migros once boycotted the *St. Galler Tagblatt*. And *Bankverein* turned its back on the Tessin newspaper *La*

Regione after the paper had mentioned the bank in connection with Italian bribery affairs. These types of boycotts are not allowed in Switzerland, but no advertiser has ever been sentenced. The boycotts are extremely hard to prove.

Perspective

The media landscape in Switzerland has become more levelled in recent years. Local monopolies lead to easy journalism; economic pressure discourages extraordinary efforts. Moreover, the reticence and the principle of consensus applied by the government make it hard for journalists to criticise politicians. The journalists' agenda is determined by scandals, large and small, anything to fill the pages.

However, recently there has been a lot of improvement as well. Many journalists are carrying out structural investigations. There is growing attention for journalistic quality. Newspapers and magazines with a clear profile are doing fairly well. The Swiss Press Council has grown into an authoritative institute on press ethics. And new legislation is being passed in order to ensure more transparency in government.

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Turkey

BY MEHMET ÜLGER

Geographically, Turkey straddles the border between two continents: Europe and Asia. In many ways the country has properties of both. Life in modern cities like Istanbul or in the tourist resorts along the Mediterranean coast differs strikingly from life in the countryside. The majority of the population is Muslim; nevertheless Turkey is a secular republic. It is one of the poorest countries in Europe, but one of the richest in Asia.

Politically its ambitions are westbound: the country wants to join the European Union and has been a long time member of NATO. Much of the country's problems lie in the Southeast, with Iran and Iraq as its closest neighbours, and a local population that belongs mainly to the Kurdish minority, which makes up about twenty percent of the country's total population. As a part of the 'one people doctrine' formulated by the father of the modern Turkish State, Kemal Atatürk, the Kurdish language and culture have been oppressed. This is only gradually changing. The Kurdish struggle for freedom has been violent at times, and has been oppressed with even more violence. Ten thousands of people have been killed over the years.

Since Atatürk founded the current republic in 1923, Turkey bears all the external characteristics of a democracy, such as an elected president, a Parliament and regular elections. However, the country's history is turbulent, with military coups in 1961, 1971 and in 1980. The army still has substantial influence. Transparency and freedom of expression cannot be taken for granted and they are the main issues of many social and political struggles.

Current media situation

There are 28 national newspapers, with a total circulation of 3.25 million. Sixteen of these – 85 percent of the circulation – belong to four companies: Dogan, Bilgin, Ilhas en Cukurova. With a population of around 70 million, a circulation of 3.25 million is not much. However, people do watch a lot of television. Recent research by the Turkish Ministry of Education shows that, on average, every Turkish citizen watches four hours of television every day. The number of television stations is not very clear. Some say there are more than 200 national and regional stations, 17 of which are either directly or indirectly owned by the government. The media in general do not use wire services; they prefer news from their own desk.

Most Turkish journalists are focused on their own country. There is little international cooperation. Only a few journalists speak a second

Turkey at a glance

+ Inhabitants	71.3 million
+ Population density	92 per km ²
+ Capital	Ankara
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 6,600
+ Language	Turkish
+ Access law	yes, since 2004, but not very effective
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	3.2
+ Democracy rank	64
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	48 (partly free)
+ Newspaper circulation	2.5 million
+ Circulation per thousand	35
+ Circulation per household	0.10
+ Newspaper reach among adults	70 percent
+ Number of newspapers	63
+ Dominant business model	single copy
+ Commercial TV since	-
+ Journalists' education	various
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	rare
+ Female journalists	-
+ Newsroom hierarchy	high
+ Journalists' political involvement	-
+ Politicians' media involvement	high
+ Investigative journalism organisation	none
+ Number of members	-

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

language. The younger generation, however, is increasingly internationally orientated. They also make more use of the Internet as a source of information.

On paper, unions are allowed in the media, but membership means dismissal. Well-paid chief editors or managers see to it that people abide by these unwritten rules. If one media company fires a journalist he is not likely to be hired by another, because he means trouble. At present, only the journalists working for the government press agency *Anadolu Ajansi* have social rights granted to them under collective labour agreements.

The Dogan media concern controls around forty percent of the media. Ertugrul Özkök, the editor of *Hürriyet*, the country's largest newspaper, (circulation 460,000), appears to be a sort of agent of the newspaper's owner. He spends fifteen percent of his time on the newspaper, the rest on things like advertising, communication, and representation for the Dogan group. At the same time, he is a member of the largest employers' organisation Tusiad.

Hürriyet is not the only newspaper owned by the Dogan group. *Milliyet* (273,000), *Radikal*, *Fanatik* (224,000), *Posta* (441,000) and *Turkish Daily News* are but a few of the other newspapers it owns. The TV channels *Kanal D* and *CNN Turk* belong to the same conglomerate. Apart from the name and every now and then some news from the US, like during presidential elections, the *CNN Turk* news channel does not have any international cooperation with *CNN International*. Dogan has its own news agency (*DHA*) and owns many weeklies and monthlies, radio stations and Internet sites.

The same concern is active in banking, the oil industry, building societies, insurances, tourism and textile. These commercial interests lead to strong ties with the government. If the newspapers owned by Dogan should be too critical about those in power, the company could lose commissions from the government. The government could also shut off the supply of interest free loans, which could lead to financial problems for the concern. 'The media are Dogan's main weapon to increase its power', says Ragıp Duran, Professor in Journalism at the Galatasaray University in Istanbul. Independent journalism, let alone investigative journalism, is not possible under these conditions. The same holds true for the three other media companies, according to Duran. It is estimated that these four media concerns control 75 to 80 percent of all media in the country, including newspapers, radio stations, magazines, Internet providers and television.

Journalistic independence

According to Orhan Erinc, chairman of the *Türkiye Gazeteciler Cemiyeti*, the Association of Turkish Journalists, journalistic independence does

not exist in Turkey. Not one single medium has an editorial charter. Like many others, he criticises the term 'investigative journalism'. The common perception is that every journalist is and should be an investigator. However, it is not a common practice.

Media critics agree that major changes need to be carried through, if Turkey is ever to have a healthy and truly free press. Dogan Tilic, chairman of the society of progressive journalists and writer/columnist for the newspaper *Birgun*: 'First of all, the ties between the business tycoons and the media need to be severed. Only the government can do this, a government that is independent from the major conglomerates. The right-wing AK-party, for instance, has made important media concessions to the Dogan group. This group is given many commissions by the government. That is why Dogan does not criticise the AK-party or government policy. And the tycoons can do as they please: start up companies, conflict of interests, etc. Little is to be expected of this government, which has so many close ties with the concerns.'

Oral Calislar, columnist of the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*: 'Politicians have been weakened and have become powerless by bribes. Currently, at least fifty complaints have been brought against the government. Properly functioning anti-trust legislation should put an end to these conglomerates. Unfortunately, these laws do not work. In addition, there should be new press legislation that guarantees more social rights for journalists. And there should be a powerful and free trade union. Finally, the press should professionalise itself. Journalists should receive better training, and above all, should specialise.'

There are 27 courses in journalism in the whole country. Even though these are all taught at universities, there is no formal higher education in journalism. As a consequence, many journalists have not received any formal training in their profession. In Turkey, it is common to land a job through family or friends. Currently, many journalists are unemployed. During the economic crisis of 2001, about 6,000 journalists were fired.

The authorities issue press cards. In order to obtain a press card, one needs to be employed by a medium approved by the authorities. In preparation for the accession to the EU, media legislation has been eased, which means that now journalists from other – notably critical – media can apply, too. It is as of yet uncertain how this legislation will be implemented in practice.

In fact, all the media have a docile attitude towards the government in power, regardless of which one, because it can either make or break them. Those that criticise governmental policy too much, lose government grants, support or risk an inquiry. This happened, for instance, to the Uzan group. Until recently, Cem Uzan, owner of the major media company Uzan, could be compared to Berlusconi in Italy.

Now his company has been trashed. They dared to publish critical articles on Prime Minister Erdogan and they set up a competitive political party, the Genc party that won eight percent of the votes during the last parliamentary elections. Erdogan decided to launch an inquiry into Uzan Media and came to the conclusion that the company was fraudulent. This resulted in such a high tax assessment that all possessions were seized. Eventually, the company had to stop its work. A number of the Uzan media – newspapers and TV channels – did not stop, but are now owned by the government.

Fatih Polat, assistant chief-editor of *Yeni Evrensel* says: ‘The large media do not need to commit themselves to independent journalism, and small media, like our newspaper, do not have enough influence and means to assign journalists to each subject that requires thorough investigation.’ Every so often, though, they do assign an investigation to a journalist. However, this often results in a lawsuit, and subsequently unaffordable high fines, which can lead to the closing of the newspaper. Originally the name of the newspaper was Evrensel; this later became *Günlük Evrensel*. *Emek* was its third name and now the name of the newspaper is *Yeni Evrensel*. Every change was brought about by avoiding fines for a critical article.

Usually large media concerns follow the government meekly. Smaller media are often connected with a political or religious movement. In the present situation, really independent journalism hardly exists.

However, there are journalists who work independently, meaning independent of the mainstream media; the term ‘freelance’ does not exist in Turkey. They publish books or publish articles on the Internet. One of them is Rusan Cakir. He is an expert on the political Islam in Turkey. So far, Cakir has published four books on this subject. According to Cakir, it is not easy to work as an investigative journalist for the established media, because their economic interests prevail over journalistic interests. Independent journalists have few opportunities to start a political discussion based on their findings. Their investigations receive little attention. A book alone is not enough; one needs broader media attention. However, Turkey’s population does not read a lot of books. Recent research by the Ministry of Education shows that one in six persons in Turkey reads one book per year.

Freedom of the Press

Recently, new press legislation in line with EU regulations has been adopted. Article 3 of the new press law deals with freedom of the press. This article reads: ‘Article 3 – The press is free. This freedom includes the right to acquire and disseminate information, and to criticise, interpret and create works. The exercise of this freedom may be restricted in accordance with the requirements of a democratic society

to protect the reputation and rights of others as well as public health and public morality, national security, and public order and public safety; to safeguard the indivisible integrity of its territory; to prevent crime; to withhold information duly classified as state secrets; and to ensure the authority and impartial functioning of the judiciary.’

There is also the law on Disclosure of Information, which regulates the right to access to all public information. On the other hand, there is the Secret Public Data law. Authorities nearly always refer to this law when they want to avoid giving information to journalists. A recent example: columnist and human rights activist Sanar Yurdatapan appealed to the law on Disclosure of Information and asked for information on a manifest of the National Security Service that deals with its actions in the field of politics and government. The existence of such a manifest was not denied, but Yurdatapan was denied access, since it is qualified as secret public information. The National Security Service is not the Secret Service, but a consultative body for the president and government and it consists of the military top, the president and a number of ministers. After the recent adoption of several laws in Turkey, the majority of this body should consist of civilians.

The event that someone appeals to the law on Disclosure of Information to obtain information from the National Security Service is unique. Until now, nobody had the courage to do this. Because it is so difficult to gain access to public information, journalists were mainly dependent on the ‘good contacts’ they had have with officials. These officials ‘leak’ information.

Investigative journalism

Many books can be found on journalism in general, but only one on investigative journalism: *Arastirmaci Gazeticilik* (Investigative Journalism), written by Seyfettin Turhan and published by the Urgur Mumcu Investigative Journalism Foundation. It was published in 1997 in honour of the founding father of investigative journalism in Turkey, Urgur Mumcu. After he died, there has barely been any further development. At journalism schools the theory of investigative journalism is taught, but it is hardly ever practised.

‘This form of journalism is much discussed, but practising investigative journalists are scarce. The best known are Urgur Mumcu and Abdi Ipekci’, writes Turan in the preface of his book mentioned above. Abdi Ipekci was killed in 1978 by Grey Wolf M. Ali Agca, the same person who tried to assassinate the pope. And Mumcu died in a bomb attack in 1993. ‘It is no coincidence that the two famous investigative journalists in Turkey have been killed. In this respect, the journalists that had courage to put their professional honour before their personal interests, were literally silenced’, says Turan.

Turan is not optimistic about the future of investigative journalism in Turkey. 'With Mumcu's murder, investigative journalism in Turkey was buried. Not only the journalists, but also the present media bosses are not prepared to invest in investigative journalism. The best-known form of investigative journalism in Turkey is when newspapers publish fragments of letters of their readers.'

The only entity in Turkey that employs the phrase 'investigative journalism,' is the Uğur Mumcu Foundation for Investigative Journalism (UM-AG) in Ankara. After the death of Mumcu, UM-AG was founded in 1995 by his wife, with the support of the Ministry of Education. The objective of the foundation is to educate and train journalists in the methods of investigative journalism and, more particularly, in Uğur Mumcu's methods. Participants should not be older than 25 years, they must have a university degree, be employed and have more than one journalistic working experience. So far, the foundation has trained 52 journalists, 17 of which are currently working for different media. When asked how many of the trained journalists apply Mumcu's methods, UM-AG director Orhan Tüleylioglu answers: 'I don't know. Within the present media-world it is very difficult to apply Mumcu's methods.'

The methodology of Mumcu and Ipekci was based on an extensive network of informers and they extracted highly sensitive information from them. This also explains why they never wanted to name their sources. They investigated the criminal world in particular and succeeded in revealing links between the criminal world and the political and business world. Mumcu in particular revealed the links between the military junta that ruled in the eighties with Islamic fundamentalism. He published several books on this subject, of which *Rabita* became most famous.

Currently, the best-known and also most controversial investigative journalist in the country is Uğur Dunder of the television programme *Arena*. *Arena* is the only programme that regularly uses a hidden camera. Dunder's methods are widely criticised, mainly for his close cooperation with the police. Usually, he investigates cases of fraud and crime. But before he broadcasts his findings, he hands them over to the police and justice. He then takes part in police raids that follow up the leads in Dunder's reports. 'Dunder starts well, but he finishes badly', claims *Birgun* journalist Dogan Tilic. 'After all, a journalist should not be an extension of the police or juridical authorities. Our main duty is to inform readers, viewers and listeners – but certainly not the police. If juridical authorities choose to use the information we publish, so be it. That is not our responsibility.'

Dunder himself does not agree with the criticism: 'I discover irregular transactions. I cannot punish the criminals; that is up to the police and

the justice system. I have a social responsibility to report irregular transactions to the authorities.' On the joint raids, he says: 'Without the police, my crew is not admitted. I can only get in when the police are there, too. I have to think about the interests of my show. It is a spectacle that is what the people want!'

There are, of course, journalists who at times apply investigative journalism. Emine Algan of the newspaper *Vatan* (210,000) is one of them. Over the past six months, she has regularly reported on precarious situations in the health care service. This started by coincidence – she received a tip that the international pharmaceutical company Roche was charging public hospitals too much. Fortunately, she got the green light from her editor to investigate the matter, which was by no means a self-evident decision of the editor. The media in Turkey try to avoid conflicts with large companies, because they are afraid of losing advertisements. It later turned out that the tip from Algan's informer had been passed on to several large media's editors. They had done nothing with it. *Vatan* is an independent newspaper. It does not belong to one of the major concerns, nor is it tied to a political party or movement. Emine Algan had to do much of the investigation in her own time. As a result of Algan's articles the director of Roche resigned and a legal inquiry into the company's practises has been started.

According to Algan, not one media company has staff positions with a focus on investigations. Murat Inceoglu, chief-editor for domestic news of the TV8 news-channel, agrees: 'The quality media do not have the funds to form a special investigative team. And the major commercial media do not wish to spend money on it.'

At the start of October 2004, journalist Tutkun Akbas of the weekly *TEMPO* published an article on the close ties the infamous criminal gang of Sedat Peker had with a large number of football clubs. Peker's gang is responsible for killing and injuring several people and is known they have a reputation as extortionists. Akbas' editor did not want to publish the story. The reporter carried on his investigations anyhow, and only after other media had started to publish on the matter, he was allowed to do so as well. A week after the publication of his article, Peker's gang was arrested by the Istanbul police, with great display of power. Akbas says it is pure coincidence.

Conclusions

The fact that investigative journalism hardly exists in Turkey has to do with the role and task conception of the media, and the media bosses in particular. Journalists are given little room for carrying out their work critically or independently. Yalcin Bayar, a well-known journalist at the leading newspaper *Hürriyet* says: 'I am not allowed to write freely about

what I know, especially with regard to the government. If I would do that, I would very likely be out of a job the next day. So we censor ourselves. Sometimes, I try to write things in vague terms, even then, I am called to account.'

The main sources of investigative journalism are deliberate leaks of government information and tell-tales of rivalling companies. Journalists who have good relations with public authorities receive information from these sources much quicker. This information is usually published in columns, as an opinion. Therefore, the most important government information can be retrieved by reading between the lines of columns. A columnist of a major newspaper who has connections with the authorities or the government earns about 100,000 euro a month; an experienced journalist, who works for that same newspaper but does not have these valuable contacts, earns 600 euro a month.

Ukraine

BY HELLA ROTTENBERG

Since Ukraine became an independent state in 1991, journalism has gone through drastic changes. First of all, Ukraine had to set up its own national press, radio and television. In the Soviet Union, separate media on the republican and regional level existed, of course, but they were secondary to the central media and tended to have a provincial outlook. Moscow-based newspapers, journals, radio and television channels were absolutely dominant. Ukrainian journalism made a complicated transformation: from Soviet to Ukrainian media, from media under censorship to free speech and from state-sponsored to private media. It has been a process with ups, and many, many downs. Now the Orange Revolution has taken place, Ukraine may initiate real reforms, leading to independent and free media in the long run.

Print media

After 1991, many new Ukrainian newspapers appeared and vanished after a short while, because they could not survive economically and but also because they lacked professional skills. Most efforts to publish independent and economically self-supporting printed media have failed. Although newspapers often claim a substantial circulation, only a few tabloids seem to be profitable: *Fakty i Komentarii*, *Den*, *Segodnia*, *Sil'ski Vesti*. The reason for this failure is that the income from advertisements and sales are lower than the production plus distribution costs. The market for advertisements, especially in the printed media, is quite limited: only seven percent of the national advertisement revenue. Consumers are unable to pay the actual costs of the product.

However, economics don't relate the whole story. Commercially viable newspapers are also known to be ruined by political manipulation or through imposition of high taxes, prohibitive printing rates and other measures. And although Ukrainian law guarantees free access to the media market, some media were treated as more equal than others. State-run or pro-government media received favourable rates for printing facilities, renting offices, distribution and postal services.

While writing this report, it is too early to tell whether the Orange Revolution in December 2004, that ended the regime of president Kuchma, will change these practices or will just favour other media, which formerly belonged to the opposition.

As a consequence of these economic and political conditions, newspapers have been dependent on funds from business and political sponsors or the state. Financial support is being offered not solely through favourable tariffs, grants and subsidies, but also in a more

Ukraine at a glance

+ Inhabitants	48.5 million
+ Population density	80 per km ²
+ Capital	Kiev
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 5,300
+ Language	Ukrainian
+ Access law	yes, since 1992
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	2.2
+ Democracy rank	117
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	59 (partly free)
+ Newspaper circulation	no data available
+ Circulation per thousand	no data available
+ Circulation per household	no data available
+ Newspaper reach among adults	48 percent
+ Number of newspapers	no data available
+ Dominant business model	single copy
+ Commercial TV since	-
+ Journalists' education	various
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	rare
+ Female journalists	-
+ Newsroom hierarchy	-
+ Journalists' political involvement	-
+ Politicians' media involvement	strong
+ Investigative journalism organisation	none
+ Number of members	-

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

hidden fashion. Journalists are offered bribes, certain articles are 'commissioned' by the financial or political group that pays the reporter, or financial support is offered through concealed advertisements. Firms are so used to the practice of sponsored messages, that they do not believe a journalist might approach them for objective information. Roman Olearchuk, who is the financial specialist at the English language *Kiev Post* relates: 'When I call a firm and tell them that I want to write an article about them, the first thing they ask is 'how much will it cost?' When I answer that it will cost them nothing, they become very frightened, even paranoid.' They reason someone who has an interest in damaging the firm will probably pay the paper.

During election time, newspapers are an important instrument for influencing the voters. Politicians often increase the circulation during campaign time or distribute their paper for free. In many respects the media market is very similar to the Russian market.

There is no lack of national, regional and local newspapers, both in the Russian and Ukrainian language – approximately 3,500 can actually be found on the market and 800 have a circulation of more than 5,000. The newspapers do offer different points of view, but without exception they represent the interests of certain political and business circles. 'The only newspapers that survive', says famous investigative journalist Volodymyr Boiko, 'are those that serve the powers-that-be or those that are financed by oligarchs. Not one Ukrainian paper or journal is independent from the influence of political and economic power. Politics and business in this country are completely intertwined.' Boiko did not expect things to change radically under the new government of president Yushchenko.

A few periodicals, however, are of high quality and seem to report rather unbiased. *Korrespondent*, a weekly magazine owned by an American publisher, is an example of good, professional journalism. The circulation, however, due to its relatively high price, is limited: 10,000 copies only.

Broadcast media

Television is by far the most important medium to transmit news and analysis of current events. Eight national and more than 500 not very professional regional channels have broadcast licenses. Under president Kuchma national television frequencies were divided between the state channel UT-1 and commercial channels owned by pro-government oligarchs. One network, however, did not serve the president, but the opposition: Channel 5, which was on air since 2003 and was owned by business tycoon and MP Poroshenko. After the election of Yushchenko he was appointed as head of the Security Council. Channel 5 presented itself as the network that brings 'honest news'.

When the presidential elections approached, Channel 5 was taken from the air in the eastern part of the country and was taken off the air and could broadcast irregularly across the rest of Ukraine. Channel 5 faced complete closure in October 2004 when a parliamentarian sued the channel and its owner for libel. The court froze the accounts, and staff members of Channel 5 went on hunger strike. Remarkably, their action was supported by a letter of protest of a group of journalists from other television channels. From the moment voters gathered on Independence Square in Kiev to contest the official results of the election runoff on November 21, Channel 5 covered the news events live. The next day, the journalists of *1 Plus 1* news programme refused to go on air, because they were instructed to ignore the voter rebellion. The owner of this channel, business tycoon Rodniansky, who until then had followed Kuchma's party line, went on television and promised that 'any news programme on our channel will be impartial, in full accordance with principles of professional journalism'.

Rodniansky was referring to the practice of state censorship and propaganda on television, embodied in the so-called *temnyky*, an abbreviation of 'themes of the week'. Vakhtang Kipiani, a well-known television journalist, says that he already noticed the existence of *temnyky* in the autumn of 2001. When at a press conference one journalist had asked a question, the others declined from putting other questions forward. 'Their' question had already been answered. *Temnyky* were prepared by a group of publicity specialists, which was led by the Russian PR agent Marat Gelman, who worked for the presidential administration. They issued bulletins through fax or email, addressed to the top managers of the TV channels. Detailed instructions were given on how to deal with current and upcoming events: 'please ignore', 'present in a neutral way', 'stress his connection with...', etc. In 2002 *temnyky* became part of the daily routine and in the months leading up to the elections, ten to fifteen detailed lists of such instructions were being issued daily. As a result, the main TV channels presented identical subjects and commentary.

According to Kipiani, the guiding principle of *temnyky* was to destroy the enemies of the Kuchma regime. Kipiani studied this propaganda system, gathered *temnyky*, and wrote a book about it. He is convinced that in Russia, a similar system of instruction is in force, though nobody will admit it.

However, journalists did not take political control for granted. In October 2002, 500 journalists signed a protest against censorship. A month later, some eighty of them they united in a newly founded union aimed at defending the rights of journalists and fighting censorship. The Kiev Independent Media Union has since then tried to strengthen solidarity among journalists and to set professional and ethical

standards. Yet, *temnyky* continued to be issued and obeyed, until the fall of Kuchma regime.

Immediately after the Orange Revolution *temnyky* have been abolished and the television broadcasting networks are undergoing changes. It is too early, however, to tell what kind of media landscape will emerge from these changes.

From 2002 onwards, attempts were made to establish an independent public talk radio. The authorities frustrated the attempts, and closed the radio station that hosted *Public Radio* for a short time. While on air, it became immensely popular, because it voiced different opinions and was a source of alternative information. Later on, *Public Radio* was only broadcasted via the Internet. It was expected that the new government of president Yushchenko would grant *Public Radio* a license – he promised this during his election campaign – but his promise has not yet been fulfilled. *Public Radio* is now nearly defunct, without any perspective on broadcasting in the future and lacking financial support.

Disappointed in the cycle of political and economic events, the Internet paper *Ukrainska Pravda* commented in February 22, 2005: ‘Sure, the world of information in Ukraine has changed significantly after the Orange Revolution, but now it has started to resemble *Alice Behind the Looking Glass*. Today, the majority of the media treat the new authorities favourably, although airtime is given to nascent opposition groups from time to time. There are the so-called opposition media, though they are most likely driven by the interests of their owners and not by society. As for the independent media, there are so very few of them, just like during the time of Leonid Kuchma, and even their last representatives are disappearing...’

Apart from TV Channel 5, the Internet has been the most important source of alternative information under the Kuchma administration. Given the small number of people who have access to the Internet – just three to five percent of the population – the sites never reached a mass audience, but they were eagerly read by students and the intellectual, political and economic elite. Two sites stand out, *Ukraina Kriminalna*, initiated by investigative reporter Oleg Yeltsov and *Ukrainska Pravda*, the site that was started by the assassinated journalist Georgi Gongadze. *Ukraina Kriminalna*, thanks to its connections with the militia and judicial and secret service officers, brought scoops on all sorts of criminal affairs and fraudulent politicians and was cited frequently. The site received a lot of public attention, when it published the names of the militiamen who allegedly had killed Gongadze. Yeltsov sold the site a year ago, reportedly to the SBU, the secret service of the Ukraine, which now uses the well-established name of the site for its own purposes. In the meantime, Yeltsov has started a similar site, sponsored by what he refers to as ‘patriots’.

Ukrainska Pravda is a news and analysis site with a much broader scope of topics. During the Orange Revolution it became the most popular site (50,000 visitors a day), where one could find news, opinions and analysis by well-known publicists and spokesmen of the opposition.

Georgi Gongadze, the investigative reporter who initiated *Ukrainska Pravda*, disappeared in September 2000. Gongadze specialised in stories about the corruption of Ukraine's oligarchs and had been a long-time critic of president Kuchma. In November 2000, his beheaded body was found in the woods near Kiev. A month later, opposition politician Moroz played a recorded conversation in Parliament. In the conversation Kuchma suggested Gongadze must be removed. Western governments demanded explanation. Massive street protest in Kiev and Lviv ensued, but Kuchma did not relent. Official investigations into the murder had no result. Only in March 2005, after Kuchma and his aides had left the scene, were the first militiamen arrested. It has been suggested that a gang, called the 'werewolves', headed by police officers, have been kidnapping and killing businessmen and journalists from 1997 to 2000.

Threats, intimidation and violence against journalists were no exception under the Kuchma-administration. Gongadze's murder was the most notorious, but there have been other violent deaths of reporters. Maybe they will be solved under the new government.

Investigative reporting

It is not surprising that in such a climate, investigative reporting has remained a marginal phenomenon. Looking back at recent history, journalist and journalism trainer Oleg Khomenok notes that a tradition of proper investigative reporting has not emerged since Ukraine gained independence. In the course of the nineties, just as in Russia, 'investigation' as a genre has been discredited. 'When the public', says Khomenok, 'reads or hears the term investigation, it thinks of PR or *kompromat* on demand'. *Kompromat* is material leaked on purpose to discredit adversaries or competitors. He continues: 'People are often right. Politicians and business tycoons send each other messages via the mass media. It has nothing to do with public interests.' Khomenok does not expect the role of the media as instruments of PR and blackmail to change overnight. The new government has announced a review of the privatised state assets, which will no doubt mean a new round of the struggle for ownership of companies, to be partly fought in the media.

There are also more basic causes for the lack of investigative reporting. Professional skills are not well developed. Doing research, gathering facts, hearing the other side, checking information is not a part of the regular, daily attitude among journalists. Partly out of habit and

tradition, partly because education is still at a low level and partly because of poor salaries, Ukrainian journalists are often merely copy press releases or cite officials. Journalists in printed media receive a salary – the bulk of which is paid in cash, thereby bypassing the tax administration – plus a fee for each article they write. In this system, working on a topic for a long time is not rewarded, neither financially, nor professionally.

Khomenok, who tries to stimulate professional skills, cites the arguments of journalists when they are asked why they do not engage in research and investigative reporting: ‘no time’, ‘no money’, ‘these are forbidden topics’, ‘no experience’, ‘dangerous’, ‘legal reprisals will be taken’, ‘I will lose my job’, ‘the information is not accessible’. However, he thinks the main motivation is more banal: utter laziness.

Since 2003, a support programme for investigative reporting in the printed media has started, called Scoop. It is financed by the Danish government and coordinated by Khomenok and legal expert Valentina Telychenko together with the Danish Association of Investigative Journalism FUJ. In 18 months some 25 journalists have applied for a grant, two-thirds of the applications have been rewarded. As a condition for receiving a grant journalists must have some idea on how to find the information they are looking for, a paper should have agreed to publish the article, the personal risks should be minimal and the articles must be analysed by a legal expert before publication.

IREX (an American programme) and Scoop have also supported more risky investigations, such as the investigation into the murder of Gongadze and the unsolved death of a reporter in Melitopol. The Gongadze murder was investigated by a team of reporters from St. Petersburg (the Agency of Journalistic Investigation) and Ukraine. The Melitopol case was dealt with by an experienced German and a local reporter. According to Khomenok, this is a fruitful strategy: through such cooperation local journalists can learn how to set up an investigation.

Some of the respondents of this survey are experienced investigative reporters. Vakhtang Kipiani is the anchorman of the weekly programme ‘Double proof’ on TV channel 1 Plus 1. The programme starts with a filmed exposé of a case, followed by staccato interviews with two protagonists. The case is then presented to the public, without drawing any explicit conclusion; this is up to the public. Before the Orange Revolution, political items could hardly be touched upon, only indirectly. Kipiani used the Watergate affair as a way to draw an analogy with the Kuchma tapagate in Kiev. ‘Double proof’ managed to do programmes on tricky issues, such as the abuse of tax laws and the wheeling and dealing of the Orthodox Church. In the heated atmosphere

of the election campaign, Kipiani had to be more careful. He was told by the management to choose only 'safe' historical topics. After the regime change, Kipiani immediately started to investigate hot issues, such as the controversial privatisation of a huge metallurgic factory, and the poisoning of Yushchenko.

A second investigative programme is screened on Channel 5 and called 'Closed Zone'. The programme is styled in a more sensational fashion than 'Double proof', and politically biased towards the (former) opposition, currently the Yushchenko government. 'Closed Zone' has the reputation of being more of a propaganda instrument than a proper investigation programme.

The most experienced newspaper investigative journalists use either their own outlet on the Internet or are freelancers, for obvious reasons. Sooner or later the paper, which employs them, wants to get rid of them, because they are considered muckrakers. Volodymyr Boiko is an example. He has written extensively on a group of procurators and tax police officials who acted as a gang of racketeers in city of Donetsk. He also uncovered the criminal past of presidential candidate Yanukovich. After working years on end in Donetsk for the newspaper *Salon*, he now is a freelancer and he publishes his material on the Internet, in different newspapers and on radio Svoboda.

As long as negative phenomena, such as fraud, theft or negligence are described in general terms, not much happens. However, as soon as a high placed official is targeted, reprisals follow suit. Valentina Telychenko, coordinator of the Scoop programme in Ukraine, recounts how Scoop tried to avoid interference of the authorities by publishing an article on the laundering activities of the Lviv regional head of the tax-administration first in Kiev, and only then in Lviv. It did not prevent reprisals: the tax administration took one of the founders of *Lvivska Gazeta* to court for tax evasion.

In Lviv, Mykola Saveliev opened his jacket to show us his pistol. He felt seriously threatened, after having published articles on the top officials of the regional customs and tax inspection. He had written on their malpractices. They had exported non-existing quantities of goods and cashed the restitution of the purchase tax that was never paid. The head of the regional customs told the owner of his newspaper, *Lvivska Gazeta*, that Saveliev was a dead man walking. Saveliev left the newspaper when he understood that the owner wouldn't protect him. He is now works for the local town hall newspaper. Saveliev was sued for his articles more than twenty times since 1991. 'Employers do not defend their reporters', he complains. 'If someone is suing you, you must organise your own defence.' Making use of his lengthy experience in courts, Saveliev wrote a guide for journalists how to deal with lawsuits.

Obstruction through libel, other legal or administrative measures against the medium and harassment, and threats or physical violence against reporters were the visible results of exposés. However, the net effect on society of revealing publications under the Kuchma administration has been unnoticeable. Documented publications by Boiko on false indictments by Donetsk procurators have not led to prosecution of the suspects, but to their promotion. Saveliev published an article on the fraudulent rental of premises by a Lviv politician. He comments: 'In a normal country, either the politician or the reporter would have to leave the stage. Here, nothing happens.'

Respondents were sceptical about possible changes in the foreseeable future under the new government. 'Banditism has not disappeared, and the economic conditions for media remain more or less the same', says Valentina Telychenko. According to Boiko the same set of persons is in power, they have just changed places or quickly adorned themselves with orange shawls.

United Kingdom

BY ARJAN DASSELAAR

The United Kingdom has experienced a rough twentieth century. The formerly dominant world power that spread Western values around the globe, it is now often portrayed as the spineless slave of the United States. The Second World War spelled out the beginning of the end of Britain as an Old World Power. Without the help of its former colonies, such as the United States and Canada, the outcome of that war might have been entirely different. In terms of economic power, Britain is still a force to be reckoned with, it ranks seventh worldwide in terms of GDP. Pundits like historian Niall Ferguson have written best-selling books pointing at the good that Britain brought the world by introducing Western-style law systems and democracies in its former colonies. It can be considered a way of coping with Britain's loss of dominance and glory in the world.

The United Kingdom was founded in 1800, when Great Britain and Ireland joined in the Act of Union. However, Great Britain had been a force to be reckoned with long before that date. In 1536, England and Wales were joined and became one state, and in 1603 King James I of England brought about the Union of the Crowns, in which England, Wales and Scotland were united. The union with Scotland was formalised in 1707. The British depended on their naval superiority to create a global empire. At the height of the empire, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the British Empire had between 400 and 500 million subjects, and covered about two-fifths of the world.

Newspapers have been in regular circulation since the mid-seventeenth century. Before that time, non-sensational news was restricted, for fear the reputation of the Crown might be damaged. The British are still avid newspaper consumers, and the newsagent is a virtual icon in British street life. The United Kingdom has also been in the front rank of developments in broadcast journalism. The British Broadcasting Corporation is one of the largest and most reputable public service broadcasters in the world. Commercial broadcaster ITV went on air in 1954, as one of the first in Europe.

However, despite having been in the forefront of innovative journalism, British press laws aren't nearly as progressive. Before 2000, there was no Freedom of Information Act. Also, stern libel laws may prompt journalists not to run a story, as legal costs can be high. The press is also subject to involuntary self-regulation. This started in 1953, with a then voluntary Press Council. In 1991, the independent Press Complaints Commission (PCC) was founded, after a report of the so-called Calcutt Committee. The PCC gives binding rulings on press behaviour, although

United Kingdom at a glance

+ Inhabitants	59.4 million
+ Population density	245 per km ²
+ Capital	London
+ GNP per capita, PPP	US\$ 29,000
+ Language	English
+ Access law	yes, since 2000
+ Corruption (10 is low, 1 is high)	8.6
+ Democracy rank	9
+ Freedom of the press (0 - 100)	18 (free)
+ Newspaper circulation	18.6 million
+ Circulation per thousand	313
+ Circulation per household	0.73
+ Newspaper reach among adults	no data available
+ Number of newspapers	107
+ Dominant business model	single copy
+ Commercial TV since	1955
+ Journalists' education	professional, often in journalism
+ Journalists' knowledge of English	universal
+ Female journalists	40 percent
+ Newsroom hierarchy	moderate
+ Journalists' political involvement	rare
+ Politicians' media involvement	rare
+ Investigative journalism organisation	none
+ Number of members	-

Information on the sources of these data can be found in the Introduction

it doesn't judge on decency, nor does it involve itself with matters that have been submitted to a court of law.

Current news media situation

A British neighbourhood without a newsagent is virtually unimaginable. The UK has 107 newspapers, the bulk of which, 91, are regional ones with an average circulation of 58,000.

The ten national newspapers are outnumbered by the regional press in terms of the number of titles, but they outweigh them in terms of circulation. The national newspapers account for 12.4 million copies, or roughly two-thirds, of the total circulation of 18.6 million copies. The individual differences in circulation are huge. Tabloids like *The Sun* (3.3 million) and *The Daily Mirror* (2.3 million) dwarf quality broadsheets such as *The Daily Telegraph* (895,000) and *The Guardian* (341,000). It's therefore fair to say that the talk at most tables is determined by the tabloids and television. Those who work for a broadsheet tend to look down on their tabloid colleagues. As a rule of thumb, they feel anything that is printed in a tabloid cannot be true. So when the British police arrested terrorist suspects after a tip-off from *News of the World* investigative reporter Mazher Mahmood, he received mainly incredulous responses from his peers at quality broadsheets.

The six free dailies have a combined circulation of 864,000. This may not sound like much, but it is when you consider that their circulation in 1999 didn't even reach 240,000. Since 1999, there has been a 264.6 percent increase in free newspaper circulation.

The total daily newspaper circulation has declined by 1.3 percent since 1999. However, this figure is deceptive. If it weren't for the increase in the circulation of free newspapers, these figures would be worse. The circulation of national newspapers is down by 6.1 percent since 1999; regional newspapers are doing a little better, but still not very good, with a 1.2 percent drop in circulation since 1999. Still, the average Brit spends 30.4 minutes a day reading a regional newspaper, which is an amount of time that many other European countries would be envious of.

What is happening to the famous Sunday newspapers is a different story altogether. They are doing worst of all. Their combined circulation has dropped over 9 percent since 1999, from 16.2 to 14.7 million.

The UK has had commercial television since 1954, under the name of Independent Television or ITV. ITV is a large commercial network with a somewhat American organisation model, in that it is organised around many local affiliates. Another well-known commercial television station is Channel 4. BSkyB is the UK equivalent of Canal+, and it offers sports, films and many (mainly American) television shows and series.

Commercial radio started relatively late in 1973, after the adoption of the Sound Broadcasting Act in 1972. By comparison, the first commercial radio station in the USA started in 1920.

Public broadcasting has existed far longer. The first transmission of the British Broadcasting Corporation, or BBC, took place in 1922. The 'Beeb', as the BBC is often affectionately referred to, was responsible for founding the world's first regular television broadcasting service, which started its transmissions in 1936 from the Alexandra Palace in London. Currently, the BBC is a massive enterprise, employing about 27,000 people, although about 2,900 of its staff are slated for dismissal.

There are approximately 70,000 journalists in the United Kingdom, according to figures provided by the British government. About 60,000 of them work in printed media and approximately 10,000 work in broadcast journalism. Some 20 percent are freelancers. Union membership is far from universal, which may in part be due to the animosity between for example broadsheet and tabloid journalists. About 34,000 journalists are members of the National Union of Journalists (NUJ). However, some of them are Irish, as the Republic of Ireland doesn't have its own journalism union. There is no society that concerns itself with investigative reporting, although attempts to found were made in 1999.

Although 39,6 percent of the NUJ members are female, most investigative reporters seem to be men. A notable exception is the BBC, where the number of female and male researchers and assistant-producers working for investigative television shows is about equally balanced. There is a slight bias towards men at the producer level. Some BBC Radio departments consist almost entirely of women. The BBC puts this down to the example it wants to set as a public employer.

Older journalists, like in many other European countries, tend to have mastered their skills 'on the job'. Training schemes exist, although participants are often expected to obtain an NCTJ (National Council for the Training of Journalists) journalism degree or an equivalent degree in their spare time. The NCTJ was founded by the British newspaper industry in 1951, and offers part-time as well as full-time and distance learning courses.

It's a different story for young journalists. Over sixty percent of that group has a graduate degree, often in journalism or related fields. Language and history seem to be more popular among the new generation of journalists than the natural sciences. One can conclude that in general, the academic grounding of journalists is improving. Many universities and colleges now offer journalism degrees.

However, education still seems to stop once a journalist lands a job. Facilities for continued education and mid-career training are not as

good as they could be, according to nearly all respondents. Information provided by the National Union of Journalists confirms this. Although the NUJ has its own training department, which among other things provides courses for freelancers, broadcast journalists and feature writers, there is a strong emphasis on courses for entry-level computer skills. Probably because of this lack of training facilities, several respondents indicated they had travelled to the European Journalism Centre in Maastricht in the Netherlands, for additional training. However, none of them was satisfied with the offerings there, either.

An exception to this is the BBC. Because of its massive size and, by print journalism standards, generous funding, the BBC can afford its own training facilities. BBC Training, as its training department is called, actually offers a greater variety of courses than the union. Furthermore, the BBC doesn't just teach its own employees, but also employees from other companies, as well as independent journalists. The BBC offers subsidised training for freelance journalists, who may receive a sixty percent discount on certain courses. However, BBC Training is logically mainly focused on broadcast journalism, and is therefore of less interest for the majority of journalists in the UK, who work in printed media.

The British press is infamous for its various disputes about press ethics. Over the past decades, there have been numerous debates on press behaviour, mainly revolving around the right of privacy, which the tabloid press frequently infringes upon. Since January 1991, the PCC has published the so-called Code of Practice. Amongst others, this Code tells journalists that they should give a right of reply to the subjects of their articles, and it points out that the journalists have a moral obligation to protect their confidential sources. Journalists have to abide by the rules contained within the Code, otherwise they run the risk of being judged by the PCC. A PCC conviction forces the editor of the offending medium to offer an apology, rectification or follow-up piece. The PCC does not, however, award material damages to people who feel their rights have been violated by members of the press.

However, British law offers ample opportunity to sue journalists for damages. The United Kingdom has rather strict libel laws. Whereas in the USA a plaintiff must prove the printed article is untrue, in the UK the defendant has to prove what he wrote is true. In addition, it is not just illegal to print known falsehoods that defame a person; it is also unlawful to quote an interviewee who isn't speaking the truth. In the early nineties, some newspapers had to pay damages to the Birmingham Six, Irish suspects who had been imprisoned for IRA bombings they didn't commit. They were set free in 1991. The newspapers had quoted members of the West Midlands police force saying the guilt of the Six was nevertheless beyond any doubt.

Furthermore, whereas the PCC may demand that journalists protect their sources, there is no such thing as legal protection for journalists who want to do so. On the contrary, the legal situation is quite the opposite: in 1992, Channel 4 was fined 75,000 pounds for not divulging its sources of a documentary called *Dispatches – The committee*, in which it was asserted that terrorists in Northern Ireland had cooperated with law enforcement officials to eliminate other terrorists.

Quite a few respondents indicate that they feel the libel laws are often abused. Even if libel or related misbehaviour by a journalist cannot be proven and there are no damages to pay in the end, the legal costs can still be very high and proceedings can often take years to complete. This is in itself enough to scare off many publishers; they will not run articles that are deemed too risky. The budget for legal matters of a British newspaper will often be smaller than that of a determined wealthy businessman or a government agency. There is an obvious danger of self-censorship here.

The Code of Practice has been amended many times in the past fourteen years; sometimes after press behaviour caused an uproar amongst the public. For example, in January 1998, several clauses of the Code were altered after the untimely death of princess Diana of Wales on August 31, 1997. She died as a result of injury wounds from a car crash in a Paris tunnel. Later, it turned out the car had been pursued by paparazzi. Even though she had been pursued by French, not by British photographers, the backlash of unfavourable criticism of British tabloids – they would usually buy such photographs – was still massive. As a result, the 1998 Code changed, including among other things, a prohibition of obtaining photographs through ‘persistent pursuit’. However, it would be wrong to suggest that it is only press behaviour that prompts the changes in the Code. Alterations or addenda to British or European law are also often the cause of changes in the Code.

The National Union of Journalists as well as some newspapers has their own guidelines complementary to the Code of Practice. The NUJ Code of Conduct applies to NUJ members, who have to promise to adhere to the code. Among other things, it obliges journalists to promptly rectify any mistakes, and prohibits them from engaging in advertising work.

The Guardian’s editorial code is more elaborate than the rather limited Code of Practice, which doesn’t have any provisions for such things as decency or how a journalist should deal with *freebies* (for example press trips or other incentives). Whereas the PCC Code contains sixteen articles, merely two sheets of paper, the editorial code of *The Guardian* is a thirteen-page document.

However, the Guardian code is dwarfed by the extensive so-called *Producers’ Guidelines* that BBC employees are supposed to adhere to. It

can be downloaded in twelve parts from the BBC websites. Since the BBC is a huge organisation that employs approximately 3,400 journalists, compiling the guidelines and verifying the adherence to them, is obviously too much for one journalist to handle.

Therefore, the BBC has its own Editorial Policy unit, headed by Stephen Whittle. This unit employs seventeen people, all of them former programme makers. The Editorial Policy unit is responsible for a variety of tasks. For example, it called in whenever a BBC reporter (or a freelance producer working for the BBC) is involved in a daring journalism project, for example when a reporter goes undercover or wants to leave a hidden recording device behind in a building or room. They also develop training materials, for example, an intranet test that BBC employees can use to assess whether they are up-to-date with the guidelines. The unit also is involved whenever the BBC wants to pay for a story. This so-called chequebook journalism is a persistent phenomenon in the British landscape, and therefore merits further discussion.

As far as journalism ethics are concerned, the United Kingdom differs from most Northern European countries, in the sense that chequebook journalism is considered to be a part of daily life at nearly all newspapers and broadcast outlets. Contrary to popular perception, the phenomenon of paying or even bidding for a story is not limited to tabloid newspapers. Even the stately BBC, which officially doesn't encourage paying for a story, will consider paying several thousands of pounds. Although that may look like a lot of money, commercial television stations and tabloids have been known to pay six figure sums for stories. The BBC does require that large payments be cleared through the Editorial Office first. Chequebook journalism is even acknowledged by the Press Complaints Commission, which allows the phenomenon and only makes an exception by prohibiting payments to witnesses in criminal trials, as well as payments made directly to criminals, as is stipulated in article 15 and 16 of its Code of Practice.

There are dangers, however, involved in paying for a story, as the BBC can attest to. Its reporters recently paid an informant, who later turned out to be a criminal. The BBC found out the unpleasant way: when their informant was being prosecuted for murder. Not only did the BBC inadvertently breach the Code of Practice by making payments to a criminal, the subsequent publicity was far from pleasant for the BBC, even though the case the informant had been paid for had nothing to do with the murder itself. This emphasises the point that chequebook journalism can be a dangerous business. The kind of information that can only be obtained through payment is quite often the sort of information that resides with shady people, or with people who may have shady motives for their cooperation.

Of course, there are exceptions to this rule as well. It is quite common for British journalists to pay compensation or ‘consulting’ fees to interviewees. These payments are supposed to reimburse interviewees for their time and travel costs. The reasoning behind this is that the interviewees are not economically productive in the time they are talking to a journalist, and thus deserve to be paid for their time. There are no figures on how common this practice is, but from the survey it is obvious that this practice is rife. Some respondents even indicated that they sometimes ask their fellow journalists for expert fees when they are being interviewed. Then again, most respondents said they would qualify these kinds of payments as ‘expenses’, in the same way you would pay per hour for the services of a plumber, and not as chequebook journalism.

All in all, the matter of journalism ethics is a sensitive issue in the United Kingdom, and not just because of the phenomenon of chequebook journalism. Rather, the responsibility for stirring up recent debates about journalism ethics and the efficacy of self-regulation through the Press Complaints Commission lies with former BBC-journalist Andrew Gilligan. His actions instigated the formation of the so-called Hutton Inquiry in 2003 and 2004, after Gilligan had falsely accused the British government of ‘sexing up’ a dossier on the military capability of Iraq. Gilligan’s radio report on the 29th of May 2003 stated the British government claimed that Iraq could probably launch an attack using biological weapons within 45 minutes after deciding to do so. However, Gilligan said he was told by a source inside the intelligence community that the government ‘probably knew that the 45 minute figure was wrong even before it decided to put it in the dossier’. The source later turned out to be Dr. David Kelly, who wasn’t a member of the intelligence community. Kelly then killed himself, which led to a lot of criticism of the Department of Defence, which had revealed his name.

However, few of Gilligan’s claims stood up to scrutiny. The Parliament’s Intelligence and Security Committee held an inquiry and established that the government hadn’t purposely ‘sexed up’ the dossier. On January 28, 2004, the Hutton inquiry ruled that Gilligan had at the very least exaggerated statements by Kelly. As a result of the affair, BBC Television director Greg Dyke resigned on the 29th of January 2004. Consequently the BBC introduced a major overhaul of its producer guidelines.

Still, many British journalists feel that the government got off too lightly, and bitterness about the Hutton Report is still on the surface. This may in part be accounted for by the highly political nature of British journalism. A strict distinction between commentary and reporting is not always clear, especially in the tabloids. Indeed, sometimes journalists seem to act more like lobbyists for a particular political agenda. The tabloid *The Daily Mirror*, for example, is an outspoken left-

wing newspaper, as is *The Guardian*. The latter went as far as trying to influence the American presidential elections of 2004, by providing its – mainly left-wing – readers with contact details of voters in Clark County, Ohio, which was a potentially crucial district. *The Sun* tends to support the current Labour government, and *The Daily Telegraph* is a consistent Conservative Party supporter.

Neutral ground seems to be a precious commodity in the British media landscape. Indeed, nearly all respondents, as is confirmed by available literature, indicate there is a common attitude amongst British journalists that journalism isn't and shouldn't be value-free. Those respondents that chose to describe their political sympathies all describe themselves as 'left-wing'. Journalism is therefore often seen as a force that should rise to battle for the rights of the needy, rather than an institution that provides information to help understand the world. Tellingly, one respondent described journalism as 'the great equaliser'. The famous investigative reporter John Pilger writes on his website: 'It is not enough for journalists to see themselves as mere messengers without understanding the hidden agendas of the message and myths that surround it.' His most recent book, *Tell me no Lies*, bears aspects of a political pamphlet.

History of investigative journalism

Many would argue that the glory days of investigative journalism in the UK are well beyond us now. If there has ever been a Golden Age of investigative journalism, then the sixties would probably qualify. These were the years that newspapers had to grow bigger because of space demands by advertisers, and increasing competition by television.

Investigative journalism in the UK started long before that, though. By most measures, the journalist W.T. Stead can be considered Britain's first investigative reporter. In 1885 he set out to buy a prostitute and found a twelve-year old girl, whom he bought. Stead was arrested but served just a short sentence because of his motives, which were to bring the matter of child prostitution into the public eye. Two distinct features of British journalism can already be observed in this nineteenth century tale: a taste for sensationalism, as well as a desire to help the underdog, which fits in with the role of journalism as 'an equaliser' for social wrongdoings.

Several infamous investigative journalism cases date from the sixties of the twentieth century. In 1961, Secretary of State for War John Profumo had a brief fling with showgirl Christine Keeler. In 1962, this became a public fact, as did Keeler's affair with Yevgeny Ivanov, an attaché at the Soviet Embassy. In 1963, Profumo had to resign because he had lied to Parliament about his relationship with Keeler. Tabloid *News of the World* had many scoops about this case.

On October 25, 1961, the weekly *Private Eye* saw its inception. *Private Eye* is an odd magazine, its articles are often satirical, often anonymous, and often contain allusions or outright accusations of wrongdoings by the rich and powerful. It soon obtained a reputation as a magazine that would print what other newspapers were afraid to, and as a result it has been in court a great many times to defend itself in defamation suits. However, *Private Eye* is credited with unearthing a huge number of stories that would otherwise have remained hidden.

The Sunday Times deserves special mention, mainly its Insight investigative team. The products of the Insight team were first published on February 17, 1963. They uncovered a lot of stories in the following decade. For example, Insight bugged the Metropolitan Police in 1969 to uncover corruption. Starting in 1972, *The Sunday Times* covered the thalidomide scandal in-depth. Thalidomide was a drug that led to deformities in newborn babies. The extensive Sunday Times coverage pressured Distillers, the manufacturer, into a significantly more substantial settlement with the victims than would have been the case without the publicity. In 1974, *The Sunday Times* carried out an investigation into the cause of the crash of a Turkish DC-10 aeroplane in France; 346 people were killed. Although the DC-10 safety rating is currently excellent, in the seventies there were a number of high-profile crashes, mainly due to the design and maintenance errors. 1983 was a very bad year for *The Sunday Times*. It ran into a hoax when it published the so-called *Hitler Diaries*, which had initially been published by the German weekly *Stern*. Unfortunately, the diaries were forgeries. The paper got a chance to redeem its reputation in 1986, when journalist Peter Hounam interviewed Israeli nuclear scientist Mordechai Vanunu, who told *The Sunday Times* that Israel had secretly produced over a hundred nuclear weapons. In recent years, the high profile and prestige of the Insight team have somewhat diminished.

The sixties also saw the rise of the famous television programme *World in Action*, broadcast by Granada Television. It was first aired in 1963, making it the first weekly current affairs programme on British television. However, BBC's *Panorama* had been broadcast since 1953, although not always on a weekly basis. Indeed, in the beginning its ratings were so bad, it was immediately taken off the air. Not all British journalists consider *Panorama* to be investigative, as it does a lot of analysis as well. However, it can hardly be disputed that it is, and the backlash of its scoops has sometimes been fierce. A bomb attack on the BBC Television Centre on March 3, 2001, is widely attributed to *Panorama* naming some of the perpetrators of the Omagh bombing in Northern Ireland.

Despite the animosity between broadsheets and tabloids, the latter category has had its share of notable scoops as well. The tabloid the

News of the World (NotW) managed to produce very successful revelations in the eighties. For example, NotW found out that the House of Commons, the British Lower House of Parliament, had an IRA bomber on its payroll.

In the eighties a spectacle evolved around journalist Duncan Campbell, who produced a series in six parts for the BBC called ‘Secret Society’. The programmes were to reveal the existence of a spy satellite called Zircon, but the British government – then still under the firm command of Margaret Thatcher – ordered the Special Branch, the department of the British police that deals with national security, to raid the BBC offices in Scotland. A judge then issued an injunction preventing the broadcast of the Zircon tape. It would take four years before that episode was aired, ironically as part of Channel 4’s *Banned* season.

From 1994 till 1997, the British press was preoccupied with the ‘cash for questions’ scandal, revolving around the question whether or not some Members of Parliament could be bought. It was alleged that certain MPs were willing to ask questions in the House of Commons if there was a financial reward for doing so. The series of stories about this subject probably helped Labour to an electoral victory in May 1997. Conservative Party supporters still feel the press were on a witch-hunt to provide support for the Labour Party.

Although violence against journalists in the UK is rare, Martin O’Hagan was shot in Northern Ireland in 2001. He was the first journalist to be killed in the Northern Irish conflict.

Current investigative journalism

British journalists don’t agree on much, but they do when it comes to a definition of investigative journalism. Nearly all respondents felt that investigative journalism is a term which should be reserved for ‘cloak-and-dagger’ kind of reporting, in which the journalist obtains his information through stealthy information gathering, such as going undercover, deploying listening devices, or at the very least relying on anonymous sources – back alleys optional. Articles that require extensive desk research, such as the outing of Berlusconi’s doubtful past in *The Economist*, are not deemed worthy of the term ‘investigative’, but should instead be referred to as ‘analytical journalism’. Only a minority of respondents favoured a wider definition of investigative journalism.

Nearly all respondents also agree investigative journalism should not be value-free. There is a strong moral undercurrent present in nearly all British journalism productions. This is as it should be, or as Hugo de Burgh writes in his book *Investigative Journalism – Context and Practice*: ‘Investigative journalists married rational observation with moral empathy.’ Michael Gillard, who has exposed and continues to exposes

many financial scandals, feels 'there is no point in writing if it hasn't got any effect'. 'If it fails to achieve a public purpose, there's only a grim satisfaction,' according to Gillard.

Investigative projects tend to be reporters' initiatives, with some notable exceptions, like the *Mail on Sunday's* 'Rich List', and broadcast productions that, by their nature, require more teamwork.

There is some distrust towards new methods of information gathering, such as the Internet. Even at *Panorama*, the BBC's flagship current affairs programme, which employs computer researchers, journalists seem to consider going out and talking to people as superior to using Google. Others don't trust the Internet because it is too public. Some journalists feel information on the Internet must be untrue, for otherwise it would have been picked up already, as it is out in the open. For them, real scoops stem from secrets.

Even so, gradually more British journalists are adopting the Internet. This is brought about mainly by financial journalism, which traditionally depends on records. The advent of the Internet has revolutionised this branch of journalism. Respondents indicate that many more records are accessible to them now, in much greater detail, at lower cost and with less trouble. However, they also indicate that Great Britain lags behind in some respects when it comes to making such records available online. There is great praise for the USA for being in the forefront in this respect, which says something, if one considers the almost universal British distrust towards America. Also, there is universal appreciation for verified and trusted databases such as *LexisNexis*.

As was stated in the section on the history of investigative journalism in the UK, the British press is very much preoccupied with politics, business scandals and security matters. Tabloids add a fourth category to this; celebrity reporting. The methods used in gathering intelligence about celebrities – going undercover, eavesdropping and photography with telephoto lenses – are indeed very much of a cloak-and-dagger nature.

However, this doesn't mean that tabloids are respected for what they do. Investigative reporter Mazher Mahmood has covered celebrity stories as well as security issues, and even debauchery among soccer chiefs. He is infamous for dressing up as a sheikh to get his story. Being quite a character, Mahmood has a bodyguard called Jaws. But broadsheet journalists mainly have risible opinions on Mahmood, even though his reporting resulted in the arrest of terrorist suspects in 2004. This may stem from resentment, which is quite common amongst print journalists, who see editorial budgets being reduced in size in an ongoing battle for circulation figures on a shrinking market. As a part of

this battle, many journalists feel there's been a shift towards sensationalism in reporting.

Investigative journalism is hardly an integral part of the newsroom. Many interviewed journalists earn their keep as freelancers, as very few newspapers employ large groups of investigative journalists these days. The number of the newspapers that do, such as that of *The Sunday Times* Insight team, has declined. The 'Rich List' of the *Mail on Sunday* is produced by a separate team, which consists entirely of freelancers, except for the project leader.

Most of this has to do with budget cutting. Newspapers in the UK nowadays generally employ fewer people than in the sixties; journalists therefore have to write relatively more stories. That means an editor will not easily let a reporter go on a wild goose chase for four weeks with no foreseeable result. Plus, legal costs in case of an expensive libel trial can dwarf any production costs. This means an editor needs to be very sure of his reporters, but it also means that it becomes tempting to go for an easy fix by running less risky stories instead. The BBC seems least affected by budget slashing, although its *Face the Facts* radio show has gone from 24 shows to six a year. However, *Panorama* can still be watched 32 times a year.

There is hope for improvement on the legal front, however. Since 2000, Britain has its own Freedom of Information Act, which has come into full effect on January 1, 2005. Also, in October 2004 the British press achieved a victory and established libel law jurisprudence. The High Court ruled that the company London City Brokers Collins Stewart could not sue the *Financial Times* for a record amount of 230.5 million pounds. Collins Stewart had argued that this amount reflected the drop in value of the company after an article in the *Financial Times* had been published called 'Reputations on the Line at Collins Stewart', but the court deemed this amount to be unreasonably high. The libel trial is not due to come to court until November 2005.

The limited budgets do not lead to more cooperation. Cross-media collaboration is very much unheard of, and those that have tried it, are adamant they will never do it again. The reason for this lies in the competitive market that also makes it very hard for newspapers to free funds for investigative projects. As newspapers are constantly at each other's throats, there is simply too much distrust and too much pressure to publish prematurely – especially for newspapers – to make cooperation work. As one respondent put it: 'The imperatives of print journalism impel them (print journalists, ed.) to screw us (television producers, ed.)'. Intentional leaks of journalists or media to other media to generate maximum viewer ratings are not uncommon, though.

The lack of cooperation within the UK doesn't mean that journalists aren't interested in international cooperation, as this would not cause any domestic competition problems, and could help them in obtaining information about countries or areas they're unfamiliar with. Indeed, *Panorama* has engaged in joint productions with foreign broadcasters and shows, such as *Frontline* of the American production company PBS, or the Learning Channel, a subsidiary of the American Discovery Channel.

Some respondents suggested the creating a database of journalists that are willing to help each other on a pro bono basis, with all members promising to help each other when a question comes their way. It is obvious that this presents opportunities for any European investigative journalism organisation willing to create such a system.

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Part three: Analysis

If anybody ever thought that there is something like ‘European journalism’, he or she should be cured from that idea after having read the twenty country reports. Journalism traditions in Europe vary widely, and so do traditions of investigative journalism. Rarely is there any common frame of reference. In this respect the situation in Europe is very different from that in the United States.

In this chapter we shall try to pinpoint some differences and similarities between the various (investigative) journalism traditions in Europe. We shall compare the empirical material, reflect on this material, and try to tie it to the analytical considerations formulated in the introduction. This chapter will be concluded with some practical implications and recommendations. A list of references is added.

Countries and media

Journalism is unevenly spread over Europe. Newspaper circulation per thousand inhabitants reaches above 400 in Norway, Sweden and Finland. Denmark, Switzerland, Austria and the United Kingdom are the runners-up with a circulation per thousand between 300 and 400. Germany, the Netherlands and Ireland constitute the third group with a circulation per thousand between 200 and 300. In all the other countries covered by this project the total newspaper circulation per thousand inhabitants is much smaller. To put these figures into perspective: the total newspaper circulation in Sweden (9.0 million inhabitants) is bigger than that in Spain (40.8 million inhabitants). Incidentally, the United States would be in the same league as Germany and the Netherlands.

Research on how much time people spend with the media confirms these figures. According to the European Social Survey, there are six countries in which over 30 percent of the population does not spend any time at all on an average weekday to read a newspaper: Belgium, Spain, France, Italy, Poland and Portugal. In Spain and Portugal over 40 percent does not read a newspaper on an average weekday, in the other four countries between 30 percent and 40. In newspaper-loving countries like Norway, Sweden and Finland this figure is below 10 percent.

According to the same survey, the percentage of people spending more than one hour reading a newspaper on an average weekday is below 10 in Belgium, Spain, Italy, Poland and Portugal. In France the percentage is 10.1. So generally, in the Roman Catholic countries few people spend a lot of time reading newspapers, and as a result the total newspaper

circulation is low. The English and German speaking Roman Catholic countries – Austria, most of Switzerland and southern Germany – are the exceptions to this rule.

If people do not read a newspaper, do they compensate for this by watching news on television? Some do and some don't. The European Social Survey shows that in three of the non-reading countries – Belgium, Spain and Poland – people do not watch much news, politics or current affairs on television either. In these countries more than 30 percent watches such programs less than half an hour on an average weekday. In the other three this figure is between 25 and 30. In Spain 10 percent does not watch such programs at all. However, in three countries an even higher percentage watches less than half an hour: Austria, Switzerland and Germany. They score above 40 percent. Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands are the only countries below 25 percent. In Norway and Finland only 1.5 percent does not watch such programs at all.

Incidentally, Russia, Ukraine, Bulgaria and Turkey were not included in this survey.

As explained in the introduction to this book, quantitative estimates of investigative journalism are beyond the reach of this research project. However, it is striking that the four Nordic countries, as well as Germany and the Netherlands, have an association of investigative journalists (or a foundation, like in Norway), and that attempts to found such an association have been made in the United Kingdom and Switzerland. Apart from Bulgaria such organisations do not exist in any of the other countries covered by this research. Unsuccessful attempts were reported from France. So there seems to be a clear relation between strong newspaper readership and whether investigative journalists organise themselves.

This does not necessarily mean that there is more investigative journalism in countries with strong newspaper readership, but it is tempting to draw that conclusion. Anyway, especially in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the UK, the Netherlands and Germany, it turned out to be relatively easy to find a decent number of example projects. The researchers had a choice. In most of the other countries it was more difficult to find enough recent projects.

It is hardly surprising that there are big differences within each country concerning which media conduct investigative journalism. However, these differences show a pattern that recurs in most countries. Usually, national newspapers and public-service broadcasters dominate the investigative scene. In some countries weekly news magazines or Sunday papers play a leading role too, in other countries they don't. Only in a few countries do regional and local media, or commercial broadcasters, invest substantially in investigative journalism. Up-market

newspapers generally do more in-depth reporting than classic tabloids, but there are some exceptions, notably in Norway.

The British national broadsheets started working with investigative teams as early as the sixties, often before the leading American newspapers did. Much of the investigative reputations of these papers may be based on publications in a relatively distant past, as well as on their linguistic advantage: many European journalists are able to read British newspapers and quite a few do so regularly, while there are hardly any journalists outside Finland reading Finnish newspapers, for instance.

The British situation is interesting in the light of a theory formulated by David Protess, quoted in the introduction: that investigative journalism thrives where there is a literate public and fierce competition between media. If there is one country in Europe with a fierce day-to-day competition between newspapers, it is the United Kingdom, with ten national newspapers that are mainly sold at newsstands. However, British journalists seem to have the impression that competition certainly has not weakened in recent years, while investigative journalism has. For instance, there have been several bouts of price competition between newspapers – a type of competition that is unrelated to journalism; what is worse, it undermines (investigative) journalism in the long run, as it usually leads to smaller newsroom budgets.

On the other hand, the national newspapers in Denmark are all quite active in investigative reporting, although they are mainly sold through subscription and therefore do not have to compete for readers on a day-to-day basis. So whereas Protess' model may have been an adequate explanation of the emergence of investigative journalism in the United States in the beginning of the twentieth century and in the sixties, it does not seem to work well in a comparative international context. Another problem with this model is that it does not explain why, under comparable circumstances, certain media will be active in investigative journalism and others not.

Could size be a decisive factor? In Norway, Finland, Poland, France and Portugal, the biggest national newspaper also leads the field in investigative reporting. But this is not the case in Sweden, United Kingdom, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and Belgium. In other countries the situation is less clear. Size may matter, but is certainly not decisive.

Situations may simply vary too much to catch in such general rules. The history of the newspaper, the newsroom culture, the editorial leadership: all these factors will play a role in the decision whether a particular paper will engage in investigative reporting or not. It would require a different sort of research – much more detailed and more structured – to develop a model for this.

The country reports show that regional newspapers are less likely to invest in investigative journalism than national newspapers. Regular or big efforts from regional newspapers were reported from Sweden and Germany, and to a somewhat lesser extent from Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and Spain. France, the United Kingdom and Finland are conspicuously absent from this list.

France's absence is remarkable, because some regional newspapers in this country are very big. *Ouest France* for instance (circulation 783,000) is not only the biggest regional newspaper in Europe; it is also much bigger than any of the national newspapers in France. Two other regional newspapers reach above the 300,000 mark. Regional papers outnumber the national ones in total circulation by a wide margin: 5.8 versus 2.2 million. Yet, no substantial investigative efforts have been reported here.

The UK's absence is striking because this country has such a strong newspaper tradition. However, it seems that as far as investigative journalism is concerned, this tradition is cherished more and more exclusively by the national newspapers. Notice that here the national newspapers outnumber the regional ones in total circulation: 12.4 versus 5.3 million.

Finland's absence is remarkable because Finland is one of the very few countries with an association of investigative journalists. Apparently the association has not been able to bridge the gap between national and regional media, whereas the Swedish association clearly has.

Classic tabloids – nowadays many up-market newspapers have switched to the tabloid size; here the term 'tabloids' refers to the traditional down-market, more or less sensation-driven newspapers – have a reputation for scoops in several countries. Sometimes these scoops are based on substantial investigations. However, the impression of our respondents is that the focus of the tabloids is changing. Celebrities – including the pseudo-celebrities from reality shows on television – sports and lifestyle increasingly dominate their front pages and their editorial priorities. In Sweden and Denmark for instance, the tabloids once played a leading role in the investigative scene. This is no longer the case, although they still publish investigative stories. In Norway they are still the dominant platform for such stories, but it is happening more and more that a solid investigation does not reach the front page. Apparently, the latest developments from *Expedition Robinson* or 'ten tips to lose weight' sell more copies.

Weekly news magazines play an important role in investigative journalism in some countries, but none at all in other. They are clearly leading in Germany, and are at least on par with the national newspapers in France, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Poland, Bulgaria,

Switzerland, Italy and Portugal. In the UK, Ireland and Switzerland, the Sunday newspapers are the main occupiers of the weeklies' niche.

It is especially remarkable that the weeklies are more or less irrelevant in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Possibly the newspapers are so strong here that the weeklies would not stand a chance. Germany has hardly any national newspapers, so it is obvious that weekly magazines and newspapers – *Die Zeit* is a weekly, but is printed as a broadsheet newspaper – play the agenda-setting role national newspapers tend to play elsewhere. The circulation of the weeklies in Germany is huge by any standards: both *Der Spiegel* and *Stern* are in the one-million-plus category. In France the total circulation of the regional newspapers is also much bigger than that of the national newspapers, but in the UK the opposite is the case. In both countries weeklies engage seriously in investigative journalism.

In some countries magazines used to play a bigger role in the past, like in Sweden, Finland and the Netherlands. More detailed research would be necessary to find out why they could not keep up with the newspapers. In Sweden and the Netherlands, but also in the United States, magazines picked up investigative reporting before newspapers did. In these cases magazines had often shed ties with political parties in an earlier stage than the newspapers, or had been independent from politics from the start.

Public service broadcasters have dedicated investigative programmes in the Northern and Western European countries. In Southern Europe these programmes seem to have a more difficult time, because of direct political interference at the programme level. In Northern and Western Europe there is political interference as well, but this is usually restricted to the board level. Examples of direct interference with programmes have been reported from Italy and Spain. Investigative journalism on the radio is rare, and if it exists, it is usually at public service stations. Fine examples exist in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, and recently in Sweden.

Commercial broadcasters tend not to spend a substantial amount of resources on investigative journalism. Sweden is the main exception here, with the weekly award-winning programme *Kalla fakta* ('Cold facts'). In the UK some work is done as well, but in relation to the size of the market it is not a great deal. Investigative items as part of news programmes are more common at commercial channels than investigative programmes.

Trade publications do more investigative journalism than most journalists and scholars realise. In an earlier research project, the VVOJ found many examples at Dutch trade publications. But to reach a similar level of detail in other countries, a similar number of interviews would

be required. In the research project referred to – *Onderzoeksjournalistiek in Nederland en Vlaanderen* (‘Investigative Journalism in the Netherlands and Flanders’) – 107 journalists were interviewed. This level of detail was beyond our means on a European scale.

Books play a part in investigative journalism everywhere. Often investigative books are the by-products of projects that found their way into newspapers or magazines first. However, in some countries they are the main publication platform for investigative work, notably in Turkey and Italy. From Turkey it was specifically reported that this is because newspapers and television programmes are not really interested in investigative stories, because of the political pressure they are under. In Italy something similar seems to be the case: books and magazines are leading in the investigative scene. In this context we might remind ourselves that Italy is the only country in Western Europe where Freedom House rates the freedom of the press as other than ‘free’. In Italy the press is rated ‘partly free’, in the same league as Turkey, Bulgaria and Ukraine. In contrast, eight Central and Eastern European countries are rated ‘free’, among them Poland and the Baltic states.

After this look at what kind of media are involved in investigative journalism in what countries, we shall briefly look into the demographics of investigative reporting.

Traditionally, journalism used to be a man’s job everywhere, but this is changing gradually in most countries, and rapidly in some. In Finland, women even constitute a majority in the profession now. But investigative journalism is still heavily dominated by men in all but a few countries. Sweden is the most notable exception, followed by Norway. In Sweden over the years a quarter of all the winners of the investigative journalism awards were women. In Denmark women are well represented in investigations at the regional media, but not at the national level: at a recent national conference on investigative journalism in Denmark all the speakers were men. In Finland women are well represented in investigative television, but not in print media. In Bulgaria, Russia and Ukraine some women are among the leading investigators. But our researchers report that in the other countries female investigative reporters were hard to find. There appear to be slightly more women working for television than for newspapers in most countries.

Experience counts in investigative work, so it is not surprising that most of the people interviewed for this research project were at least in their late thirties. What was more surprising was that many of them had been active as investigators for so many years. Respondents from various countries recount that younger journalists are not so eager to engage in investigative reporting than they were when they were their age. Now this may be the common complaint that everything used to be better in

the old days, but some come up with plausible explanations as well. For instance that in the younger generation it is more common actively to seek a career, and that doing in-depth investigations is not the easiest way to find one. Having a career was not considered so important in the seventies and eighties, when these 'old hands' started in journalism. Also, journalism has become 'a job', more than it was twenty years ago, when more people considered it a vocation – at least in part.

Subject matter

Journalists may investigate any topic of course, but in reality they are more active in some areas than in others. Crime and corruption constitute a popular subject matter almost anywhere, whereas sports and arts are hardly ever investigated. Specific patterns occur in the subject matter of investigative journalism. These patterns are not only related to journalism traditions, but also to the level of development of the particular country. More advanced societies open up more possibilities for investigative journalism.

Crime and corruption are obvious examples of wrongdoing. Addressing these constitutes investigative journalism, even to the most moral-infused definitions such as Greene's definition that was quoted in the introduction. 'We do what the police should do', some Polish journalists were quoted in the country report on Poland. This is not just investigating crime and publishing about it, this is crusading to nail the crooks.

'Nailing the crooks' stories, including exposés of corruption, are being done anywhere, but in some countries they are the dominant form of investigative journalism: Russia, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Turkey and to some extent Poland and Italy. It is no coincidence that these countries are all among the more corrupt, according to Transparency International.

Of course this does not mean there is no crime or corruption in the other countries under research. But apparently, there the police and the judiciary system are sufficiently effective in dealing with such illegal activities to make them less urgent topics for investigative reporting. The dominance of these topics in Russia, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Turkey, Poland and Italy not only suggests that there actually is a lot of serious crime and corruption in these countries, but also that the authorities are not willing or able to deal with it in a way considered adequate by citizens. This creates a market for 'white knights' that expose villains and their behaviour.

The set of rules their behaviour is measured against are generally very clear: the laws of the country. Publications often expose downright illegal activities. By exposing them the authors do not advocate new rules or legislation, but enforcement of the prevailing laws.

This is less obvious for the next category of investigative stories. In these stories the behaviour of people or organisations is not so much measured against the law – although this happens sometimes – but against commonly shared moral convictions. These stories report wrongdoings, but they tend to be morally less reprehensible than the activities described above. It is open to debate just how wrong the behaviour or situation in question is.

Many of the classic stories of American muckrakers in the beginning of the twentieth century belong to this category. They exposed how powerful institutions abused their power to the disadvantage of poor and powerless people. These are cases of villains and victims, often in a moral, rather than in a legal sense. The villains in these stories were often big companies.

What these stories called for – usually implicitly – was the introduction of new legislation or other formal steps to do something about the situation as described. The government was called into action as a countervailing power against the mighty villains. Several of the projects quoted as examples in this report are of this kind, and although media rarely state in their reporting that they advocate changes in legislation, they are often proud to mention that changes in legislation were stimulated by their publications. Several of our respondents, especially in Scandinavia, specifically stated that it was the ambition of their medium to support the ‘little man’ in his struggle against powerful institutions.

An important subcategory consists of investigations into disasters and other major incidents. Disasters test current legislation and established procedure to the limit, and often beyond that. The wrongdoers in these cases may also be government agencies that have been negligent. Investigative journalism may show what went wrong and where the levers are to do something about it. Major cases of this kind were reported from various countries, like the Ghislenghien explosion in Belgium and the 11 March terrorist attacks in Spain. Also the various investigations into the crash of an El Al Boeing 747 on a residential area in Amsterdam in 1992 belong to this category.

Increasingly in Europe, like in the United States, government agencies are the villains in these stories, instead of big companies, like in the muckrakers’ era. This is understandable because government influence on almost any domain of public life has increased enormously over the past century. Yet this reporting on government failure creates certain uneasiness among the public. The muckrakers could expose wrongdoing for which their readers were not responsible – because the wrongdoers tended to be private companies – but could do something about in their role as citizens, by pushing for government action. In contrast, current investigative journalists often have to tell their readers or viewers that

an agency has done something wrong in their name. The agency acts on behalf of the citizens, so the citizens share a responsibility for the wrongdoing. That is a more difficult message to live with than a confrontation with an 'outside' wrongdoer. It would be interesting to investigate whether this contributes to the growing cynicism among citizens that makes them turn away from the news.

There is a second type of moral stories, one that does not advocate change: it only exposes dubious behaviour of a particular person, often a politician. Moral rules in these cases differ substantially from country to country. 'Catching a politician with his pants down' – literally – is often a big story in the United Kingdom, whereas similar cases would usually not even be reported at all in Scandinavia, the Netherlands or Belgium. In these countries the media tend to be fairly reserved where the private lives of politicians are concerned. On the other hand, in Sweden a politician who cuts a few corners and enjoys an advantage of a few thousand euro as a result may run into serious trouble.

Whereas the previous categories of investigative stories were moral, be it by implication, the next two categories are not, or at least not necessarily.

Politics, or the activities of government agencies, are often subject of investigative journalism, even if there is no immediate scandal to report. What the investigations do is to evaluate a particular policy or a domain of public action. Investigations into campaign finance, attendance and voting behaviour of politicians, or positions that politicians hold apart from their main job, are typical examples of this. Often patterns emerge that make up a good story, and sometimes there is a sudden scandal as a by-product.

In Sweden most of the local and regional stories have to do with government responsibility in some way or other. The more advanced a welfare state, the more domains of public life it interferes with, and the more data it has at its disposal. Thus, it will be possible to cover a wider range of topics in for instance Sweden than in Portugal. Yet school results have been investigated in Portugal, the quality of medical clinics has been investigated in France. These stories may be more common in the Nordic countries and the Netherlands, but they are spreading throughout the whole of Western Europe.

Confronted with the question why there is relatively little investigative journalism into business in Sweden, a Swedish reporter suggested: it is so much easier to obtain documents about the government than about business, why make things difficult for yourself? This is the route of the least resistance. This is not meant as a reproach against journalists: given the resources they have, they *do* usually produce more results investigating the government than investigating business. If business is covered, it is relatively often a business domain where the government

is active, as a big customer – such as in construction – or as a strong regulator – such as in environmental or safety issues. The government may be financially involved in some other way – taxation, or former monopolies, such as utilities or telecom. This type of business stories were reported from most countries.

Investigative business stories based on inside information, like the Dutch reconstruction of Ahold's cooking its books, the Swedish unravelling of Jan Stenbeck's business empire, or the German exposé of non-existing customers in an IPO prospectus are relatively rare. From many countries none were reported.

There is another reason why the government is a more popular subject of investigative publications than business: in most countries the government will not easily sue a journalist or a medium; commercial companies are more likely to do so. This may especially be an obstacle in countries with strict libel and defamation laws such as the United Kingdom and Ireland. For instance, the *Financial Times* was confronted with a claim of 240 million pounds (355 million euro) by the British investment bank Collins Stewart in a libel action. Fortunately the judge dismissed this particular claim, but other legal procedures in this case are still pending. Legal steps by the government against media are only common in countries with limited freedom of the press, and to a lesser extent in Switzerland and Austria. In the latter countries journalists have been sentenced for instigating a civil servant to violate the official secrets act by leaking information.

Sports and arts are probably the least investigated domains anywhere. There are two entirely different reasons for this. The first is that these domains tend to be relatively independent: organisations in these domains are less obliged to publish all sorts of documents, in contrast to government agencies and even commercial companies. So journalists will have to rely more on leaked documents and oral sources. The second reason is that precisely in these domains there often are close ties between reporters and their sources. Sports reporters are often sports fans; arts reporters are often art lovers. Combined with the relative lack of formal and open sources, this lack of critical distance makes investigative reporting difficult. It may then come as no surprise that investigative stories into sports or arts are often written by outsiders, such as general or business reporters. In the 198 projects used as examples in this book hardly any had to do with sports or arts.

The final type of subject matter we shall describe does not so much relate to the government, but to society. Examples of this type of story are in-depth reportages. In countries as different as Ukraine and Belgium our researchers found investigative stories about poverty. In both cases the reporter had lived on a poor person's budget for a while. In the United States Barbara Ehrenreich has done something similar

recently. These were not villains-and-victims stories, but stories to show what life is like in a particular segment of society.

Other examples of this kind were for instance the investigations into illegal car races in Switzerland – written not to expose the racers and put an end to the illegal activity, but to show what they did and why. Inside portraits of the Front National in Belgium, or of the life of a child of drug addicts in Denmark belong to the same category. What they have in common is that the main topics are informal and personal. They are stories about people, not about – or rarely about – institutions. Yet they can be about major social developments, like the growing influence of the Islam in the French suburbs. Formal documents, policies and statistical data may have a role as sources for these stories, yet the stories are not about policies. Legwork, interviews and eyewitness reports are at least as important as more formal sources.

A special type of subject matter for investigative journalism is the past, in particular the relatively distant past. From Switzerland and Austria to Spain, stories about the Second World War were reported in the projects quoted here as examples that were still at the heart of the public interest. In countries that went through a major regime change, like the Central and Eastern European countries around 1989, or Spain and Portugal in the mid-seventies, stories from before the regime change can still be major news, because they were impossible to report earlier. Investigations of the past may expose scandals and downright criminal activities, but also describe the hidden life of particular social circles ‘the way it really was’.

Sometimes these historical investigations are facilitated by the opening of archives that were hitherto closed, such as the intelligence archives in several Central and Eastern European countries. But oral history plays an important role as well: often only after many years dare people to speak out on what happened in the darker periods of their society.

Methods and motives

Investigations may be qualitative or quantitative. Journalistic investigations usually are of a qualitative nature, only rarely of a quantitative nature. Sources can be official documents or data, informal documents such as private letters, but also eyewitness descriptions and interviews. The sources may be public or secret, and if they are secret the reporter may share the document with his public or not. These are only a few of the variables involved when discussing methods in investigative journalism.

Quantitative methods usually require data analysis with the help of information technology. This is a branch of journalism that has become known under the name of ‘computer-assisted reporting’ or CAR,

although not all computer-assisted reporting is quantitative. Quantitative analyses not only require up-to-date computer skills, but also some statistical knowledge. Both are rare among journalists. This is even more so in Europe than in the United States, because in Europe, journalism as a tradition is closer to literature than in the US.

Nevertheless, computer-assisted reporting has gained ground in Europe too, albeit much later, and on a smaller scale than in the United States. American pioneers at newspapers began analysing large amounts of data as early as the sixties. The oldest examples from Europe date from the early nineties. Data analysis has found a place in almost every major American newsroom, but this is certainly not the case in Europe. Actually, only in the Nordic countries and in the Netherlands can a more or less regular production of investigative stories based on data analysis be found; and even there only at some media. In all other countries they are rare or absent.

From several countries – such as France, Portugal and Germany – stories were reported that required the analysis of large amounts of data: comparing school results, the quality of medical clinics, the reputation of universities, for instance. But the media here usually conducted these projects in close cooperation with a university, the national statistics bureau or commercial polling companies. According to the definitions that were quoted in the introduction, this does not count as ‘investigative journalism’, since the journalist himself did not do the analysis. The reporting was done on the basis of analyses conducted by others. There is nothing wrong with that, but it is a different kind of activity. And it leaves detailed knowledge of the data outside the newsroom, which is a pity.

In the Nordic countries and the Netherlands this is different. These countries have some recognised data analysis specialists. These journalists do not only do investigative stories for their own newspaper, magazine or programme, but usually also teach the necessary skills to colleagues and students. Some of them are regular speakers or trainers at investigative journalism conferences in their own country and abroad.

It is an interesting question why CAR caught momentum in precisely these countries. It can't be accidental that these are also the countries with active associations of investigative journalists. In all these countries – like in the United States – associations of investigative journalists actively advocated data analysis as a skill that should be part of the journalistic tool set. This is also happening in some countries in Central and Eastern Europe, such as Bulgaria, Romania and Serbia. The latter two were not included in this research project, but they have active organisations of investigative journalists that take part in the Global Investigative Journalism Network. The associations in these

countries are smaller than those in the Nordic countries or the Netherlands, and their resources may be more limited, but they, too, realise the possibilities of the oceans of data that governments and other organisations produce. In this sense, promoting computer-assisted reporting is a typical aspect of a professionalisation process in journalism.

Germany is remarkable through its absence on the European computer-assisted reporting scene. This country has a flourishing association of investigative journalists that organises conferences, awards prizes and publishes books. Yet no regular CAR initiatives have been reported. On the contrary, some of our German respondents recounted that they considered data analysis not a task for journalist, but one that should be left to (social) scientists. The German journalism magazine *Message* regularly publishes about CAR, but on the basis of foreign examples. So some people in Germany realise that there are possibilities, but they are not in the heart of the country's major newsrooms. In this sense German journalists seem less open to professional innovation than their Nordic and Dutch colleagues.

Texts, far more than electronic data, serve as sources for investigative journalists. Documents already played an important role in the work of some of the muckrakers in early twentieth-century America. Ida Tarbell, for instance, spent much of her time searching archives. In the second era of investigative reporting in the United States, the seventies, documents became the prime target for journalists. As Donald Barlett and James Steele, then at *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, now at *Time*, stated: 'What surprised us most during the years is the amount of material that exists, how much data that you may never have thought of is lying around and waiting for you somewhere, and how much you can find out if you follow the paper trail.'

Documents are the ultimate facts. They speak for themselves, literally, without the journalist interposed between them and the audience. They are the textual equivalent of photographs, which in the eyes of many have a truthfulness of their own. In a tradition where journalists are supposed to serve facts, not opinions, the thirst for documents is unquenchable. And modern bureaucracies produce documents in immeasurable numbers.

The seminal handbook for investigative reporters in the United States, *The Reporter's Handbook*, published by Investigative Reporters and Editors, contains over four hundred pages on how to get documents of all kinds. The subtitle, *An Investigator's Guide to Documents and Techniques*, leaves little room for doubt about the kind of sources an investigative reporter should rely on most. As the first chapter says: 'Learning to follow the trails in the mountains of paperwork all individuals and businesses create each day is one of the skills that separates investigative reporters from their colleagues.'

Although European journalists tend to rely on oral sources more than their US colleagues, use of documents is very common in almost all the countries covered by this research project. What differs substantially from country to country, however, is the nature of the documents and the way they are obtained.

From the Scandinavian countries especially, many stories were reported that were based on documents of the executive branch of government. Not only are these documents relatively easy to obtain in these countries, journalists actually use them frequently. For example, politicians' and civil servants' expense accounts have proved to be valuable sources for numerous stories in Sweden. Government agencies' correspondence forms an important source in Norway.

From Italy many example projects were reported in which court documents played a major role. These court documents are public in Italy, whereas it seems to be far more difficult to obtain documents of the executive.

In France, documents play an important role in investigative journalism as well, but they tend to be leaked more often than in the Nordic countries. Leaking is also usual in Central and Eastern Europe, and in the German-speaking countries. In Belgium, too, informal routes to documents are more frequently used than formal ways. Although Belgium has a Freedom of Information Act, it was only recently that a journalist invoked this law for the first time to obtain documents. The Netherlands hold an intermediate position: leaking is very common, but many documents are obtained by legal means as well. This usually concerns documents of the executive branch of government, as court documents are not public in this country. It is interesting to see how the situation in the United Kingdom will develop with the introduction of the new Freedom of Information Act. Thousands of applications have been filed in only a couple of months, but it is too early to judge the journalistic consequences.

Relatively new is the use of images in investigative journalism. Especially the increasing availability of up-to-date and detailed satellite imagery has stimulated the use of images as sources for journalistic investigations. It is still rare, however.

The use of images in telling the story to the public is a different matter, especially for television. Special mention should be made here of the use of hidden cameras and microphones, techniques that are used in investigative journalism much more often than in general news reporting. But this varies by country, as the legal framework differs enormously. In some countries, such as Finland, hidden cameras and microphones may only be used under quite specific circumstances. However, in neighbouring Sweden it is a very popular technique. Other

countries in which a hidden camera or microphone was used in the projects listed as examples here are the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Bulgaria.

An investigative project may be launched under various conditions. For the sake of clarity we distinguish six different classes. Some occur only in a few countries, others everywhere.

The first class is formed by so-called black PR or *kompromat*: more or less ready-made dossiers suitable for publication with which the sender aims to discredit a political or business opponent. If this sort of material leads to publication without substantial additional work of reporters, it can hardly be called ‘investigative journalism’ according to the definitions used in the introduction. Yet these stories tend to be high-profile scoops and may therefore be commonly referred to as ‘investigative’ by people who do not bother too much about strict definitions.

Kompromat is a Russian term, and it is in Russia and Ukraine that this kind of source material is most common. However, similar strategies were reported specifically from Austria and Spain.

With the second class the sender’s aims are the same as with the first, but this type leaves more work to the reporter: documents that were leaked with a special, private purpose. In this case ‘private’ may also refer to the interests of the agency or the company that the leak is working for. Whereas *kompromat* is always intended to cause a scandal, this is not necessarily the case with this kind of material. In most countries this kind of leaking is a common part of political debates and policy forming. Sources aim at influencing the arguments prevailing in the public debate by supplying documents that support these arguments. Lobbyists tend to be rich sources of this kind of leaks.

Another important difference between these private-purpose leaks and *kompromat* is that *kompromat* is almost exclusively initiated by the source, whereas private-purpose leaks may also be invoked by the reporter himself. Being able to convince the right source to leak a document is an important skill for investigative journalists anywhere in Europe.

Sometimes a leaked document is a story in itself, but often it is only a part of an investigation: the start of it, or a piece of the puzzle. In the common French *affaires* this type of documents plays an essential role.

The third class shares the mechanism – leaking – with the first and the second, but differs in the intentions of the leak: documents that were leaked with a public purpose. Classic whistleblower stories belong to this class: somebody involved in a particular matter is troubled by his conscience, and decides to bring out into the open what he is supposed to keep secret. He does not do this for personal gain – on the contrary: if he is discovered as the leak, he will often be fired or have other

measures taken against him. In these cases the leaking person acts in his role of citizen, who lets the common interest prevail over his (agency's or company's) private interests.

These three classes have in common that sources provide the reporter with documents that may form a solid foundation for a story. The fourth class of stories is also initiated from outside, but leaves considerably more work to do for the reporter: stories that are primarily based on a tip-off. The person that provides the tip-off may be an insider who is out for personal gain, or a whistleblower, or just a citizen who notices something peculiar or interesting. In the latter case it may be something that is not being kept secret at all: it may be a detail that would otherwise escape attention. The latter kind of tip-off is very common with local and regional media everywhere.

Media have completely different policies on dealing with tip-offs. Some record them in detail into a database, consider them one by one, and come back to people that gave the tip-off. Examples of this practice were seen in Norway and Sweden, but probably exist at some individual media elsewhere as well. Especially popular newspapers tend to be quite open to tip-offs from readers, and as a consequence readers give them a lot of tip-offs.

Tip-offs are important at the level of the individual reporter as well. For instance, in Finland, reporters often stay on the same beat for decades, so that they can build an extensive network of secret sources that provide them with tip-offs. They say that without such a network investigative reporting is very difficult. This may be related to the fairly closed tradition of Finnish society, because similar patterns were not seen in the other Nordic countries. Of course tip-offs to individual reporters are as important there, as in the rest of Europe. But they tend to be more important on beats where public documents are rare – such as crime, business or sports – and in countries with limited access to government documents. Whereas tip-offs to individual reporters are often rooted in familiarity with the reporter, or at least with his work, tip-offs to a medium are common from 'average' readers or viewers. It is striking that in the projects that are described by way of examples in this report, tip-off-initiated stories were only reported from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Spain. But many examples are not specific on how the project started.

A special case in tip-off-initiated stories are stories where the person who gave the tip-off was the victim, and in that sense the subject of the story. Several villains-and-victims stories begin this way, especially with television and popular newspapers. Up-market newspapers do not run this type of story very often. They tend to use cases as illustrations of a more general pattern of system failure.

The four classes described so far were all source-driven. The next two are not. The fifth class consists of investigative stories that emerge as follow-ups to news stories. These stories tend to stem from decisions taken in the newsroom to put more efforts into covering a particular event. Typically one or more reporters are discharged from other duties to dig into the subject. This requires either management that is prepared to spend resources on investigations, or reporters with enough autonomy to invest time for their own projects.

The sixth and final class of investigative stories stems from the medium's own journalistic agenda. Of course this requires that the particular medium has such an agenda, which is not at all common. Typically, large projects that map a particular domain in society belong to this class, such as comparisons of school results on a national basis, or in-depth reporting about a particular suburb with a large Muslim population. By their nature this kind of project often leads to greater in-depth knowledge about society, but rarely to a major scandal.

The most widely discussed investigative method in ethical discussions on investigative journalism is reporting under a false identity: undercover reporting. While it is discussed frequently, this method is actually used pretty rarely, and almost never over extended periods of time. Yet the most famous examples of undercover reporting are European. The German journalist Günter Wallraff became world famous for his books in which he acted as a reporter at the tabloid newspaper *Bild*, and as a Turkish migrant worker in Germany. The Swedish language knows the verb *wallraffa*, meaning 'going undercover'. The researchers for this project ran into several examples in which a false identity was used for brief periods. But only in cases from Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom were extended periods of undercover work reported. Going undercover for a longer period is difficult, time consuming, therefore expensive, and very burdensome for the reporter involved.

In Belgium, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Russia, Ukraine and Turkey, investigative work usually means a solo project. Stories by a team of reporters are rare in these countries. This is different in the Nordic countries, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Germany, but also in Poland, Bulgaria, France and Spain, where teamwork is much more common.

This seems to reflect a kind of evolution. The muckrakers used to work on their own, and so did – and do – many of first generation of investigative journalists in any country. Sometimes people team up as a result of a private initiative. To relieve a team of two or more people in a newsroom from other duties requires a clear management commitment to investigative reporting. This usually only comes when investigative journalism in that country or at that medium has reached a certain level

of maturity. In the section on management later in this chapter, this topic will be further discussed.

In the United States the difference between investigative journalism and day-to-day reporting is becoming smaller, David Protess notes in *The Journalism of Outrage*. There is a trend towards more short-term investigative stories. Due to the many seminars and courses in investigative techniques, these techniques have become more common in newsrooms, and are being applied to news reporting as well as in larger projects. 'Investigative reporters may become less of an elite brand of journalists', Protess concludes. A similar development can be seen at many Scandinavian media.

Preconditions for investigative journalism

Investigative journalists do not work in a vacuum. They are part of a society, and they work in a particular country with its particular legislation on freedom of expression, libel and access to government information. But conditions will also depend on the country's level of crime and corruption, education, health care, et cetera. Most of these journalists will work in newsrooms. These newsrooms differ greatly in size, budget and management style; in political affiliation and the freedom they allow reporters to make their own way. Finally, reporters themselves differ in skills, character and education – which are not randomly divided either.

Freedom of the press is an obvious precondition for investigative journalism to flourish. Of course there can be publications of investigative stories under a very repressive regime, but these are exceptions. According to Freedom House, a non-governmental organisations that ranks freedom of the press in over one hundred countries on an annual basis, fifteen out of the twenty countries in this survey have a free press, four have a 'partly free' press, and in one the press is 'not free'.

Within the free-press countries differences are still substantial, though. The Nordic countries top the list, closely followed by the Netherlands, Belgium and Switzerland. Poland, France, Austria and Spain are still considered 'free', but not far from merely 'partly free'. The other West European countries are in between: Portugal, Ireland, Germany and the United Kingdom. Among the four 'partly free' countries, Italy and Bulgaria are not very far from being 'free', Turkey is somewhere in the middle, and Ukraine is very close to 'not free'. Russia is the only country in the survey where the press is judged 'not free' by Freedom House.

The ranking of freedom of the press sometimes looks a lot like that of perceived corruption, but a closer look learns that they are by no means the same. Poland for instance is among the more corrupt countries in Europe, while the press is considered 'free'. But at the top and at the

bottom of the list we find the usual suspects: the Nordic countries are at the top of both lists – the least corrupt, almost complete press freedom – and Russia, Ukraine and Turkey are at the bottom in both cases. In between the exact order between the countries may vary.

Is there a relation with investigative journalism? Well, each of the four Nordic countries has an organisation of investigative journalists. Two of the three runners-up have one, and in the third one, Switzerland, there has been an attempt to start one, though this initiative failed – due to lack of time, according to those involved. In the next category Germany has such an organisation, the UK a failed attempt, in the other two no such initiatives are known. In the last four ‘free’ countries there has been one (unsuccessful) attempt to found an organisation of investigative journalists: in France. So the relation between freedom of the press and the existence of an organisation of investigative journalists (or the attempt to found one) is convincing. From a statistical point of view Bulgaria, with its active association of investigative journalists, is unusual in this respect. According to their ranking, Switzerland should be the next country in Europe to establish an organisation of investigative journalists, followed by Portugal.

Libel and defamation laws were mentioned as obstacles especially in the United Kingdom and Ireland, because large financial claims may be involved here. Claiming a lot of money from the media is possible anywhere, but actually obtaining it through a lawsuit is almost impossible in most European countries. The UK and Ireland are the exceptions in this respect.

Although most European countries have some sort of Freedom of Information legislation nowadays, these laws differ vastly in their effectiveness and the way journalists use them to obtain documents. This journalistic use is common in the Nordic countries and Portugal, and is regularly done in the Netherlands and Bulgaria. In some countries this legislation is hardly used at all, such as in Belgium or France. Here informal ways seem to be much more effective if a journalist needs a particular document. It will be interesting to see how the British experience develops. In the first quarter of 2005 more than 20,000 requests were files under the new legislation.

Freedom of Information Acts differ in the extent that they also cover electronic data. Everywhere in Europe, government agencies produce large amounts of data, but whether journalists will be able to access them is quite another matter. Of course data analysis stands a better chance if data are freely available in an electronic format. But several cases show that this is not a necessary condition. A Finnish television programme entered data from 30,000 pages manually into a database, because the government did not want to release the data in electronic form, only on paper. A Dutch newspaper entered data from paper forms

about hundreds of hotels where there were outbreaks of veterans' disease into a database for further analysis. Sweden, Norway and Finland have relatively solid Freedom of Information Acts, but even in these countries access to complete electronic datasets is often much more difficult than to paper documents or to individual electronic records. No European country can compete with the United States in access to government data sets.

Apart from preconditions at a national or societal level, investigative journalists have to deal with the state of affairs in the newsroom. Very little research has been conducted on this topic, even in the United States. The limited research available covers one country only, but offers some notions that seem viable in the rest of Europe as well.

Torbjörn von Krogh, currently the editor of the biweekly Swedish media magazine *Pressens Tidning*, did a survey in the nineties among reporters and editors, mainly at newspapers and broadcast media. Editors were asked what they considered the main obstacles for investigative journalism at their medium. The most frequent answer was that there were no reporters with the right skills and attitudes. Obviously investigative reporting in their eyes had to start with the reporter. Second in frequency was that the paper had no suitable organisation. Only third came lack of time and money.

The editors were asked what drove investigative projects. The most frequent answer was the attitude of the reporter involved. The attitude of the reporter turned out to be the more important at newspapers that did not have a strong tradition in investigative journalism. Here they had to deal with internal resistance as well as with the difficulties of the investigation themselves.

In the reporters' replies 'more budget' took a position way down the list. They mentioned the need to reallocate budgets much more often than bigger budgets. But they agreed with the editors that the reporters' own attitude was the most important factor.

When media with a reported investigative tradition were compared with media without such a tradition striking differences occurred. From the 'digging newsrooms' every respondent answered that the particular newsroom had a creative staff; in the 'non-digging newsrooms' this was only ten percent. In the 'digging newsrooms' every respondent answered that reporters enjoyed much freedom, 'non-digging newsrooms' this was 35 percent. After 'creativity and freedom', the most striking difference between digging and non-digging newsrooms was the editorial management. In the digging newsrooms the management was considered stronger, more competent and less authoritarian than in the non-digging newsrooms.

Freedom for reporters to wander about, the ability to explore a topic for a period of time before it is clear whether it will in fact become a story, was mentioned by our respondents in several countries as a factor that contributed to an investigating tradition – such as in Norway, Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands – while the lack of such freedom was considered an obstacle to investigative journalism – such as in Finland and Turkey.

No relation whatsoever could be shown between whether the medium was in good shape financially and whether it had an investigative tradition. Of course wealthy media can invest more money in investigations than poor media, but whether they do it or not is quite another matter. ‘This study cannot show that there is any positive relation between financial situation and investigative practice’, Von Krogh reports. On the contrary, he found that investigative journalism tended to be more substantial in newsrooms in bad financial shape than in those in good financial shape. Possibly the ones in bad shape felt more need to compete, and considered conducting investigations a way to do that.

Furthermore, in cross-border comparisons it is difficult to describe any relation between size or budget and investigative tradition. Some of the most famous centres of investigative journalism in Europe – the BBC and *Der Spiegel* – are indeed big and rich. But there are many examples of sizeable, affluent media with no marked tradition in investigative journalism, and many more examples of small or poor media that do have such a tradition. Danish national newspapers have circulations between 100,000 and 200,000 – small, according to international standards. Yet they all have a strong investigative tradition, more so than their much bigger Swedish, Italian or Austrian equivalents. Several Swedish regional newspapers have built an investigative tradition in recent years, although their circulation is only in the ten thousands range. Their much bigger French equivalents do not have any such tradition.

In the Netherlands the VVOJ has marked big differences among both national and regional newspapers in the interests that they showed in the activities of the association. Some send several participants to each conference for instance; some have never sent anyone. But the association sees no relation with the papers’ circulation or budget.

Whether journalists are able and willing to do investigative work not only depends on preconditions in the newsroom or in society at large, but also on personal skills, character and education. These vary within countries, but even more between countries.

Whereas journalism was a trade that used to be learned on-the-job, higher education of some kind has become the standard in most countries nowadays. This may be a degree in journalism, but the

profession remains open to practitioners with different backgrounds. Language and literature, law and history tend to be popular. A background in science or economics is rare.

More than in initial education of journalists, countries tend to differ in the degree in which journalists attend some kind of mid-career training, or take part in seminars, conferences or brief courses. This is quite common in the Nordic countries. In Sweden, Norway and Denmark, most journalists are entitled to a certain number of training days a year by collective labour agreements. Such formal rights to further training were not found in any other country.

There seems to be a clear relation between the extent that journalists take part in further training and the degree they apply new methods in their jobs, like computer-assisted reporting. CAR skills are more common where journalists receive more training.

Offering courses to working journalists on the appropriate level is not easy. In an earlier VVOJ research project Dutch journalists complained about the brief courses offered by journalism schools. One major newspaper publisher concluded that it was better to organise one's own courses. In the Scandinavian countries a special institute, not related to one of the country's journalism schools, typically offers mid-career training. Apparently the general feeling is that such institutes are better able to tailor courses to the standards that working journalists and their employers require. Most European countries do not have such institutes.

Management

As noted above, newsroom management is one of the factors that influence whether there is investigative reporting at a particular medium, and how it is being conducted. We saw that styles of newsroom management differ substantially throughout Europe, from hierarchic to coaching, from controlling to enabling. With respect to investigative journalism six different models can be distinguished for relations between newsroom management and investigative journalism.

The examples that are given below usually refer to newspapers, because newspapers have many variables in their editorial organisation. Magazines are often too small for that, and radio and television are organised along different lines. Where newspapers have spot news, current affairs and in-depth reporting in one organisation, broadcast media usually divide them over different programmes, one for each type of information. In this context stimulating or frustrating investigative reporting often means starting a new programme, killing it, or changing the formula of an existing programme.

1. The newsroom management actively frustrates investigative journalism. Editors do not give reporters any time to investigate a topic in depth. Even if reporters do the investigation in their own time, the resulting article may never reach the pages, because the editor does not want it published.

Reasons for the editor to bar investigative work from publication may be political, commercial or personal. Political motives typically play a role in party-affiliated media. And in countries where the government exerts a strong influence over the media, editors may have political motives to bar stories, not least because publishing may land them in trouble. The most obvious commercial reason for an editor to kill a story is his fear that it will repel or frighten advertisers, either the particular company that is subject of the story, or advertisers in general. Media with only a few advertisers and a small market are most sensitive to this kind of pressure. A personal reason not to run an investigative story may be that the story involves friends of other personal relations of the editor. This is relatively often the case in small communities and in societies with a relatively closed elite of which the editor is a member.

These types of obstruction have been reported in our country reports especially from Turkey. They are also common with broadcast media in Italy. Reporters at smaller local and regional media in various countries – Poland, Portugal and Finland – have to deal with such problems, too, albeit to a lesser extent. But where investigations may lead to substantial personal trouble for the reporter in Turkey and Italy, this is much less the case in the other countries mentioned.

Strong external (political) pressure on media is commonplace in Russia and Ukraine as well, but here reporters and editors seem to be on the same side more often than in Turkey, having to cope with the external pressure together.

2. The newsroom management tolerates investigative journalism. Editors do not give reporters any time to investigate a topic in-depth, but if the reporter does the investigation in his own time, the resulting article is published.

This model is abundant throughout Europe. It occurs under two different sets of circumstances. First, it happens wherever editors have never given investigative journalism any serious thought, for instance because ‘our sort of media’ in that country have no tradition of investigative work, an attitude found in small local media in most countries. Then, it happens where editors think it would be nice to have investigative stories, but do not see how they can provide the budget or the time to produce them. In the latter case it is not relevant whether the editor’s judgement is correct or not: if he thinks he has no budget, then he does not allocate the funds for the project.

This model also describes how investigative journalism usually starts in a particular newsroom: an eager reporter uses his weekends and evenings to investigate a subject, and only tells his boss the moment he has a story. If this occurs a couple of times, a changeover to the next model may be possible. In the country report on Germany several examples from regional media are mentioned where this happened.

3. The newsroom management stimulates investigative journalism. Editors are in a position to give reporters time to investigate a topic in-depth. Investigative stories often get a good place in the newspaper, for instance on the front page.

This is the model where the editor is convinced that investigative journalism is good for the newspaper, the magazine or the programme; but he does not have the means or the skills to guarantee an ongoing production of investigative stories. He relies entirely on the reporters and the ideas they come up with. If a reporter has a good plan for an investigation, he can do it. Of course there may be constraints in time and money, depending on the newsroom budget and tradition. Nevertheless, investigative stories are being produced on a more or less regular basis.

The weak spot in this model is that it all depends on the reporter(s). Often this model grows out of a situation as described under the previous model, starting with one eager reporter. But what happens when this reporter leaves for a job elsewhere? The whole tradition may then be gone. Leaning on reporters' initiative may prove fragile in such cases.

Examples of this model are mentioned in the reports on Germany and Switzerland, as well as regional media in Norway. It can also be found on a regular basis in Ireland, Finland, Poland, Bulgaria and the Netherlands, and with individual media elsewhere. It typically requires ambitious reporters. According to some country reports this type of reporter is becoming rare among younger generations, like in Portugal and Denmark. If this happens before a solid investigative policy has been developed, the investigative fire may be extinguished.

4. The newsroom management has an investigative policy. In the lightest form this policy implies that the editor picks one or more reporters and tells them to do investigative work more or less exclusively. That is where the policy ends. The direct responsibility for the investigations now lies with these reporters, not with the editor.

There is a crucial difference between this model and the next two on the one hand, and the previous ones on the other hand. In the previous models investigative reporting is the initiative of reporters. If a reporter leaves or quits investigating, there is no investigation left. But in this model and the next two, if an investigative reporter leaves, he will be

replaced, either by giving the task to someone else in the newsroom, or by hiring a new investigative reporter.

This model is common at national newspapers all over Western Europe and Poland, as well as at the bigger regional newspapers in Scandinavia, Germany and the Netherlands.

5. The newsroom management has an investigative policy. In its stronger form this policy implies that the editor creates a special desk or department for investigative work. This desk has its own chief. The direct responsibility for the investigations now lies with this chief, not with the editor. The editorial commitment is more substantial than in the previous model, but the responsibility is still at the lower levels.

In this model there is a clear and strong but abstract management commitment to investigative reporting. 'Abstract' means that the editor is committed to investigative journalism as such, whatever the subjects of the stories may be. In this model, the initiatives for stories often come from reporters and there is no common agenda as to what type of subject is important and should be given priority. After the strategic decision to make people available for investigations, *laissez-faire* rules. As in the previous model, if an investigative reporter leaves or lands a new job in the newsroom, someone else takes his place.

Such a strong commitment to investigative journalism occurs, or used to occur, at major national newspapers in Scandinavia, Britain, Spain and the Netherlands. It can also be found with weekly news magazines in Germany and France, as well as with many television and some radio programmes with an investigative formula.

6. The newsroom management has an investigative policy. In the strongest form this policy implies that any reporter may do investigative work. This is complicated, because it is obvious that not all can investigate at the same time. Some reporters have to do the daily news reporting. This model implies a careful planning of resources, which is a responsibility of the (managing) editor himself. He is actively involved in deciding who is digging, when, and into what.

Particular to this model is that investigative reporting is often teamwork, but that reporters also team up with different colleagues for different projects, depending on the required set of skills and sources. Some of these reporters will often be involved in investigative work, others only occasionally. This is an important difference with the previous model, in which the same reporters do all the investigations, and teamwork usually involves the same people every time.

This model is the rarest, probably because the required management skills are rare. It has been reported from Sweden, Norway and the

Netherlands. Notice that it does not necessarily require big budgets. Because ‘anyone’ may investigate, the number of reporters actually investigating at a given moment may vary from zero to many. This makes it suitable for smaller media as well. There is for instance, a Swedish regional newspaper with a newsroom staff of about forty, dispersed over several locations, that has a chief of investigations, but no dedicated investigative reporters. It is this chief’s task to free reporters that run into a story with investigative potential from their daily tasks, maybe teaming them up with a more experienced colleague, or supporting them with knowledge and skills. It is a relatively cheap and flexible setup, but it requires continuous management attention.

The sequence of these six models of newsroom management is not arbitrary. The six models represent six steps up a ladder of maturity and professionalism. That does not mean that every step up necessarily leads to better investigative journalism, but it does offer better guarantees that in the first place there will be investigative journalism. In the first models it is entirely up to individual reporters, and therefore pretty much a matter of coincidence whether any investigative work is done and if so, on what topics.

Every step up introduces greater complexity. In the first stages the number of people involved is small – usually only a reporter and an editor – and their relation is clear and hierarchic. Higher up, more people become involved and their relations become more ambiguous. Instead of a newsroom ruled by orders, one gets a newsroom ruled by negotiations. This sort of complexity is more difficult to manage than simply saying yes or no in a hierarchic relation. It requires more advanced skills of the newsroom management.

Developing these skills may be difficult, but it certainly brings advantages. In a newsroom where any reporter can get the opportunity to do an investigation, the choice of topics to investigate is of course much wider: more people involved appeal to more different interests and a wider range of sources. A natural consequence of a larger pool of potential investigators is that investigative journalism will receive more support in the newsroom. Envy of colleagues that do larger projects will probably decrease or even disappear if any reporter can do such projects. And, since journalism is a profession in which experience plays an important role, every time a reporter takes part in an investigative project, investigative skills are spread wider in the newsroom. But to facilitate all this is a paramount management challenge.

Newsrooms differ not only in their styles of management, but also in the level of hierarchy. In general, hierarchy in Scandinavia, the Netherlands and Portugal is low. Individual reporters have a reasonable freedom to pursue their own stories in Ireland, the United Kingdom and France, though these countries show more differentiation between reporters and

editors. The freedom to pursue a story exists also in Switzerland and Austria, but these countries do have a well-defined hierarchy in the newsroom. In Finland, Poland and Spain, hierarchy in the newsroom is more strict: editors are more involved in decisions on what story leads should be picked up. This is even more so in Germany, Italy and Turkey.

This has consequences for investigative journalism. In countries with low levels of newsroom hierarchy reporters can decide for themselves whether a story is worth investing more time in. This may lead to bottom-up investigative projects. If management decisions are necessary to free up enough time for even the beginning of an investigation, investigative projects tend to be created top-down, and this only works if an editor is committed to investigative reporting. This is sometimes the case in Germany, rarely in Italy, and almost never in Turkey.

Leaving all issues of freedom to operate aside, even in the Scandinavian countries most investigative journalists invest a lot of unpaid hours into their projects. Maybe this is even the logical consequence of the freedom to wander: because of their freedom, reporters consider investigative projects ‘their’ projects and they see it as their responsibility to produce results. Restricting reporters’ freedom to wander may as well lead to reluctance to spend hours beyond the normal working days. The willingness of reporters to invest time of their own is certainly one of the factors that drive investigative journalism in a particular country. In some countries, such as Finland and Belgium, reporters seem more reluctant to invest time of their own.

Journalism culture

In this chapter so far, we have stayed relatively close to the findings as they were described in the country reports. In this and the next section we shall widen our view a bit. As a consequence these sections will be of a somewhat more speculative nature. They raise questions, and only give hints of where the answers may lie – not because we don’t want to tell, but because we don’t know, at least not yet, and not with sufficient certainty. Additional research is required to formulate more solid answers.

In the introduction we compared journalism to several similar intellectual traditions, in order to formulate a definition that would sufficiently distinguish journalism from these. The three most important ‘neighbours’ are literature, politics and science. In a philosophical sense they stand for beauty, morale and truth respectively. Journalism has a bit of all three and may thus be positioned somewhere in the triangle formed by the three related disciplines.

But not all journalism is the same. Some media stress high-quality writing or beautiful filming more than others, some have clearer moral or political ambitions than others, and to some the quest for truth is

more dominant than to others. Media are different from each other in this respect, and so are countries. If one would plot all the media in a particular country through dots representing their relative position in the triangle, in some countries the cloud of media dots would be in the literature corner, while in other countries the cloud would be found more in the political or in the scientific corner.

American newspapers started to keep more distance from politics around 1860, writes William Borden in his dissertation *Power Plays – A Comparison Between Swedish and American Press Policies*. This process was more or less completed half a century later. In Sweden newspapers moved in the opposite direction that period. Here a party press developed, where each newspaper was closely connected to, or even owned by, a political party. In 1910, at the heyday of the party press, 98 percent of all newspapers were affiliated with a political party. All Scandinavian countries saw the development of a party press.

In the Netherlands this process started later: only in the twentieth century did it become common for newspapers and magazines to be the voice of political parties. In the final decades of the nineteenth century reporting was the core activity for publications such as *De Controleur* and *De Baanbreker* – the latter edited by the socialist leader Pieter Jelles Troelstra; only after the foundation of the socialist party in 1895 did *De Baanbreker* become a party-affiliated publication that filled its columns with speeches of party leaders. *De Controleur* also changed its formula to essays and polemics.

In Spain after the fall of the Franco regime in 1975 the major newspapers affiliated themselves with political parties, *El País* with the socialist PSOE and, later, *El Mundo* – established in 1989 – with the conservative PP. In Germany and France major newspapers have a clear political profile, though not necessarily linked to one particular party. In the United Kingdom it is not unusual for newspapers actively to support a politician or a party, but this support holds no guarantees for the future. *The Sun* for instance, the country's biggest newspaper in circulation, supported conservative leader Margaret Thatcher vigorously, but later changed sides to back labour leader Tony Blair.

When American newspapers substituted political affiliations for editorial independence this had consequences for their political reporting. After all, they still were the major channels for politicians wanting to reach a wider public. Newspapers started reporting views from both parties on equal footing. Reporters themselves were not expected to express their own views: they were 'only' reporters and did not represent any social movement, organisation or party. Their task was to report on the debate, not to participate in it. This did not happen at all papers at the same time of course, but the separation of fact and comment gradually gained ground.

In the twentieth century the ideal of independence started to evolve into an ideal of objectivity, Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel suggest in *The Elements of Journalism*. The idea was not that journalists would be objective. On the contrary, it was a consequence of the recognition that they were not. Objectivity would have to be guaranteed by the method of information gathering, for instance by hearing both sides, by being open about one's sources, by avoiding slanted writing. Objectivity is a process.

In their book *Custodians of Conscience*, James Ettema and Theodore Glasser connect this emergence of objectivity in the American press in the first decades of the twentieth century with the rise of science as a force in society. Of course science itself is much older, but in the progressive era advice from scientists began to play a more important role in politics and in society as a whole. 'The ideal of objectively reported fact allows journalists, like scientists, to position themselves and their work as value-free.' In the triangle formed by literature, politics and science, journalism moved to the science corner.

In many European countries the same evolution occurred, but much, much later. In the Scandinavian countries the party press began to fall apart in the sixties and seventies. In the Netherlands political engagement was still common in journalism in the seventies, but the newspapers were beginning to cut their ties with political parties. The two papers with the clearest party affiliations, the socialist *Het Vrije Volk* and the communist *De Waarheid*, disappeared, the first through a merger with a regional paper in 1991, the second closed down due to lack of subscribers in 1990.

The emergence of objectivity as a journalistic ideal in the United States in the 1920s did not mean that critique of the government or political debate in general was to be banned from the paper. On the contrary, a special place was created for such critique and debate: the op-ed pages. Fact and comment were given their own pages in the newspaper.

Subsequently it lasted several decades until new forms of critique had been developed that could find their way to the news pages. In the type of investigative reporting that emerged in the sixties government agencies were often the wrongdoers: reporters measured what the agencies did against the government's own rules, and thereby avoided having to take a normative position in the debate. Implicitly they took a position at a philosophically more abstract level: by confronting an agency with the rules it was supposed to abide by, the reporters criticised hypocrisy, and found themselves on relatively safe ground since nobody was actually advocating hypocrisy.

One may consider this as a social innovation, which, once it had been developed, could be copied relatively easy and quickly in other

countries. The Scandinavian countries were the first to adopt this invention on a broad scale, followed by many other European countries in the final decades of the twentieth century.

Radio and television are organised along entirely different lines in Europe than in the United States. They are not commercial ventures, like most newspapers, but usually organisations controlled by the state. Commercial broadcasting became common on the European continent only towards the end of the eighties. In Britain this happened a few decades earlier.

There are two models for state-controlled broadcast media: they either support the government in power, whatever its political signature happens to be, or they are 'neutral'. Both models occur. Turkey and the Eastern European countries may provide the clearest examples of the first model; the United Kingdom (BBC) provides a textbook example of the latter, but public broadcasters in France and Germany are tied to a position of neutrality towards politics, too.

Relations between journalism and politics, as well as those between fact and comment in the media, have consequences for investigative journalism. Looking at the motives of investigative journalists one could divide them into three categories: political, personal and professional. These categories are ideal types: these are the 'pure' categories in a world where motives often have elements of two or even all three of them. But describing the ideal types helps understand how journalism works and how evolution in journalism takes place.

Political motives are usually embedded in the medium or programme itself. Investigations are often part of a political campaign, or are at least meant to harm political opponents. This happens to some extent in all countries where media have political affiliations. One of the most obvious current examples in Europe is Spain. *El País* had developed quite a tradition in investigative journalism, but had a difficult time when there were scandals enveloping the socialist party and its leaders, which the newspaper had supported for two decades. It was 'open season' for its competitor, *El Mundo*, affiliated to the conservative party. In such situations journalistic competition is not only about facts, but also about the political consequences.

Publishing with a view to (political) consequences rather than publishing simply to reveal the facts as they are does not end when formal ties between media and parties are cut. One may find this mechanism all over Europe, but in some countries much more than in others. In cases where media have limited access to information, or limited resources to conduct substantial investigations by themselves, they are easily manipulated by sources that leak documents that discredit particular persons or organisations. Silvio Waisbord in his book

Watchdog Journalism in South America coins the Spanish term *denuncismo* for this kind of journalism: 'Denuncismo is a debased form of investigative journalism that features little independent investigations and depend on the cultivation of informers.'

Denuncismo is not restricted to South America. The publication of *kompromat* in Russia and Ukraine, and similar processes in Austria, Bulgaria and Spain, belong to the same category. In its most extreme form the media thus become an instrument in the battles between various political, administrative, or business elites. In less extreme forms the media maintain a more independent position and do more substantive investigations, but always keep an eye on the political effects publication may have.

Personal motives occur where the media have given up political positions, but have not (yet) taken up professional positions. In situations where these motives prevail, investigations are usually solo work, and investigative journalists are often either freelancers or stray individuals in a newsroom that does not give them much support. Investigative journalism is the domain of the 'lone hunters'.

This is often how a more independent form of critical and investigative journalism starts. The muckrakers in early twentieth century America were obvious examples. Sweden had several renowned 'lone hunters' in the seventies and early eighties, Germany had some – Günter Wallraff was the most famous: his book *Ganz Unten* was translated into more than thirty languages – and examples can still be found in various countries. In Italy for instance, many important investigative journalists operate mainly outside of the mainstream media. They publish their stories primarily in books.

Sometimes newsrooms have their own 'lone hunter'. Investigative journalism traditions may then remain embodied in this reporter, and die when he leaves. But a successful 'lone hunter' may also be the beginning of the institutionalisation of investigative journalism, the catalyst of a professionalisation process. Several investigative units were developed around such a pioneer. This is what was described in the section on management as going from stimulating an investigative reporter (model 3) to drawing up an investigative policy (model 4).

Professional motives are usually embedded in the medium or programme itself, where this has given up its political affiliations and assumed a new, 'objective' position in the discourse in society. Here the aim for political effect has – at least formally – gone. The media report what the public should know. Whether it will have political repercussions is then up to the public, and the media remain neutral in this respect. This type of journalism has obtained a more reflexive role in society.

Political, personal and professional motives are not just different, but they also form an evolutionary path. Political motives have played their part everywhere. They still exist, but their role has decreased, especially in Northern Europe, and to a somewhat lesser extent in Western and Southern Europe. Personal and professional motives have replaced them in part. Getting rid of political and personal motives for conducting investigations and for publishing stories is an important step in the professionalisation process of journalists.

David Weaver has done thought-provoking research into motives of individual journalists. He coordinated such research from various countries and published the results in *The Global Journalist*. Only a few European countries are covered in this book, but the differences are not less striking. In Britain and Finland almost 90 percent of the journalists that were surveyed said it was very or extremely important to be a watchdog on government. Does that sound obvious? Britain and Finland scored the highest of all 16 countries where this question was asked. Journalists in France and Germany don't think that is obvious at all: here between 30 and 40 percent said it was very or extremely important to be a watchdog on government. Poland was in between with 56 percent.

In Germany and Finland between 70 and 80 percent said it is very or extremely important to report accurately or objectively. In Britain only 30 percent supported this view. British journalists *do* feel they should provide analysis, just like their colleagues in Finland, Germany and Poland. Here the French are the exception: only 40 percent says it is important to provide analysis, against 70 to 100 percent in the four aforementioned countries.

There is still much work to do to relate these individual attitudes to the actual journalism practices in these countries.

Organisations

Journalism organisations date back to the nineteenth century. However, these organisations mainly focused on wages, ethics, or freedom of the press, hardly on journalistic methodology. Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) in the United States was the first professional association of journalists focussing on how to do investigations in journalism. The association was founded in 1975 and is now a flourishing organisation with about five thousand members and a substantial professional staff that organises dozens of seminars and conferences throughout the United States every year.

IRE has served as an example for similar initiatives elsewhere in the early nineties, mainly in the Nordic countries and in Mexico. Gradually more international exchange of information developed. International

seminars and conferences for journalists were organised, for instance by the European Journalism Centre in Maastricht and by City University in London (the NetMedia conferences, now an independent organisation).

The first Global Investigative Journalism Conference in Copenhagen in 2001, organised by IRE, the Danish association of investigative journalists FUJ and the Danish institute for computer assisted reporting DICAR, was a breakthrough in the sense that – inspired by this conference – more associations of investigative journalists were founded, for example in the Netherlands and Flanders, and in Germany. Also in some Central and Eastern European countries organisations of investigative journalists emerged. During the second Global Investigative Journalism Conference in 2003 these likeminded organisations formed a worldwide network. The idea that investigative journalism is something you can learn, especially from colleagues, had gained ground, from Finland to Spain, from the Philippines to Brazil.

But how solidly it gained ground differs very much from country to country. Such a global conference generates enthusiasm. But that is not enough to get an organisation started, as experience shows in Switzerland and France. There, attempts to found such organisations failed for various reasons, basically because people were not able or willing to spend enough time on them. Currently a new initiative is being developed in France. In Britain, too, an attempt to found an association of investigative journalists failed, in 1999. But from many other countries – for instance Spain, Portugal, Austria and Italy – nothing is known of attempts to found associations.

Journalists in some Central and Eastern European countries have proved to be more successful, since organisations of investigative journalists are active in Bulgaria, Romania, Latvia, Croatia and other Balkan countries. Some of this work is supported substantially from abroad, both with money and knowledge.

Competition or downright animosity between investigative journalists sometimes makes it difficult for them to cooperate. Our country researchers reported clear animosity among journalists from different media in the United Kingdom, Belgium and Germany. It is not very clear where this comes from. In the UK there is fierce competition because of newsstand sales of newspapers – that at least makes animosity somewhat understandable – but this is not the case in Belgium and Germany.

The German association *Netzwerk Recherche* is more oriented towards debate and less towards sharing knowledge about methods of investigation than its American, Nordic and Dutch/Flemish counterparts. The number of Germans that attend international conferences on investigative journalism is much smaller than the

number of Danes, Swedes or Norwegians, even though Germany has nine to sixteen times as many inhabitants as these countries. It would require more specific research to find out why this is the case. Earlier we concluded that German journalists were less open to professional innovations like computer-assisted reporting than their Nordic colleagues.

Windows of opportunity

If there is no freedom of the press, investigative journalism is difficult to deploy. Sometimes, in some countries, freedom of the press develops gradually. But in other cases sudden leaps forward take place, like in Germany and Austria after the fall of the Nazi regime in 1945, in Portugal and Spain in 1974 and 1975, after the fall of the Caetano and Franco regimes, and in many Central and Eastern European countries after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. It is interesting to compare the experiences in these cases.

In Germany and Austria the American occupying forces interfered intensively with media politics. In Austria they even founded one of the leading newspapers. The Americans did bring popular journalism, but not investigative journalism: the latter was not a tradition current at American newspapers in the forties and fifties. In Spain and Portugal there was hardly any foreign interference in the seventies. The Spanish and Portuguese people had to find their own way onto the path of democracy and free press. In Central and Eastern Europe there is a lot of foreign activity, both in the sense of media ownership and in the form of training and support for journalists – the latter funded by Western European governments, the European Union and American and Western European non-profit organisations like George Soros' Open Society Institute.

Journalistic and commercial press freedom often arrive at the same time, though not necessarily with the same speed and impact. In Portugal, for instance, (investigative) journalism quickly flourished after the Carnation revolution in 1974. Newspapers developed largely independently from politics. However, newspapers were small and commercially not very strong. Portugal did not have a tradition of newspaper reading: readership is among the lowest in Europe. As a result, circulations remained small. In the nineties commercial powers gradually gained strength by mergers, with relatively little public-supported editorial countervailing power. Investigative journalism has been losing momentum since then.

In Spain at the same time, the new paper *El País* considered itself together with the socialist party PSOE bearers of the new democracy. The paper gained a strong position, albeit at a price that only became

clear when socialist party leaders got involved in scandals. Not only is the Spanish market bigger, but readership in Spain has become substantially higher than in Portugal, implying that the Spanish press is less sensitive to commercial pressure, because there is more circulation support to counter that. It is too early to judge whether the major Spanish newspapers will go the Scandinavian way and end their affiliation with political parties, or develop into other directions.

In Poland regional newspapers are by their small size sensitive to commercial pressure, which is in this case an obstacle to investigative journalism. The national newspapers in this country are big enough not to have to worry about that. On the other hand, some of them are still stuck with political affiliations, but these offer more opportunities for investigative journalism.

It takes time to develop independent investigative journalism. Political and commercial restraints may make this difficult or impossible. Whether journalists succeed may in particular cases depend on the speed with which the political grip on the media loosens and the speed with which the commercial grip tightens. In this window of opportunity journalists have to secure their positions.

This is not only the case after the demise of dictatorial regimes. After the party press fell apart in Sweden and Norway, there were many relatively strong newspapers, supported by a very high readership. Journalists had enough time to develop new professional standards before newspapers could become the plaything of commerce. Once such standards are established, and supported by an organised community of professionals, they are likely to survive, even if the press becomes more commercial.

This offers hope to countries like Bulgaria and Romania, where investigative journalism has managed to organise oneself. On the other hand, it remains to be seen whether the independent investigative journalism that has been developed in these countries is viable without foreign support.

Europe versus the United States

There is no European journalism, comparable to American journalism. In scholarly literature, journalism in France and in the United Kingdom, and to a lesser extent in Sweden, Germany and Spain, have been compared to that in the United States. Our research shows that none of these countries is in any way representative for Europe when it comes to current journalism culture and practice. Journalism in Europe is simply too diverse to capture in such a one-to-one comparison.

Implications and recommendations

This research gives – for the first time – an overview of the various investigative journalism traditions in Europe. That in itself is important. But there are practical implications, too: for journalists who have investigative ambitions or aim to cooperate with foreign colleagues, for media and newsroom managers that want more investigative journalism, but do not know how to achieve that, for journalism organisations that seek to share knowledge with regard to investigative methods and skills, and for scholarly research on journalism.

Implications for individual reporters

The most obvious trap to fall into when starting a joint project with a foreign colleague is assuming that he will work and think in about the same way. Our research shows that for many country pairs it is much more likely that reporters from two countries will differ greatly in the position they hold in the newsroom – for instance with regard to the level of autonomy they enjoy; in the values they hold on what is most important in journalism; and in the methods they usually apply in their investigations. This can easily become an obstacle to further cooperation. And even if there are no problems, it will at least be necessary to discuss these topics to avoid being surprised by the foreign colleague's unexpected and unusual behaviour. Attending an international conference or seminar and having a beer together may certainly help, although the journalists that attend these conferences are – in most countries – by no means representative for all journalists.

In countries with a low level of newsroom hierarchy reporters may be able to arrange international cooperation all by themselves. A Dutchman seeking cooperation with a Norwegian can deal directly with the reporter and trust that his colleague will be able to arrange things in his own organisation. This will generally not be the case if the attempted cooperation involves a reporter from a country with a high level of hierarchy in the newsroom. Here the editor involved will have to be convinced, and it might even be necessary for the Dutch reporter's editor to take up contact with his foreign colleague: after all, they can do business at the same level. But this is a hypothesis: as far as we know there is no research whatsoever into such cases of cooperation. Moreover, such cooperation is in itself rare.

Access to documents and data differs very much throughout Europe. Whereas one phone call to an agency may suffice in Sweden to get a particular document, such a document may in Switzerland be impossible to obtain, while in France a lunch with the right source may be the most obvious way to go. Such differences make it difficult to do investigations

in another country. Cross-border cooperation among journalists will open doors that otherwise will certainly remain closed.

Implications for editors and media

One of the most important conclusions from this research is that investigative journalism is not a matter of budgets. Lack of funds is often used as an excuse by editors in various countries to explain why they do very little investigative reporting. This is not a valid argument. Both within countries and in cross-country comparisons there are no obvious relations between budgets and investigative journalism. Some small and poor media are very active; some big and rich media are not. Of course big budgets may support big projects. But most investigations do not require years of work or travel all over the globe. The most relevant stories are often the nearest, and therefore the cheapest. It is all a matter of setting priorities and of organising. That does require management skills, and they are certainly not well developed in newsrooms.

Especially Swedish research shows that newsrooms with non-authoritarian management and a tradition of stimulating creativity generate more investigative journalism. This is because creative newsrooms with non-authoritarian managers are more likely to accept risks. That is essential in developing investigative journalism, because investigative projects always involve risks: risks that one does not obtain the right information, risks that there is no story, or that the story was not worth the effort, and the risks that personal or legal conflicts may arise from the publication. Newsrooms that wish to avoid all these risks have only one choice: never get involved in any investigative project.

Another important implication for editors is that they should send their reporters to international journalism conferences and seminars where they can meet foreign colleagues. An international network of colleagues may turn invaluable when one needs information from other countries. Assistance from a foreign colleague is – in many cases – not only much cheaper, but also much more effective than trying to obtain the information oneself, especially if one does not speak the language. But cold-calling an unknown colleague with a complicated request rarely works, so previous acquaintance will definitively help.

Implications for journalism organisations

In 2003 the Global Investigative Journalism Network was established, a network of independent organisations from various countries that support investigative journalism. In 2005 the Global Investigative Journalism Conference was held for the third time, this time in Amsterdam, with a record number of over four hundred participants. In several additional countries initiatives emerge to found associations of

investigative journalists or to organise international investigative journalism events. That in itself is encouraging and good for investigative journalism.

Thus far, cultural differences have not played a major role in these international events. This is understandable, as they have been dominated by Americans and Scandinavians, whose journalism cultures are relatively close to each other. But participants from the major European news markets – Germany, the United Kingdom and France – are remarkably under-represented or even absent at these events. Whereas one might presume a language barrier for the French and to a lesser extent for the Germans, this is definitely not the case for the British. Yet, they do not attend. Our research gives a hint why. Journalism culture in these countries is sufficiently different from that in the United States and Scandinavia for journalists from these countries not to feel attracted to these events. That does not mean this gap cannot be bridged, but this will require specific initiatives that take cultural differences into account.

The gap with Central and Eastern European countries has been easier to bridge, because journalists in these countries had little tradition to build upon in the nineties. Then, there was substantial funding available to involve them into international investigative journalism events and networks. But it is striking that journalists from the Central European country with the strongest national journalism tradition – Poland – hardly participate.

In an earlier VVOJ research project – published in English as *Investigative Journalism in the US and Sweden – Lessons to the Low Countries* – it was made clear that Europeans can learn from the American experience in the professionalisation of journalism, but that they cannot copy it. They have to translate it, and that is much more than a change of tongue. To stimulate that process in the rest of Europe is a major challenge for the Global Investigative Journalism Network.

Implications for research on journalism

In the introduction several authors were quoted saying that there is relatively little research on journalism. And most of the research that exists concerns American journalism, which is by no means representative of journalism in other parts of the world, such as Europe. We lack data on the development of journalism in various countries, and we lack theories for fruitful comparative research.

An additional problem is that the little research that is available on other countries than the United States or the United Kingdom is often published in the local language. Not only does this make it inaccessible to many, it is even worse: it makes it irretrievable, as most search

systems allow the use of only one language. It is great that there is a PhD thesis about investigative journalism in Finland. It is a pity that it is in Finnish. It is great that there is a book about exposing journalism in the Netherlands. It is a pity that it is in Dutch. More of these examples could be mentioned. Maybe the Global Investigative Journalism Network could take the initiative to create a multi-lingual list of references to literature about investigative journalism. Making the most important findings available in English would then be a next step. That way we can all learn from each other. There are too many valuable experiences lying around in Europe to be simply ignored.

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Part four:

Example Projects

Austria

PROJECT: The end of World War II in Retzbach
MEDIUM: *Die Presse*
JOURNALIST: Wolfgang Freitag
DATE: 30 April 2005
DESCRIPTION: Over a period of several months, Freitag spoke with eyewitnesses of the war in the Austrian city of Retzbach, eighty kilometres north-west of Vienna. In this place the German army executed its deserters in 1945. It was also the place where some Jewish Austrians found refuge, and disappeared without a trace.

PROJECT: Serving the mafia
MEDIUM: *Falter*
JOURNALIST: Florian Klenk
DATE: July 2002
DESCRIPTION: Klenk unravelled the cooperation of Austrian civil servants of the interior ministry with members of the 'Eastern mafia'. He discovered patronage, bribing, illegal information exchange and illegal eavesdropping.

PROJECT: The army on sale
MEDIUM: *Die Presse*
JOURNALIST: Werner Beninger
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: Beninger discovered a long list of army material that will be sold to domestic and foreign buyers to improve the country's financial situation.

PROJECT: The Klagenfurt Stadion
MEDIUM: *Standard*
JOURNALIST: Johann Skocek
DATE: 2002/2003
DESCRIPTION: The new stadium in Klagenfurt is extraordinarily expensive. Sports-editor Skocek unravelled the web of building companies and politicians responsible.

PROJECT: The Rettberg millions
MEDIUM: *Format*
JOURNALIST: Hannes Reichmann
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: André Rettberg, a Dutch entrepreneur in Austria, put his chain of bookshops onto the stock exchange to finance his Internet experiments. Shortly after that going public, the company went bankrupt, at a loss of hundreds of millions for the stockowners. Reichmann revealed that Rettberg had taken 4.8 million euro of the initial public offering (IPO). Reichmann quoted the secret interrogation reports of Rettberg's arrested lawyer and held an interview with Rettberg in his hiding place.

PROJECT: Political espionage
MEDIUM: *Format* (and others)
JOURNALIST: Hannes Reichmann and others
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: One of the most serious espionage affairs in the country came to light in 2000. It was revealed that the right-wing FPÖ had been obtaining information from the secret service for years, which it used systematically to discredit political opponents and to promote racist sentiments. Reichmann and many colleagues unravelled this, while officials were investigating the affair.

PROJECT: Jörg Haider and his FPÖ
MEDIUM: *News*, and the book: *Haider: Schatten über Europa*
JOURNALIST: Kurt Kuch
DATE: 2000
DESCRIPTION: In a series of articles and in a book, Kuch unravelled the philosophy and methods of the right-populist party FPÖ.

Belgium

PROJECT: The Front National
MEDIUM: *La Libre Match*
JOURNALIST: Frédéric Loore
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: In this project, the small Belgian French-speaking extreme right party *Front National* (FN) is analysed. Who are its leaders? Where do they come from? What are the techniques they use? FN-president Daniel Féret appears to be in it, not only out of idealism, but also for the money. And so are his relatives, because the party pays several members of his family. Freelance *Libre Match* journalist Loore did a lot of research on the party and its members. He made a very comprehensible factual analysis.

PROJECT: Ghislenghien: the first reactions
MEDIUM: *Le Vif L' Express*
JOURNALIST: Philippe Lamotte
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: An explosion of a gas pipe in the Belgian village Ghislenghien in July 2004 caused 22 deaths. One month after the disaster, journalist Philippe Lamotte analysed the circumstances under which the explosion took place. He clearly describes the chain of events that led to the disaster, and points to those responsible. Lamotte does not look for scapegoats, but shows the human failure and negligence by the public service on all levels.

PROJECT: Outreau
MEDIUM: *TV5 (Fr)*
JOURNALIST: Georges Huercano-Hidalgo
DATE: April 2005
DESCRIPTION: A French investigative documentary made by a Belgian RTBF journalist, of the former *Au Nom de la Loi* team. In the French village Outreau, a paedophile ring was discovered in 2004. Children of one family had been abused by members of their family, but also by neighbours and villagers. There was a big scandal, but parts of the accusations appear false. Most of accused were acquitted after the trial. The trial in appeal should have begun in May 2005. Hidalgo's documentary in April by proved that two men, father and son, both suspects in the Outreau affair, were wrongly accused of paedophile acts by a simple confusion of names and a wrong interpretation of children's words. The documentary led to the post-ponement of the trial in appeal until the end of the year.

PROJECT: Free-fall
MEDIUM: Book: *In vrije val. Armoede in België*
JOURNALIST: Bart Demyttenaere
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: Belgium is a rich country, but nevertheless a substantial number of people live in poverty: thirteen percent, according to official statistics. The reporter set out to describe what poverty means in Belgium, and how people get into this situation. For his book he interviewed over fifty poor people extensively. This was sometimes hard, because many of them experienced difficulties making appointments and living up to them and they showed a clear distrust of the media. He accompanied some of his respondents for days in a row and experienced their daily lives. Among other things, he lived the life of a homeless person in Brussels for one week, 24 hours a day. He also talked to many sources that dealt with aspects of poverty in their profession, such as social workers and bailiffs. The project took approximately a year and a

half, and was financially supported by the *Fonds Pascal Decroos*, a foundation that supports investigative journalism.

PROJECT: Stock in arms
MEDIUM: *MO**
JOURNALIST: Kristof Clerix
DATE: November 2003
DESCRIPTION: A civil organisation called *Netwerk Vlaanderen* (Network Flanders) started an investigation into the relations between banks and the arms industry. *MO**, a monthly magazine on global issues, decided to cooperate with this organisation. *Netwerk Vlaanderen* supplied detailed and documented data, based on six months of research in all kinds of files and databases. On the basis of these data, the reporter carried out further investigations. The conclusion of the project was that the five leading Belgian banks had invested almost 1.5 billion euro in eleven arms producers. It was the first time the Belgian public was confronted with these activities of their banks and it gave rise to debates about ethics in banking, both in the media, in shareholders' meetings and in Parliament. As a result, three of the banks committed themselves to change their investment policy

PROJECT: The new elite
MEDIUM: *Trends*
JOURNALIST: Xavier Carbonez, Hans Brockmans
DATE: February 2004
DESCRIPTION: With support of the *Fonds Pascal Decroos*, one of the authors had the opportunity to further elaborate upon his Masters thesis on the history of the Flemish elite. He turned this into a journalistic venture. In close cooperation with an experienced financial reporter he revealed how the process of recruiting new members of the business elite in Flanders changed around the turn of the twenty-first century. The business elite had evolved from a traditional business – old families and the inner circles of the society salons – to a modern, competence and experience driven trade, in other words: from the change from *ancien regime* to a meritocracy. With the help of a computer scientist, they analysed the networks of the business elite and represented them in graphics. The analysis involved over two thousand top managers. The network model was built in such a way that it was possible to update it with new data in the future, so more stories may come out of it.

PROJECT: The men on the roof
MEDIUM: *Terzake*
JOURNALIST: Indra Dewitte
DATE: 4 March 2004
DESCRIPTION: Polish workers played an important role in the French debates that preceded the referendum on the EU-constitution. But even

before Poland became a member of the EU, and their citizens obtained a formal right to work in other Member States, Polish workers were active in Western Europe, also in Belgium. The reporter followed several leads, and found proof that even the government made use of the services of these workers through sub-contractors. She found campsites where the Poles lived, and where they received their wages in Polish currency. A tip-off after the first broadcast led to the most spectacular scoop: the journalist found out Polish workers were building the roof of the new Palace of Justice in Antwerp. The reporter convinced the social inspection to let them film a raid the inspection did at a building site. During the investigation, many legal aspects of the formal labour contracts of the Polish workers remained unclear, although it was obvious that some were clearly against the law, such as the provision that regulated the salaries that were under the legal minimum wage.

PROJECT: Imprisoned
MEDIUM: Book: *Insjallah, mevrouw*
JOURNALIST: Annemie Struyf, Lieve Blancquaert
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: A reporter and a photographer set out for Afghanistan to report on the living conditions of women in that country. Through interviews, reportage and documentary photo-graphy they revealed a world that usually remains hidden: the lives of teenage mothers, betrayed wives, but also of professional women like doctors and a prison director. The whole investigation was done undercover, because the reporters could not enter the country as journalists at that time. Several times they were forced to flee from situations because of possible arrests or even worse. They also had to deal with some resistance at the home front: both reporters are mothers of small children. But the most difficult part of the job proved to be talking extensively and in private with women in Afghanistan. Fonds Pascal Decroos supported the project financially.

PROJECT: Rack-rent landlords
MEDIUM: *Trends*
JOURNALIST: Hans Brockmans, Guido Muelenaer
DATE: December 2002
DESCRIPTION: An Antwerp neighbourhood group had collected information over a period of time about rack-rent landlords that were active in the area. Their information was the trigger for two reporters at the financial magazine *Trends* an in-depth survey of this kind of renting practices in Belgium's second largest city. In addition, they profiled some of the more important landlords who were involved in this kind of practices. They systematically checked the ownership of the properties and other data the neighbourhood group had collected with official sources such as the property register. This way the reporters produced a

longlist of potential rack-rent landlords. They visited about one hundred houses and talked to the people who lived there and with the neighbours, to find out what was going on in these houses. Finally, they confronted governmental agencies and the landlords themselves with their findings. Some wanted to talk, others did not. In addition, the reporters made a financial analysis of the phenomenon. The project was awarded the Dexia Prize for financial reporting in 2003.

PROJECT: Smoke over Rodin

MEDIUM: *Knack*

JOURNALIST: Marleen Teugels

DATE: May 2003

DESCRIPTION: The tobacco industry is among the most thoroughly researched business sectors in investigative journalism. This introduces a certain equality of arms: it is no longer one lonesome journalist against a powerful industry, because journalists may use much of the findings of their colleagues in other countries. This project was the first opportunity where a Dutch and a Flemish member of the Dutch-Flemish association of investigative journalists, the VVOJ, closely cooperated. The Flemish reporter also used documents that tobacco companies had made public in United States on court order. She made a reconstruction of the ties between the tobacco industry and the Rodin Foundation. This foundation is responsible for campaigns to stimulate people to quit smoking, drinking and gambling. By funding this private foundation the tobacco industry tried – successfully – to prevent large government-funded anti-smoking campaigns. The reporter was the first Belgian journalist to make use of the unused freedom of information legislation in the country. The Fonds Pascal Decroos supported the project financially.

Bulgaria

PROJECT: Was Dimitrov poisoned or not?

MEDIUM: *24 Chassa*

JOURNALIST: Alexenia Dimitrova

DATE: April 1999 till July 2002

DESCRIPTION: In 1949, the Bulgarian communist party leader Dimitrov died, officially from natural causes. But rumours said he was poisoned. Dimitrov's body was kept in the mausoleum in Sofia. Journalist Alexenia Dimitrova found the person who had kept the brain and the hair of the communist leader. She managed to convince him to cut off some hair and cut out a part of the brain. She had this analysed in three laboratories and the results proved that he had twenty-five times more mercury in his brain than is considered normal. Afterwards, Russian television made a film about this affair.

PROJECT: Bulgaria during the Cold War era
MEDIUM: *24 Chassa*
JOURNALIST: Alexenia Dimitrova
DATE: April 2002 till July 2002 (8 parts)
DESCRIPTION: Since 1999, Alexenia Dimitrova has been searching the archives of the American secret service. She requested all information on Bulgaria. She already had 3,000 pages. That fact alone is interesting, because similar requests could be carried out concerning all former communist countries. Since 1989, she also researched the Bulgarian secret archives. In February 2005, Dimitrova's book was published in London in English under the title *The Iron Fist*. It deals with the Bulgarian secret police and the Bulgarian and American secret archives during the Cold War.

PROJECT: The world discovers its lost relatives
MEDIUM: *24 Chassa*
JOURNALIST: Alexenia Dimitrova
DATE: Since July 2002
DESCRIPTION: This is a cross border long-term investigation about people who lost contacts with their relatives, mainly persons who escaped the country during communism. The series traces these lost people from all over the world and reunites them with their loved-ones. Till now, the investigation has been carried out in Bulgaria, in states in the US, Canada, Kenya, France, Finland, Poland, Switzerland, Argentina, Brazil, and Australia. In November 2004, the author received the most prestigious national journalistic award in Bulgaria, the *Chernorizets Hrabar*, in the category 'investigation'.

PROJECT: Trafficking in women
MEDIUM: *168 Chassa*
JOURNALIST: Stanimir Vaglenov, Nadia Cholakova
DATE: July 2004
DESCRIPTION: This project was mainly about women who were trafficked to Italy where they were forced to work as a prostitute. The story was published in ten parts. Vaglenov and a colleague went to Italy and to Paris and Madrid. They spoke to police officers and officers specialised in investigating trafficking in women. And the reporters talked to NGOs that try to help these women. They found four Bulgarian women who recounted the full story: two did so on the record: with their face and name, a third one hidden and a fourth indirectly through the NGO. Vaglenov and his colleague worked for six months on the story. It was partly financed by Scoop. Afterwards Stanimir Vaglenov and Nadia Cholakova made a television documentary about it.

PROJECT: Bulgarian car mafia
MEDIUM: *24 Chassa*
JOURNALIST: Stanimir Vaglenov
DATE: January 2002
DESCRIPTION: The article deals with the Bulgarian car mafia. After having thorough consultation of the trade register, Stanimir Vaglenov identified businessmen who have official car companies, but who also run a business in stolen cars and are connected to drugs trafficking. Three networks could be identified, one north of Sofia, one in Plovdiv and one in Varna. One mafia leader, who was involved in the car dealing through financing and protection, was killed during the summer in a bloody shoot-out in a Sofia restaurant. After the publication of this investigation, the police made some arrests.

PROJECT: The property of candidate mayors
MEDIUM: *24 Chassa*
JOURNALIST: Stanimir Vaglenov, Nadia Cholakova
DATE: May to December 2003
DESCRIPTION: Before the municipal elections of 2003, Stanimir Vaglenov and Nadia Cholakova investigated all candidate mayors of the ten biggest cities in Bulgaria. In Bulgaria a Member of Parliament has to make a declaration of property, but a mayor is not obliged to do so. Vaglenov asked all candidate mayors to give a declaration. Additionally, he searched the trade register and other sources. The result was a series of ten articles. Vaglenov was awarded a prize for this project by the NGO *Coalitia 2000*.

PROJECT: Mikhael Chorny
MEDIUM: *Capital*
JOURNALIST: Yovo Nikolov
DATE:
DESCRIPTION: Mikhael Chorny is a Russian businessman who is known as the 'king of aluminium'. He was also active in Bulgaria, but in 2000 he was expelled to Russia because he was considered a dangerous person. Yovo Nikolov who fully investigated the practices and the life of the Russian businessman. Nikolov says this is his most important project. He worked on it for two years.

PROJECT: The highways of violence
MEDIUM: *Capital*
JOURNALIST: Yovo Nikolov
DATE: 13 July 2004
DESCRIPTION: 'The highways of violence' is an investigative article on the illegal trafficking of women from Bulgaria to Western Europe. The article gives a voice to the victims, uncovers the major trade routes, identifies patterns of official corruption, and explains the methods used

for illegal border crossings and highlights efforts to stop the trafficking. Yovo Nikolov won several prizes for this article.

PROJECT: The rector of Burgas University
MEDIUM: *Nachisto*
JOURNALIST:
DATE: March 2004
DESCRIPTION: The rector of the Burgas University breached nearly every law on higher education. He offered degrees to Members of Parliament. One Member of Parliament was enrolled in a post-graduate course in February and graduated the following May. He took all exams in one day. The story won the prize for regional investigative journalism. The rector resigned as a result of the publication of this story.

PROJECT: Violation of the UN embargo on arms trade
MEDIUM: *Monitor* and *Blitz* (Serbia)
JOURNALIST: Zoya Dimitrova, Milorad Ivanovic
DATE: February 2004
DESCRIPTION: The Bulgarian journalist Dimitrova worked together with a Serbian colleague on this story, which reveals how the UN embargo on arms trade has been violated by arms trading companies. The arms came from Ukraine through Bulgaria to the former Yugoslavia. The journalist in Ukraine didn't dare to continue because it was too dangerous: two colleagues were killed. The article, which was published in six parts, was produced in approximately six months. It was published in the Bulgarian daily *Monitor* and the Serbian *Blitz*. Both belong to the same press group. This project was financed by the Danish International Centre for Analytical Reporting, DICAR.

PROJECT: Lolita
MEDIUM: *Novinar*
JOURNALIST: Elena Kodinova, Borislav Petrov
DATE: October 2004
DESCRIPTION: The reporters investigated several profiles of 13 and 14-year old girls at different dating sites on the Internet. The journalists arranged meetings with some of the people that had expressed an obvious interest in having sex with the virtual girls. They sent young women who looked like minors to the meeting. The meetings were registered on video and audio. The three men that came to the rendezvous were fully aware that they were proposing sex to minors, which is forbidden under the Bulgarian Penal Code. One of the men was a senior manager at a big insurance company. Another was an aspiring young politician in his late thirties, a member of the municipal council of a large Bulgarian city. Descriptions of the meetings were published in the newspaper and the tapes were broadcasted on one of the national television networks.

PROJECT: The dark side of Bulgarian Christmas
MEDIUM: *Politica*
JOURNALIST: Elena Kodinova, Borislav Petrov
DATE: December 2004
DESCRIPTION: Orphans in an orphanage in a small Bulgarian town in the north, most of whom are mentally disabled, were selling their bodies for 1 to 2.5 euro on the street in front of the orphanage. The teachers knew about this as did the municipality and the whole town community. However, no measures had been taken at all. The reporters set up a person they knew and sent him by car to the orphanage. A boy and a girl approached him and offered sexual favours in broad daylight, while the teachers were watching from the windows. The children were driven straight to the local municipal office. The person who was in charge of the orphanage at the municipality denied there was any proof of prostitution on the streets in front of the orphanage. It turned out the orphans had been abused for a long time and in many ways. A homosexual from a bigger town nearby regularly took some of the boys to his sex parties.

PROJECT: Kidney for sale
MEDIUM: *Politica*
JOURNALIST: Elena Kodinova, Borislav Petrov
DATE: March 2005
DESCRIPTION: This investigation started after the death of a boy in an orphanage in a small town in Bulgaria. He had a scar on his body and he only had one kidney. However, nowhere in his medical file were there signs that he had needed a kidney transplantation. Through ads on the Internet, the reporters came across two people who were selling a kidney for 25,000 euro. After this discovery, they met a person who sold email-addresses, 2,000 dollars for each address, of potential donors of kidneys. Both meetings and conversations were taped. Descriptions of the meetings were published in the newspaper and the tapes were broadcast on one of the national television networks. The second part of the story focussed on clinics where kidneys were transplanted from live unrelated donors to Israeli citizens who lived in the neighbouring countries of Bulgaria. There are rumours that organised transplantation tourism exists with Bulgarian citizens who are trafficked abroad as paid donors. The reporters contacted a hospital in Austria where the staff promised to do a transplantation of a kidney from a dead donor to a Bulgarian citizen, on the condition the patient brought a live donor to their clinic ready to donate his kidney to another person on their waiting list. The hospital charged 50,000 euro for the whole procedure. Shortly after the publication Bulgarian police, in cooperation with their Turkish colleagues, busted an organised crime ring that trafficked Bulgarian people ready to sell their kidneys in Turkey.

Denmark

PROJECT: The Dan Lynges Saga
MEDIUM: *Extra Bladet* and TV2 (*Bastard Film*)
JOURNALIST: Jeppe Facius, Anders-Peter Mathiasen, Miki Mistrati, Thomas Stokholm
DATE: May 2002 to 2004
DESCRIPTION: The reporters came into contact with Dan Lynges, a criminal and former rocker who, as a means of avoiding prosecution, had become a police spy in the circles of the motorcycle gangs Bandidos and the Hells Angels. These gangs were fighting a war amongst themselves in Scandinavia in the nineties. Dan Lynges had been a spy in their midst for more than ten years. He tipped the police on several occasions that assaults with heavy weapons – anti-tank missiles – were being planned. The police, however, did not interfere. Two people were killed in these assaults and many more could have been. The reporters subsequently proved that several leading police officers and top civil servants knew about the cooperation with Lynges. The investigative project was a long-lasting and close cooperation between the newspaper *Extra Bladet*, the production company *Bastard Film* and the commercial television station TV2. A formal contract was signed between the three parties about concurrent publication of the first scoop. The topic has been in the centre of public attention for several years, ever since the first publications in 2002. The reporters won the Cavling award, the most prestigious journalism award in Denmark, in 2004. A state commission that investigated the matter confirmed their stories later.

PROJECT: How Denmark got into Iraq
MEDIUM: *Berlingske Tidende*
JOURNALIST: Michael Bjerre and Jesper Larsen
DATE: 22 February 2004
DESCRIPTION: According to the Danish government, the decision to support the attack on Iraq was based solely on open sources. However, the reporters showed that the Danish military intelligence service based their reports on the Iraqi threat not on their own sources, but on second-hand – and secret – material of the British and American intelligence services. Denmark did not have any firsthand knowledge about Saddam's possession of weapons of mass destruction. By publishing these stories that were based on leaked documents the reporters risked a sentence of two years in jail for revealing state secrets. Protests against a possible sentence were even published by competing newspapers, because by publishing the exposé the newspaper had given the population a unique insight into one of the most important political decisions taken in Denmark in recent years. Eventually, instead of being prosecuted, the reporters were nominated for the country's most prestigious journalism award, the *Cavling*, in 2004.

PROJECT: Distance Heating leaking
MEDIUM: *Fyens Stiftstidende*
JOURNALIST: Poul Kjærgaard
DATE: 2002
DESCRIPTION: The story started when the local district heating company in the town of Middelfart appointed a board member as the new director without the legally required support from the customers. When the reporter continued to dig, he found a lot more that had not gone according to the rules: big expense accounts on drinks and tobacco, foreign travel of board members to a conference – but their names did not occur on the list of participants, etc. One of the board members was a police officer, who had not reported the fee paid for his activities as a board member to his employer, as is required by law. The articles ran over a period of months, revealing new scandals every time. The reporter made extensive use of the laws that grant access to public information.

PROJECT: Non-attending politicians
MEDIUM: *DR-Bornholm*
JOURNALIST: Maria Ewald
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: The 27 members of the regional council of the island of Bornholm have a varying rate of attendance at meetings. They receive at least 9,000 euro a year in compensation, even if they are absent at many meetings. The reporter analysed the 132 minutes of the meetings during a whole year and proved that the representatives of one party showed up less than others. Fairness in dealing with the representatives involved was essential for the journalist, because in a small island community one may meet them at the supermarket, or need them as a source a week later. So they all got a chance to explain why they were absent. All the figures were published on the radio station's web site. The attendance increased substantially in the months after the broadcast. The story was nominated for the Spade, the award for local and regional investigative journalism.

PROJECT: The story of Nicklas
MEDIUM: *Jydske Vestkysten*
JOURNALIST: Mette Cramon and Anne Dorthe Holm
DATE: 2003 and 2004
DESCRIPTION: The reporters made a reconstruction of the life of a nine-year old son of drug addicts, Nicklas, and his grandmother's struggle against the authorities in order to give him a better life. The authorities put the boy in a foster home, although the grandparents were willing and able to take care of him. Because they were authorised by both the parents and the grandparents, the reporters had access to all the case documents at several authorities, the foster home and the schools

involved. They talked to teachers, social workers, psychologists, politicians, and of course with the leading characters of their story. They visited all the places where Nicklas spent part of his life. Over a period of eight weeks, they accumulated a tremendous amount of details of the case. The project was an exercise in 'narrative journalism'. The reporters had just done a course in this specific genre. They won 2004's *Spade*, the award for local and regional investigative journalism.

PROJECT: Weapons transports on Danish ships
MEDIUM: *TV2 Øst*
JOURNALIST: Jessica Skovmose
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: After a tip-off that a Danish vessel had been shipwrecked in the Mediterranean with a cargo of weapons, and rumours that some ship-owners made a lot of money with this type of cargo, the reporter set out to investigate whether this was true. It turned out to be the truth. In Denmark, exporting weapons to countries embargoed by United Nations, the European Union or the OSCE (the Organisation of Security and Cooperation in Europe) is against the law, but transporting weapons to these countries is not. It appeared that the political parties that had voted against a proposal in the Danish Parliament to make these transports illegal had received financial support from the ship-owners' association. As a result of the broadcast, this law has been changed: the transports are illegal as well. The story was nominated for the *Spade*, the award for local and regional investigative journalism.

PROJECT: A Dane on Guantánamo Bay
MEDIUM: *Politiken*
JOURNALIST: Mathias Seidelin
DATE: February 2004
DESCRIPTION: One of the prisoners on Guantánamo Bay turned out to be Danish. The reporters found out his identity and made a reconstruction of his life in the city Aarhus. The man, whose father is Algerian, was well-integrated in Denmark. He studied chemistry at the local university, and he played techno music in a band with a couple of friends. But in the year 2000, he suddenly became very religious, started attending services at a conservative mosque in Gjellerup, and finally went to Afghanistan to train for the religious war, the jihad. There he was captured by American troops and deported to Guantánamo Bay, the American base on Cuba, where he was kept without access to a lawyer or a judge. He was released some time later.

PROJECT: Tied down – treatment by force in psychiatry
MEDIUM: *Politiken*
JOURNALIST: Hans Drachman
DATE: 2002 to 2004

DESCRIPTION: A tip-off led the reporter to a case of a patient in a psychiatric hospital who had been physically restrained for 28 days in a row, 24 hours a day. During a period of two years, the reporter discovered many more cases of practices, which were often against the law. The publications often generated new tip-offs about cases. An interest group of patients also supplied a lot of information. Doctors have to file a formal record for every case of involuntary treatment. However, a request to obtain lists of such cases failed, even when the reporter was willing to accept an anonymised version. Statistics were kept on the number of cases, but not on the period of restraint. A state agency was willing to supply statistics, but only for a huge fee. The newspaper declined. After questions in Parliament, the Health Department now publishes these statistics on an annual basis. The record case concerned a man who had been in restraint for 225 days.

PROJECT: Finding the general

MEDIUM: *DR Radio / Jyllands Posten*

JOURNALIST: Anna Lea Landsted

DATE: January 2004

DESCRIPTION: A former Iraqi general had requested political asylum in Denmark, but during the asylum procedure it became clear that maybe he had been involved in war crimes. The general was not arrested, but he was not allowed to leave the country either. However, he disappeared. The freelance reporter started asking around in Denmark in Iraqi and Kurdish circles. She ultimately tracked him down and reconstructed his story. Who was this man, what had he done, where had he stayed and how had he left the country? Parts of the story she dug up in Iraq – where she interviewed his sister and several other relatives, former army officer colleagues and his former bodyguard – and parts she dug up in the Emirates.

PROJECT: No black drivers, please

MEDIUM: *Fyens Stiftstidende*

JOURNALIST: Pernille Frøkjær and Peter Rasmussen

DATE: 2 November 2003

DESCRIPTION: In the city of Odense there are two taxi companies. It was a known fact that one of these did not employ any immigrant drivers. Consequently, people called this company because they did not want a black driver. But how could one prove this story? Two reporters made dozens of taxi rides and talked extensively with the drivers. They also talked with dozens of taxi customers who openly confirmed that they had their reasons for not wanting an immigrant driver. They found immigrants that had applied for a job as a taxi driver, and were refused because there were no vacancies, whereas one day later somebody else would be hired. As a result of the publication, major taxi customers said that they did not want to deal with this company anymore, as long as the

company would not change its policy. The publication led to a huge amount of letters from readers, both vigorously in favour and vigorously against the policy of the taxi company. Obviously, the newspaper's airing of this informal public knowledge forced people to recognise their own viewpoints.

PROJECT: Poisonous pipes
MEDIUM: *Danske Kommuner*
JOURNALIST: Kaare Gotfredsen
DATE: 2003

DESCRIPTION: It started with a routine article on pipelines for municipal drinking water networks. It turned out that not only old pipes caused problems, but new ones as well: soil pollution may penetrate into the plastic pipes, causing polluting substances to mix in with the drinking water. The reporter found dozens of cases of water pollution through these pipes. Pollutant concentrations in the water came up to as much as five thousand times the legal norm. The investigation resulted in about twenty articles, over a period of three months. At the second Global Investigative Journalism Conference in Copenhagen, in 2003, the reporter joined forces with some foreign colleagues to extend the project internationally. It became apparent that these kinds of pipes are in use all over Europe.

Finland

PROJECT: The Finnish Iraq-gate
MEDIUM: *Ilta-Sanomat*
JOURNALIST: Pekka Ervasti
DATE: 2003

DESCRIPTION: The Finnish Iraq-gate was a series of articles on the so-called Iraq leak, which led to the resignation of Prime Minister Anneli Jäätteenmäki. The author revealed that Jäätteenmäki had obtained secret documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the meeting in Washington DC between the US president George W. Bush and the then Prime Minister of Finland, Paavo Lipponen in 2002. In a television debate before the parliamentary elections of 2003, Jäätteenmäki denied several times that she had used these documents. By using his exceptional resources and his journalistic skills, the reporter was able to prove the contrary bit by bit, and beat all the other media that were chasing the same story.

PROJECT: Estates of Haka Construction Co.
MEDIUM: *Rakennuslehti* (trade magazine for the building industry)
JOURNALIST: Mikko Kortelainen
DATE: 2002 and 2003
DESCRIPTION: The reporter revealed that several office and apartment buildings were sold below current prices on a project of Haka Construction Company. The reporter also discovered that one of the people working for the project organisation was a co-owner of a small construction company that had bought property from the project. He ingeniously used the fact that his magazine was one of the creditors of the project. This enabled him to get hold of the annual reports of the project organisation. He also used a wide variety of resources in linking the stories, which were breaking news and were cited by the big Finnish dailies.

PROJECT: Poisonous chemicals at the Vuosaari harbour
MEDIUM: *Helsingin Sanomat*
JOURNALIST: Jussi Laitinen
DATE: 2003
DESCRIPTION: In a series of articles the reporter revealed how the Helsinki City Harbour officials had seriously neglected environmental regulations and laws. When the harbour that was being constructed at Vuosaari in Eastern Helsinki, was dredged, several poisonous chemicals were found in the seabed of the harbour area. By neglecting the regulations, the harbour officials endangered much of the marine life around the future harbour area and diminished the potential recreational use of the surrounding waters.

PROJECT: The Sonera scandal
MEDIUM: *Helsingin Sanomat*
JOURNALIST: Anssi Miettinen, Tuomo Pietiläinen
DATE: 2002 and 2003
DESCRIPTION: At the end of 2001, the reporters got a hot tip that the Finnish telecom company Sonera's security department had been tracing the telephone records of the company's top management. The aim was to find the source of leaks to *Helsingin Sanomat* and other media on sensitive matters within the company. After a year of investigations, the first article on the suspected breach of telecommunications privacy was published. The research for the article, and its follow-up, was done with patience and resilience. A practical problem was that they could of course not use their phones, because their phone calls would be traced. So they used public phones instead. Without the work of these two journalists, the police probably wouldn't have investigated the case, which has turned out to be the largest telecom crime case in Finland.

PROJECT: Arms trade Ukrainian style
MEDIUM: *Helsingin Sanomat*
JOURNALIST: Tanja Vasama
DATE: 2002
DESCRIPTION: After a long and thorough investigation, the reporter was able to reveal that two Finns were involved in an international arms trade ring run by the originally Ukrainian businessman Leonid Minin. At the end of 1990s, he had trafficked small and heavy arms from Ukraine to Liberia, Sierra Leone and several other countries in Western Africa. Minin breached the UN arms embargo by trafficking arms into Africa. A Finnish businessman was also involved in the illegal trade, and in addition, Minin had hired a Finnish pilot to fly the arms to their destination. Officially, the men were involved in the timber trade, but with the help of court records from Italy the reporter showed that the real cargo consisted of arms.

PROJECT: Country of origin unknown
MEDIUM: Book: *Alkupermaa tuntematon*
JOURNALIST: Elina Grundström (text), Yrjö Tuunanen (photos)
DATE: 2002
DESCRIPTION: 'Country of origin unknown' is a book about global trade relations. It traces the production chain of shoes that are made in Vietnam by a Taiwanese-owned company; subsequently they are imported and sold in Finland by one of the largest clothes retailers, the Kesko Corporation. The book is a fascinating story on how a Taiwanese shoemaker wants to make it big in China. It describes the lousy conditions and long working hours of the Vietnamese girls who work in the shoe factory. The book divulges a typical 'no logo' production chain from the inside. Its main goal is to elucidate on the inner workings of a truly global industry. The book was the result of almost two years of in-depth research work.

PROJECT: The student union empire
MEDIUM: *MOT*, Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE TV1
JOURNALIST: Simo Sipola
DATE: 20 September 2004
DESCRIPTION: The thirty-minute documentary investigates in-depth how the Helsinki University Student Union has managed its considerable wealth. The Student Union, which is often referred to as the wealthiest student union in the world, owns several buildings, which contain office and business premises, in downtown Helsinki. It also runs a large travel agency that specialises in cheap tickets for students and young persons. The programme reveals how the profits from sales of estate and buildings have not been properly reported in the accounts of the group of companies owned by the Student Union. It also shows how the top

managers of the group of companies have enjoyed considerable benefits that have often gone unreported or have been falsely reported to the owners, who are the students.

PROJECT: No right to appeal
MEDIUM: *MOT*, Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE TV1
JOURNALIST: Matti Virtanen
DATE: 15 September 2003
DESCRIPTION: The thirty-minute documentary tells the story of a British father who fought for the custody of his two children who were abducted by their Finnish mother. It revealed how the Finnish judicial system, including the Supreme Court, denied the father his rights of custody and visitation. The documentary showed a senior Finnish legal officer at the Registry of the European Court of Human Rights who attempted to influence the domestic courts' decision with a written statement. His letter gave the domestic courts advice on how the Convention of Human Rights should be applied in this particular case. The documentary is based on a thorough documentation of the case, using court records, interviews and private letters.

PROJECT: The secret military road to the West
MEDIUM: *Ykkösdokumentti*, Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE TV1
JOURNALIST: Olli Ainola, Ari Lehtikoinen
DATE: 25 April 2004
DESCRIPTION: The 55 minute documentary explores the largely unknown Finnish intelligence cooperation with the West, especially the United States, during the Cold War era. The documentary sheds new light on the extent of cooperation of the Finnish military intelligence with the US. The authors make extensive use of documents from archives in the United States, United Kingdom, Sweden and Germany. The documents reveal how military intelligence cooperation worked during the Cold War. With the help of documents, interviews and rare film material the documentary tells a fascinating story. It manifests unequivocally the kind of risks that were involved in the exchange of highly confidential military information between Finland, the United States and Germany.

PROJECT: Contaminated Municipal Water
MEDIUM: *Sulkava Lehti* (local newspaper)
JOURNALIST: Kalle Keränen
DATE: 1998 and 1999
DESCRIPTION: Kalle Keränen, the editor-in-chief of a small local paper in Central Finland, wrote a series of articles on the municipal water catchment area of the Sulkava municipality that was contaminated by chloric fenols. The water catchment was founded on the same place where there had previously been a sawmill. The chemicals had contaminated both the ground and the water resources beneath it.

Keränen's articles were based on months of scrupulous research and contacts with reluctant local officials. The research unravelled a series of unlucky coincidences, accidents, ignorance and negligence. Worst of all, the officials tried to cover up the mistakes they had made, but did not succeed in doing so, thanks to Keränen's work. The result of the articles was that the water catchment was closed.

PROJECT: When Prescription Drugs Kill
MEDIUM: *Satakunnan Kanssa* (local newspaper)
JOURNALIST: Harri Aalto
DATE: 2003

DESCRIPTION: The series of articles showed how a circle of hashish smokers turned into a network of drug abusers that involved dozens of teenagers and youngsters in their early twenties. The youths, living in and around the town of Pori in Western Finland, got hold of the drugs through a doctor with generous prescription practices. The drugs, anti-depressants, strong painkillers and substitute drugs used in the treatment of heroin addicts, caused a series of deaths in 2002 and 2003. The reporter traced the origin of the drugs to one single medical practitioner who was prescribing drugs to a small number of individuals who in turn sold most of the drugs on the street. Thanks to these articles national health officials retracted the doctor's licence.

France

PROJECT: French hostages in Iraq
MEDIUM: *Libération*
JOURNALIST: José Garçon
DATE: 5 October 2004

DESCRIPTION: After the two French journalists Christian Cesnot and Georges Malbrunot had been held hostage for 40 days and after a month of failed initiatives by the French diplomacy to obtain their release, the eccentric parliamentarian Didier Julia announced that he would be able to bring the hostages home. The French presidency and government immediately distanced themselves from what they called a 'private action' of Julia, saying that they only learned about it from the press. When Julia returned from Syria with empty hands, president Chirac used the word 'fool' and Prime Minister Raffarin accused him of irresponsible behaviour. The next day however, *Libération* showed evidence that the French embassy in Damascus wrote to the Syrian ministry of Foreign Affairs to obtain a visa for Julia, which proved the government knew about Julia's plan beforehand.

PROJECT: The words of the imam
MEDIUM: *Lyon Mag'*
JOURNALIST: Thomas Nardone
DATE: 7 April 2004
DESCRIPTION: An imam, who had preached very traditional readings of the Koran for decades in the Lyon suburb les Minguettes, gave an interview to a local magazine. He expressed hope that France would become a Muslim country. He condemned music because 'it makes girls think of sex' and stated that a woman, who should always obey her husband, could be beaten if necessary. Following the publication, the imam was expelled from France, and the magazine *Lyon Mag'* was sued for 'apology of crime'. Nardone's job was far from perfect – his questioning was very biased and, given the imam's poor understanding of French, he should have used an interpreter instead of inventing the meaning of certain words himself. But the fact that he persuaded the imam to an interview was an important step forward in the discussion about the 'Islam des banlieues' (the Islam of the suburbs). *Lyon Mag'* strongly condemned the imam's expulsion afterwards.

PROJECT: Radicalisation in Trappes
MEDIUM: *Envoyé Spécial* (France 2)
JOURNALIST: Frédéric Brunnuquell
DATE: 12 February 2004
DESCRIPTION: Trappes is a small town, 35 kilometres from Paris. Its population is mostly of Algerian and West African origin. In the post 9-11 discussions about the radicalisation of Islam, Trappes was mentioned as one of France's most alarming examples. For four months, Frédéric Brunnuquell merged himself into the daily life of Trappes. He focussed on the role of the local Islamic party, UMT. Even before the programme was broadcasted, UMT tried to play down the impact of the images of Muslim men instructing girls on how to behave during a demonstration.

PROJECT: The explosion of AZF
MEDIUM: *Le Figaro*
JOURNALIST: Marc Mennessier
DATE: 16 January 2003
DESCRIPTION: On 21 September 2001, a chemical factory in Toulouse exploded, killing 30. Official investigations quickly led to the near certain conclusion that it had been an accident. However, in the aftermath of what had happened ten days earlier in the US, there was a general tendency to avoid panic more than ever. Other media blamed Mennessier and his newspaper for insisting on the more dark sides of the investigation. More than a year later, Mennessier re-ignited the debate, when he revealed a number of contradictions in the investigation reports and casted doubts on the background of an Algerian contractor who had been present at the site less than an hour before the explosion.

PROJECT: Torture during the Algerian War
MEDIUM: *Le Monde*
JOURNALIST: Florence Beaugé
DATE: 4 May 2002
DESCRIPTION: Jean-Marie Le Pen, the founder and leader of the extreme right wing political party *Front National*, served in the French Foreign Legion during the Algerian War (1954-1962). Accusations of torture have always surrounded Le Pen, but there was never any first-hand testimony. During the presidential campaign in 2002, *Le Monde* presented the detailed stories of four former members of the Algerian political party FLN. They had recognised Le Pen as the man who tortured them during the battle of Algiers in 1957. Subsequently, Le Pen sued the newspaper and the journalist for libel, but they were acquitted of the charge. Recently, the French court confirmed *Le Monde* and Beaugé had acted in 'good faith'.

PROJECT: Mouth expenses
MEDIUM: *Le Canard Enchaîné*
JOURNALIST:
DATE: 15 February 2002
DESCRIPTION: During the period that the current French President Jacques Chirac was mayor of Paris (1987-1995), he and his wife spent over 600 euro (4,000 francs) a day on food. Almost half of their grocery bills (approximately 2 million euro in total) were paid in cash. The *Canard* laid their hands on a secret report on this seemingly excessive use of tax money. After the publication, the current mayor of Paris, Bertrand Delanoë, pressed charges against Chirac. The case is still pending. On 7 July 2004, the *Canard* published additional evidence of the corrupted practices of mayor Chirac, this time in relation to free plane tickets for himself, his relatives, staff, and even for journalists who covered his presidential campaign in 2002.

PROJECT: Revelations on Clearstream
MEDIUM: Book: *Revelation*\$, Book: *La Boite Noire* and *L'affaire Clearstream raconté à un ouvrier de chez Daewoo* (television, Canal +)
JOURNALIST: Denis Robert
DATE: 2001 to 2003
DESCRIPTION: The independent journalist Denis Robert – originally from *Libération* – first published two books on the Luxembourg clearing bank Clearstream, accusing this 'bank of all banks' of money laundering. Because he was not satisfied with the impact of his writings on the public, Robert dedicated three years more on a television documentary called 'The story of Clearstream explained to a worker at Daewoo'. In the 65 minutes of his film, Robert focuses on his theory that there is a link between Clearstream and the closing of a Daewoo television factory in

the French region of le Mosselle. The film is as comprehensible as can be, and in spite of many lawsuits by Clearstream, Robert didn't have to retract his allegations. As for his books, he based his story on the information that was given by a 'man on the inside', a former employee of Clearstream.

PROJECT: Cancer in Normandie
MEDIUM: *Le Figaro*
JOURNALIST: Cyrille Louis
DATE: 27 October 2004
DESCRIPTION: Cyrille Louis compared the accessibility of medical care for cancer patients in the region of Basse-Normandie, among other things by comparing hospital data. He is specialised in medical topics. He found out there were huge differences in this respect between different geographical areas. However, what was more surprising, was the factual overview of waiting lists, the diverging travelling distances and, as a consequence, the ensuing death rates. These data, combined with the interviews with patients, relatives and doctors gave the investigation a strong impact.

PROJECT: The sociology of school naming
MEDIUM: *Le Monde*
JOURNALIST: Luc Bronner
DATE: 2 September 2004
DESCRIPTION: When a new school is about to open its doors somewhere in France, local politicians and future educational staff sit together to choose a proper name for it. As a consequence of this procedure, the results are compromises *par excellence*. A small minority of schools are named after a plant or a celestial body, and some schools in Paris have the name of the street they are in. However, the biggest part of the 57,000 elementary schools, 70,000 *colleges* and 4,000 *lycées* in France get their name from a historical figure. According to Luc Bronner, a good look at what is written on the front of schools will tell us which historical figures the French consider most undisputed. He made an inventory of the names of all French schools. After he noticed that women and foreigners form a very small minority among the school names, Bronner expounded on a sociological interpretation of the facts. Why does the World War II resistance hero Jean Moulin have more schools named after him than Napoleon's 'great Marshals', although the latter 'have' more streets and boulevards?

PROJECT: Where to read?
MEDIUM: *Livres Hebdo*
JOURNALIST: Laurence Santantonios
DATE: 8 June 2001 and 4 June 2004
DESCRIPTION: This survey of *Livres Hebdo* was carried out in 111 French

towns with a population over 50,000. It focussed on issues such as the library budget, the library surface and the number of subscribers to the library. The survey goes beyond proclaiming one particular town is the best place for readers. For that matter, Chambéry was the winner in both rounds up until now. *Livres Hebdo* proved that a thorough governmental policy and serious investments in public libraries can influence the public's reading behaviour.

PROJECT: Racist? Me?
MEDIUM: *Les Echo's*
JOURNALIST: Pascale-Marie Deschampes
DATE: 1 June 2004
DESCRIPTION: In May 2004, the freshly appointed minister of Economy and Finance, Sarkozy, (who used to be the Minister of Interior Affairs) proposed that France should apply the policy of positive discrimination in employing job applicants. This is a very American idea, which is at odds with the republican tradition of *égalité*. The economic newspaper *Les Echo's* hired a polling institute to question employers and employees about their feelings. One of the results of their survey was that one out of three job seekers with of North African descent thought he/she had been a victim of racist prejudices on the basis of their name or skin colour during application procedures. Nine percent of the employees stated they would 'probably or certainly' not accept orders from a coloured person. These figures shocked the French public and reinforced Sarkozy's idea.

PROJECT: Who killed Robert Boulin?
MEDIUM: *Lundi Investigation* and *Canal +*
JOURNALIST: Bernard Nicolas, Michel Despratx
DATE: 15 January 2002
DESCRIPTION: On 30 October 1979, the body of Robert Boulin, a Minister under President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, was found dead in a lake near Rambouillet. The official reading has always been that Boulin took his own life because he couldn't bear the allegations against him of corruption in a real estate transaction. But the rumours persisted that Boulin knew too much about too many people and had threatened to speak out; 22 years after his death, Bernard Nicolas and Michel Despratx delivered many new elements, including a declaration on camera of a former forensic doctor that the autopsy on Boulin's body had been 'insufficient'. The court was forced to re-open the case, just before the facts had become extinguished by limitation.

PROJECT: The best clinics in France
MEDIUM: *Le Point*
JOURNALIST: Philippe Houdart, François Malye, Jérôme Vincent
DATE: Annually since 1999, the latest episode was on 2 December 2004

DESCRIPTION: A combination of two research instruments eventually led to several advantages and disadvantages for every of the 818 medical clinics that were surveyed. The first was a list of questions that every clinic had to fill in and return, and the second was an analysis of the PMSI (*Programme médicalisé des systèmes d'information*), a database of the Ministry of Health that was consisted of 6,5 million anonymous medical histories on a yearly base. Each clinic was judged on sixteen different points. As a result the patients could use the survey as a guide for their future choice of medical care. *Le Point* also delivered a very precise explanation of the criteria that were used to judge the clinics.

PROJECT: The fundamentalists are here already

MEDIUM: *Les islamistes sont déjà là* (book)

JOURNALIST: Christophe Deloire, Christophe Dubois

DATE: 2004

DESCRIPTION: Schoolchildren refused to have a Christmas tree in the classroom, in the name of Allah. Muslim officials who were working at the Ministry of the Interior demanded the time and space to pray. The French secret services spent a large part of their time and energy on these seemingly small clashes. This 'secret war', as Dubois and Deloire dubbed it, was aimed at fundamentalist groups trying to take control of French society. The book cites from a large variety of classified documents.

Germany

PROJECT: Torture by the Frankfurt police

MEDIUM: *Tagesspiegel, Bild*

JOURNALIST: Jürgen Schreiber (*Tagesspiegel*), Horst Cronauer (*Bild*)

DATE: 7 December 2002 to 17 February 2003

DESCRIPTION: Both journalists have independently revealed methods used by the Frankfurt police during the interrogations of a suspect of the kidnapping of an eleven-year-old boy. At the time of the interrogation, it was not clear if the boy was still alive. The municipal vice-president of police gave orders to threaten the suspect, under supervision of a doctor, and to subsequently cause pain, without leaving traces in the form of wounds. After the first threats, the suspect said he had murdered the boy. Both journalists were awarded the *Wächterpreis* for investigative reporting (the first prize).

PROJECT: Carl Diem, sports hero or war criminal?

MEDIUM: *Main Post*

JOURNALIST: Andreas Jungbauer

DATE: 2002 to 2003

DESCRIPTION: Sports official Carl Diem organised the Olympic Games of 1936 and received many awards for stimulating sports in Germany. The journalist Jungbauer heard about a speech of Diem in 1945, in which he incited young Germans to the final battle of the National Socialists. The journalist started his investigation because there was a Carl Diem Sports hall in the city of this local newspaper. He found the manuscript of the speech, and published on Diem's ideas. A public debate followed, in which Jungbauer was intimidated. Finally, it was decided to give the sports hall a different name.

PROJECT: Bribery for waste incineration.

MEDIUM: *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*

JOURNALIST: Axel Spilcker, Peter Berger, Andreas Damm

DATE: March 2002

DESCRIPTION: The investigation started with some tips from the prosecutor's office in Cologne. Businessman Hellmut Trienekens, who built a waste empire over a period of thirty years, made a declaration at the Justice Department about bribery. The newspaper the *Kölner Stadtanzeiger* decided to do a large-scale investigation. The team discovered that illegal gifts had been made to the socialist SPD. In addition, millions of euros were hidden in a garage. More than eleven million euro in bribes could be traced before, during and after the construction of the waste incineration. The complete top of the SPD in Cologne was forced to resign. As a result, the national SPD sank into a crisis. The project was awarded the *Wächterpreis* for investigative reporting (the first prize) in 2003.

PROJECT: The forgotten Chechen war

MEDIUM: *Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Rundschau*

JOURNALIST: Tomas Avenarius (SZ), Florian Hassel (FR)

DATE: 2002

DESCRIPTION: The Moscow correspondents of two competing newspapers decided to do a joint investigation into human rights violations in Chechnya. The difficulties in this area necessitated cooperation. The two journalists interviewed Chechen eyewitnesses, relatives of victims, and human rights activists. Top civil servants assisted the journalist, thereby risking their own lives. The journalists were able to reconstruct some events and discovered the humanitarian aid from Moscow was corrupted. As a result of this disclosure, the Chechen Health Minister had to resign. The project was awarded the *Wächterpreis* for investigative reporting (the second prize) in 2003.

PROJECT: Construction Fraud in Cottbus

MEDIUM: *Lausitzer Rundschau*

JOURNALIST: Simone Wendler

DATE: End 2000 till mid 2001

DESCRIPTION: After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the ownership of a large part of the houses in the Former GDR was transferred from the State to semi-governmental organisations. The renovation of the concrete buildings cost a fortune. Through a tip, the reporter discovered that fraudulent practices were going on within one building organisation. The companies that carry out extensive renovations are partly owned by board members of the building organisation. The reporter unravelled a web of ex-Stasis and interwoven companies. This exposure had political implications. The publications led to the dismissal of the board. The project was awarded the *Wächterpreis* for investigative reporting (the second prize) in 2002.

PROJECT: Censored schoolbooks
MEDIUM: *Nordbayerischen Kurier*
JOURNALIST: Udo Meixner
DATE: 2002

DESCRIPTION: The reporter discovered how texts in schoolbooks at a secondary school in Auerbach were manipulated to strengthen the influence of conservative Christians. He unravelled a sectarian network. The project was awarded the *Wächterpreis* for investigative reporting (the third prize) in 2003

PROJECT: The Lipobay drama
MEDIUM: ARD (documentary)
JOURNALIST: Christoph Lütgert, Siri Nyrop
DATE: 2002

DESCRIPTION: In August 2001, Bayer took the cholesterol medicine Lipobay (in the US: Bacol) from the market, because it had been linked to hundreds of deaths. The journalists decided to make a documentary about the juridical hype that ensued in the US. Hundreds of lawyers tried to sue for compensations for victims. But the journalists discovered contradictions in the declarations of Bayer. Gradually, they discovered that Bayer knew about the dangers at a very early stage, but they nevertheless decided to have a commercial introduction. The project was awarded the *Leuchtturm prize* for outstanding work by *Netzwerk Recherche*.

PROJECT: A company disposal
MEDIUM: *Frontal21* (ZDF)
JOURNALIST: Christian Esser (ZDF), Henryk Hielscher (*freelance*)
DATE: 2002

DESCRIPTION: The project started with a confused telephone call from a construction worker, who was trying to get his money from a construction firm that had changed owner a number of times and finally turns out to reside in an East German town in the state of Sachsen. The journalists unravelled a network of bankruptcy fraud. Owners can

dispose of their debt-burdened companies by formally selling them to poor inhabitants of the GDR that receive a small payment for their willingness to act as a buyer, but who can never pay the debts of the company. The creditors remain empty-handed.

PROJECT: Fantasies in Asia
MEDIUM: *Börse Online*
JOURNALIST: Renate Daum
DATE: 2002
DESCRIPTION: The reporter was curious about the strange data in the IPO prospectus (a document a company has to present if it wants its equities to be traded at the stock exchange) of ComRoad, a specialist in traffic telematics. Salaries at ComRoad were very low, in comparison to the annual turnover. Also, the continuous negative cash flow of the company aroused her interest. She decided to visit ComRoad's trade partners, during a holiday in the Far East. She discovered a large part of the turnover was faked.

PROJECT: German nuclear Technology for Saddam Hussein
MEDIUM: *Report aus Mainz* (ARD)
JOURNALIST: Thomas Reutter
DATE: October 2002
DESCRIPTION: In 2002, Germany was criticised by the US for exporting nuclear technology to Saddam Hussein's Iraq. No further details were given. The reporter decided to investigate which 'dual use' goods – goods with a civil and military use – were exported to Iraq. Routinely, he checked the Siemens website, and saw Siemens' address in Baghdad. When he questioned them, Siemens reacted anxiously, and a day later, the address was removed from the website. However, through Google, the name of Siemens was found in official American documents on the export of ignition parts for nuclear weapons. Reutter managed to trace this delivery.

PROJECT: Fraud at Eurostat
MEDIUM: ARD
JOURNALIST: Marcello Faraggi (*freelance*)
DATE: 2002
DESCRIPTION: Freelance journalist Marcello Faraggi had no funds for his investigation into a suspected fraud at Eurostat. On his own account, he followed every imaginable clue. As a cam-jo (cameraman/journalist) he did the interviews on his own, with minimal advance planning, and without a disturbing and costly crew. The relative intimacy of the interviews led to some important declarations. Faraggi unravelled the web of related companies that worked for Eurostat, with the consent of the European Commission.

PROJECT: Hunger and power in Ethiopia
MEDIUM: *Die Zeit*
JOURNALIST: Lutz Mükke
DATE: 16 April 2003
DESCRIPTION: Journalist and Africa specialist Mükke was interested in the coordinated campaigns of human aid organisations to collect money for the umpteenth new hunger catastrophe in Ethiopia, which could cause millions of victims. He visited the ‘most threatened areas’, and discovered nice harvests. He analysed how aid goods disturbed local markets, and how they were used by those in power to reinforce their power. Senior EU civil servants in Ethiopia talked with him about this power mechanism. This research was supported by a stipend from *Netzwerk Recherche*.

PROJECT: Women in the army
MEDIUM: *Debüt im Dritten* (SWR)
JOURNALIST: Aelrun Goethe
DATE: 2003
DESCRIPTION: Filmmaker Aelrun Goethe followed four young women in the German army during their training. She showed how light-heartedly the trainers talked about shooting orders, and how bad was the training of soldiers.

PROJECT: The crown mafia
MEDIUM: *Frontal21* (ZDF) and *Financial Times Deutschland*
JOURNALIST: Sonia Shinde (*FTD*), Herbert Klar (ZDF)
DATE: 19 and 20 November 2002
DESCRIPTION: Dentists can order two different types of crowns: from Europe and from the Far East. The difference is the price. A German dental laboratory had all the logistics for the import of Asian crowns at European prices. The price difference was shared between the importer and the dentist. *Financial Times Deutschland* and *Frontal21* were tipped off independently. They unravelled a network, in which 900 dentists participated.

Ireland

PROJECT: Olympic golden medal won with a doped horse
MEDIUM: *RTÉ*
JOURNALIST: Charlie Bird
DATE: October 2004 and November 2004
DESCRIPTION: Bird broke the news that Waterford Crystal, the horse which won Ireland its only gold medal in the 2004 Olympics, had tested positive on the use of two forbidden substances, fluphenazine and

zuclopenthixol. The rider, Cian O'Connor, denied any responsibility. One of the urine samples, the so-called B sample, was stolen in October in Cambridgeshire, England. The file of Landliebe, another horse O'Connor rode, was stolen from the offices of the Equestrian Federation of Ireland in November 2004.

PROJECT: Overcharging by AIB
MEDIUM: *RTÉ*
JOURNALIST: Charlie Bird
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: The Allied Irish Banks (AIB) had been overcharging foreign exchange customers for at least 14 million euro since 1995. It turned out that the software system used for his purpose, called Castlemain, had had 'a problem' for nearly ten years. Eventually, the amount that was unlawfully overcharged turned out to have been even higher. About 1.1 million instances of overcharging were brought to light, involving 173,000 accounts. AIB was forced to pay its customers 26.1 million euro in refunds.

PROJECT: Tax evasion by NIB
MEDIUM: *RTÉ*
JOURNALIST: George Lee, Charlie Bird
DATE: 1998 to 2004
DESCRIPTION: The National Irish Bank (NIB), Ireland's fourth-largest bank, had been encouraging some of its customers to engage in tax evasion through offshore schemes. NIB had also duped another group of customers by overcharging them on fees and interest. The so-called DIRT inquiry was established, named after the tax – Deposit Interest Retention Tax – which the NIB helped some of its customers to evade. The final report of the DIRT inquiry was published in July 2004. The scandal had a political backlash. The TD (Teachta Dála, or member of the Dáil Éireann, the Irish Lower House) Beverley Flynn was expelled from her party *Fianna Fáil* in May 2004 because it turned out she had been complicit in the scandal. Before she became a TD, Flynn had been an employee of the NIB.

PROJECT: Doncaster Rovers football ground purchase
MEDIUM: *The Irish Times*
JOURNALIST: Colm Keena
DATE: 2003
DESCRIPTION: The Irish businessman Denis O'Brien purchased the Doncaster Rovers football ground in 1998. Keena proved that former Minister of Transport, Energy & Communications Michael Lowry was linked to the purchase, by producing a letter from British solicitor Christopher Vaughan that was sent to Lowry's home address. Vaughan claimed the letter was a mistake. O'Brien and Lowry denied any

involvement of the latter as well. This didn't stop the governmental Moriarty Tribunal, which investigates payments to politicians, from taking up the matter.

PROJECT: The story behind the assassination of Veronica Guerin
MEDIUM: Book: *Evil Empire: The Irish Mob and the Assassination of Journalist Veronica Guerin*
JOURNALIST: Paul Williams
DATE: 2003
DESCRIPTION: This book presents a detailed study into the inner workings of the Dublin underworld, and specifically the mob leader John Gilligan. The book offers accounts of his rise in criminal circles and of the murder of journalist Veronica Guerin, and the achievements of the police team that brought him down after Guerin's assassination. Gilligan was eventually extradited from the United Kingdom and was sentenced to 28 years in prison. He was convicted for drugs-related crimes though, not for murder.

PROJECT: The tax residency of Denis O'Brien
MEDIUM: *Sunday Business Post*
JOURNALIST: Ted Harding, Eamon Quinn
DATE: 2003
DESCRIPTION: Businessman Denis O'Brien was the subject of an investigation by the Irish revenue commissioners to determine his tax residency. O'Brien moved to Portugal after he had sold his interest in the Irish mobile operator Esat Telecom to British Telecom in 2000. As a result, he made a 292 million euro profit. By moving to Portugal, O'Brien saved 51 million euro in Irish capital gains tax. In the same year, O'Brien had to appear before the Moriarty Tribunal to explain how he had come to be awarded for the mobile phone license.

PROJECT: The trouble with endowment mortgages
MEDIUM: *RTÉ*
JOURNALIST: George Lee
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: So-called endowment mortgages are very popular in Ireland. Buyers don't start paying off their loan straight away. Instead, they pay a monthly interest fee and they save an amount of money each month with life assurance companies until they have enough to pay the entire loan off at once. The idea behind the scheme was that the amount eventually saved would allow for a financial surplus for the homebuyer. Unfortunately, however, the *RTÉ* investigations revealed this was often not the case. The *RTÉ* report led to a statement of the Irish Financial Services Regulatory Authority urging citizens to complain if they felt they had been misinformed when purchasing a mortgage.

PROJECT: The Ansbacher Conspiracy
MEDIUM: Book: *The Ansbacher Conspiracy*
JOURNALIST: Colm Keena
DATE: 2003
DESCRIPTION: Keena relates the story of a group of well-connected businessmen and politicians who invented a scheme to avoid taxes. They did so through Ansbacher, an international investment bank with subsidiaries in tax havens such as the Cayman Islands. Irish influentials such as Ben Dunne and former Prime Minister Charles Haughey turned out to be holders of Ansbacher accounts. As a result, the Moriarty Tribunal was set up to investigate the affair.

PROJECT: Planning Corruption in Ireland
MEDIUM: Book: *With a Little Help from My Friends: Planning Corruption in Ireland*
JOURNALIST: Paul Cullen
DATE: 2002
DESCRIPTION: Cullen reconstructed the ventures of men who are the subject of the Flood Tribunal, which investigated planned corruption. People such as Ray Burke, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, had received payments of real estate developers. Cullen received the Justice Award for his endeavour.

Italy

PROJECT: Ilaria Alpi, a homicide at the crossroads of illegal traffic
MEDIUM: *Famiglia Cristiana*, and a book
JOURNALIST: Luciano Scalettari, Barbara Carazzolo, Alberto Chiara
DATE: 2002 and after
DESCRIPTION: On the 20 March 1994, journalist Ilaria Alpi and her cameraman Miran Hrovatin were killed in an ambush in Mogadishu while reporting for RAI's *Telegiornale 3*. They had traced trafficking channels of toxic waste, nuclear waste, and arms. Italy seemed to be involved in the illegal trade. Eight years later, only a few aspects of the official truth have emerged: a guilty member of the ambushers, who, however, didn't shoot. The journalists' investigation looks at a series of missing testimonies, contradictions and mysteries. A pool of three journalists of *Famiglia Cristiana* investigated the trafficking of arms, toxic waste, and radioactive waste for a long time. This trade seemed to be the real motive behind the Alpi case. Scalettari is specialised in African questions and development items, Carazzolo specialised in issues of international smuggling of toxic and radioactive waste, and Chiara has a specialisation and contacts in diverse international structures and military questions. They travelled the countries

concerned: Somalia, Yemen, Kenya, Mozambique, France, Italy-Sicily, Spain, and the UK, and studied, among other things, the legal documents, they interviewed lots of witnesses, released criminals and secret service agents.

PROJECT: The odour of money
MEDIUM: *L'Unità, La Repubblica*, and books, including *L'odore dei soldi*
JOURNALIST: Marco Travaglio
DATE: Latest book: October 2004
DESCRIPTION: Travaglio is known for his in-depth knowledge of documents and histories relating to his subjects. He has a great capacity to recombine all the facts. He followed the most significant Italian political, legal and financial affairs over the last decade, such as the *Mani Pulite* trials (operation 'Clean Hands'), the big corruption affairs and trials of the nineties. Travaglio made startling 'disclosures' by simply publishing Public Acts and blowing away the dust of years of censorship of documents that were available for everyone, but nobody knew. His method: no laziness. He devoted endless energy in working through the stacks of Italian documents and eventually interpreting the significance of the texts in a comprehensible way.

PROJECT: The Sicilians
MEDIUM: RAI-TV
JOURNALIST: Michele Gambino
DATE: The nineties
DESCRIPTION: Gambino's investigations are always based on extensive research of various documents, backed up by facts he unearthed during his thorough fieldwork. Gambino: 'Even in the most closed society it is possible to find deep throats, but only if the journalist specialises in one or two specific themes, which will provide him with the necessary knowledge of sources, persons and networks, to build up interesting case studies.' Fifteen years of journalistic investigations have led to a lot of charges and indictments. Persons such as Berlusconi and other politicians have taken him to court. It became his second job and indeed kept him from his work. He now works for RAI-3 TV and creates programmes.

PROJECT: If this is the UN
MEDIUM: *Report* (RAI-3 TV)
JOURNALIST: Paolo Mondani and others
DATE: 10 September 2004
DESCRIPTION: Mondani has worked as an investigative journalist for various newspapers and magazines, and is now involved in television productions. The programme *Report* is produced externally. Authors film using their own cameras; the editors do the cuts autonomously,

after which a kind of half-product goes to the final editing, carried out by *Report's* editors. For the item 'If this is the UN' the *Report* journalists went to the United Nations in New York, researched documents and interviewed people about the *Oil for Food* scandal. Subsequently, they went to Baghdad to question people about the role of the UN, they went to Israel to speak with many different people – from Israeli secret service agents to Palestinian civilians and militants to Israeli filmmakers. Lastly, they visited a third place: the Sahrawi region between Morocco and Algeria, and continued on into Monrovia, Liberia, and then Kosovo. They travelled to these places in order to get a grip on the organisation of the UN, with a focus on the financial expenditures and the politics that drive the UN. *Report* brings out a series of seventeen programmes per year. It is broadcast late in the evening, the programme reaches about two million people, more than any newspaper ever will.

PROJECT: The hunt for Bin Laden
MEDIUM: *L'Espresso*, and a book
JOURNALIST: Leo Sisti
DATE: 2004

DESCRIPTION: In his latest book *Caccia a Bin Laden – Lo sceicco del terrore* ('*Hunt for Bin Laden – The Sheik of Terror*') Sisti follows money trails of the Al Qaeda network. He explored documents and researched Arabic charity organisations, which played a part in the organisation of 9-11. Sisti has a great reputation in investigating political and economic corruption, which started with the bankers Michele Sindona and Roberto Calvi cases, or the scandal around the Banco Ambrosiano. He is a very precise and experienced journalist who usually takes legal documents as a starting point. He has developed a confrontational style of investigative journalism, by confronting sources such as bankers, investigators, magistrates. Sisti: 'Everything starts with the concept of the source. It is always necessary to be very annoying, to follow people, telephone a lot, and irritate them! Then collect and recombine all that information.' Legal documents can serve as proof, and can prevent later indictments. Sisti wrote books together with other investigative journalists such as Peter Gomez and Marco Travaglio.

PROJECT: Baldoni-Iraq
MEDIUM: *Diario della Settimana*
JOURNALIST: Marina Morpurgo
DATE: Ongoing

DESCRIPTION: Enzo Baldoni was reporting from Iraq for *Diario della Settimana*. He was taken hostage and became the second Italian hostage to be killed in Iraq, at the end of August 2004. As with Iraq was the case, *Diario della Settimana* always tries to report from difficult accessible areas, as an integral part of their policy. The dynamics behind the killing of Baldoni and another hostage (Ghareeb) were and still are subject to

investigation of *Diario*. In this weekly magazine the ‘investigation old style’ is based on hard proof: the essential documents and personal facts. The *Diario della Settimana* always tries to delve as deep as possible into a case; the reporter has to visit the places that are a must. The literary style typical of *Diario* is obligatory as well. *Diario* deals with many different subjects over a broad spectrum, focused on politics, economic scandals, foreign policy, Iraq. The investigations are above all led by current news affairs, which often have follow-ups. Special national cases *Diario* focused on are the money – and political – tracks behind (privatised) major infrastructural constructions such as roads and rail tracks, in the ‘Val di Susa’ region above Turin.

PROJECT: Sicily, Cosa Nostra
MEDIUM: *L’Unità*, and books
JOURNALIST: Saverio Lodato
DATE: Ongoing
DESCRIPTION: In 1999, a book was published, based on a long interview with ex-Mafia chief Tommaso Buscetta. Lodato doesn’t like the use of anonymous sources and he was arrested in the eighties for not revealing the name of an anonymous source, together with Attilio Bolzoni, a journalist for *La Repubblica*. They were kept a week in isolation in a Sicilian high security jail. Lodato knows the island as well as all the ins and outs of the Mafia wars in the eighties. He kept a close eye on the trials against former President Andreotti. Lodato and Bolzoni are the only journalists still frequently writing on Sicilian organised crime for a national newspaper. He follows the trials, studies the documents and he hangs around in the back streets of the island. Has an extensive network of sources in all levels of society. Because of his network and protracted experience and perspective, he can make the links from *Cosa Nostra* to *Mani Pulite* (operation ‘Clean Hands’) or *Tangentopoli* (‘Bribeville’, the name used to indicate the corruption-based system that ruled Italy until operation ‘Clean Hands’ ended this in the early nineties).

PROJECT: G-8 trials, police, secret services, political movements
MEDIUM: *Il Manifesto*
JOURNALIST: Alessandro Mantovani
DATE: Since 2001
DESCRIPTION: This newspaper has always struggled for survival, since it became independent from direct political powers. However, consequently, no money or time is available for real investigations. Mantovani concentrated on the G-8 court cases in Genoa, and on the ‘New Red Brigades’ who killed two governmental advisors in the last five years. He has a great knowledge of the judicial and police authorities, but also of antagonist movements. He meets with judges and police officials just as easily as with the ‘no globals’. He knows everybody he writes about, and he verifies their information by confronting all the facts with various

sources. He obtained firsthand information on the police who falsified important evidence in the Genoa G-8 cases.

PROJECT: Developing new technological modality for transmitting video from undemocratic countries.
MEDIUM: RAI News24
JOURNALIST: Maurizio Torrealta
DATE: 2005
DESCRIPTION: Torrealta was the first one to take up the Ilaria Alpi case, the journalist for RAI-3 Tv who was killed in Somalia together with her cameraman Miran Hrovatin in 1994. Torrealta had worked with her at the Tg3 RAI television journal. He researched in Somalia and other places. He is now editor in chief at RAINews24 and coordinator of the EBU All News Group. In RAINews24 he is in charge of experimenting the use by journalists of digital video cameras and video transmission over the Internet in order to bypass censorship at the feed point in countries with such habits. At the end of January, the Parliamentary Committee that investigates the assassination of Alpi and Hrovatin in Somalia had his house and office searched, without any formal indictment. Various journalists and the FNSI see this as an intimidation by the same committee.

Netherlands

PROJECT: The safest municipalities
MEDIUM: *Elsevier*
JOURNALIST: Arthur van Leeuwen, Gaby Vullings
DATE: 14 June 2003
DESCRIPTION: The weekly magazine *Elsevier* has established a tradition of an annual comparison of municipalities, focussing on a certain aspect every year. This time 'security' was the underlying theme. The reporters collected statistics from all kinds of sources for example data on crime, traffic accidents, and feelings of fear that were reported in large-scale surveys. This required long and tedious negotiations with several authorities, as much of the data was not publicly available. The project took five months, and the results were a surprise to many. Specifically citizens confronted local politicians for the first time with their municipality's ranking. For the first time they got an overall impression of level of security in their town compared to other places. For the magazine this is an example of 'news you can use', in the sense that it may facilitate choices for an individual or a family.

PROJECT: A noisy airport
MEDIUM: *de Volkskrant*
JOURNALIST: Jan Meeus, John Schoorl
DATE: 20 August 2003
DESCRIPTION: The Netherlands is a densely populated country and Schiphol, the national airport, is situated in the heart of the largest population concentration. As the airport continued to grow over the years, the complaints about level of noise became louder. The noise nuisance was a central issue in the debates on the permission for the airport to open a sixth runway. To settle the ongoing debates about measuring or calculating noise for once and for all, the Minister of Transport appointed an advisory committee chaired by the country's most eminent acoustician, Professor Guus Berkhout. The reporters revealed how civil servants and airport officials systematically obstructed Berkhout. They did not really want an independent enquiry. The reporters clearly showed how authorities were masking an unwanted truth, and they convinced Berkhout to go on the record with his side of the story.

PROJECT: Ahold – reconstructing the scandal
MEDIUM: *NRC Handelsblad*
JOURNALIST: Joost Oranje, Jeroen Wester
DATE: February 2004
DESCRIPTION: The Dutch food retailer Ahold was one of the heroes of the booming nineties: it grew continually, and was always taking over new companies in ever more countries. Until things went pear-shaped: it turned out the company had been cooking the books. In particular, it had been consolidating profits of daughter companies without sufficient competence to do so. This came out in February 2003. One of the reporters then began to build a network of contacts in and around the company, both in the Netherlands and in many other countries, for example in Norway and Sweden. The aim was to make a reconstruction of the whole affair, to be published one year later. Because he had so much time, he could gain the confidence of many important players. As a result, the reporters eventually had copies of the secret side letters to contracts that constituted the core of the fraud. And the more documents they obtained, the more easily they could convince their sources to tell them even more, or to give them additional documents. They published the story in four parts covering two broadsheet pages each. The project won the first VVOJ Award for investigative journalism in the category textual productions.

PROJECT: Attendance and voting in the European Parliament
MEDIUM: *NRC Handelsblad*
JOURNALIST: Dick van Eijk
DATE: May 2004

DESCRIPTION: Members of the European Parliament have a varying rate of attendance and participation in roll call voting. Interesting questions in this respect are: who attends and who does not, and what difference does it make? The reporter converted over 600 files with voting and attendance data into a huge database. This allowed him to analyse five years of data, which showed that nationality is an important parameter to explain differences in attendance: for instance, Italians show up far less than the Dutch do. On the basis of the voting data, the reporter could prove that, contrary to what many believe, voting in the European Parliament tends to go along party lines more so than along lines of nationality. This was not the case in the early days of the European Parliament. The data also showed numerous irregularities, such as dead Members attending meetings.

PROJECT: The Bilderberg Conference of 1954
MEDIUM: *Andere Tijden*
JOURNALIST: Karin van den Born, Rob Bruins, Gerda Jansen Hendriks, Hendrina Praamsma
DATE: 6 January 2004

DESCRIPTION: The Bilderberg Conference was originally an initiative of Prince Bernhard, the late husband of the former queen Juliana. They turned into annual meetings of politicians, scientists, businessmen and other members of the world elite. From the beginning, there have been rumours about these conferences being a secret world government. *Andere Tijden* ('Different Times') is a television programme that does investigative stories on the past. They decided to make a reconstruction of the first conference in Hotel De Bilderberg in the village of Oosterbeek, to be broadcast fifty years after the original conference took place. After a long quest in many different archives they found documents about the conference, personal notes of some participants, and tapes of the conference sessions. The discussions showed the immense divide between Europe and the US at that time. The reporters convinced several of the surviving original participants, among others Prince Bernhard, to share their memories of the conference with them.

PROJECT: Domestic tax havens
MEDIUM: *De Telegraaf*
JOURNALIST: Martijn Koolhoven
DATE: June 2004
DESCRIPTION: All citizens are equal when it comes to taxes. But some are more equal than others, a reporter of the country's largest newspaper discovered. Certain groups of anti-social and sometimes violent people paid only three percent of their income in taxes, which was formally confirmed by an official ruling. The investigation started off with tip-offs from people in the reporter's professional network of sources. The tips concerned a trailer park in Maastricht, which at the time made the

headlines because of police raids. He told his sources he wanted to talk about this trailer park, but he didn't reveal in advance that he wanted information on the three- percent ruling. However, in all interviews he discussed the ruling with his sources. Incidentally, the Deputy Minister of Finance responsible for taxes was unaware of the existence of such a ruling. After the first publication, more tips came in, suggesting that this trailer park was not an exception to the rule, the ruling might have concerned many others. The publication led to Parliamentary questions and it led to the end of the ruling. Because the reporter and the newspaper had been threatened, the newspaper decided this was serious enough reason not to further pursue the subject.

PROJECT: Schools' fortunes
MEDIUM: *het Onderwijsblad*
JOURNALIST: Yvonne van de Meent
DATE: 20 March 2004
DESCRIPTION: Schools for post-secondary vocational training have had a good time: around the turn of the century they were able to save substantial amounts of money and to add them to their assets. Their total savings added up to two billion euro, according to one school director. The reporter tried to get an overview of the financial situation of all 42 schools for post-secondary vocational training. She had done a similar investigation on polytechnics earlier. However, obtaining the required data was not easy. Obstruction by the Ministry of Education and several schools made it a time-consuming job. In the end, the reporter was able to enter all the financial data into an Excel file and could then analyse the financial position of each individual school. In addition, she interviewed about twenty-five people, to see if the conclusions of her research could be confirmed and explained. Some of the schools turned out to be very wealthy indeed, but in 2002 half of them reported a loss.

PROJECT: Violence in detention centre Den Engh
MEDIUM: *Utrechts Nieuwsblad*
JOURNALIST: Iris van den Boom, Dylan de Gruijl, Ard Schouten
DATE: April 2004
DESCRIPTION: The trigger for the investigation into a youth prison in the newspaper's region was an anonymous letter. According to the letter-writer, several cases of violence – as severe as rape – were kept secret by the board of the institute. A young women who lived nearby the centre and who had been raped by an inmate, was offered a moped by the board if she did not go to the police. It took the reporters a lot of time and effort to gain the confidence of their sources and to convince them to talk. They spent seven months on the project, while covering the daily news as well. They spent much effort on a comprehensible presentation of the story, spread over three consecutive days.

PROJECT: Special Forces in Afghanistan and Iraq
MEDIUM: *Argos*
JOURNALIST: Huub Jaspers
DATE: 14 May 2004
DESCRIPTION: Dutch troops take part in secret military operations in countries like Afghanistan and Iraq, usually, but not always, as Special Forces. The investigative radio programme *Argos* was triggered by the words of a high-ranking defence official that they should not ask questions about secret operations in an interview they were going to have with the Minister of Defence. Using the Internet – for example websites of local newspapers in the US, archives and military sources – the reporter tried to reconstruct how many casualties there were among American Special Forces in Afghanistan and Iraq. The information he found was discussed with confidential intelligence sources. According to the investigation, 2,200 American Special Forces members died from the start of the operations until April 2004, which is a high number by all standards. Compensation for these losses was probably the main reason for the US to urgently request allies such as the Netherlands to support the operations with their Special Forces.

PROJECT: An expensive office
MEDIUM: *RTL Nieuws*
JOURNALIST: Diederick Kraaijeveld
DATE: 2003
DESCRIPTION: Over one million Dutch persons receive their unemployment or disability allowance from the UWV, a new quasi non-governmental organisation. The reporter set out to check rumours that the office of the new organisation had been furnished rather lavishly. Wearing a safety helmet and carrying a hidden camera, he entered the construction site and filmed the interior design of marble and hardwood. The board of the UWV had decided the original interior was not good enough, especially in the board's own wing. The programme led to tough questions in Parliament and a lot of trouble for the Minister of Social Affairs. In the end, the CEO of UWV was transferred to another (well-paid) job. The project won the first VVOJ Award for investigative journalism in the category audio-visual productions.

PROJECT: How honest is the police?
MEDIUM: *Panorama*
JOURNALIST: Marco van Barneveld
DATE: 23 July 2003
DESCRIPTION: Keeping lost and found objects is one of the tasks of the Dutch police. But what happens if one delivers a mobile phone at a police station, as a found object? This is exactly what the reporter of the popular weekly magazine *Panorama* did, and he did so at ten different police stations. After two weeks, he inquired at the same police stations

whether his mobile phone had been found. The score was fifty percent; which was about the same result the magazine got five years earlier when it did a similar test with a wallet containing 200 guilders. Only when the reporter introduced himself as a reporter who was testing police service did the other five phones show up. But the average citizen would have to have managed without it.

PROJECT: Construction fraud
MEDIUM: *Zembla*
JOURNALIST: Jos van Dongen, Oscar van der Kroon
DATE: November 2001
DESCRIPTION: The construction business is probably one of the sectors most prone to fraud and corruption anywhere. But it is not easy to reveal such corruption in a country where it is not common to publish the names of corrupt politicians and civil servants. The reporters of the monthly investigative television programme *Zembla* struck a deal with a manager of a construction company who wanted to serve as a whistleblower. His shadow bookkeeping was the starting point for their investigations into many other cases. Obviously, most of the people involved did not want to talk, or at least not on camera. But with a lot of stamina the reporters succeeded in building a story that was strong enough to generate a cascade of consequences, from a Parliamentary investigation to prosecution of the major construction companies and some of their board members.

Norway

PROJECT: The robber-fishers
MEDIUM: *Brennpunkt*
JOURNALIST: Svein Bæren, Rune Ytreberg
DATE: 20 September 2004
DESCRIPTION: The Russian ship-owner Sogra was convicted by a Norwegian court for fishing in excess of the permitted quota in Norwegian waters. During the court case it turned out that the Russians had rented a trawler from the Norwegian company Ocean Trawlers. The investigation by the reporters showed that the company had been involved in other cases of illegal fishing as well. They talked to many Russian sailors and Norwegian fish traders and gradually found out that a substantial part of the Russian over-fishing of the Barents Sea was actually taking place under the supervision of Norwegian companies. The ten companies involved rented over fifty trawlers to Russians, and financed the trade of Russian fish quota. Although the actual lists of foreign trawlers allowed to fish in Norwegian waters were secret, the reporters managed to reconstruct most of them with the help of data

from various Norwegian, Russian, British, Dutch and Chinese sources. The programme concentrated on Ocean Trawlers because it was the largest Norwegian company involved in illegal fishing in the Barents Sea. One of the reporters worked over three years on the case – besides other projects. Over 200 people were interviewed in several countries and an enormous amount of electronic and printed documents were collected. The project won the SKUP-prize in 2005.

PROJECT: Underage burglars
MEDIUM: *Sydvesten*
JOURNALIST: Trond Olav Skrunes
DATE: June 2004 to January 2005
DESCRIPTION: What started as a common burglary in a local school gradually evolved into a case on the police treatment of a bunch of fourteen and fifteen-year suspects. The reporter at the small local weekly (circulation 2,000) in the Southwest of Norway started his investigation after a phone call and follow-up letter of one of the suspects' parents. Their child and his friends were caught the night of the burglary, were handcuffed and locked in a cell. The police did not contact the parents. This seemed to be a violation of several laws and regulations on how police should treat children. It was only after the weekly started publishing on the case, that a formal investigation into the conduct of the police was initiated. But this did not touch upon many of the essential aspects of the case, so the cat-and-mouse game of the publishing medium, the complaining parents, the investigating authorities and the uncomfortable policemen went on for months. The case became of national importance when the state attorney concluded the law was not clear in cases like this, and should be amended – a recommendation that was recognised by the Justice Department.

PROJECT: Local networks of power
MEDIUM: *Adresseavisen*
JOURNALIST: Mari K. By Rise, Lajla Ellingsen
DATE: August 2003 to January 2004
DESCRIPTION: Who's in power in Trondheim, Norway's third largest city, and its surroundings; how do they operate and what do their networks look like? Those were the simple questions with which two reporters of the local newspaper started. They made lists of potentially powerful persons – based on their positions with access to power – and of sources with a good overview of a particular field in society, such as local business, health care or bureaucracy. Many people were on both lists. The reporters collected all the formal information on the potentially powerful, such as data from the trade register, the Norwegian 'Who is Who', and all sorts of archives, including those of the newspaper. About 90 people were interviewed anonymously. All of them were asked to place themselves in the networks of power. The reporters tried to be as

practical as possible in their questions: if you think this person is so powerful: why? How does he exercise his power? With whom? Can you give examples? And so on. The reporters tried to attend as many meetings of the powerful as possible. Sometimes they were thrown out. They spent much time checking the facts and the stories their sources told them. Finally, they drew up a list in ranking order and wrote a few case studies. Incidentally, the editor and publisher of the newspaper were high up on the list.

PROJECT: The Lucia foundation
MEDIUM: *Verdens Gang*
JOURNALIST: Tor Strand, Rolf Widerøe
DATE: 2003 to 2005
DESCRIPTION: In 2000, the reporters started collecting material on an Iranian psychiatrist in Oslo. They had two separate leads: a general tip that he was involved in criminal activities, and a few months later a former employee his organisation, the Lucia foundation, suggested he was involved in setting fire to the apartment building where the former employee lived. It took the reporters over two years to collect sufficient material to prove that the man was the leader of a criminal group in Oslo, involved in drugs, cars, gambling, restaurants, bogus companies, and so on. At the same time he was working as a psychiatrist in a hospital. Many of his business partners were also his patients. After a while, the reporters started to systematically list information on documents, people and events. Several hundred people were involved as sources or subjects. Over a hundred stories were published about the case. Half a year after the first publication, the police started its own investigation into the case. The man was arrested during a huge police raid, in which seventy policemen raided eighteen different addresses. He has been put on trial and the authorities have taken all patients out of the Lucia foundation's homes. The project won the SKUP-prize in 2004.

PROJECT: The Tønne case
MEDIUM: *Dagbladet*
JOURNALIST: Tormod Haugstad, Torgeir Lorentzen, Erling Ramnefjell
DATE: December 2002
DESCRIPTION: Former Cabinet Member Tore Tønne received about 200,000 euro from a leading Norwegian industrialist, Kjell Inge Røkke, for just six weeks of consultancy work, a lobbying job. This scoop was the kick-off of the so-called Tønne case. Not only was there a lot of money involved, the amount exceeded the fees permitted by law, because Tønne also received so-called after-salary as a former Minister. Successive publications made clear that Tønne and Røkke had had close ties for a long time, even during the time that Tønne was in the cabinet. For instance, he received a substantial loan from Røkke. The reporters obtained public documents as well as leaked documents to support their

case. A series of stories ran day after day, revealing new facts every time. After a week a police investigation was initiated, because what Tønne had done might have been an economic crime. A week after this event, Tore Tønne committed suicide. This led to a tremendous debate in the Norwegian media. The facts revealed by *Dagbladet*, however, were never contested. The debate was mainly about the presentation of the facts. A problem for *Dagbladet* was that Tore Tønne did not want to talk to the newspaper after the first publication, although he gave interviews to some other media. A consequence of this was that the reporters had no opportunity to observe and judge how he reacted to their allegations.

PROJECT: Cross-country skiers on dope
MEDIUM: *Rikets Tilstand*
JOURNALIST: Gerhard Helskog, Kjell Persen, Per Norvik
DATE: November 2002
DESCRIPTION: The programme investigated what kind of medication was brought into Lillehammer at the Olympic Winter Games of 1994, and what was returned. A lot of the medicines disappeared, reason enough to ask tough questions. While they were looking for documents, the reporters ran into a list of medicaments of the cross-country skiing team, Norway's national pride that had won so many gold medals. The team seemed to behave very secretly. The team doctor made an uncertain appearance on camera. The impression something was wrong arose. The email correspondence between the reporters and staff of the ski team in the period between the interview and the broadcast three weeks later confirmed the journalists' suspicion. Every reaction could be interpreted as 'they are hiding something'. So the programme was broadcast with allegations of doping use and it included images of the winning Norwegian athletes. Other media followed suit and referred to the programme *Rikets Tilstand*. Then all hell broke loose in Norway. It turned out the whole accusation was false. What had gone wrong? The list did not contain the medicine the team had bought, but only what it had been offered. The status of the list had not been checked thoroughly enough. This had an enormous backlash on TV2 as a whole. The channel had to pay 600,000 euro in compensations, and two skiers terminated their cooperation with a different TV2 show.

PROJECT: Judged by one's peers?
MEDIUM: *Dagbladet*
JOURNALIST: Anders Hagen, Ebbe Aarvåg
DATE: June and July 2002
DESCRIPTION: In Norway there are trials by jury. The idea behind jury trials is that people are judged by their peers. Was this presumption true? The newspaper created a database of members of juries in appeal cases. Because tax data are public in Norway, the reporter could add income and property data of the jury members to the database. The data of

several thousand jurors were entered manually. Then they were sent a survey of over a hundred questions; for this part a polling company was hired. The response was sufficient to be representative of all jurors. The reporters could compare jurors with the population as a whole: they concluded that jurors turned out to be richer, older, better educated and they worked in the public sector more often than the average Norwegian citizen. Besides, many jurors were interviewed, as well as the persons responsible for recruiting jury members. The response from about 1,200 jurors and all the interviews created a reserve of publishable stories for up to two weeks in a row – 25 pages – and several follow-up stories later in the year.

PROJECT: Cheating taxi drivers
MEDIUM: *NRK Fakta*
JOURNALIST: Kaja Frøysa, Kjell Vesje, Caroline Rugeldal
DATE: October 2004
DESCRIPTION: Many taxi drivers in Oslo charged their passengers too much, and did not report this extra income to the tax authorities. There was about sixty million euro in non-declared taxable income involved. The problem for the reporters was to find a taxi driver that had done this to talk. Most of them were immigrants from Pakistan and they were even more difficult to convince than native Norwegians were. The reporters discussed using hidden microphones, but were not satisfied with that approach. They took taxis all the time, and talked with numerous drivers. Finally they found a cab driver willing to cooperate, one that was representative of all the taxi drivers involved. Having a main character was considered necessary to be able to relate such a complicated story in a comprehensible manner in a half-hour radio documentary. The man talked on tape, but was referred to by a pseudonym in the programme. Information from other sources supported his story. The reporters also gathered lots of documents and other background information that was not dealt with in the documentary, but it was essential information to ascertain that the story that went on air was correct.

PROJECT: Dexamin
MEDIUM: *Aftenposten*
JOURNALIST: Anne Hafstad
DATE: 2000
DESCRIPTION: The project started with tips from parents who said that Dexamin, the medicine their hyperactive children had been prescribed, was not as effective as they had expected. The reporter, who holds a degree in medicine, delved into the medical literature. She found a relatively old article from 1976, which stated there were actually two different varieties of this substance. Could it be that the international literature on effects was based on one variety, while the Norwegian

patients would be prescribed the other, less effective one that, coincidentally, also had more side effects? In the Norwegian pharmaceutical handbooks there were no references to the two different varieties. She found out there had been some correspondence about the failing effect of Dexamin in the mail archives of the Norwegian drug administration. But even the country's leading experts on hyperactivity did not know why the medicine was less effective than it should be according to the international literature. However, the hypothesis of there being two different substances instead of one, seemed interesting. After several attempts to find informal sources within the drug administration, one of them confirmed, off the record, that the reporter's hypothesis was correct. A leaked report of the national laboratory of forensic toxicology confirmed her findings as well. Medical authorities that were confronted with the case tried to play it down. But the day after the publication of the story the Health Minister promised that Norwegian patients would get the more effective variety of the drug from then on. Between 500 and 1,000 Norwegian patients use Dexamin. The project won the SKUP-prize in 2001.

Poland

PROJECT: Taboos
MEDIUM: *Polityka* (weekly)
JOURNALISTS: Miroslaw Peczak, Jerzy Baczynski, Wieslaw Wladyka, Adam Szostkiewicz, Mariusz Janicki, Ewa Wilk, Joanna Podgorska, Ewa Nowakowska, Barbara Pietkiewicz, Piotr Sarzynski
DATE: June 2003
DESCRIPTION: In 16 articles, written by a group of journalists, the Polish taboos were examined in depth. After the decline of communism in 1989, Polish society was confronted with a huge amount of frustrations. Although since then everything could be said and written, there remained subjects or ways of expressing oneself, that were considered to be insubordinations to certain values. The authors chose the following issues: the pope, the authorities, capitalism, socialism, history, anti-Semitism, money, farmers, dullness, abortion, freemasonry, feminism, homosexuality, molestation, death and provocative art. The studies were sharp and often ironical, but always very much to the point. They focussed on the hot items in Polish contemporary society, which has to deal with the challenges of the European Union and at the same time has to get even with the complexity of the country's tragic past.

PROJECT: Rywingate
MEDIUM: *Newsweek Polska* (weekly)
JOURNALISTS: Grzegorz Indulski, Michal Karnowski, Amelia Lukasiak, Andrzej Potocki, Agnieszka Rybak
DATE: January 2003
DESCRIPTION: 'Rywingate' became an expression in Poland. The main actors in the affair were Adam Michnik, the editor of *Gazeta Wyborcza* ('Election newspaper'), one of the largest newspapers in post-communist Poland, Leszek Miller, former Prime Minister, and Lew Rywin, film producer, who produced Spielberg's *Schindler's List* and Polanski's *The Pianist* among others. *Gazeta Wyborcza* revealed the affair at the end of December 2002. On the front page the headlines read that in June 2001, Rywin made a proposal to Michnik. Michnik could amend an unfortunate media law in exchange for 17.5 million dollars. Michnik secretly taped the conversation, and published the contents, not immediately, but after five months. The *Newsweek Polska* article 'Rywingate, a drama in several acts' revealed a new scandal within the old one. The journalists discovered that most members of the KRRiTV (the National Board for Radio and Television) didn't know that the law on radio and television provided the possibility to privatise one of the public television channels. The members of the commission that investigated Rywingate often referred to this article. The whole Rywin case was about the biggest media war Poland ever had, with all the usual ingredients of a scandal: secret money, political influence on the media, freedom of speech, etcetera. It was a never-ending story, which no one will ever completely understand and nobody in it will ever be properly sentenced.

PROJECT: The brotherhood never forgives
MEDIUM: *Newsweek Polska* (weekly)
JOURNALISTS: M. Karnowski, A.R. Potocki
DATE: November 2003
DESCRIPTION: In Poland there are about a hundred and fifty sects. One of them is the Himawanti Brotherhood, with more than 3,000 members. It preaches a mixture of ideas, taken from different eastern religions, with elements of Hindu, Sufi, mystics, yoga and so on. Himawanti claims everything that hinders the human individual to develop himself has to disappear. Its guru is the 42 year-old astronomer and Aikido fighter Ryszard Matuszewski, alias 'Mohan'. The article revealed that the Himawanti sect threatened to commit terrorist attacks. The members said they would blow up the famous monastery of Jasna Gora (The Clear Mountain), one the most magnificent places in Poland, where millions of pilgrims come to gather and pray every year. They also declared they would kill the pope. In the article, the author revealed that teachers of secondary schools were also members of this sect. The Minister of Education consequently ordered the curators to investigate which

members worked in schools. The guru of the sect was sentenced and imprisoned for three and a half years. In January 2004, the Polish television programme *Superwizjer* aired a reportage by Monika Bartkiewicz on this matter.

PROJECT: Barrier, post-communist censorship.
MEDIUM: TVP
JOURNALIST: Adam Bogoryja-Zakrzewski
DATE: 2001
DESCRIPTION: The film *Szlaban* (Barrier) described an extreme case of censorship. The censored film was called *Witajcie w zyciu* ('You are welcome in life') and was directed by Henryk Dederko. The subject of the film was the daily management of the firm Amway. Dederko showed the quasi-religious mentality of the Amway activities and influence on the psyche of all the people that were involved in the firm. The film was honoured with the Grand Prix at the VII festival of media in Lodz, the most important film town of Poland. Shortly after the premiere the provincial court in Warsaw prohibited the distribution of the film on Amway's demand. Amway continued to sue Dederko.

PROJECT: Friends from the shooting club
MEDIUM: *Rzeczpospolita*
JOURNALISTS: Anna Marszalek, Bertold Kittel
DATE: 22 November 2000 and 12 February 2001
DESCRIPTION: The two articles 'Judges for hire' and 'Friends from the shooting club' courageously revealed the deals that existed in the town of Torun, where judges were the neighbours of ordinary criminals. Those criminals were known for their murders, bomb scares, shoot-outs, mafia practices and blackmail. They also tried to intimidate journalists who wrote about these affairs. Some judges frequented the same shooting club, called *Magnum*, as the gangsters. It appeared that judges from different Polish towns also attended this club. The gangsters were often very rich businessman, in among other things, the meat industry. As a result of the publications by Kittel and Marszalek, some judges were fired.

PROJECT: The cooked priest
MEDIUM: *Newsweek Polska* and *Superwizjer* (TVN)
JOURNALISTS: M. Keskrawiec, J. Bazan
DATE: 18 May 2003
DESCRIPTION: The investigation concerned a church employee and a priest from Bielsko-Biala, in the southern part of Poland. The reporters revealed these two persons were responsible for the restitution of the assets of the church, which were stolen during the communist period. The employee and the priest, however, took personal benefit. This case shocked the country, where the church is supported by a large part of the population.

PROJECT: Murder with international consent
MEDIUM: *TV Polsat*
JOURNALIST: Krystyna Kurczab-Redlich
DATE: 2003
DESCRIPTION: This extremely powerful and sometimes drastic documentary does not pretend to be impartial. It is a passionate accusation of the Russian authorities of the mass violation of human rights in Chechnya under the guise of an anti-terrorist campaign. While increasing state terror in Chechnya, Moscow conducted a constitutional referendum, which included a vote for Parliamentary representatives and the Presidency. The terrified populace generally had no idea what the referendum was about. The Kremlin triumphantly announced that the outcome of the vote confirmed that Chechnya was a part of Russia. The death sentence is meted out in Chechnya every day for the smallest opposition to the authorities. The systematic use of torture in filtration camps continues. In her film, Krystyna Kurczab-Redlich, who has worked as a correspondent for Polsat television in Moscow for many years, accused not only the Russian authorities but she also condemned the silence of the international community. This film had a tremendous moral and informative value at a time when Chechnya was cut off from the world; it was practically unreachable for journalists.

PROJECT: A million dollar medicine
MEDIUM: *Rzeczpospolita*
JOURNALISTS: Andrzej Stankiewicz, Małgorzata Solecka
DATE: 2003
DESCRIPTION: Aleksander Nauman was the head of the National Health Foundation and Minister of Health in the post-communist SLD party (Union of leftist democrats). He was involved in a huge financial scandal with tentacles that reached Switzerland. The investigative journalists exposed a corrupted network in the department of drug registration in the Ministry of Health. They revealed suspicious developments involving the closest associates of the former Minister of Health Mariusz Lapinski. As a consequence, the prosecutors made an accusation of corruption against the Chief Cabinet Secretary. Nauman is now the symbol of corruption in Poland. The journalists continued their digging in the same field and published 'Przyjaciele ze Szwajcarii' ('Friends from Switzerland') and 'Dobry adres pod Alpami' ('A good address in the Alps'). The journalists were awarded the Grand Press Award for Investigative Journalism in 2003 and the Grand Award for the Freedom of Speech.

PROJECT: Skin trade
MEDIUM: *Gazeta Wyborcza* and Lodz Public Radio
JOURNALISTS: Tomasz Patora, Marcin Stelmasiak, Przemyslaw Witkowski
DATE: 2002

DESCRIPTION: This project probably represents one of the most spectacular and morbid cases in the history of European investigative journalism. It dealt with corruption in the local ambulance service. The investigation exposed the sale of dead patient corpses to Polish undertakers. It started with a war between the funeral homes, which was comparable to gang warfare. Because people were involved there were leaks. The journalists noticed the leaks and started talks with everybody who might be involved. Ambulance corruption was the case in many cities in Poland, but this case was investigated in Lodz. *Gazeta Wyborcza* ran the story for several weeks and seventy people, who were involved in the network that sold dead bodies, were prosecuted. The ambulance team, the paramedics and the doctors knew about a patient who was about to die; even while he was not even dead they would send a message to the funeral home with which they had an illegal agreement. Some of the doctors and paramedics even decided to shorten the life of a person. The funeral homes paid them, because their business is profitable. Currently, the case is pending in court, and the suspects will be sentenced. The journalistic investigation lasted nine months. The team defied risks, displayed courage and determined reporting to produce the kind of journalism – according to the jury report of the *Kurt Schork Award* 2002 of Columbia University in New York – ‘that changes minds’. The story was also nominated for the Grand Press award for investigative journalism in Poland. Director Rafal Lipka made a fictional film about it in 2003. The plot: two journalists, Marek and Piotr, are going for a horse ride. During this ride Piotr falls off his horse and is taken to hospital by ambulance. Then it transpires that Piotr died on his way to the hospital. Marek, who looked for answers to the many pressing questions connected to his friend’s death, came across traces of a scandal in the health service.

Portugal

PROJECT: Casa Pia, a paedophile/homosexual network in an orphanage
MEDIUM: *Expresso*
JOURNALIST: Felícia Cabrita
DATE: 25 November 2002
DESCRIPTION: After an anonymous phone call, Felícia Cabrita started investigating the rumours that personnel in the famous orphanage Casa Pia were forcing boys into sexual relations with men. After extensive research (she interviewed boys and former residents, family, staff and she read police reports) she discovered the board of the orphanage must have known about, or was maybe even involved in, the paedophile network. Her first publication in November 2002 on the role of staff member ‘Bibi’ had an enormous impact. When the case was reported on

television, victims of the paedophile network gave her several porn videocassettes on which they were filmed. Journalists and Justice authorities accused more famous Portuguese people of being involved in what was dubbed 'the Casa Pia case'. There was also much discussion about the way allegations – those of the journalists as well as the Justice Department – were made. Cabrita has continued her investigations until this day; nowadays she does this for the magazine *Grande Reportagem*. In September 2004, she disclosed the links of the Casa Pia orphanage with a French paedophile network.

PROJECT: The rebellious daughter
MEDIUM: *Expresso* and a book
JOURNALIST: José Pedro Castanheira, Valdemar Cruz
DATE: 2002; book December 2003
DESCRIPTION: During an interview in 1999, José Pedro Castanheira heard the unbelievable story of Annie Silva Pais, the daughter of the last director of the fascist secret police Pide, who suddenly moved to Cuba. In Cuba, she became the interpreter of Fidel Castro, while her father and his secret service were one of the main pillars of the dictatorship of Salazar. The 'escape' of Annie Silva Pais was never revealed in Portugal. Based on extensive research in various archives, visits to Cuba and the diary of Annie's mother, Castanheira and his colleague Valdemar Cruz were able to make a monumental reconstruction of the life of Annie in Cuba. Also, they revealed the panic in the secret service she caused by deciding to support the Cuban revolution. She returned to Portugal after the revolution of 1974 and played a role in the revolution, but she also tried to free her father. As the chief of the secret service, he was accused of organising the murder of Humberto Delgado, a presidential candidate who opposed the regime. The series in *Expresso* and the book, with dramatic stories of Portuguese recent history hitherto unknown, won the premium *Gazeta*, the main journalistic prize.

PROJECT: Secondary school results
MEDIUM: *O Público*
JOURNALIST: Antonio Granado
DATE: 27 August 2001
DESCRIPTION: Using the Portuguese law on access to documents, Antonio Granado tried to persuade the Ministry of Education to hand over the exam results of secondary schools. The government refused to do so and he appealed to the independent commission that judges rejected requests for official documents. The commission decided in his favour and ruled that the refusal of the Ministry of Education was an offence to the fundamental rights of transparency. The publication of the exam results had already been prepared in collaboration with the Universidade Catolica in Lisbon. Although the database was made accessible to all the media in early July, *O Público* was the first to publish an extensive list

and stories on the results of all Portuguese secondary schools by the end of August. The paper continued to publish this list every year, although the Minister of Education recently said that these lists are 'bad for schools' and he said he would try to end the publications. 'This will be very difficult, according to Portuguese law', commented Granado.

PROJECT: The socialist party in business
MEDIUM: *O Público*
JOURNALIST: Antonio Cerejo
DATE: January 2001
DESCRIPTION: During the local elections, the Socialist Party (PS) received vast amounts of funding from the firm Gitap. Many municipal councils with a socialist majority used the firm to develop town planning for building and construction. The directors of the firm are two well-known PS supporters. Cerejo revealed the ties that existed between Gitap, the marketing daughter firm Oficina de Eventos and the leaders of the PS in region of Covilhã. Together they set up a scheme that enabled the PS to avoid paying VAT (Value Added Tax) by using falsified invoices. Gitap also paid travel and hotel expenses of many local PS administrators in Brussels, as Cerejo discovered. A related story revealed that another firm in the same zone, Ceoga – also linked to Gitap – was ordered to construct the new library of Covilhã after the personal intervention of José Socrates, the current PS leader who was elected Prime Minister in February 2005. Socrates and Gitap threatened to sue Cerejo. Opposing political parties discussed the case in Parliament. For Cerejo the case 'was a perfect illustration of the promiscuity that exists Portugal between politicians and enterprises that do each other favours'.

PROJECT: The secret life of the wolf
MEDIUM: RTP television
JOURNALIST: Jacinto Godinho
DATE: 11 November 2004
DESCRIPTION: One of the largest groups of wolves in Europe lives on Portuguese territory. Today the wolf is a protected animal. Besides, it is very much alive in all kinds of Portuguese legends. Nevertheless, their life in the wild was never filmed. For three years the journalists of RTP tried to get near to a pack of wolves in two nature reserves and were able to film the wolves in their natural habitat.

PROJECT: The illegal import of protected animals
MEDIUM: RTP television
JOURNALIST: António Marques
DATE: August 2004
DESCRIPTION: After trafficking drugs and arms, the illegal import of protected animals is one of the most lucrative crimes. According to some estimations, the yearly profit from illegal animal transport is about two

to four million euro. Portugal, with its long coastline, is a big port of entrance for the animal smugglers from Africa or Latin America. Nevertheless, it is rare that illegal animal transports are discovered or stopped. António Marques followed the route of illegal animal transports, talked with merchants, and focussed on the lack of interest of the Portuguese custom authorities.

PROJECT: Franco and Salazar, the Iberian brothers
MEDIUM: RTP television
JOURNALIST: Fernando Bizarro, Joaquim Vieira
DATE: 16 October 2004
DESCRIPTION: This is a documentary on the two fascist dictators that ruled the Iberian Peninsula for decades. This documentary was a co-production of the Spanish journalist Fernando Bizarro and his Portuguese colleague Joaquim Vieira. It was based on archive material and interviews with opponents and supporters of the dictators, among them the communist leader Santiago Carillo (Spain), former Minister of the Franco regime Manuel Fraga and the former Portuguese Minister of Overseas Territories, Adriano Moreira. The documentary gave an impressive picture of the dictatorship in both countries.

Russia

PROJECT: Warning of terrorist attack ignored
MEDIUM: *Moskovskie Novosti* (weekly)
JOURNALIST: Igor Korolkov
DATE: 27 February 2004
DESCRIPTION: A few days after a bomb explosion close to a Moscow metro station killed forty people, *Moskovskie Novosti* received a letter from a policeman from Southern Russia. He claimed that weeks before the bomb exploded, he had sent detailed information to Moscow about the preparations of a terrorist attack. But the chief of the Police Department for combating organised crime had ordered his subordinates to ignore the warning. Through his contacts in police circles, Korolkov found out that the ignored report mentioned the names of the presumed terrorists, their temporary addresses in Moscow and the place where they supposedly had hidden the explosives. Also, the possible place of the attack was named. Furthermore, Korolkov heard that immediately after the bomb had exploded, a policeman had blamed the chief commissioner in charge of the death of innocent citizens. The chief commissioner then ordered a written report about the preparation of the terrorist attack, thereby using the information of the ignored report and he demanded the date would be changed to the day the attack took actually place. Publication on this affair in Moscow News did not lead to official

reactions or inquiries. The only reaction was a concerted campaign of misinformation in the media. Korolkov furthermore learnt that the police authorities tried to erase the original report from the registration files. Korolkov himself was invited for a conversation, but instead of receiving official denial or comment on the presented case, he was asked to name his sources.

PROJECT: Secret instruction for state organs to act unlawfully
MEDIUM: *Moskovskie Novosti* (weekly)
JOURNALIST: Igor Korolkov
DATE: September 2002
DESCRIPTION: Since the mid-nineties, veteran investigative reporter Korolkov has written about collusion cases between criminal gangs and state organs. In 1995, an extremely violent gang was arrested in the city of Vladivostok, in the Far East. They had committed at least sixteen murders. Korolkov noticed that former paratroopers with excellent military records held leading positions in the gang. One of them was a former officer of the GRU, the military intelligence service. The gang was very well equipped and trained. They recruited agents at all kinds of levels, such as militia and commercial firms. The gang members filed their intelligence data the same way the GRU does. The police found a complete archive. The official version of the facts as presented by the prosecution was that paratroopers and GRU officers had retired from the service and then became bad guys. Korolkov suspected that the gang was created by the GRU, but could not document it. Later, Korolkov observed similar developments evolving with respect to a gang in Nakhodka and in relation to (political) murders committed in Moscow by paratroopers. In 2002, Korolkov got hold of top-secret documents from the National Security Council, which approved of State organs creating structures, which could engage in unlawful activities to uphold the security of the state. According to Korolkov, these structures have become death squads; they sometimes work under strict instruction, but are often transformed into well-equipped gangs that are protected by high-level state officials. The publications in *Moskovskie Novosti*, in which Korolkov summarised these secret instructions, did not lead to further official inquiries. Indirectly, however, Korolkov got confirmation that the instructions were genuine.

PROJECT: Suicide-cases in military unit
MEDIUM: *TV2 Tomsk*
JOURNALIST:
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: A military unit is based in the closed city nuclear-industry Tomsk-7. Citizens of Tomsk-7 told reporters from TV2 that many cases of suicides were rumoured to occur among soldiers of this unit. With the assistance of the organisation 'Mothers of Soldiers', the names of boys

who had committed suicide in Tomsk-7 were tracked down. The commanders of the unit denied that the suicides had taken place, and asked the local authorities to prevent further inquiries. TV2 made a series of items about the unit and concluded that senior soldiers systematically beat the young recruits, which caused the wave of suicides. TV2 also concluded that the commanders didn't do anything to stop or prevent the beatings. After an official examination by the Moscow military authorities, the commander of the unit was promoted and subsequently transferred.

PROJECT: High electricity bills

MEDIUM: *TV2 Tomsk*

JOURNALIST:

DATE: 2003

DESCRIPTION: Some citizens who lived in private houses in Tomsk had electricity meters installed. They noticed the bills they received were structurally too high. TV2 was informed and the television station itself installed electricity meters in flats in different neighbourhoods to check whether overcharging of bills happened by mistake or deliberately and systematically. When TV2 reported after two months that the electricity company as a rule overcharged its customers, a scandal was born. The governor of Tomsk – who wanted to be re-elected in the upcoming elections – had electricity meters installed in every house in town within a few months.

PROJECT: Humanitarian aid in Beslan is not distributed

MEDIUM: *Versia* (weekly)

JOURNALIST: Dmitri Vasilev

DATE: 6 February 2005

DESCRIPTION: The magazine *Versia* made an inventory of what kind of aid was promised to the victims of the terror attack in the Caucasian town Beslan and which aid was eventually distributed. *Versia* noted that different lists existed with varying numbers of people who were entitled to financial compensation. Only half of the 933 persons who were on the shortest list had actually received compensation. Local bureaucrats were slow in paying the money; they argued that in many cases it was not clear whether or not the person who applied was entitled to compensation. However, as a matter of fact, only eight uncertain cases could be found. Funds reserved for repairing flats and houses that were damaged during the attack were not used. The inhabitants, however, didn't wait and started repairing their houses themselves, paying the costs out of their own pockets. Medicine and other humanitarian aid from abroad had to wait for clearance and they were not distributed, because of custom formalities. According to *Versia*, this is a typical pattern in the distribution of humanitarian aid: after endless delays, it becomes 'too complicated' to find the persons entitled to it and the aid

will be sold on the black market in neighbouring regions by people who have laid their hands on the goods.

PROJECT: Smuggling, weapon trade and money laundering
MEDIUM: *Novaya Gazeta*
JOURNALIST: Juri Shchekochikhin, after he died Roman Shleinov
DATE: 2000 up till now
DESCRIPTION: After he discovered high-placed state officials in Russia smuggled furniture, Shchekochikhin uncovered that the same officials were also engaged in the laundry of large sums of money through the Bank of New York. Furthermore, the officials were also involved in the weapon trade. Customs officials, members of the secret service, officials of the Ministry of the Interior and prosecutors were involved in these deals. There were connections to Kremlin officials and Putin's top advisors. More details became known when two clans of involved officials clashed and because of their conflict they couldn't control the flow of information. One was from St. Petersburg and was connected to the secret service and the other had connections to 'The Family' (Yeltsin's cronies). After a while, they reconciled, and the criminal enquiries that had started were dropped. Under pressure of the Russian parliament, however, the inquiry was reopened, and it became the personal responsibility of President Putin. According to Roman Shleinov, this just resulted in the participants acquiring even higher positions than before and no one was prosecuted.

PROJECT: The militia goes berserk in a Bashkirian town
MEDIUM: *Novaya Gazeta*
JOURNALIST: Marat Khairullin
DATE: January 2005
DESCRIPTION: In the Bashkirian town of Blagoveshchensk violent events took place. The militia and Special Forces rounded up almost three hundred men. These men were given administrative sentences, mostly heavy fines. According to the local and republican press, the action was provoked by a drunken mass that attacked a group of militiamen. *Novaya Gazeta* was informed of the incident because three women from Blagoveshchensk had travelled all the way to Moscow in order to relate to them another version of the events. According to them, for four days, the militia and Special Forces had beaten up men who showed up on the streets and in cafes. A correspondent of *Novaya Gazeta* reconstructed what had really happened in Blagoveshchensk. Three local businessmen, who ran gambling houses in town, turned out to have a long-standing conflict with the local authorities. Apparently, they refused to share their profits with the mayor and the judicial officials. Last year, the businessmen had a fight with some militiamen who wanted to check their documents on the street. The next day, the militiamen went to hospital to complain about their bruises. The doctors

could not find anything serious. The authorities, however, summoned the Special Forces, who rounded up all the men who were in the gambling houses. They were arrested, beaten up and forced to sign a blank arrest record. Events escalated when the militia and the special police force continued their actions for four days. According to some reports, girls were rounded up and raped by militiamen. After the publicity in *Novaya Gazeta*, five militiamen stated that they were forced by their superiors to give false evidence about the cause of the events.

PROJECT: Generals of the air force enrich themselves
MEDIUM: *Versia* (weekly)
JOURNALIST: Vadim Saranov
DATE: 25 October 2004
DESCRIPTION: The vice-commander-in-chief of the Russian air force, general Dmitri Morozov, used factories and the budget of the air force to enrich himself, his family members and his cronies. *Versia* got hold of documents from which it emerged that since 1997, twenty repair workshops for airplanes were used to generate profits from commercial activities. These profits were transferred to a special 'charity fund' of the air force, which was processed and managed by a Moscow bank, founded by Morozov and members of his family. The money was used, among other things, to buy luxurious apartments in Moscow, not only for the general and his family, but also for the directors of the companies of the repair workshops, the main financial controller of the air force and others who participated in the fraudulent scheme. After the latest publication, general Morozov requested retirement. In the nineties, Morozov had been involved in another enrichment scandal, but had escaped with a simple warning.

Spain

PROJECT: Attacks of 11 March
MEDIUM: *El Comercio*
JOURNALIST: Leticia Alvarez, Rosana Lanero
DATE: 18 March 2004
DESCRIPTION: A week after the bomb attacks on the trains in Madrid on 11 March 2004, it became known that the explosives were from a deserted mine in Asturias. Alvarez and Lanero discovered that the regional police already knew about the organised gang who sold the explosives in 2001. Even so, nobody made a connection with the bombings. The journalists' nine-month investigation revealed the lack of cooperation and exchange of information between the different police forces, as a result of which the terrorists had a field day. The series of articles that were published from March to November had a lot of

influence on the parliamentary inquiry and the investigation of the attacks by the public prosecutor. On 10 May 2005, the work of Alvarez and Lanero was awarded the journalistic prize Ortega y Gasset.

PROJECT: Taxi fraud with tourists in Barcelona
MEDIUM: *El Periodico*
JOURNALIST: Edwin Winkels
DATE: 28 October 2004
DESCRIPTION: Originally from the Netherlands, but living and working in Spain, Winkels discovered that taxi drivers would charge him more than they did his Spanish colleagues. To check his impression, he made a lot of rides as a tourist and published his findings, which turned out to correspond with the initial impression. Tourists were charged three times the legally permitted amount. A month later he repeated his test. Despite promises by the taxi business, not a lot had changed. This follow-up led to an investigation by the council of Barcelona. The council came to the same conclusions as Winkel, and took measures in consultation with the organisations of taxi companies.

PROJECT: The Moroccan spy on 11 March
MEDIUM: *El Mundo*
JOURNALIST: Antonio Rubio
DATE: 31 May 2005
DESCRIPTION: The attacks of 11 March in Madrid were the work of a group of Spanish Muslim terrorists. The security services already knew about the activities of Al Qaeda in Spain before the attacks in New York. According to the authorities, the question of whether the attacks in Madrid could have been prevented can only be denied. On 31 May 2005, Antonio Rubio published a series of secret documents with records of police conversations with the Moroccan spy El Farssaoui that proved the security services were on close behind the perpetrators. Several times the spy warned of the dangers of the radical group. The revelation of these documents is part of a longer series of publications on the train attacks.

PROJECT: The black hole of 11 March
MEDIUM: *El Mundo*
JOURNALIST: Fernando Mugica e.a.
DATE: 2005
DESCRIPTION: After the train bombings in Madrid on 11 March 2004, El Mundo started a series of investigative stories under the title 'the black holes of M-11', on the missing links and the background to attacks and the police investigation. Several journalists participated in the research. On 24 May, Fernando Mugica described how the mafia behind the supply of explosives, threatened people who worked with the police. Policemen themselves were threatened, and furthermore it transpired that there were connections between the police and the criminals.

PROJECT: The mole within ETA
MEDIUM: Book: *Lobo, Un topo en las entrañas de ETA*
JOURNALIST: Manuel Cerdan, Antonio Rubio
DATE: 2003
DESCRIPTION: The Spanish police have often attempted to infiltrate the ETA. The most successful mole was Mikel Legarza (the Wolf). In 1975, due to his espionage work more than a hundred and fifty terrorists could be arrested. Cerdan and Rubio traced the former spy who has made himself 'untraceable' by using plastic surgery, because the ETA has sentenced him to death. In addition to a portrait of the ex-spy, on the basis of many talks the journalists had with him, the book is also an investigation into the working methods of the Spanish security services, which was documented by never previously published texts.

PROJECT: Oil tanker Prestige
MEDIUM: *El País*
JOURNALIST: Luis Gomez, Pablo Ordaz
DATE: 13 November 2002
DESCRIPTION: When on 13 November 2002 the oil tanker Prestige sank on the Gallician coast, the Spanish government introduced a set of controversial measures, which, according to most environmental experts, led to the biggest environmental disaster in Spain. Gomez and Ordaz started an investigation into how and why these decisions were made. They found out that the French government, among others, has exerted a lot of influence behind the scenes on the decision-making process that became catastrophic for the environment on the Northwestern Spanish and Portuguese coast. The coverage exposed a failing and deceitful policy, which later led to dismissals in the Spanish government.

PROJECT: Executed Republicans
MEDIUM: *La Vanguardia*
JOURNALIST: Eduardo Martin de Pozuelo
DATE: 20 October 2002
DESCRIPTION: Together with children and grand children of executed Republicans during the Spanish civil war of 1936 – 1939, Martin de Pozuelo started an investigation into the long suppressed past. Successive governments have always refused to rehabilitate those defeated victims in this war. Based on the exhumed corpses in a large number of mass graves, the reporter searched for the personal story of the people who gave their lives for an ideal sixty years ago. These stories helped to lead to a form of rehabilitation to which they were entitled for the victims and their next of kin.

PROJECT: The Mystery of the Boeing 11-S
MEDIUM: *La Vanguardia*
JOURNALIST: Eduardo Martin de Pozuelo, Xavier Mas de Xaxas
DATE: 22 June 2003
DESCRIPTION: This investigation started with the reader R.R. who came to the newspaper with the message that there was something funny going on with the Boeing that flew into the Twin Towers. On the photos something seemed to be hanging under the plane. The research led to the airplane producer in Seattle, who initially cooperated, but at a later point in time, withdrew by order of the authorities. Further technical research of the photos demonstrated that it was not a case of effects of the lights, but there were real objects there. However, it is not clear what exactly the objects are. There are new questions that intensify the secrecy surrounding the attacks.

PROJECT: Construction fraud from Madrid
MEDIUM: e-defensor.com (website)
JOURNALIST: Juan Luis Galiacho
DATE: 31 May 2004
DESCRIPTION: Juan Luis Galiacho, publicist and professor at the university of Rey Juan Carlos, investigates the interrelatedness of the politicians of the Madrid-based Partido Popular and the world of construction. These are two parties who closely cooperate and who are well acquainted with speculation and bribes. This network is one of the many that have attracted the attention of Galiacho, such as the world of sport, and the power of some lawyers' offices.

PROJECT: Thirteen red roses
MEDIUM: Book: *13 Rosas rojas*
JOURNALIST: Carlos Fonseca
DATE: 2005
DESCRIPTION: With his thirteen red roses, Fonseca brings a forgotten part of the first period after the Second World War back to life. On 5 August 1939, thirteen women (six underage) were executed because they were 'red'. It signalled the start of the cruel regime of suppression under Franco. Carlos Fonseca, reporter at the magazine *Tiempo*, did two years of research at the archives and talked to relatives. For a long time the story of those defeated in the war was taboo in Spain. However, in the last few years, journalists and historians have been researching this part of Spanish history.

Sweden

PROJECT: Municipal strike
MEDIUM: *Uppdrag granskning* (SVT)
JOURNALIST: Janne Josefsson, Lars-Göran Svensson
DATE: 25 November 2003
DESCRIPTION: After having been on strike for five weeks and having refused mediation several times, civil servants at the Swedish municipalities went back to work, once their union had suddenly signed an agreement with the employers. What caused the end of this, the largest strike ever in the public sector? Reporters travelled through out the country and interviewed dozens of people in order to make a reconstruction of the events. To verify the union's claim that the agreement was a major step forward for the lowest paid workers, the reporters gathered information from every single municipality and county. It turned out that this concerned 1,350 union members were poorly paid and if temporary employees and interns were not counted, then there were only 122. The criteria negotiated for a 110 euro rise in the next year turned out to be so strict that not one single union member would profit from them. A three month-long investigation revealed how political rivalry and internal union politics led to an agreement on labour conditions that was worse than could have been negotiated without the strike.

PROJECT: At their teachers' mercy
MEDIUM: *Dokument inifrån* (SVT)
JOURNALIST: Evin Rubar
DATE: 8 May 2003
DESCRIPTION: The reporter presented herself as a Muslim woman who wanted to enrol her child in a school. She confronted the school director by asking questions such as would he remain silent if the child was beaten up at home, and whether it was possible to skip particular topics in the curriculum if the parents objected to them. Both proposals were against the law. She filmed the conversations with a hidden camera. Several months later, she visited the schools again, this time as a journalist. On camera, the directors gave entirely different answers than they had done in the interviews with the mother who was looking for a school for her child. The documentary showed how the so-called free schools – in this case Muslim and Arab schools – always cooperated with parents and did not protect their pupils against violence. The education authorities did not bother to follow up on complaints if the school bluntly denied them.

PROJECT: Winning wine merchants
MEDIUM: *Kalla Fakta* (TV4)
JOURNALIST: Sven Bergman, Joachim Dyfvermark, Fredrik Lundberg,

Fredrik Laurin, Johan Stambro

DATE: 8 December 2003

DESCRIPTION: The state-owned company Systembolaget has a monopoly on selling alcohol to consumers. For traders and wholesalers this means that if they want to sell to consumers, they must persuade Systembolaget to do business with them. Under these circumstances, bribing shop managers and procurement fraud turned out to be quite common practice, the reporters gradually found out. This practice had been going on for decades, and everyone involved kept silent about it. The reporters built up an extensive network of sources. They knew how the company worked from earlier programmes they had produced. They had permanent contacts with over fifty sources within the company. Much effort was put in to persuading them to talk – sometimes with the help of middlemen – because they were very afraid to lose face if they did. The reporters also got hold of documents that contained evidence of the bribery campaigns. Because almost all sources wanted to remain anonymous, special efforts were necessary to transform the information acquired into interesting television footage.

PROJECT: ABF cheats the EU

MEDIUM: *Västnytt*

JOURNALIST: Magnus Svenungsson, Tomas Lindblom

DATE: 23 April 2003

DESCRIPTION: The European Social Fund (ESF) sponsors numerous courses for the unemployed or projects that support employment, also in West-Sweden. The reporters were able to prove that some of these courses never took place, while others were mere leisure trips involving sailing and travel abroad. In several cases, the consultants paid for by the Fund were students that did not earn even half of the fees that were declared. The rest of the money went into the pockets of ABF, the company that had applied for the funding of the courses, or one of their daughter companies. By contacting fifty of the companies whose employees – according to ABF – took part in the courses, the reporters discovered five companies that had never taken part in any courses, even though they were reported as such to the ESF. Thanks to the Swedish law that grants access to public documents, the reporters were able to reveal detailed inconsistencies in the financial declarations. Care was taken in choosing which potential source to contact next, in order to prevent doors being closed.

PROJECT: Interpreters and spies

MEDIUM: *SR Ekot*

JOURNALIST: Nuri Kino, Jenny Nordberg, Margita Boström

DATE: 3 November 2003

DESCRIPTION: When he was in court one day, one of the reporters noticed that the interpretation from a language he happened to master was very

bad. This observation led to a first programme, which showed that just about anybody could become a court interpreter. The reporter went undercover and applied for a job as an interpreter. While applying, he spoke very primitive Swedish, but he got the job anyway. This programme generated a lot of response. Listeners mentioned that interpreters did not only make faulty translations because of a lack of linguistic skills, but also deliberately. They had a political agenda and worked as spies for foreign regimes. This was elaborated upon in a second programme, in which a woman who had worked as a spy and an interpreter related her story. Steadily, the reporters got hold of documents, especially from the Iraqi secret service, which disclosed that Swedish citizens of Iraqi ancestry spied on other Swedish citizens with similar background. This led to a third programme that also drew much attention abroad.

PROJECT: The commanders' travels
MEDIUM: *Svenska Dagbladet*
JOURNALIST: Ulla Danné, Björn Hygstedt
DATE: 14 July 2003
DESCRIPTION: The story started as a by-product of an investigation that one of the reporters did into the wives of high-ranking officers that landed a job with the army. They were paid while accompanying their husbands on business trips in Sweden and abroad – a whole salary not just the expenses. When the reporters dug deeper they also found examples of holiday trips paid for by the army. And the commanders turned out to be frequent users of a limousine service for private purposes. It took the reporters many months to get hold of the relevant documents. Although they are available to the public by Swedish law, the army did all it could to frustrate the work of the reporters. For example, they only received the paper documents of the limousine logs, so that it would be a lot more work to draw conclusions on this basis than if they had obtained Excel files.

PROJECT: The Brunns Hotel
MEDIUM: *Helsingborgs Dagblad*
JOURNALIST: Lars Andreasson, Suzanne Holmberg, Christer Åkerlund
DATE: 22 June 2003
DESCRIPTION: Two reporters got a tip-off, independently from each other and from entirely different people. The tips were about the same case: a private clinic in the newspaper's region. A convicted white-collar criminal ran the clinic, according to one tip; patients complained about the treatment, according to the other. The reporters started to gather information about the people that directed the clinic: they came across a mysterious 'research manager' with no medical license, a local doctor who turned out to write blank prescriptions, the white-collar criminal and a nurse. A medical reporter joined the team. They found more

patients, some of them were satisfied, some of them were angry. After 50 interviews the reporters were able to reveal how the clinic charged huge amounts for blood analyses, sold medicine to patients without telling them what it was and what it was for, sent a patient home with an acupuncture needle still in her back, and never gave files to patients who requested them.

PROJECT: Young addicts
MEDIUM: *Eskilstuna-Kuriren*
JOURNALIST: Eva Burman, Mathias Ståhle, Lena Michanek
DATE: November 2002
DESCRIPTION: A reporter who was researching the municipal social policy legislation found a peculiar loophole in the laws: young drug addicts under 18 could be taken into 'family care', and for addicts over 21 there was 'adult care', but there was nothing for those in between. She told this to a crime reporter over a cup of coffee. He looked into 700 drug cases he had coded: most problems occurred when addicts were between 18 and 21 years, exactly the period when there was no care. Two weeks later, when an 18-year-old addict died, their managers freed the reporters from other obligations so they could pursue this story. They interviewed hard drug addicts and their relatives, nurses, civil servants and police officers, and were able to study many of the addicts' files because they had given the reporters permission to legally access their files. After two weeks of fulltime work, the reporters revealed the cruel consequences of the afore-mentioned, but hitherto unknown loophole in the municipal legislation.

PROJECT: Politicians' promises
MEDIUM: *Kommunalarbetaren*
JOURNALIST: Bengt Bergsmark
DATE: 8 December 2002
DESCRIPTION: In the run-up to the elections, the trade magazine for local civil servants decided to investigate what had come of the promises the political parties had made at the previous elections. During several months, the reporter gathered statistics, searched databases, did all sorts of calculations and interviewed experts and politicians. In the end, he revealed that the extra budget for the municipalities was not enough for the number of new jobs in education, health care and social work that had been promised; that there were actually fewer people working in health care and social work than before the previous elections; that the highest number of privatisations in care for the elderly and handicapped had taken place in municipalities with a leftwing administration; and that there was no difference between leftwing and rightwing municipalities in respect of the budget they spent on child care and care for the elderly. Statistics for all 289 Swedish municipalities were collected and published.

PROJECT: The election huts
MEDIUM: *Uppdrag Granskning* (SVT)
JOURNALIST: Janne Josefson, Lars-Göran Svensson
DATE: 10 September 2002
DESCRIPTION: During election campaigns, political parties in Sweden erect so-called election huts all over the country. Here, local and national politicians are available to answer citizens' questions, and to hand out flyers. The reporters approached the politicians in the huts with a hidden camera and asked them – as citizens – questions about immigrants, refugees, crime and safety. They filmed many politically incorrect or even racist declarations, whereas other politicians did not argue when the reporters confronted them with their feigned anti-immigrant prejudices as citizens. Only a few actively debated with the citizens and stuck to their party's programme with respect to the topics discussed. At a later point in time, the reporters went back to the same politicians, but this time as journalists from a national television programme and with a visible camera. The politicians told an entirely different story. The reporters visited fifty huts in thirty different municipalities and revealed the blunt contradictions between what politicians told citizens and what they told reporters.

PROJECT: Stenbeck's empire
MEDIUM: *Affärsvärlden*
JOURNALIST: Stellan Björk, Karl von Schulzenheim
DATE: 24 October 2001
DESCRIPTION: Jan Stenbeck was one of the most powerful men in Swedish business. But how important and how powerful was he really, asked a reporter that had already written several in-depth stories about him. He started gathering all sorts of material: books, articles, annual reports, company information from several countries, and so on. He interviewed dozens of people, among them people who had worked or still worked for Stenbeck or one of his companies, analysts, lawyers, competitors, employees of the stock exchange and tax officials.. He attended annual meetings and other public performances of his object of investigation. It took about five months to complete the overall picture of the role and influence of Stenbeck in the Swedish economy. An extra obstacle was that neither Stenbeck himself nor the companies he owned wanted to cooperate. It was therefore especially difficult to unravel the network of companies abroad.

Switzerland

PROJECT: The rebirth of Swiss
MEDIUM: *Weltwoche*
JOURNALIST: Urs Paul Engeler
DATE: Week 4, 2005
DESCRIPTION: The *Weltwoche* got hold of the founding protocols of Swiss, an airline that was launched after the bankruptcy of Swiss Air. Despite warnings from experts, the new company inherited billions in losses from its predecessor Cross Air. The reporter showed how politicians' national pride dominated over business logic.

PROJECT: Behring's Investment Paradise
MEDIUM: *Cash, Weltwoche*
JOURNALIST: Leo Müller, Christian Mensch
DATE: 2004 and 2005
DESCRIPTION: Stock trader Dieter Behring invented an investment construction that he called 'snowball'. That attracted a lot of private investors. All of them lost their money, in a web of companies that were set up by Behring in places such as the Bahamas. Müller, Mensch and many of their colleagues unravelled this web and exposed how Behring had deceived his customers.

PROJECT: The fall of Ruth Metzler
MEDIUM: Book: *Macht und Zweitracht im Bundeshaus. Die Hintergründe zur Abwahl von Ruth Metzler*
JOURNALIST: Marc Comina
DATE: April 2004
DESCRIPTION: The Swiss Minister Ruth Metzler was not re-elected by the Parliament – Ministers are elected by the Parliament in Switzerland – on 10 December 2003. It was the first time since 1872 that a Minister that was a candidate for re-election, lost his/her seat. Journalist Marc Comina started his investigation the next day, he spoke with everybody involved. He reconstructed the events that led to the fall of Metzler. However, he quoted none of his sources.

PROJECT: Nuclear energy in Switzerland
MEDIUM: *Wochenzeitung* and a book
JOURNALIST: Susan Boos
DATE: 1999
DESCRIPTION: Boos analyses all nuclear plants in Switzerland, and depicts the actual risks. She concludes the older plants cannot be upgraded any more.

PROJECT: The P-files
MEDIUM: *Weltwoche*
JOURNALIST: Urs Paul Engeler
DATE: 1988 and 1989
DESCRIPTION: In one of the most exciting affairs in Swiss history, Engeler and many of his colleagues who investigated this case, discovered that the federal police *Bupo* had systematically spied on 900,000 persons and organisations, with no governmental control. The files of the secret P26 and P27 divisions contained data of five percent of the Swiss population, and almost 35 percent of the foreigners in Switzerland.

PROJECT: Illegal Races
MEDIUM: *Rundschau* (SF DRS)
JOURNALIST: Hanspeter Bäni
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: Bäni penetrated the scene of illegal races that are held in Swiss villages, a scene where people meet at places such as car washes. In the television documentary he made about the races, he evoked a call for measures against them.

PROJECT: The Combino Tram
MEDIUM: *Basler Zeitung*
JOURNALIST: Christian Mensch
DATE: 2004 and 2005
DESCRIPTION: Basle had a lot of problems with its new tram type, the Siemens Combino. Mensch visited a lot of cities that also had Combinos, and unravelled the problems. This is an example of local journalism with an international flavour.

PROJECT: The Tasaday hoax
MEDIUM: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, ABC 20/20 (USA)
JOURNALIST: Oswald Iten
DATE: 1989
DESCRIPTION: In 1986, after the fall of Philippine president Marcos, Iten went to the Tasaday caves in the Philippines, where people were supposed to live in the Stone Age, without any modern influence. However, Iten found the caves deserted and he discovered that the Tasaday people were members of local tribes, which successfully pretended to live in the Stone Age. But as soon as the accredited scientists left, they put on their T-shirts and blue jeans again.

Turkey

PROJECT: Building fraud
MEDIUM: *Arena* (Kanal D)
JOURNALIST: Ugur Dundar and others
DATE: October and November 2004
DESCRIPTION: The mayor of the districts Küçük Cekmece and Yesilyurd in Istanbul gave permission to build in the green heart of his municipality, an area where building was legally not allowed. However, tall apartment buildings arose on that spot. In exchange, the mayor and his high-ranking officials were given dozens of apartments. According to the programme, the mayor, his wife and children own 112 apartments in these buildings. 'I have got the file in my office', Dundar said. 'I made two reporters available to investigate this. To our astonishment, not only the mayor and his civil servants have enriched themselves, but judges were given houses, too', says Dundar. Currently, a judicial investigation into this case has been started. The reporters used cadastral data, research into a file that they received from an unknown source, partial undercover journalism and confrontation by hearing both sides.

PROJECT: Fraudulent pharmaceutical companies
MEDIUM: *VATAN*
JOURNALIST: Emine Algan
DATE: July and August 2004
DESCRIPTION: The international pharmaceutical company Roche charged governmental institutions much more for the anti-cancer medicine NeoRecormon than it charged commercial health institutions. These commercial health institutions paid 88 million Turkish Lira for the same medicine, however, the Social Insurance Bank SSK had to pay 230 million Turkish Lira. What makes this investigation unique is the fact that the newspaper published more than thirty articles on this subject, of which twelve made the frontpage. The result was that the director in charge of Roche resigned. The Ministry of Health opened an inquiry. And at the moment, a judicial investigation has been started. 'I suspect nothing will come of it', says Algan. In December 2004, she won the prestigious *Sedat Simavi* press award with this series of articles. Following information from an anonymous informer, the reporter conducted a more full-scale investigation by holding open conversations with all authorities and people involved, carrying out file research, and making personal inquiries into the prices operating in the various health institutions. After the first publications, she received and discovered more information on this case.

PROJECT: Criminal organisations' ties with football clubs
MEDIUM: *TEMPO*
JOURNALIST: Tutkun Akbas
DATE: 14 to 20 October 2004
DESCRIPTION: The infamous criminal gang of Sedat Peker has rather strong connections with some major football clubs. In the past, Peker's gang has been responsible for several dead and wounded victims. The gang has a reputation as a gang of extortionists. The main link to football clubs of the Peker gang was Atilla Yildirim, vice-chairman of Trabzonspor, one of the four top clubs of the country. Gang members were not only active in the top of the football club Trabzonspor, but also in the football clubs Fenerbahce and Sivasspor. Olgun Aydin, advertising director of champion Fenerbahce, is a gang member. Five members of the gang play for Fenerbahce 2. The board of Sivasspor consists entirely of members of Peker's gang. And that is not all. Through Mustafa Kefeli, at the time chairman of Besitas, Peker's gang tried to take over the board of the football federation in 1997. A week after this publication, Peker's gang was arrested by the Istanbul police, with great display of power. 'Pure coincidence', says journalist Tutkun Akbas. 'I had been working on the investigation for some time.' He researched the archives at the Chamber of Commerce, delved in to registers of the boards of football clubs, carried out investigations into the criminal past of several people, and he did some undercover journalism.

PROJECT: Islamic women between two governments
MEDIUM: Book: *Direnis ve Itaat* ('Resistance and Obedience')
JOURNALIST: Rusan Cakir
DATE: November 2000
DESCRIPTION: Rusan Cakir, who is an expert on Islam, published a book that dealt with the problems encountered by Muslim women when they decide to wear a headscarf. Despite the Turkish ban on wearing headscarves in schools, universities and public offices, these women fight to get the headscarf accepted. Cakir investigated the actions undertaken by these women and their connection with the then ruling Islamic Welfare Party of former Prime Minister Erbakan. He drew the conclusion that these women did not aim their actions at that party, possibly because the party itself was behind the actions. In his research, many of these women regretted having taken part in the actions, since this prevented them from finishing their university studies. On the other hand, their fight granted these women a place in the Islamic movement. In 2000, the investigation was published as a book. Prior to the publication of the book, he published a number of his findings in the newspaper *Milliyet*. The press reviewed the book, but apart from that, not much has happened. The author conducted a lot of interviews with women who took part in the actions at the time. The book mainly consists of an overview of these interviews and the conclusions drawn by the author.

PROJECT: Series of publications on the MHP
MEDIUM: *D.B. Tercüman*
JOURNALIST: Emin Pazarci
DATE: August 2004
DESCRIPTION: Starting in August 2004, the newspaper *D.B. Tercüman* published a series of eleven articles on the right extremist former ruling party MHP (Nationalist Action Party), also known as the Grey Wolves. The title of the series was *Sirlari ire ülkücü hareket* ('The Grey Wolves and their Secrets'). These articles presented the past of the party in the 1970s and 1980s. It was demonstrated how the party used violence, was itself involved in murders and how they reacted to murder attacks on their members, how the party fuelled political activism at universities and how the party was organised. They also described how the party set up a militant branch and its actions. At the time, the party had an absolute leader, Alpaslan Türkeş, who had absolute power. The articles mainly dealt with what happened under his rule; but present leaders, too, were active in those days and were involved in actions and attacks. The articles evoked a number of negative reactions from the Grey Wolves, but they did not start any legal action against the author. The author used a lot of documentation; he researched the party archives, newspaper archives, and used police documentation, as well as interviews. Pazarci had built up this file over many years.

PROJECT: Shiites in Turkey
MEDIUM: *Atlas* (a monthly)
JOURNALIST: Mehmet Ali Özgündüz, Faik Bulut
DATE: July 2004
DESCRIPTION: The two journalists investigated the differences in living conditions between Shiite Muslims in Iran, Iraq and Turkey. Özgündüz concentrated on the situation in Turkey and Bulut concentrated on Iran and Iraq. They drew the conclusion that the groups of Shiites do not differ that much from each other in essence, but they are more secularly inclined in Turkey. The reason for this is that they are a small minority in Turkey. In the magazine article, the two journalists describe the living conditions of the Shiites and their form of faith in the three countries. They managed to speak to people informally, in their homes and in houses of prayer. In Iran and Iraq, Shiites are well known. This is less the case in Turkey. They are often lumped together with the Alewites, a liberal movement within the Islam that also believes in the prophet Ali, just like the Shiites. The importance of this publication lay in the fact that it clarified this difference and made known the existence of Shiites in Turkey. Apart from many personal conversations, the reporters consulted documentation on the Islamic movements, and did other source research. Bulut is a well-known expert on Islam; he has many books to his name.

Ukraine

PROJECT: Prosecutors in crime
MEDIUM: *Ukrainska Pravda* (web site)
JOURNALIST: Volodymyr Boiko
DATE: 2001 to 2003
DESCRIPTION: In October 2000, policemen of the tax administration arrested the owner of a bakery in Donetsk, a certain Opolev. After a few days, he was released, but months later a criminal case against him was started for tax evasion. Boiko, acting as a civil defender of the businessman, got hold of a copy of the indictment. It was signed by a female prosecutor that Boiko knew to be abroad, in Italy. When he contacted her, it appeared that she was already in Palermo when the indictment was drafted. Her signature, which she sent by fax, looked clearly different from the one on the act of accusation. Boiko uncovered the story behind it, and could substantiate his articles with documents and witness statements. A former district prosecutor in Donetsk, G. Vasilev, who was at the time a Member of Parliament in Kiev, formed a group of racketeers in Donetsk with 'his men' in the prosecutor's office and tax police. They threatened businessmen in their district with arrest if they wouldn't pay them large sums of money. In the course of three years Opolev had paid 30,000 US dollar to these prosecutors-racketeers, but suddenly he decided that enough was enough. Thereupon he was arrested by tax police, severely beaten up and released only after having signed an IOU of 20,000 dollar. In hospital, where he had to be treated for his wounds, he decided not to pay this sum. Five days later he was arrested again, and a criminal case was started. The publications of Boiko about the falsified signatures on the indictment – the acting staff members of the prosecutor's office did not dare to sign a false document – led to a scandal and a criminal inquiry. The court of appeal in Donetsk established that the signatures were indeed falsified, but did not dismiss the case against Opolev. He was not allowed to travel abroad, as long as there was no final decision on the indictment. No criminal case was started against the members of the prosecutor's office and the tax police. They were promoted to other positions outside their district. Their boss, the Member of Parliament Vasilev, was appointed prosecutor-general of Ukraine in 2003. Boiko wrote a book about Vasilev and his criminal gang, who while he was prosecutor, was the owner of among other things a bank, a coal-mining industry, a television station, newspapers and sports clubs.

PROJECT: The hidden criminal record of candidate Yanukovich
MEDIUM: *Ukraina Kriminalna* (web site) and *Svoboda* (weekly)
JOURNALIST: Volodymyr Boiko
DATE: August 2002, May 2004

DESCRIPTION: After his publications about the prosecutors-racketeers, Boiko was arrested in June 2002. While in prison, his cellmates told him interesting stories about the criminal scene in Donetsk. A certain 'Kvadrat' told him that the governor of Donetsk, Yanukovich, had been convicted twice as a young person for robberies using excessive violence and he had been imprisoned for several years. Boiko was released from prison after ten days – president Kuchma had intervened personally, not wishing to raise more scandals – and he started to publish a series of prison diaries on the web site *Ukraina Kriminalna* in quite a humorous tone. The diaries included the claims of 'Kvadrat' about Yanukovich. Subsequently, anonymous persons came to see Boiko and offered him any amount he named, if he would promise to keep his mouth shut for one year about Yanukovich. In November 2002, when Yanukovich was appointed Prime Minister, Boiko's prison diaries circulated in Parliament. Yanukovich was forced to admit to the MPs that he had been convicted, but refused to give any further details. In 2004, when Yanukovich became a presidential candidate, Boiko learned more about his criminal past and wrote a series of articles, reconstructing his biography. He discovered that Yanukovich, despite his criminal record, could study, travel abroad and work as a director of a big enterprise, all of which was not allowed according to Soviet law. The only possible explanation could be that Yanukovich had been recruited as an agent for the secret service during his imprisonment.

PROJECT: Cover-up of homicide by a presidential campaigner
MEDIUM: *Obozrevatel* (web site)
JOURNALIST: Volodymyr Boiko
DATE: 23 January 2005
DESCRIPTION: In August 2004, the head of Yushchenko's presidential campaign in Odessa, A. Kozachenko, was involved in a shooting incident. A man died as a result of it. According to the version of Kozachenko, two men attacked him on the street, and because he feared an assassination, he defended himself by using his gun. When the police came, he stated that the pistol belonged to the attackers. No one was prosecuted. Boiko gathered witness statements and police records, which gave a completely different picture of events. Kozachenko had shot the man, while he sat his car, through a closed window, with his own illegal weapon, because he felt threatened by the men. They had not attacked him, but were drunk and asked him to light their cigarette. After one of the men had fallen down, the security guards who accompanied Kozachenko had beaten the man to death.

PROJECT: How the presidential election results were rigged
MEDIUM: *Closed Zone* (TV Channel 5)
JOURNALIST: Volodymyr Aryev
DATE: December 2004

DESCRIPTION: The transcripts of telephone conversations during the run-up to the Presidential elections revealed how the staff of the team Kuchma-Yanukovich had rigged the results. The source of the tapes were the party headquarters of opponent Yushchenko. *Closed Zone* aired the tapes and explained what the code language meant. ‘Cookies’ were falsified voting ballots that had been printed in Russia and put into the ballot boxes. The staff members were worried about their quality: it was visible that they were falsified. Therefore they used these ballots only in voting districts that were under the total control of their candidate. The second part of the transcripts contained nervous conversations about the access to the computer of the Central Electoral Commission. Staff members were not sure that the chairman of the CEC would give them, as had been agreed, secret access. In the end he did. The trick they used, was a ‘transit’ computer installed at a secret place, where the original results of the voting were sent first. The staff of Yanukovich could ‘amend’ the results to what was needed for a victory, and then forward them to the Central Electoral Commission. According to some reports, a sum of 21 million dollar had been transferred to the account of a firm belonging to the daughter of the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission.

PROJECT: The unsolved death of the president of Uzhgorod University

MEDIUM: *Zerkalo Nedeli* (Weekly Mirror)

JOURNALIST: Volodymyr Martin

DATE: 3 July 2004

DESCRIPTION: The President of Uzhgorod University, Slivka, was found by his wife, lying in a pool of blood and a knife in his hand. He died in hospital. Slivka did not leave a note. The next day the vice-governor of the Uzhgorod region assembled all heads of the university departments. He insisted that they would sign a statement in which it was said that Slivka had committed suicide, ‘otherwise the political opposition will exploit this for its own purpose’. At a press conference the following day, the governor officially announced suicide as the cause of death. However, Martin made inquiries into the background of the case. As it turned out, the regional authorities had already been campaigning against Slivka for months and they were trying to find criminal liability in his administering of the university. A few days before his death, Slivka had had talks with high-ranking officials. The content of these meetings remained unknown. Neighbours noted that Slivka’s guard dog was very sleepy. The article suggested that Slivka might have been killed, because he would not cooperate with the authorities during the upcoming elections. To stop the rumours, the authorities decided to start an official inquiry. According to Martin, this was only window-dressing. Once people calmed down, the inquiry would be halted without any result. This article won a third place in the 2004 contest for investigative journalism, organised by the Institute of Mass Information and the Kiev faculty of journalism.

PROJECT: Living on a minimal income
MEDIUM: *Ekspres* (newspaper in Lviv)
JOURNALIST: Svitlana Martinets
DATE: November, December 2003
DESCRIPTION: A journalist from the newspaper *Ekspres* decided to do an experiment. She would live for one month on a minimal salary, as is officially established by the state. This salary at the time was 205 hrivna, which is about forty euro. In a series of four weekly articles she described what happened with her, what she could afford to eat, to buy, to do, and how her outlook on life changed. After the first week she had lost three kilo's weight, and felt physically poor. After the second week she noted 'I do not live, I exist'. After the third week she wrote: 'I want to cry out.' Each article was accompanied by small interviews with people who had always had to live on this income, by practical suggestions, and by medical comments. The series won the first prize at the Institute of Mass Information contest for investigative journalism.

PROJECT: Massage device is sold as medical instrument
MEDIUM: *Kafa* (newspaper in Feodosia, Crimea)
JOURNALIST: Aleksei Baturin
DATE: 18 November 2003
DESCRIPTION: Street sellers sold a device named Vibrovital to elderly inhabitants of Feodosia. It vibrated, radiated a blue light and was said to help against a cold, pain in the back and neurological complaints. A reader wrote to the newspaper that the device was a sham. In a reaction to the letter the firm that sold Vibrovital placed an advertisement in the newspaper, in which it claimed that the instrument was medically tested with good results and officially registered. Baturin checked the claims of the firm, and came to the conclusion that no medical testing or registration had taken place in Ukraine, that the doctors who were said to have approved the instrument knew nothing about it, that the users of the device mentioned in the ad could not be found in Feodosia and that the instrument itself was nothing but a massage device. The firm director explained that Vibrovital was a medical instrument, but he imported it as if it were a massage device, because import tariffs on medical instruments were very high and registration was difficult. In order to sell the Vibrovital for a low price – the elderly are poor – he had to do it this way. The article contained information on what to do when a consumer is cheated and unlawful trade is observed. The article was written with a grant from Scoop.

PROJECT: Illegal felling of juniper trees
MEDIUM: *Sevastopolskaya Gazeta* (Crimea)
JOURNALIST: Vladimir Kuzovlev
DATE: 20 May 2004
DESCRIPTION: Woods of old juniper trees grow on the Crimean coast.

Even though this type of tree is listed on the *Red List*, an overview of endangered plants and animals. However, timber from juniper trees is widely available on the market, and jewellery made from juniper wood is very fashionable. The author investigated the illegal felling and trade in juniper timber and talked with tree cutters, traders and surveillance officials. The trees were cut down during the night. Impunity was almost guaranteed, because of a lack of surveillance. The timber was sold to wood factories in Sevastopol, which functioned practically illegal. People make jewellery and cutlery from the sweet-smelling juniper wood in illegal workshops and traders sell the products openly on the streets. There is a high demand for the jewellery and cutlery made of juniper wood in Ukraine, Russia and even the West. Small boxes of juniper are sold for 5 dollars in Sevastopol, for 10 dollars in Kiev, for 15 to 20 dollars in Moscow and for 25 dollars in Amsterdam. If this trade continues without abating, it will take only ten to fifteen years before the juniper woods have vanished. Scoop supported this investigation with a grant.

United Kingdom

PROJECT: Gang tries to buy dirty bomb materials
MEDIUM: *News of the World*
JOURNALIST: Mazher Mahmood
DATE: October 2004
DESCRIPTION: Undercover reporter Mazher Mahmood posed as a Muslim extremist following a tip-off that a Saudi national sympathetic to 'the Muslim cause' was willing to pay 300,000 pounds for a kilo of radioactive 'red mercury'. Scientists disagree about whether this compound really exists. It is said that 'red mercury' was developed by Russian scientists for 'briefcase nuclear bombs'. Mahmood tried to lure them into buying the said compound. The British police held four men after the *News of the World* tipped them off. They were arrested on suspicion of commissioning, preparing or instigating acts of terrorism. Unfortunately, our attempts to contact Mahmood resulted in a fax from the editor of the *News of the World*. Mahmood wishes to remain anonymous.

PROJECT: An anthology of investigative reporting
MEDIUM: Book: *Tell me no lies: Investigative Journalism and its Triumphs*
JOURNALIST: John Pilger (ed.)
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: The book contains various reports on the Global War on Terror and the role of the British. It features a report from Robert Fisk (2004), a well-known British journalist who has a column in *The*

Independent, about the situation in Iraq. Another report (2002-2003) by Richard Norton-Taylor, the security affairs editor of *The Guardian*, criticises the British role in America's ventures in the Middle East. Mark Curtis, who is not a journalist but the director of the World Development Movement, writes about British complicity in human rights abuses in Indonesia (2003). The book is highly political both in representation and selection of facts, but considered to be the pinnacle of investigative journalism by many interviewees.

PROJECT: Bribing Saudi officials by arms firm BAe Systems
MEDIUM: *The Guardian*
JOURNALIST: David Leigh, Rob Evans
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: Leigh, sometimes in conjunction with Evans, did a huge number of stories on the bribery practices of arms firm BAe Systems. In September 2004, *The Guardian* exposed a confidential letter that had been sent from the Serious Fraud Office of the Ministry of Defence, which highlighted the possible existence of a 'slush fund', which could be used to bribe Saudi officials. In October, the BBC then reported that sixty million pounds had been taken from this fund to provide said officials with all sorts of incentives, including prostitutes, Rolls-Royces and Californian holidays. Leigh and Evans then published BAe documents on *The Guardian* website confirming their allegations. BAe still claims it is innocent of any wrongdoing. The police has investigated the matter and made two arrests in November 2004.

PROJECT: British American Tobacco
MEDIUM: *The Guardian*
JOURNALIST: David Leigh, Rob Evans
DATE: 2000 to 2004
DESCRIPTION: This project is a seemingly never-ending story. David Leigh started to investigate BAT in 2000 and wrote several articles about how the company facilitated the smuggling of cigarettes in Latin America and Asia to circumvent governmental taxes and promote smoking around the world. A three-year government enquiry was launched, which came up with nothing. Consequently, no action was taken. Leigh and Evans then followed up with a story on the 27th of October 2004, in which they argued that BAT had put pressure on Prime Minister Tony Blair. They did this by publishing documents that revealed that BAT officials had gained access to Blair in private meetings, whilst the company was still under threat of an investigation.

PROJECT: Rich list
MEDIUM: *Mail on Sunday*
JOURNALIST: Martin Tomkinson and others
DATE: Annual report

DESCRIPTION: A list of the three hundred richest people in the United Kingdom is published every year. Although this is not investigative journalism in the classic cloak-and-dagger sense, it does require special research skills as well as stamina. Since public records are not as readily available as in, for example, the United States, finishing the list requires a substantial commitment of resources. A team of about five journalists works on the list for about six to nine months every year.

PROJECT: Abuse in British jails, mainly Wormwood Scrubs

MEDIUM: *The Guardian*

JOURNALIST: Vikram Dodd

DATE: 2004

DESCRIPTION: For years, *The Guardian* has been keeping a close track on prison abuse. In 2001, this led to seven dismissals in the prison Wormwood Scrubs. In 2004, *The Guardian* followed up with new stories on prison abuse. In January 2004, the former chaplain at a children's jail accused the Portland young offenders' institution of covering up assaults by officers on inmates. Seven youths won a 120,000-pound settlement as a compensation for the violence that they had suffered. In December 2003, *The Guardian* revealed that the Prison Service had paid tens of thousands of pounds to a former inmate who alleged he was raped and beaten by a prison officer at Wormwood Scrubs. The newspaper also broke the story that the Prison Service had admitted its officers assaulted inmates at Wormwood Scrubs jail in London.

PROJECT: Coca Cola waste product turns out to contain a carcinogen

MEDIUM: *Face the Facts*, BBC Radio

JOURNALIST: Sue Mitchell

DATE: 2003

DESCRIPTION: Dangerous levels of toxic metals, amongst which the carcinogen cadmium, were found in a waste product of Coca Cola. The company itself promoted the waste as a fertiliser, which is why it was widely used by local farmers from the Coca Cola plant in Kerala, India. Scientists interviewed by the BBC were so concerned about the find, that they called on the plant to stop the practice immediately. Coca Cola denied any wrongdoing and agreed to provide scientific evidence by proving the safety of the fertiliser, but has not done so yet.

PROJECT: Animal Rights

MEDIUM: *Face the Facts*, BBC Radio

JOURNALIST: Sue Mitchell

DATE: 2004

DESCRIPTION: Animal rights activists terrorised a village in Staffordshire. A guinea pig farmer was threatened in order to stop him breeding the animals. He received a letter bomb. Then the activists started threatening the people around him: the person that delivered fuel to the

farm, as well as the local pub. People were so afraid they initially wouldn't speak out. The BBC traced the activists and interviewed them as well. In the end, the farmer stopped all his other activities, and actually increased the number of guinea pigs he was breeding, as that was the only thing he could still farm given the limited amount of supplies that companies were still prepared to deliver to the farm.

PROJECT: Corruption in the International Olympic Committee
MEDIUM: *Panorama*, BBC television
JOURNALIST: Justin Rowlett and others
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: *Panorama* uncovered evidence that the votes of a member of the International Olympic Committee, the organisation that controls the Games, could be bought. *Panorama* went undercover in a yearlong investigation to find out what it would take to get the Games in a certain city, only to find out that the answer was money. *Panorama* reporters posed as consultants acting for clients with business interests in east London who wanted the games to come to London. They got in touch with men who said they could help them, professional agents who in the past were paid hundreds of thousands of pounds by previous bid cities to lobby for IOC votes. Hidden camera footage was used. The episode was broadcasted in one of the few peak-time slots *Panorama* has on an annual basis.

PROJECT: A fight till death
MEDIUM: *Panorama*, BBC television
JOURNALIST: John Ware and others
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: *Panorama* did its own version of the Hutton report, before the official enquiry had ended. It did so without pussyfooting and uncovered the editorial errors the BBC had made by allowing Andrew Gilligan to go on air with information based on only one anonymous source. This made this programme somewhat controversial, because it was an internal affair of the BBC itself, while it was reported on by BBC reporters. However, unlike the Hutton report, it didn't give the government a clean bill of health either. After the Hutton report came out, BBC editorial guidelines were extensively rewritten.

PROJECT: The Interview with ostracised Israeli scientist Mordechai Vanunu
MEDIUM: *This World*, BBC television
JOURNALIST: Chris Mitchell
DATE: 2004
DESCRIPTION: Freelance investigative television producer Chris Mitchell went to Israel to interview ostracised Israeli scientist Mordechai Vanunu. Vanunu is not too popular in Israel, especially with the current

government, because he leaked information on the secret nuclear programme that Israel was developing. As a result, Vanunu spent 18 years in prison. Under the terms of his release, he was not allowed to speak to the press, officially because the government didn't want him to spill the beans on Israel's nuclear agenda once more. However, according to Mitchell, the interview with Vanunu showed there was nothing Vanunu could tell that the world didn't already know at this time. Mitchell was detained for a while after he tried to smuggle the videotapes out of Israel. Some tapes were confiscated; however, a copy of a copy had already made it to the UK.

PROJECT: The tax havens of tycoon Richard Desmond

MEDIUM: *Financial Times*

JOURNALIST: Michael Gillard, Ben Lurance

DATE: 2003

DESCRIPTION: Following a huge paper trail and crunching an endless series of numbers, two journalists found proof there may be something fishy about the way newspaper tycoon Richard Desmond's empire was set up. Through a number of very complicated arrangements, Desmond managed to claim tax benefits, for example by paying taxes in Jersey, an offshore location that is part of the United Kingdom, but with a much lower tax rate. However, this lower rate should only be available to companies whose policy is established on Jersey itself. The *Financial Times* found there were many things that didn't quite add up, but Desmond refused to answer any questions.

Appendix 1: Respondents

The authors of the country reports are experienced Dutch and Flemish journalists who have a long-standing familiarity with the country or countries they covered. Besides their own experience and many informal talks and various documents, they based their reports on interviews with investigative journalists, editors and other relevant sources. In the Netherlands and Flanders, material from interviews of the VVOJ report *Onderzoeksjournalistiek in Nederland en Vlaanderen* ('Investigative Journalism in the Netherlands and Flanders') was used; 107 journalists at 77 different media in the Netherlands and Flanders were interviewed in the year 2002. Their names can be found in this particular report, available in Dutch only, both in print and online.

For Investigative Journalism in Europe the following 200 persons were interviewed:

Name	Organisation/medium	Country
Ridvan Akar	<i>CNN Turk Istanbul</i>	Turkey
Tutkun Aktas	<i>Tempo</i>	Turkey
Emine Algan	<i>Vatan</i>	Turkey
Leticia Alvarez	<i>El Comercio</i>	Spain
Claude Angeli	<i>Le Canard Enchaîné</i>	France
Tatjana Artyomova	<i>Posev monthly</i>	Russia
Manana Aslamazian	<i>Internews regional television</i>	Russia
Jan Henrik Aubert	<i>NRK Vestfold</i>	Norway
Yalcin Bayar	<i>Hürriyet</i>	Turkey
Andy Bell	<i>BBC Panorama</i>	United Kingdom
Werner Beninger	<i>Oberösterreichische Nachrichten</i>	Austria
Peter Berger	<i>Koelner Stadtanzeiger</i>	Germany
Ola Bernhus	<i>Aftenposten</i>	Norway
Charlie Bird	<i>RTÉ</i>	Ireland
Roger Blum	<i>Universität Bern</i>	Switzerland
Volodymyr Boiko	<i>Freelance</i>	Ukraine
Susan Boos	<i>Wochenzeitung</i>	Switzerland
Fritz Breivik	<i>Høgskola i Bodø</i>	Norway
Peter Byrne	<i>Kyiv Post</i>	Ukraine
Felicia Cabrita	<i>Grande Reportagem</i>	Portugal
Oral Calislar	<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	Turkey
Antonio Caño	<i>El País</i>	Spain
José Pedro Castanheira	<i>Expresso</i>	Portugal

Antonio Cerejo	<i>O Público</i>	Portugal
Irina Chernova	<i>Witnesses (2nd Federal Channel)</i>	Russia
Marc Comina	<i>Facts</i>	Switzerland
Frank Connolly	<i>Ireland on Sunday</i>	Ireland
Philipp Cueni	<i>Verrein Qualität im Journalismus</i>	Switzerland
Paul Cullen	<i>Irish Times</i>	Ireland
Dominik Cziesche	<i>Der Spiegel</i>	Germany
Wojciech Czuchnowski	<i>Gazeta Wyborcza</i>	Poland
Ulla Danné	<i>Svenska Dagbladet</i>	Sweden
Renate Daum	<i>Börse Online</i>	Germany
Jean-Frederic Deliège	<i>Le Soir Magazine</i>	Belgium
Christophe Deloire	<i>Le Point</i>	France
Alexenia Dimitrova	<i>24 Chassa</i>	Bulgaria
Zoya Dimitrova	<i>Monitor</i>	Bulgaria
Vikram Dodd	<i>The Guardian</i>	United Kingdom
Lars Anders Døvlø Larssen	<i>Tønsbergs Blad</i>	Norway
Hans Drachmann	<i>Politiken</i>	Denmark
Ugur Dundar	<i>Kanal D</i>	Turkey
Ragıp Duran	<i>Galatasaray University Istanbul.</i>	Turkey
Graham Ellis	<i>BBC Radio</i>	United Kingdom
Orhan Erinc	<i>Türkiye Gazeteciler Cemiyeti</i>	Turkey
Jack Ewing	<i>Business Week</i>	United Kingdom
Ann-Nina Finne	<i>MOT</i>	Finland
Wolfgang Freitag	<i>Die Presse</i>	Austria
Michele Gambino	<i>RAI-3</i>	Italy
Petko Georgiev	<i>Foundation Promedia</i>	Bulgaria
Michael Gillard	<i>Freelance</i>	United Kingdom
Jacinho Godinho	<i>RTP/Universidade Nova de Lisboa</i>	Portugal
Adelino Gomes	<i>O Público</i>	Portugal
Fernando Gonzalez Urbaneja	<i>Federación de Asociaciones de la Prensa de España</i>	Spain
Aleksandr Gorshkov	<i>AJUR</i>	Russia
Kaare Gotfredsen	<i>Danske Kommuner</i>	Denmark
Antonio Granado	<i>O Público</i>	Portugal
Anne Hafstad	<i>Aftenposten</i>	Norway
Anders Hagen	<i>Dagbladet</i>	Norway
Frode Hansen	<i>Dagbladet</i>	Norway
Nils Hansson	<i>Uppdrag Granskning (SVT)</i>	Sweden
Guido Heinen	<i>Die Welt</i>	Germany
Timo-Erkki Heino	<i>Ykkösdokumentti</i>	Finland
Georges Huercano-Hidalgo	<i>RTBF-television</i>	Belgium
Zoryana Ilenko	<i>Argument (Lviv)</i>	Ukraine
Murat Inceoglu	<i>TV8 Istanbul</i>	Turkey
Bruno Ingemann	<i>Nordjyske Media</i>	Denmark
Odd Isungset	<i>TV2</i>	Norway
Oswald Iten	<i>Neue Zürcher Zeitung</i>	Switzerland
Valeri Ivanov	<i>Academy of Ukrainian Press</i>	Ukraine
Sten Jensen	<i>DR Dokumentar</i>	Denmark
Jens Olaf Jersild	<i>Danmarks Radio</i>	Denmark
Gergana Jouleva	<i>Program Access to Information</i>	Bulgaria

Kati Juurus	<i>MOT</i>	Finland
Hanns-Bruno Kammertöns	<i>Die Zeit</i>	Germany
Isik Kansu	<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	Turkey
Henrik Kaufholz	<i>Politiken</i>	Denmark
Colm Keena	<i>Irish Times</i>	Ireland
Marek Keskrawiec	<i>Newsweek Polska</i>	Poland
Oleg Khomenok	<i>Scoop</i>	Ukraine
Nuri Kino	<i>Freelance</i>	Sweden
Vakhtang Kipiani	<i>1 Plus 1 (TV channel)</i>	Ukraine
Roland Kirbach	<i>Die Zeit</i>	Germany
Bertold Kittel	<i>Rzeczpospolita</i>	Poland
Florian Klenk	<i>Falter</i>	Austria
Andrei Konstantinov	<i>AJUR</i>	Russia
Igor Korolkov	<i>Moskovskie Novosti weekly</i>	Russia
Andrzej Krajewski	<i>SDP</i>	Poland
Jan Kristensen	<i>Fyens Stiftstidende</i>	Denmark
Torbjörn von Krogh	<i>Pressens Tidning</i>	Sweden
Kurt Kuch	<i>News</i>	Austria
Heikki Kuutti	<i>Ministry of Defense</i>	Finland
Rudolf Lambrecht	<i>freelance, ex-Stern</i>	Germany
Anna Lea Landsted	<i>Freelance</i>	Denmark
Paul Lashmar	<i>Freelance</i>	United Kingdom
Fredrik Laurin	<i>Kalla Fakta (TV4)</i>	Sweden
George Lee	<i>RTÉ</i>	Ireland
David Leigh	<i>The Guardian</i>	United Kingdom
Philippe Leruth	<i>Vers l'Avenir, AJPB</i>	Belgium
Hans Leyendecker	<i>Süddeutsche Zeitung</i>	Germany
Saverio Lodato	<i>L'Unità</i>	Italy
Johannes Ludwig	<i>Medienwissenschaftler</i>	Germany
Christoph Lütgert	<i>NDR</i>	Germany
Gavin MacFadyen	<i>Freelance</i>	United Kingdom
Baltasar Magro	<i>TVE De Cerca</i>	Spain
Alfredo Maia	<i>Sindicato de Jornalistas</i>	Portugal
Arkadi Maiofis	<i>TV-2 Tomsk</i>	Russia
Alessandro Mantovani	<i>Il Manifesto – Rome</i>	Italy
Eduardo Martin de Pozuelo	<i>La Vanguardia</i>	Spain
Anders Peter Matthiasen	<i>Extra Bladet</i>	Denmark
Christian Mensch	<i>Basler Zeitung</i>	Switzerland
Marc Metdepenningen	<i>Le Soir</i>	Belgium
Thomas Michelsén	<i>Grävande Journalister</i>	Sweden
Chris Mitchell	<i>Freelance</i>	United Kingdom
Sue Mitchell	<i>BBC Radio Face the Fact</i>	United Kingdom
Nikolai Mitrokhin	<i>Freelance</i>	Russia
Morten Møller Warmedal	<i>Brennpunkt</i>	Norway
Paolo Mondani	<i>RAI-3 Report</i>	Italy
Paul Moreira	<i>90 Minutes</i>	France
Martins Morim	<i>Sindicato de Jornalistas</i>	Portugal
Marina Morpurgo	<i>Diario della Settimana – Milan</i>	Italy
Ulrikke Moustgaard	<i>Freelance</i>	Denmark
Nathalie Moutoz	<i>Lundi investigation</i>	France

Leo Müller	<i>Cash</i>	Switzerland
Michael Nikbakhsh	<i>Profil</i>	Austria
Leonid Nikitinski	<i>Novaya Gazeta</i>	Russia
Yovo Nikolov	<i>Capital</i>	Bulgaria
Bjørn Olav Nordahl	<i>Dagens Næringsliv</i>	Norway
Piotr Nowina-Konopka	<i>Europe College Natolin</i>	Poland
Gunnar Nygren	<i>JMK, Stockholm University</i>	Sweden
Roman Olearchuk	<i>Kyiv Post</i>	Ukraine
Natalya Onyska	<i>Lviska Gazeta</i>	Ukraine
Aleksandr Osipov	<i>Freelance (Wolgograd)</i>	Russia
Alexander Øystå	<i>Verdens Gang</i>	Norway
Atilla Özsever	<i>Maltepe University Istanbul</i>	Turkey
Emin Pazarci	<i>Ankara Dünden Bugüne Tercüman</i>	Turkey
Dietmar Pieper	<i>Der Spiegel</i>	Germany
Tuomo Pietiläinen	<i>Helsingin Sanomat</i>	Finland
Fatih Polat	<i>Evrensel</i>	Turkey
Jean-Marie Pontaut	<i>L'Express</i>	France
Conor Pope	<i>Irish Times</i>	Ireland
Andrei Potapenko	<i>AJUR</i>	Russia
Joaquin Prieto	<i>El País</i>	Spain
Noemí Ramírez	<i>El Mundo</i>	Spain
Manfred Redelfs	<i>Netzwerk Recherche</i>	Germany
Hannes Reichmann	<i>Format</i>	Austria
Susanna Reinboth	<i>Helsingin Sanomat</i>	Finland
Claus Richter	<i>Frontal21</i>	Germany
Trude Ringheim	<i>Dagbladet</i>	Norway
Airy Routier	<i>Nouvel Observateur</i>	France
Antonio Rubio	<i>El Mundo</i>	Spain
Hanna Ruokangas	<i>MTV3</i>	Finland
Michael Ryan	<i>Formerly Channel 4 (retired)</i>	United Kingdom
Belinda Sallin	<i>Rundschau (SF DRS)</i>	Switzerland
Harri Saukkomaa	<i>Yhtyneet Kuvalehdet</i>	Finland
Mykola Saveliev	<i>Ratusha (Lviv)</i>	Ukraine
Luciano Scalettari	<i>Famiglia Cristiana</i>	Italy
Oliver Schröm	<i>Freelance</i>	Germany
Matias Seidelin	<i>Politiken</i>	Denmark
Anna Sekudewicz	<i>Radio Katowice</i>	Poland
Paula Serra	<i>Freelance</i>	Portugal
Anna Sharogradskaya	<i>Regional Press Institute</i>	Russia
Roman Shleinov	<i>Novaya Gazeta</i>	Russia
Aleksei Simonov	<i>Glasnost defence Fund</i>	Russia
Simo Sipola	<i>Tutkivan journalismin yhdistys</i>	Finland
Leo Sisti	<i>L'Espresso</i>	Italy
Johann Skocek	<i>Der Standard</i>	Austria
Sergei M. Sokolov	<i>Novaya Gazeta</i>	Russia
Sergei V. Sokolov	<i>Kompromat monthly</i>	Russia
Helge Solberg	<i>Verdens Gang</i>	Norway
Lyubov Sorokina	<i>TV news 1 plus 1</i>	Ukraine
Kajsa Stål	<i>Kalla Fakta (TV4)</i>	Sweden
Andrzej Stankiewicz	<i>Rzeczpospolita</i>	Poland

Piot Stasinski	<i>Gazeta Wyborcza</i>	Poland
Volker Steinhoff	<i>NDR Panorama</i>	Germany
Marcin Stelmasiak	<i>Gazeta Wyborcza</i>	Poland
Matti Stenrosen	<i>Kristianstadsbladet</i>	Sweden
Martin Stoll	<i>Facts</i>	Switzerland
Tor Strand	<i>Verdens Gang</i>	Norway
Flemming Svith	<i>Dicar</i>	Denmark
Sergei Taran	<i>Institute of Mass Information</i>	Ukraine
Valentina Telychenko	<i>Scoop</i>	Ukraine
Dogan Tilic	<i>Cagdas Gazeteciler Denegi</i>	Turkey
Hans-Martin Tillack	<i>Stern</i>	Germany
Martin Tomkinson	<i>Mail on Sunday</i>	United Kingdom
Maurizio Torrealta	<i>RAI News24</i>	Italy
Lars Toverud	<i>Brennpunkt</i>	Norway
Marco Travaglio	<i>La Repubblica</i>	Italy
Orhan Tüleylioglu	<i>Urgur Mumcu Foundation</i>	Turkey
Stanimir Vaglenov	<i>24 Chassa</i>	Bulgaria
Leonid Velekhov	<i>Sovershenno Sekretno Monthly</i>	Russia
Kjell Vesje	<i>NRK Østlandssendingen</i>	Norway
Joaquim Vieira	<i>Grande Reportagem</i>	Portugal
Milverton Wallace	<i>NetMedia</i>	United Kingdom
Simone Wendler	<i>Lausitzer Rundschau</i>	Germany
Stephen Whittle	<i>BBC Editorial Policy Unit</i>	United Kingdom
Rolf Widerøe	<i>Verdens Gang</i>	Norway
Paul Williams	<i>Sunday World</i>	Ireland
Edwin Winkels	<i>El Periodico</i>	Spain
Maja Wolny	<i>ex-Polityka</i>	Poland
Oleg Yeltsov	<i>Ukraina Kriminalna, www.tema.in.ua</i>	Ukraine

Appendix 2: About the Authors

Pieter van den Blink

Pieter van den Blink (1966) is a staff reporter at the weekly magazine *Vrij Nederland* (circulation 52,000). He worked as a freelance correspondent in Paris until the summer of 2005. His reporting on and analyses of French society appeared in the daily newspaper *Trouw* (108,000), in *Vrij Nederland* and on the national news radio *Radio 1*. In addition, he taught at the Université de Paris (la Sorbonne). Until early 2001 he was a staff reporter at *Trouw*.

Henk van den Boom

Henk van den Boom (1943) has worked in Barcelona, Spain since 1995 as a correspondent for the GPD, (Geassocieerde Pers Diensten), the largest press association in the Netherlands. Sixteen Dutch daily regional newspapers, with a joint circulation of 1.8 million, are members of this association. He started his journalistic career in 1975 as a reporter at a regional newspaper in the Netherlands after he got a degree in journalism from the *School voor Journalistiek* in Utrecht. He specialised in economic affairs during a master course in Utrecht. Later, he worked as editor-in-chief at various daily newspapers. He travelled throughout South America for two years.

Johan de Boose

Johan de Boose (1962) holds a doctorate degree in literature and philosophy from the department of Slavic Languages and Eastern Europe Studies of Gent University (Belgium), with a specialisation in Poland. He worked for cultural institutions and for the Belgian public radio and television. He publishes novels, poetry and literary non-fiction. Johan de Boose currently works as a freelance author for the Dutch weekly magazine *Vrij Nederland* and the Flemish daily newspaper *De Morgen*. Recently he published *Alle dromen van de wereld* ('All the dreams of the world'), a book on Poland. He is currently working on a book about the Iron Curtain in Germany.

Arjan Dasselaar

Arjan Dasselaar (1975) teaches journalism at Leiden University, and is a regular contributor to *Elsevier*, the largest opinion weekly in the Netherlands; broadsheet *NRC Handelsblad*; broadsheet *Algemeen Dagblad*; business magazine *Quote*; Internet civil rights magazine *Netkwesties.nl*; and the Dutch edition of *Men's Health*. He is also a columnist for *Personal Computer Magazine*. Since late 2004, he has been a member of a research team financed by the Dutch public broadcasting service and Internet provider Planet Internet, which exposed death

threats of Islamic terrorist suspect Jason W. against the Dutch Prime Minister. In 2004, Arjan Dasselaar published a manual for Internet research. He has taught research methodologies since 2001, and was also involved in projects aimed at increasing journalism skills amongst Arab and Israeli reporters. In-between 1998 and 2002 he worked for over four years as the Internet editor-in-chief and staff reporter at *Elsevier*. In 2000, he was awarded an honorary distinction in the Dutch 'Golden Quill' competition ('Gouden Pennetje'), an annual prize for promising young journalists, for his articles on information technology.

Mark Eeckhaut

Mark Eeckhaut (1967) has worked as a newspaper journalist for fourteen years. For the last three years he has worked as a crime reporter for the Flemish newspaper *De Standaard*. Before *De Standaard*, he wrote for the newspapers *Het Laatste Nieuws*, *Het Nieuwsblad* and *De Tijd*. He worked on the Dutroux-case, from the arrest of Marc Dutroux in 1996 until the four-month trial in 2004. In 2005 he received the Belgian SKEPP-prize for critical journalism for his work on the Dutroux-case. He was nominated for the Dexia-prize, the most important Belgian prize for journalists. He is a member of the WOJ. He also covered several important Belgian criminal cases during the last ten years, among others the case of the serial killer Andras Pandu and the trial of the murderer of Minister of State André Cools.

Dick van Eijk

Dick van Eijk (1959) is a reporter at *NRC Handelsblad*, a national newspaper in the Netherlands (circulation 260,000). He spends much of his time on projects involving data analysis, as well as on stories that deal with demography and society as a whole. After an initial period as a general reporter, he covered the beat of transport and infrastructure for five years. After that he was editor-in-chief of the newspaper's online edition. During this period he received the *Aranea Award* for his reports on the social consequences of the Internet. Some of his major investigative projects dealt with good and bad neighbourhoods in Dutch cities, and with disparities in the allocation of royal medals of merit. He taught searching and database skills to journalists in various countries, among others in Sweden and Denmark. Dick van Eijk is one of the founders and current board members of the WOJ, the Dutch-Flemish association of investigative journalists. He coordinated the research project *Investigative Journalism in the US and Sweden – Lessons to the Low Countries*.

Marijn Kruk

Marijn Kruk (1971) studied history at the University of Utrecht. He was rewarded the prestigious Prix de Paris for his research on the French political philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville, which enabled him to continue his work in Paris. He did research at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales and the Institut des Etudes Politiques. At the same time, he wrote about French political and intellectual life for the Dutch weekly *De Groene Amsterdammer*. Marijn Kruk currently works as a freelance correspondent in Paris for the daily newspaper *Trouw*.

Cecile Landman

Cecile Landman (1963) works as a freelance journalist. Starting in 1988, she focused on Central and South American issues, and on issues such as the Gladio – secret networks that were supposed to build a resistance movement in case of a foreign occupation during the Cold War. From 1995-1996 she researched the Kurdish question in Southeast Turkey and the Diaspora. Between 1996 and 2000, she was a correspondent in Rome for Dutch daily newspaper *Trouw* and other Dutch and Italian media. She is involved in various – experimental – media projects like *Next5Minutes* (www.n5m.org). After she returned to the Netherlands in 2000 she investigated for Greenpeace the first criminal trial against the petrochemical industry in Venice, led by investigative judge Felice Casson, who earlier had discovered the first evidence of existing Gladio structures in Italy. In 2002, she investigated women trafficking in Italy and the Netherlands for the organisation BLinN (Bonded labour in The Netherlands). In 2004, she started the project www.Streamtime.org, which aims at creating independent communication and media through the web between Iraq and 'the world'.

Guido Muelenaer

Guido Muelenaer (1958) is a senior writer at *Trends*, the leading financial-economic magazine in Belgium. He has a specialisation in the labour market, industrial relations and social security. Guido Muelenaer has been a journalist for *Trends* for eighteen years. He was assistant editor-in-chief from 1997 till 2004. He was nominated four times for the most important journalistic prize in Belgium, the Dexia-prize, and won once. He is a founding member and director of WOJ, the Dutch-Flemish organisation of investigative journalists.

Hella Rottenberg

Hella Rottenberg (1955) is a freelance journalist and media trainer. She writes on cultural affairs and international relations. Working as a correspondent in Prague and Moscow she covered the revolutions in 1989 in Eastern Europe, and the implosion of the Soviet empire. In the Netherlands she exposed the plundering of a famous private art collection – that included works by Lissitzky and Malevich – by a Dutch notary and his assistants and wrote a book about it. After working for fifteen years as a foreign correspondent and political affairs reporter she left the newspaper *de Volkskrant*. She currently works as a freelance journalist.

Robert Sikkes

Robert Sikkes (1958) started after graduation from the School of Journalism in Utrecht in 1981 as freelance correspondent in Lisbon. Later he switched to be education reporter for several newspapers and magazines. At present he is managing editor of *het Onderwijsblad* (Education Magazine, circulation 75,000), which invests a great deal in investigative reporting. Recent research dealt with the financial situation of vocational training and the poor quality of English in primary education. He published two books. *Het sprookje van de statusdaling – Feiten en mythen over leraren* ('The fairytale of the status decline – facts and myths about teachers', 2000) questioned the myth, created by teachers, that teaching is a low

status profession. In 2004 *De allerbeste basisschool* ('The best primary school') was published with essays on the permanent and successful quest for improving quality in Dutch primary education.

Mehmet Ülger

Mehmet Ülger (1962) works as a freelance journalist for several national television current affairs programmes, *2 Vandaag*, *Netwerk*, *NOVA*, and *Zembla*. He has contributed to items such as: integration of immigrants in Dutch society, Turkish people in Holland, Turkish political Islamic organisations, people without residence permits, smuggling of people. He also writes for newspapers and magazines about these subjects. He is a correspondent for the Netherlands National News Agency (ANP) on Turkish affairs in Holland and a columnist for *Wordt Vervolgd*, the magazine of Amnesty International. He also works as a senior editor at a regional radio station in Rotterdam and Den Haag. He is a correspondent in the Netherlands for the Turkish newspaper *Evrensel*. Ülger is co-author of the book *Grijze Wolven: een zoektocht naar Extreem Rechts*. In addition, he is a board member of NVJ (union of journalists) and of Rëportaj (Reportage), Amsterdam. This organisation is focussed on press freedom in Turkey.

Bram Vermeer

Bram Vermeer (1962) has been working as a journalist since 1983. He mainly specialises in several rapidly changing areas of technology: telecommunications, information technology and infrastructure. He wrote background stories for newspapers, general interest magazines and trade journals. In 2002, together with three other journalists, he surveyed the current state of affairs in investigative journalism in the Netherlands and Flanders for the WVOJ. The results were published in the report *Onderzoeksjournalistiek in Nederland en Vlaanderen*. Currently, he is working on a large-scale investigation in the Netherlands and Germany. He also works as a photographer.

Investigative Journalism in Europe

If anybody ever cherished the thought that there exists something like 'European journalism', he or she will know better after reading this book. Based on 200 interviews with journalist in twenty different countries, it gives an accurate, highly-focused picture of the current state of affairs in investigative journalism throughout Europe. It turns out that journalistic traditions vary widely in this part of the world, and traditions of investigative journalism do so as well. There is almost no shared frame of reference. In this respect the situation in Europe is very different from that in the United States.

The most obvious trap to fall into for a European journalist starting out on a joint investigative project with a colleague from elsewhere in Europe is to assume that they will work and think more or less in the same way. It is much more likely that there will be huge differences between reporters from two countries: they will be in different positions in their newsrooms, for instance with regard to their level of autonomy; they will not have the same appreciation as to what is important in journalism; and they will apply their own, highly personal methods in their investigations.

One of the most important conclusions from this research is that investigative journalism is not a matter of budget, or funds. Both within countries and in cross-country comparisons there are no obvious relations between budgets and investigative journalism.

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