

Research on motivational factors for journalists to work in adverse circumstances

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Abstract:

This study investigates the motivational factors within Pakistani journalists. That keep them committed to their profession despite the problems they face such as job insecurity, low wages, psychological stress, and the personal safety threats. Qualitative approach was taken out as a research design; eight semi-structured interviews were conducted within journalist form electronic and print media. Thematically analyzing the interviews, the study revealed that intrinsic motivations such as passion for truth, desire to create social change and idealism helped them sustain their professional dedication. Some other non-monetary benefits which includes public recognition, access to decision-makers and also sense of power associated with journalism emerged as a significant motivator. Although there was some dissatisfaction among the participants because of irregular salaries, lack of organizational support, their professional identity and commitment to informing the public outweighed financial disincentives. The findings suggest that intrinsic and social motivations play a larger role than extrinsic rewards in driving persistence. The study recommends that media managers provide greater financial and institutional support to enhance journalists' organizational loyalty and well-being, ultimately contributing to a stronger and more responsible media landscape.

Keywords: Journalistic Motivation; McClelland's Theory of Needs; Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation; Occupational Stress; Media Ethics; Organizational Commitment; Qualitative Thematic Analysis; Adverse Working Conditions; Pakistani Journalism; Freedom of Expression

Introduction

Media is considered as an important pillar of a democratic system. It not only serves as a conduit that links state to the society, it also assumes the responsibility to make people aware and to hold the authorities accountable to the public. The role of media in shaping or deforming the cultural values cannot be overemphasized (Ali, Jan, & Bukhari, 2013).

With such an important role to perform, the journalists are often criticized for not performing their obligations in an ethical or responsible manner and media is blamed for causing turbulence in the society (Talbot, 1998). Intellectual dishonesty, corruption, bias and other unethical behaviors are the main charges against media professionals (Riaz & Taj, 2017). Normative practices suggest that the content of the media should be fair, truthful, objective, and free of any pressure to be supportive of the social values on which journalistic professional ethics are based (McQuail, 2009).

Although the notion that freedom of expression, a virtue in a democratic society, is something only a few will dispute, many a researchers have pointed out that the instances of violence against journalists is one of the important barriers to the freedom of expression (Carlsson & Pöyhtäri, 2017), (Jamil, 2017) and (McIntyre & Cohen, 2021).

Journalism is deemed to be a precarious job as journalists are threatened, tortured, kidnapped and murdered, while performing their professional obligations, and those committing crimes against journalists are seldom indicted (Carlsson & Pöyhtäri, 2017).

While violence against journalist is an internationally recognized issue, the researchers are of the opinion that situation is worse for journalists working in developing countries (Qamar, Manzoor, & Shahzadi, 2020). (Koster, Koot, Malik, & Sijbrandij, 2022) pointed out that journalists have to undergo a lot of psychological stress that sometimes lead to chronic mental disorders. Besides above-mentioned threats, there are issues of long working hours, tight deadlines, fear of job loss and all the uncertainty associated with the job.

Despite having such perils, journalism is not a very paying profession. Researches show that journalists in Pakistan either do not get enough salaries or they are not paid regularly (Qamar, Manzoor, & Shahzadi, 2020). The stress arising out of financial uncertainty that looms around most of the times, the journalists either resort to corrupt practices or opt out of the profession (Khan & Imtiaz, 2020).

Nonetheless, there is ample evidence of youngsters going to media schools for their graduation and opting for journalism as a profession despite the untoward circumstances that working journalists face. There are media professionals who have been working for decades in media organizations. Although we might find them complaining about the odds that they have to face and we may also witness high turnover in media organizations, yet media professionals are usually found changing the organization rather than profession.

There has not been enough literature to assess what motivates the journalists to work under such turbulent conditions and this research paper intends to find the sources of motivation for a journalist to perform such an arduous task in such unfavorable circumstances.

Research Question

What factors motivate journalists to work in perilous circumstances?

Research Objective

To identify the motivational factors for journalists to work under adverse circumstances

Purpose of the Study

Journalism in Pakistan has been viewed as a very respectable profession and many intellectuals and thinkers had remained associated with the press in the past. There are numerous stories of journalists speaking the truth in the face of tyranny and paying the price for that. A concept of fearlessness, bravery and heroism have been the punch line of these stories. In the present times, with the advent of information technology, new employment opportunities have emerged in electronic and digital media.

With the increasing employment opportunities there had been an increase in incidents of violence against journalists as well. Most of the full-time journalists, working for print, electronic or digital media are either paid less or not paid at all.

Even in such adverse circumstances, media organizations are diligently providing news to cater to the information needs of the society. This implies that journalists, despite all odds, are committed to the profession. The study

aims to identify the motivational factors that keep them going in such unfavorable circumstances.

Scope of the study

A free media is instrumental to the development of a democratic society. The mainstream media not only serves as an information conduit between the state and the society, it also performs accountability of those at the helm of affairs.

The journalists working for media organizations should be committed to the profession, but their level of commitment is a factor of their level of motivation. This study intends to explore the motivational factors owing to which journalists perform their jobs despite being paid low and facing all sorts of perilous situations that journalists have to face.

The study could serve as a prologue for the managers in media industry to use the motivational factors for better organizational performance. The study will also bring forth the problems facing the journalist community, which create impediments in their way to perform their obligations in a professional manner to create a healthy democratic society.

Literature Review

Traditionally, the role of a journalist is to cover/investigate the events of public interest and the information of the events is disseminated instantaneously to a large audience (Ponkey, 2012). With developments taking place in technological, economic, social and political realms, the tools of information dissemination and the role of journalists have changed across the globe (McNair, 2009). While these developments made it easier for a journalist to disseminate information to a much larger audience in a much lesser time, the challenges associated with job have also intensified.

Some of the researchers are of the opinion that the job of a journalist has many risks and threats associated with it, which is a matter of growing concern among media professionals and the advocates of freedom of expression. The researchers maintained that the sources of threats arise from various perils that journalists have to face in the line of duty, which include censorship, self-censorship, surveillance, monitoring and control, gatekeeping, propaganda, disinformation, acts of terror, anti-terror law, hate speech, harassment and organized crime to the extent of murder (Carlsson & Pöyhtäri, 2017). Even if a journalist has not come across any threat or act of violence in his professional life, the mere thought of coming across such situations could be overbearing and may seriously affect one's mental health.

Some research studies have corroborated to the notion that the very nature of a journalists' job exposes them to psychological stress and mental health disorders as they have to cover events of accidents, crimes and disasters (Koster, Koot, Malik, & Sijbrandij, 2022). In extreme situations like war coverage, journalists find themselves caught in a crossfire, as Ashraf & Brooten (2017) have pointed out, "*Threats to journalists in FATA stem not only from militants, but from the Pakistani state itself, which is widely believed to be supporting some militant groups in the interests of its foreign policy objectives*". The president of International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) expressed his concern about killings of 2,700 journalists in 25 years across the world, which makes an average of two journalists per week (Pate & Hamza ,

2017). This high frequency of killings also suggests that other threats to journalists are not an anomaly.

The researchers are of the opinion that situation in Pakistan is no different. Jamil (2017), while discussing violence against Pakistani journalists, mentioned killing of 71 Pakistani journalists since 2001. The study also reveals that journalists experience physical, psychological, financial, emotional, social, and topic specific risks while at work, which leads to constraining of freedom of expression. Though the situation in Pakistan is better than the war-struck regions like Palestine, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Libya, Somalia and Syria, the numbers for violence cases against journalists have been at par with these countries (Jamil, 2017). This finding

While journalists across the world are exposed to the aforementioned risks and threats and the repercussions of adverse happenings, the situation is especially precarious in Pakistan as working journalists either do not get decent salaries or they do not get them at regular intervals (Qamar, Manzoor, & Shahzadi, 2020). Fear of losing life, unpaid or low salaries, fear of job loss are the concerns that keep journalists mentally occupied and these stresses are complemented by long working hours, challenging assignments and no appreciation for their work (Qamar, Manzoor, & Shahzadi, 2020). With all the aforementioned threats and risks could be termed as occupational hazards, the nonpayment or irregular payment of salary makes it all the more difficult for a journalist to perform his professional obligations.

However, other researches show that this phenomenon is not conducive to Pakistan only as journalists in Uganda also experience financial insecurity (McIntyre & Cohen, 2021) besides other aforementioned adverse circumstances that appear as a common denominator for journalists across the world. McIntyre and Cohen (2021) contend that the charges of unethical journalism and corruption on journalists were an outfall of low salaries being paid to the journalists. This view is also corroborated by Qamar, Manzoor and Shahzadi (2020), who found a strong nexus between unethical practices by the journalists and low wages paid to them. Riaz and Taj (2017), also listed sensitivity of issue, government pressure, personal biases, media agenda and lack of professional competence as the reasons for biased and unethical news coverage besides financial considerations (Riaz & Taj, 2017). With the discipline of mass communication being taught at undergraduate and postgraduate level in the universities of Pakistan, the problem of lack of professional competence is likely to be addressed in the coming times.

Thousands of students complete their graduate programs in the field of mass communications every year and a large number of these students opt to work as journalists (2005). The author pointed out that unlike other professions, journalism had been an easier profession to join and no specific qualification or license is required to join the field. The excessive supply of workers prompts the media firm owners to pay lower wages, which also is a major reason for high employee turnover in media industry (Riaz, Job Satisfaction of Journalism Graduates in Pakistan, 2005). Despite this supply of workers with varying academic backgrounds, the quality of journalism is still questionable.

Khan and Imtiaz (2020) regard media profession as a tough task that requires knowledge of current affairs, good command over language, interpersonal and analytical skills and strong commitment to stay in the field of journalism. The authors maintained that while joining the media organization

could be based on some reference, it is the aforementioned skillset that enables a worker to continue in the field of journalism (Khan & Imtiaz, 2020).

While media freedom and freedom of expression has been a much-praised virtue in democratic societies, there are propaganda filters setup by the dominant class, which taints media freedom, to serve their own vested interests (Herman & Chomsky, 2008).

When viewed from the gender perspective, harassment at workplace and out in the field can also be added to the lexicon of problems being faced by the media professionals (Khan & Imtiaz, 2020). The authors of the study also pointed out gender discrimination as a problem, which results in fewer opportunities for the female staff in a media organization (Khan & Imtiaz, 2020).

With so many predicaments associated with the field of journalism, it appears that there could be hardly any reason for a person to join the field willingly, but the researches show that there are more than one reason. Many a working journalist join the field considering the profession to be honorable (Khan & Imtiaz, 2020) and (Riaz, 2005).

Another motivation for individuals to join media industry is the drive for creativity that is crucial for media industry. Renowned psychologist Sigmund Freud has associated creative process to irrational, unconscious or childlike cognitive process rather than rational thinking (Dwyer, 2016). Terming creativity as an act of rebellion, economist Richard Florida, suggested that employees in creative industries were 'unmanageable', as the creative work could not be 'Taylorized' (Florida, 2012).

Some researchers are of the view that intrinsic motivation is far more effective for creativity than any extrinsic motivation as the later narrows the path of cognitive focus and is unlikely to lead to creative breakthroughs. Intrinsic motivation explains why talented and highly educated individuals opt to work for media organizations despite low salaries (Küng, 2017).

While there is literature available that describes the motivation for the entrepreneurs to enter the field of media (Artero & Manfredi, 2016), what motivates an individual to work for media organizations against all odds has little mention in academic literature. There have been attempts to gauge satisfaction of the and emotional intelligence employees working for media industry (Bhatti, Hussain, Aslam, & Ghani, 2021), (Riaz, 2005), (Qamar, Manzoor, & Shahzadi, 2020), however, the reasons for individuals to continue to work for media industries need further exploration.

Andersen (2018) in his paper described McClelland's motivational factors, which are achievement, power and affiliation. Achievement implies an aspiration to do better than the others in performance. Power refers to the desire to control and influence others. Affiliation is related to social acceptance and social relationship. These factors are important sources of motivation although the degree of each of these motivational factors may vary from person to person (Andersen, 2018).

Research Methodology

This research study was conducted as an academic assignment for the course of Human Resource Management and was assigned to a group of two students of second semester MPhil program at Institute of Administrative Sciences, University of the Punjab, Lahore - Pakistan.

Research Design

Owing to the nature of the research question, qualitative analysis technique was adopted to have a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under study. For the purpose of this study abductive logic, subtle realist ontology and interpretivist epistemology was deemed appropriate.

Sampling Technique

To conduct this academic study, the group interviewed, transcribed, coded and analyzed 8 interviews. Those, who were interviewed, were working journalists and had an academic qualification related to their field. Purposive sampling was used for selecting the sample.

Data Collection

For this study semi-structured interview method was employed to collect first-hand information from journalists who had experience with print or electronic media. Literature review on problems faced by the journalists was thoroughly researched. The dimensions identified during the literature review were then used to form an interview guide. The interviews with the journalists were conducted and recorded in a face-to-face meeting. Certain follow-up questions, which were not a part of the interview guide, were also asked when the response to a particular question was either lacking information or was not relevant.

While the interview guide was prepared in English, the interview questions were asked bilingually for the comfort of the interviewees. The responses to the questions were also bilingual; the interviews were transcribed into English.

Data Analysis Techniques

A thematic analysis approach has been used for data analysis purposes. For identifying themes, a mix of etic coding and emic coding techniques were employed. The themes were extracted from the codes and were analyzed to reach conclusion.

Discussion and Analysis

Literature provides ample evidence that journalists' routine is not only stressful but involves perils that may lead to life loss. Despite the risks associated with the job, journalists do not get a risk premium in their salaries. Worse, many of them do not get salary at all for months. About the remuneration aspect, the journalists provided very diverse perspectives. One of the journalists pointed out the a certain kind of class system analogous to the society. *"There is a segregation among journalists, you know...The kind of disparity we view in the income of the various segments of Pakistani society, the same kind of disparity is there among journalists"* (J-3). Another journalist while pointing out the disparity in salary structure corroborated to the class difference in journalists. *"There is an elite class in journalism and then there is a working class... The average salary a journalist gets is hard to figure out(J-7)"*. Another journalist complained about nepotism and favoritism in awarding salary. *"Some of the chosen few have their salaries comparable to the corporate salary structure... in millions... really!... while their salaries are on a dollar rate basis, the likes of me just get peanuts (J-5)"*. Another journalist, while resenting the irregular salary payments, said, *"There are 10 to 15 percent channels and media outlets that are paying salaries on a regular basis.*

Journalists are hired on a regular pay basis, but if you are getting your salaries with a six-month delay then it is far from being regular. (J-2)". One of the journalist was of the view that journalism is a low paying profession and those working in this profession should not have any great expectations. *"It is an underpaid profession and there is no doubt about it. ...Salary of even the senior ones with more than a decade of experience (J-6)*. One of the respondents, working at a senior position, said that irregular salaries has been a recent phenomenon and when they complain they are told that even if you are not getting salary, you are still better off than those who do not even have a job. *"For the past two to four years salaries has been grossly irregular. Just getting salary is a big deal. Only a few channels pay salaries on time, others do not pay for three or four months and this happens even in the renowned channels. If someone complains, the owners say that at least you have got a job"(J-8)*. These findings are in line with the findings of the literature review where Qamar, et al. (2020) also pointed out the nonpayment and irregular salary problem faced by the journalists.

While the media organizations appear insensitive to the salary concerns of the journalists, the journalists also do not get adequate support from their organizations in the duties that they perform for their organization. The support of the organization in case of threat or hazard is virtually non-existent. One of the respondents narrated his experience when he was assigned to cover a public meeting in the hot and humid season for a media channel. *"When we were about to leave... there is a routine practice that a water cooler filled with ice, which the staff arranges from its own pocket is placed in the van which is equipped with the DSNG (Digital Satellite News Gathering). That day the water cooler was removed from the van and a fuel can was put in its place. The intent was that the DSNG operations should not be interrupted because of shortage of fuel and if we don't get any water to drink, that is no problem (J-3)*. He goes on to describe that this apathy on the part of the organization is not about a single incident, rather, it is the general approach of the management. Describing his experience, he goes on, *" In the cabin of the DSNG there is an inverter AC and there is also a built-in AC of the vehicle in the front. The front AC connections were severed by the channel administration so that the AC may not operate. This implied that if the vehicle is moving there would be no AC. When the vehicle will be stationary and serving the purpose of news sending, the AC will operate but only for the sake of machinery so that the machinery may not malfunction. So, this is the level of meanness and exploitation" (J-3)*. Another journalist also confirmed this notion that the organization does not care for the problems being faced by the journalists as they perform their professional obligations. *"Supports me? They just tell us to stay out of trouble. They do not support us" (J-1)*. Another journalist was of the opinion that while the management shows apathy about the concerns of the journalists, even the senior professionals also belittle or ignore the efforts of the journalist who has to work amidst threats of all kinds. He was of the opinion that while working for the same department the seniors do not appreciate the efforts of the subordinates despite knowing the predicaments associated with this job. This is what a journalist describes as his experience. *"When the reporter brings a breaking news to a smaller channel, the newsroom staff will hold it to avoid flak and negative response. They wait for some bigger channel to broadcast the news. Once the news is broadcast by the bigger channel, the smaller channel follows*

the suit. Reporter of a small channel may put in a lot of effort but the director news holds back the news and waits for the news to be aired by a bigger channel. These are the kind of problems that the journalist face within the organization. (J2)

Another journalist was of the view that while the organizational does not support the journalists to mitigate the threats and risks associated with the very nature of the journalistic profession, he quoted an incident of an organization that supported its journalist employee on some dispute concerned with law enforcing agencies. *“There would be hardly any organization that may support the journalist on such matters. You are usually on your own. In one or two cases, the organization has taken a stand to support the journalist, after the incident. One of our colleagues was apprehended by the police on some dispute, but then the organization took a stand and the issue was resolved. Organizations also have their limitations (J-8).*

The aggregate response shows that media organizations do not support the journalists in daily routine operations and if they come across some serious hazards while performing their obligations, there is hardly any organizational support to support or protect them.

The literature says that working journalists have to face a lot of stress on their jobs and the high stress can cause physical and mental problems for them. The interviewed journalists corroborated to the findings of the available literature. One respondent viewed journalistic routine as a lifestyle that is drastically different from a nine to five traditional white collar job and the uncertainty involved in journalistic profession makes it stressful. *“Very stressful... first of all, journalism is not a 9 to 5 job. It is a lifestyle and that lifestyle is not time-bound. You can be on the duty at midnight, or seven in the morning (J-4).* Another journalist also held the same opinion in these words. *“The job goes along with you.... so there is no fixed time. There is no comfort in it, however, there are risks (J-2).* One of the journalist, while acknowledging journalism as a highly stressful profession, maintained that stress intensity varies for those working in a news media organization in different capacities. *Stressful definitely. High stress! However, there is a distinction. Some of them work in the office and some have to go out in the field. Those working in the field are reporters or anchors doing road show and they are exposed to high stress. Those in the office are also stressed as they have to meet the deadline but they do not experience physical stress (J-5).*

While discussing journalism as a stressful job, the journalists unanimously maintained that the stress is not a temporary phenomenon as it is experienced every day. It is a part and parcel of the job and the journalists whether they are working in the reporting or newsroom section are exposed to a high level of stress,

Though the stress is a routine matter for a journalist's job, there are other occupational hazards that a journalist gets exposed to. As reported in the literature this may include threats, physical beating, material loss, kidnapping,... to the extent of murder. One of the journalists, who has worked as a crime reporter, while describing the hazards maintained that life of a journalist is no different from that of a soldier. *“You can get hit by a shell or a bullet, you may also encounter an accident. So there are risks... this job is as risky as that of a soldier or a policeman, who might be serving on the frontiers (J-1).* Another journalist, who had been reporting politics, perceived threat as

something that can come out of nowhere. *Sometimes, I have this fear about my tweets that they may not be blown out of proportion to cause a threat (J-3).*

One of the journalists who had witnessed one of his colleagues beaten up by some officers shared his experience of a violent incident in these words. *“They broke the camera and gave some (thrashing) to the reporter. The reporter informed the office about the incident and the office decided to take a stand. The bulletin about the attack on freedom of media was broadcasted. There was just one call from the ASF headquarters and the story disappeared from the screens as if it was never there, that is how the threat is always there and there is not much you can do about it (J-7).*

It's true, anything can happen. But let me tell you that this issue is more critical in the subcontinent. When you are at job you realize when you are crossing the line. It is for you to decide whether or not to go into the danger zone. ... Just like a soldier who is at battlefield, he knows that he can kill or be killed. (J2)

You come across such issues when you are working in the field. You may get into a brawl while on duty. Some people try to stop you with help of a mob. Then there are law enforcing agencies doing their work which sometimes get into conflict with journalist's job etc. So, there is always a risk. (J2)

The hazards are numerous and in the absence of the organizational support the journalist has to face it on his own. Both the journalists considered journalistic profession akin to that of a frontline soldier and narrated stories of manhandling, beating and obstruction to the peaceful coverage of some event. Both had a consensus that the risks are such that anything could happen anytime and the journalists are mentally prepared for the worst.

The aforementioned responses of the journalists clearly depict the stressful working environment and the occupational hazards which have also been discussed at length in the available literature.

What factors motivate a journalist to continue to work if he is not getting paid well and the situation within the organization and outside in the field is not favorable for the journalists? Is there any promise for the future? Whether there is a promotion criterion in the organization for a journalist, there was a divided opinion among those who were interviewed.

The promotion criteria is random. There is no field based professional criteria. Some very had working and promising journalists working in the field are still at the same place and some others who do things out of the turn and provide those services and facilities which the high-ups want to get promoted. (J1)

And yet there are some who satisfy the personal whims of the high-ups, which may include the birth certificate of a child, from a plate of haleem to Butt karahi of desi chicken, which was Rs 2,200 a kg in 2018, which I remember because I had hosted it then. And I have also seen others doing that. From a bottle of whisky to women and the place arrangement to satisfy the personal needs of the high-ups. Such people are promoted who do the needful. (J1)

Promotion usually takes place on breaking news. A journalist's profile is developed on the basis of breaking news. It is a rating race. Just the way a scholar is assessed on how many research papers has he published, similarly for the journalist the criteria is number of breaking news. Also the rating, if a journalist is conducting a program, how many people are viewing the program and how many sponsors are giving ads to the program. If more sponsors are

interested in the program, then the program host has a chance of promotion. Promotion means that the salary will increase. (J2)

To one of the respondents there is no criteria other than gratifying the bosses. The other respondent mentioned breaking news and rating as the criteria for promotion. Since more rating means more commercial benefit for the organization in terms of increased revenue and increased viewership, the journalists, who are able to get good ratings for their programs are promoted. Number of breaking news can be viewed as a professional criterion, but it is hard to establish from the discourse above that promotion serves as a source of motivation for the journalist.

As mentioned earlier, the job of a journalist is full of perils and stress, it needs a heroic effort to pursue such a profession for a life time. The journalists must find their role significant in the society, owing to the legacy associated with the profession. The journalists view their role as that of a reformer

To tell the truth... truth that you know. (J1)

In Pakistan media has damaged democracy more. (J1)

In fact, the democratic environment is promoted by the journalist. He has to create the democratic environment. Sometimes I wonder that many journalists support tyranny or dictatorship. What kind of journalists are these, is beyond me? Because a journalist is supposed to support democracy, people's issues, freedom of expression and human rights. In the recent times laws had been introduced to control broadcast and social media, if a journalist says that social media should be controlled or there are people who say that freedom of expression should have limits, it all sounds strange. (J2)

Journalists have a medium through which we can contact masses, we can help formulate opinions or reshape the opinions. So, journalism can play a very proactive role in promoting democratic environment. (J2)

While the response of the first interviewee appears pessimistic about the role of media and journalists, the second interviewee describes the role of media and journalists in the society with the mention of how the journalists are refrained from performing their true role by curtailing the freedom of expression. Both the journalists also disagreed on whether the constitution of the country supports freedom of expression.

Our constitution is very problematic. It is because it was made by the people who were living in the postcolonial era. They had got ridden of colonial system but they could not get it off their minds. Constitution is a state instrument, the freedom of expression clause in the constitution... if you want, I can read it out for you... after the first two lines it says, subject to proper law. Let me give you my interpretation of it, it says that you have the freedom but that freedom is subject to proper law.... Under the prevailing law of the land, you are free to express. If you are subjected to the law, then what freedom of expression are we talking about? (J1)

If everything is subjected to law and law is the instrument of state, then what freedom of expression can we have? If freedom of expression is to be determined by the state and the interpretation of the constitution is also been done by the state.... It has a very arbitrary and fluid definition of freedom of expression. (J1)

The constitution that has been made is so problematic that there is no freedom of expression at all. (J1)

Freedom of expression should be there. You should have freedom as long as you are not infringing upon other people's freedom. It is not that you are free to defame anyone, such an action can bring about defamation case. There is a fine line between a true story and an insult. Constitution provides leeway to the journalist but here laws are not implemented properly. If the constitution of 1973 could be restored in its true spirit, the system can improve a lot. (J2)

While one of the journalists found fault with the constitution and the way freedom of expression is chained, the other journalist found fault with the implementation of the law. Both seem to agree that there is a problem with the freedom of expression for the media and the journalists.

Then what motivational factor can there be. The interviewed journalists have more than one motivational factor to provide as a reason for them to continue with the job.

It was my desire to be famous. When I grew up I realized that films were disliked and disallowed at home. Watching movies was considered as a waste of time. I was a premedical student and I was expected to join the medical field, It was then the age of private TV media. I was a fan of Kamran Shahid and the other anchors as well... Mubashir Luqman and I used to say that how wonderful these anchors can blow anyone away and they are also famous. That was a very raw basis of my shifting towards media. (J1)

I used to write stories ever since I was a kid, which used to get published on the children's page in different newspapers like Jang. I used to live in Darya Khan, which is one of the districts of Bhakkar. I wrote a story "My city-Darya Khan" which got published on the children's page in Jang newspaper, I was in class 6th or 7th. People of the city brought the newspaper page to my father to show him that his son's name was published. My father was very happy about it. Whenever my name used to get published in the newspapers, all my relatives used to acknowledge that and used to let me know that they have seen my story in the newspaper. The feeling that I used to have brought me up to here. I still feel good when told that someone read my article or saw me on the TV. (J1)

I get satisfaction doing this work. For instance, I have started you-tubing now. I am using all my journalistic experience to employ techniques of news and caption and the results are beyond my own expectations. I was expecting a slow start on the you-tube but it started off well. (J1)

My source of motivation is that I enjoy doing my work. I enjoy when I give inside information about the very powerful and very influential person or organization and when I comment on them. The reaction it generates is very enjoyable and I enjoy that. (J1)

It starts with idealism that we have to do something good for the people. I used to witness some injustices in the system. Hospitals are not working properly, government schools have problems, the police stations are not working well, the injustices of the system where the rich dominate the poor. So, you enter the profession with a passion to play a role in bringing about a social change for the better. This is how it appears in the forefront but there is something else as well. Not many people will talk about it but there is also power hunger in it. (J2)

Then this sense of power, you feel like a powerful citizen. Journalist is the only person who moves around with prime minister. Wherever the prime

minister is going to sit, a journalist will be found sitting along. Journalist will be travelling with him on the aircraft on some international tour. Which other profession provides an opportunity to sit beside the head of the government, the executive.... So, what to say of those working below. This feel of power, which is built-in feature of humans... that now I have the power.... and I am secure... and my issues will be easily resolved. This instinct plays a major role as a motivational factor. (J2)

There are people who get very little but they still feel motivated. (J2)

The motivation for a journalist comes about in the form of idealism, spotlight and a sense of power and access to authorities which is difficult in this country with a high-power distance culture. Besides this, journalists also receive from benefits, which make them stick to their job.

The biggest benefit of journalism to me in the days of my hardcore TV channel journalism was that I got an opportunity to explore the world. I came to Lahore in 2010 and till 2016 I worked for newspapers and I had not been to so many places in Lahore in six years that I had been able to see in the next six months when I was working for a channel... and now I am aware of every nook and corner of the city. (J1)

I developed a lot of contacts and those contacts also give favors. If there is some work to be done, it gets done easily. I feel safe while traveling in the city. (J1)

The first benefit is that you stay informed. The most informed profession is that of a journalist. He is aware of the current affairs... whatever is happening... You are considered as levelled up in the society. If you go to any department or police station and introduce yourself as a journalist, you are dealt with respect. (J2)

The benefits that the interviewed journalists describe are mostly in terms of intangibles. The social position of a journalist as one who is informed and who has accessibility to the powerful people makes him a respected person in society. Since common man in Pakistan finds it difficult to get his issues resolved in public departments without contacts, journalist is considered privileged as he has the power to make the officers work for him owing to his ability to approach the topmost authority.

The profession also provides opportunity to go to new places and to meet new people. The resulting exposure from these expeditions enrich the understanding of the journalists about the socio-political and cultural dimensions of the society.

Conclusion

The findings of the research are very much in line with the literature, whereby, journalists have to experience high stress on the job and the occupational hazards associated with the media field are perilous. The journalists, who were interviewed, corroborated to the previous research findings and also disclosed that the organizational support is non-existent in case of high stress or some threat to the journalist. The problems of nonpayment of salaries to the working journalists reflected that the sources of motivation for a journalist could be other than monetary.

The motivational factors described by the interviewees are very much in line with the motivational factors described in the McClelland's theory of motivation. Journalists enjoy the power of being close to the higher authorities,

they cherish the social status of being a distinguished man among the commoners and they relish breaking news and the reaction and feedback they get on the news story that they had revealed after a lot of fact-finding efforts.

While the study reveals the adverse working conditions of the journalists, it also suggests that the motivational factors have more to do with non-monetary benefits and intrinsic motivation, besides the McClelland suggested motivational factors. The study also revealed that journalists have a high degree of professional commitment but their commitment to the organization that they are working for is relatively low. The media managers can ensure commitment of the journalist to the organization by assuming the role of a facilitator in performing their professional obligations.

Only two journalists were selected for this research study/ We believe that the scope of the study could be furthered by including more interviews of journalists to have a better picture of working conditions for journalists and of the factors that motivate them.

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