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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ  
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**Decision Acceptance, Organizational Structure and Professionalism  
Among Radio Network Workers**

**George Pollard**

**A Thesis  
in  
The Faculty  
of  
Arts and Science**

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
at Concordia University  
Montréal, Québec, Canada**

**April 1987**

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## ABSTRACT

### Decision Acceptance, Organizational Structure and Professionalism Among Radio Newswriters

George Pollard, Ph D  
Concordia University, 1987

This is a sociological study of the effects of organizational structure and professionalism on decision acceptance among radio newswriters. The emphasis is on formalization and centralization; attitudinal professionalism; and professional, organizational and personal decisions.

Data are gathered with a 95-item questionnaire mailed to a stratified random sample of 623 non-management radio newswriters in all parts of Canada. The response rate is 59.6%, which is consistent with other studies of radio employees in Canada. All indices are statistically reliable and valid. Acceptance probability for professional judgment decisions is .652; for organizational decisions, .753; and for personal decisions, .958.

Major findings among radio newswriters are, first, when a newsroom is characterized by heavy reliance on hierarchical authority and/or strict rule enforcement, there is little, if any, decision participation. Second, professionalism and education are inversely related. Third, hierarchical authority and professionalism are inversely related. Fourth, some aspects of professionalism are positively related to decision participation. Fifth, reliance on hierarchical authority, job codification and rule enforcement are inversely related to acceptance of decisions regarding organizational matters. Development of an operational definition of professionalism as it



exists among radio newswriters should be a future concern. The McLeod Hawley Method is convenient, but has little explanatory power.

The role of a professional education among radio newswriters requires attention.

So, too, decision items. Perceptions extant among radio newswriters suggest a commingling of professional and organizational decision areas, which may result from the employee status of radio newswriter professionals. More precisely delineated decision areas and a more precise operationalization of professionalism would clarify the ambiguity evident in the effects of professionalism, and the additive affects of professionalism and organizational structure, on decision acceptance.

Language plays an integral role in sociological explanations of Canadian society. Among radio newswriters, however, it may be the extent of unionization among Francophone radio newswriters, a perception of protection against arbitrary decisions accompanying unionization and circumscribed employment opportunities, not language alone, that produces the differences.

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## PREFACE

In the most general sense, this study is about work. Specifically, it is about one aspect of work -- decision acceptance -- and the effect of organizational structure and professionalism on it.

There are several dimensions and reasons for this study. I have a long-standing concern with individuals and work. Initially, my concern focused on professionalism and its effect on workers and work. Why? I am entirely not sure. Perhaps because of its idealistic image. Professionalism emphasizes competence, autonomy, responsibility and ethics. Such things likely appealed to an older-undergraduate whose experience was in the entertainment and radio industries where they were virtually absent.

Recently, my concern grew to include organizational structure. Organizations are designed to achieve goals. So, process control is a central element. Organizational structure depends on the nature of the goals and perceptions of how best to achieve them.

In addition, I have come to appreciate that "organization" is not necessarily negative, as it is often portrayed. Through a division of labour and coordination of effort, organizations (1) harness individual abilities, (2) direct them to achievement of shared goals and, perhaps, thereby (3) unleash individual potential that would otherwise remain dormant.

For the professional employee, organization and profession are



distinct control centres. They represent dual and potentially conflicting goals and loyalties among workers. When professionals are employees, and more and more now are, the combination of organization and profession has a cogent effect on them and their work; organizational goals may interfere with professional goals. Getting ahead in the organization, for example, may prevail over the pursuit of professional excellence. and vice versa.

How professionals reconcile dual loyalties and the ensuing pressures is a question warranting persistent attention.

To investigate these concerns a focus is required -- something that both professionalism and organizational structure effect and through which their influence can be viewed. Something akin to the paleontologist's fossil record which brings together the effects of time, climate and randomness.

In this instance, the focal point is decision acceptance. While considerable attention has been paid to decision-making, little attention has been paid to decision acceptance. Even though it is an important aspect of work, there are just a handful of studies in the area, most from education. Decision acceptance implies bi-lateral commitment to decisions. It underscores that the organization and employees have shared goals. The result, it is claimed, is efficiency and effectiveness. Decision acceptance, therefore, is a useful route via which to examine the effects of organizational structure and professionalism.

Large organizations dominate the sociological literature of formal organizations. But, most workers are in small organizations. The effect of organizational structure and professionalism in small organizations is a matter that has largely gone unheeded. Another reason for undertaking this study, then, is to consider, although not directly, the applicability of concepts developed in larger organizations to small organizations.

The small organizations selected are radio newsrooms. The most pervasive knowledge is manufactured and distributed by the mass news media. Mass news is a window onto the world through which individuals learn what they want, need and should know. It is a legitimizing agent presumed to set the agenda of public attention. It is also a unifying force that binds diverse linguistic, regional, class and ethnic factions by offering a generalized and shared view of reality. Ultimately, mass news is an economic and organizational commodity. Exchanged for profit, it's subject to the whims of the marketplace. Like all mass goods, it is the product of actions that plan, organize, execute, coordinate and control its manufacture and distribution.

For any of these reasons, mass news demands critical attention. Given its social role and potential effect on individual perceptions, the processes by which mass news is manufactured should be a principal concern. Because of the volume of occurrences, news processes rely on individuals to make decisions that reflect decisions made by superiors (e.g., policy) regarding what is reported and how it is reported. Each news story, then, is a confluence of organization and personal judgement — the

latter is profoundly effected by professional considerations. Hence, an awareness of who fashions news is important. Of central concern must be the effects of organizational structure and professionalism.

Available analyses generally focus on newsroom processes — the mechanics of how news is manufactured. Findings emerge from observation in one, two or, perhaps, three newsrooms. While the analyses are provocative, their findings are not widely generalizable. These studies, nonetheless, are a useful source of concepts.

While professionalism has been the focus of several news studies, no locatable study has integrated organizational theory or looked at decision acceptance. Given the cultural importance of news, a generalizable understanding of the impact of organization and professionalism on newswriters is in order. Ideally, this study will enable a bridging of the sociological and newswriter-related literature.

The goals of the study are, therefore, (1) to generate information about ~~the~~ effects of organizational structure and professionalism via decision acceptance, generally, and how it operates among radio newswriters, specifically. (2) To develop a basis for future research by (a) discovering, (b) describing and (c) detailing the nature of key relationships. And, (3) to contribute to an understanding of radio news, radio news organizations and radio newswriters.

Of particular interest are (1) the degree of formalization and centralization evident in the focal organizations; (2) professionalism as

manifested in work-related attitudes; and (3) decisions dealing with professional judgment, organizational concerns and matters generally considered as personal.

Formalization is operationalized as respondent perceptions of the extent of (1) decision participation and (2) reliance on hierarchy in an organization. Centralization is operationalized as perceptions of the extent of (1) job codification and (2) rule observation in an organization. Professionalism is operationalized as a 25-item scale developed by McLeod and Hawley. Decision acceptance is defined as the degree of subordinate commitment to a decision. It is operationalized as the probability a subordinate will view as legitimate and, thus, implement with commitment a superordinate's decision.

Finally, some well desired acknowledgements. An undertaking of this magnitude is not a solo effort. I am indebted to many people who contributed, sometimes unknowingly and sometimes long ago.

There are the 371 radio newswomen who took up to a half-hour from their busy days to complete and return the questionnaire. Without them this document would not exist.

Guy LeCavaller directed and guided me through the labyrinth this project became. His insight is evident through the project; his patient understanding and tolerance above the call of duty.

I am also indebted to Dr Bruce McFarlane, of Carleton

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Thanks also to Professor T Joseph Scanlon and Professor Peter Johansen, of the School of Journalism at Carleton University/Ottawa, who added to my understand of the findings.

Thanks, as well, to Walt Grealis at RPM who eagerly devoted a couple of valuable pages in his magazines to boosting returns, thereby adding at least 50% to the response rate; Dick MacDonald, at content, who is always keenly interested and supportive; and, Joseph M Frenken, who, with a Jesuit's unwavering eye for detail and need for strict rule enforcement, read, re-read and rendered readable this report.

Vérité en-deçà des Pyrénées,  
erreur au-delà

Blaise Pascal (1623-1662)

## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

This study examines the influence of organizational structure and professionalism on the willingness of subordinates to accept decisions made by a superordinate. The focus is on (1) two facets of organizational structure (i.e., formalization and centralization); (2) the professional orientation of subordinates; and (3) decisions dealing with professional judgment, organizational matters and personal issues. The superordinate in question is the radio news director and the subordinates are radio newswriters. Previous work examined one or more of these topics. None has included all three. Furthermore, previous work focused on the organizations in which respondents worked and not on individual respondents. This study focuses on the individual.

Organizations are decision-making systems and effective decisions are the elixir of organizational life. Decision effectiveness hinges on input quality and acceptance (i.e., decision commitment). Decision acceptance is grounded in the social arrangements extant in the organization, particularly those fortifying legitimacy, cooperation and trust relations between superordinates<sup>1</sup> and subordinates.<sup>2</sup> Decision acceptance is desirable in most situations. It is necessary when initiative, judgment or creativity are vital

to implementation or when the ability to oversee implementation is impaired.

Acceptance can be a problem for organizations employing professionals. Professional work is particularized (e.g., doctor, lawyer, clergy). Organizational work is routinized (e.g., linear processing). Initiative, judgment and creativity are the essence of professional work which, theoretically, is insulated by professional norms and values from externally imposed constraints (e.g., goals, standards and practices of the organization). From an organizational perspective, then, professional work is difficult to oversee.

The production of cultural goods occurs in milieux where the interface of organization and profession is critical. The effect of organization on cultural goods (e.g., broadcast programmes, news) has far-reaching implications (Hirsch, 1977). Profit centred organizational needs are the underlying motivation for most contemporary cultural goods. Money has traditionally followed art. Today, art follows money. Money is now the reason for cultural goods (cp. McPhee, 1977).

Concern with the effect of the organization on the production of cultural goods is rooted in the effect of these items on popular beliefs and attitudes. Organizational exigencies are often devoid of social responsibility and the impact of organizationally produced cultural goods on individual beliefs, attitudes and behaviours may be dysfunctional or, perhaps, afunctional. There is a long-standing belief that professionalism can counterbalance organizational influences.

Cultural goods, for the most part, are molded by employee



professionals (Ettema and Whitney, 1982: 7; cf. Phillips, 1975; Altheide, 1973; Tuchman, 1969). Each item is unique, an individually handcrafted intellectual item manufactured in an organizational context and affected by organizational structures, processes and priorities (cf. Bagdikian, 1971).

Cultural goods reflect a confluence of organization, technology and individual judgment. The interface of organization and profession thus plays a vital role in the production of cultural goods. A tenacious profession and committed professionals may counter the potentially dysfunctional impact of organizational needs.

Despite the significance of decision acceptance, there is a paucity of research and thought focusing on it. Theory strives to optimize decision effectiveness, and by implication acceptance, through analyses of contributing factors such as organizational structure, climate, professionalism and so forth. The link between contributing factors and decision acceptance is rarely, if ever, explicitly discussed. The locatable exceptions are Shilane (1983), Hoy and Kunz (1976) and Kunz (1973).

The situation is exacerbated by a theoretical emphasis on large organizations with highly differentiated role structures (cf. Ritzer, 1977; Blau and Meyer, 1971; Crozier, 1964; Weber, 1947). Most work, however, is carried on in smaller organizations characterized by less differentiated role structures. On the average, Canadian firms have 10.1 employees; 91.8% have fewer than 20 employees.<sup>3</sup> Propositions based-on or derived-from analyses of large organizations, as a result, are at best a starting point for analyses of smaller organizations.

This study examines decision acceptance in smaller organizations —

specifically, commercial radio newsrooms. The most pervasive knowledge, today, is manufactured and distributed by the mass news media. Mass news is a window onto the world through which individuals learn what they want, need and should know. It's a legitimizing agent presumed to set the agenda of public attention. It's also a unifying force that binds diverse linguistic, regional, class and ethnic factions by offering a generalized and sharable view of reality. Ultimately, mass news is an economic and organizational commodity. Exchanged for profit, it's subject to the whims of the marketplace. Like all mass goods, it is the product of actions that plan, organize, execute, coordinate and control its manufacture and distribution.

For any of these reasons, mass news demands critical attention. But, given its social role and potential effect on individual perceptions, the processes by which mass news is manufactured should be a principal concern. Because of the volume of occurrences, news processes rely on individuals to make decisions that reflect decisions made by superiors (e.g., policy) regarding what is reported and how it is reported. Each news story, then, is a confluence of organization and personal judgement — the latter is profoundly effected by professional considerations. So, an awareness of who fashions news is important. Of central concern must be the effects of organizational structure and professionalism.

Of major concern are the effects of organizational structure and worker professionalism.<sup>4</sup> Formalization and centralization are the structural facets considered. Formalization is "the degree of work standardization and the amount of deviation that is allowed from standards" (i.e., job

codification and rule enforcement. Cf. Alken and Hage, 1966: 499, 502). Centralization is "the degree to which [employees] participate in decision-making" and is dependent on (1) how much an organization relies on the use of hierarchical authority and (2) the extent of employee participation in decision-making processes (Alken and Hage, 1966: 497, 501-502).

The notion of newsworker professionalism used is consistent with that offered by McLeod and Hawley (1964) and based on Hawley (1964). They assumed newswork was an emerging profession in which practitioners possessed, in varying degree, the characteristics of true professionals. They further assumed a professional newsworker possessed a distinct point-of-view that emphasized traditional professional concerns and de-emphasized non-professional ones (see Chapter 4). This notion formed the basis of a Likert scale involving 12 professional and 12 non-professional items. A Professional Orientation Index was computed by subtracting the sum of the non-professional items from the sum of the professional items. Resulting difference scores were dichotomized, respondents were classified as High Professionals or Semi-professionals and the analysis focused on inter-group differences. Overall, McLeod and Hawley (1964: 538) concluded it was indeed valuable to consider professionalism, as their scale operationalized it, because "those having such an outlook tend to exhibit distinct patterns of cognitive judgement and different specific attitudes".

Replication among a variety of communicators in different countries and work milieux confirmed initial findings. Applications of the McLeod Hawley Method, however, have generally failed to evaluate the statistical

reliability of the scale and its validity. Applications, as well have often involved rather small samples, which limited generalizability of findings. Furthermore, no application has focused on radio newsmen, integrated the effect of organizational structure or considered decision acceptance. Several important questions about the McLeod Hawley Method, its reliability and validity and potential relationship with indicators remain unanswered as does the question of whether or not newsmen professionals will respond to directives differently than other professionals. This study provides preliminary answers to these questions.

The newsroom is viewed as an integral part of a formal and complex commercial organization, a radio station. A formal organization is "any group of persons plus the system of roles defining their interactions with one another [that has] objectives which are explicit, limited and announced" (Udy, 1965: 678). For the purposes of this study, a complex organization is defined as an organization employing professionals. A commercial organization exists "primarily to produce or distribute goods and services ... [its relation to] society is ... economic; ... seldom moral, traditional, or charismatic" (Dill, 1965: 1073).

Radio newsrooms have not been adequately researched whereas newspaper and television newsrooms may have been over researched. In Canada, there are 1493 radio stations. They outnumber newspaper and television newsrooms by a ratio of about five-to-one. More than half (823 or 55.1%) of Canada's radio stations do not originate programming — they rebroadcast programming originating elsewhere in Canada. Of the 670 originating stations, ninety-four (14%) are owned and operated by Canadian

Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). The remainder are privately owned (CRTC, 1986).

Among the 576 private stations, 74.1% are independent commercial stations. The others are student, educational, ethnic, remote community and native. Of the 427 private commercial stations, 71.2% are AM and 28.8% are FM; 74.4% are English language: 78.9% AM, 21.1% FM; and 25.7% are French language: 84.4% AM, 15.6% FM (CRTC, 1986 estimates).

In a typical week, radio reaches 94% of all Canadians 7 years of age and over. In AM Drive (i.e., prime time, generally 6 am to 10 am weekdays), radio reaches 91% of all Canadians 7-plus with newscasts on the hour, half-hour or more often. Average listening time in AM Drive is 73.5 minutes or 35% of daily listening by the 7-plus age group. Typically, a listener hears from three to six newscasts in AM Drive, each weekday.

Radio newscasts set the individual's information seeking agenda and, for some, newscasts are vital social lubricants (Mendelsohn, 1964). As Shaw (1975) observes, it may be socially advantageous for some people to be able to walk into the office and say, 'hey, did ya hear about ...?' (cf. Pollard, 1982). Radio news is a principal conduit to local issues, events and personalities. This perception is strongest in smaller radio markets with no local daily newspaper or television station. Radio news has replaced the banner headline and special edition of the daily newspaper. It integrates listeners into their community. On the hour or half-hour, it tells them what they want, need and should know about the community. It helps them understand the community's niche in the larger regional,

provincial, national and, perhaps, international context. News, therefore, is a primary reason for listening to radio and, perhaps, the reason for listening in smaller markets (cf. Pollard, 1986; Bureau of Broadcast Measurement, 1986). Radio news thus performs an important function for most, if not every, Canadian.

The business of commercial radio is simple, sell the largest possible audience at the highest cost per thousand to the greatest number of advertisers as often as possible the industry is fairly large. Total revenue was \$554,782,000.00 in 1984 and total employment was 9,639 (Statistics Canada, 1986). Individual stations, however, tend to be small. Median station revenue was \$1,186,888.00 in 1984 and the typical private station had twenty-one employees. English AM stations employed 22.6 people; French AM, 19.2; English FM, 17; and French FM, 22.4 (CRTC, 1986).

The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) requires that radio stations program news. The exact amount is determined via the licensing and license renewal processes. Every radio station necessarily operates a newsroom and these may vary in size up to 33 full-time employees. (Estimates derived from a census of the Matthews List: December, 1984.)

The smallest radio stations usually require announcers, to double as newscasters, they "rip 'n' read" wire service copy as part of their regular announcing duties. On the whole, small market (less than 30,000 population) radio newsrooms have an average 3.4 full-time rank-and-file (i.e., non-management) employees. In medium markets (30,000 to 90,000) there may be four newsroom employees to handle newscasts through the

day (i.e., 6 am to 6 pm) and cover a few local beats (e.g., police, city hall). Large markets (more than 90,000) employ an average 6.4 newswriters, including editors, newscasters, news writers and, perhaps, beat reporters (Matthews List: December, 1984).

A majority of Canadian radio stations are located in small markets. Newsrooms, therefore, tend to be smaller rather than larger. The average radio newsroom has 4.5 full-time rank-and-file employees; half have less than four and the modal newsroom has four employees (Matthews List: December, 1984). Organizational complexity is minimal: only two professions are involved, newswriters and announcers (cf. Pollard, 1982).

In addition to augmenting understanding of decision acceptance among workers in smaller organizations and enhancing awareness of an important occupation and its practitioners, this study contributes to organizational theory in several ways. First, it develops knowledge about work-related roles and perceptions (i.e., professionalism). Second, it develops knowledge about how organizational structure influences professional employees. Third, it contributes to an understanding of the relationship between an organization and its professional employees, specifically, the conditions in which a superordinate can apply certain strategies<sup>5</sup> to achieve decision acceptance among professional employees and, to a lesser extent, the conditions in which professional subordinates can induce the superordinate to actively consider them in the decision-making process.<sup>6</sup> As such, the study may (1) contribute to more effective management of newswriters and other professionals, (2) help identify ways to increase their job motivation and (3) enhance the

effectiveness of efforts to consolidate the cooperation and team effort essential to successful execution of newswork routines.

Several studies have described the organizational structure of newsrooms<sup>7</sup> and professionalism among newsworkers.<sup>8</sup> Many of these studies have involved participation and non-participation observation of-or-in one, two or, perhaps, three newsrooms. Thus, while the findings may be provocative, they are not generalizable.

Several larger studies have been undertaken. For the most part, these studies focus on a widely-used but seldom-criticized indicator of professionalism developed by McLeod and Hawley (1964).

Public sector radio is not considered here, principally, because it is non-commercial. Unlike private radio, CBC sells commercial time only during election campaigns and then only to parties and candidates. (The Broadcasting Act requires all licensees to sell time to candidates and parties during elections.) As well, about 80% of the CBC budget comes from Parliament (Statistics Canada, 1986) and is intended to support cultural and public policy commitments and objectives, such as Canadian content programming and extension of service.

Furthermore, discussions with CBC newsworkers, past and present, underscored many key differences between CBC radio newsrooms and those in the private sector. For example, CBC offers a strong framework for newswork, in the form of a resilient formal authority structure, which is generally absent in the private sector. Unions dominate CBC newsrooms, but, outside of Quebec, are generally absent in the private sector. CBC reporters belong to the Wire Service Guild, news readers to the Canadian



Union of Public Employees, correspondents to the Correspondents Association, producers to the Canadian Television Producers and Directors Association and technicians to the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians.

Union domination affects procedures. Newswriters are generally restricted to reporting and writing, and thus once removed from the final, on-air product. Only technicians can use technical equipment (e.g., in-studio tape recorders, cartridge machines), which also removes newswriters from the final news product. In private radio newsrooms, where unions are generally absent, newswriters are reporters, writers, editors, newscasters and technicians -- they are totally involved in the final news product.

Union presence means there are formal procedures through which CBC newswriters can lobby for or against assignments, for example. Private sector newswriters essentially do what they are assigned and lobbying for or against assignments is done via informal means.

CBC resources and union contracts result in more employees per newsroom than in the private sector. This is especially true for reporters. A private station might have one, two or three reporters covering ostensibly ad hoc beats and holding down a newscast schedule. A CBC radio newsroom might have five, ten or fifteen reporters, including freelancers, covering one or possibly two de facto beats and no newscast responsibilities. The burden on newswriters in the private sector is considerably greater than those with CBC.

More resources and union contracts also mean better pay,<sup>9</sup> including

overtime. When CBC newsworkers work overtime, they are paid. When private sector newsworkers work overtime it is dedication to profession and the intrinsic rewards of a job well done that motivates them.

More resources and larger newsroom staffs mean individual CBC reporters have more time to develop stories than do their private sector colleagues. More resources facilitate specialization among CBC reporters than is possible in the private sector. The size and diffuseness of the CBC news organization also enhances career possibilities, which influence perceptions of organizational structure, professional attitudes and, ultimately, decision acceptance.

CBC, unlike most, if not all, private news operations, has a written news policy that defines authority relations and the substance of newswork procedures and practices. It is strictly enforced and effectively determines newsworker behaviours and attitudes toward work. CBC news also has stringent hiring procedures which include skills testing. Hiring in the private sector may depend on reputation, submitted work samples or an impromptu audition. More often than not, hiring in private radio hinges on the need to fill a vacancy, now!

More resources, large staffs and a written news policy make it incumbent on CBC to provide in-house or sponsored on-going newsworker training (e.g., seminars, workshops). Although some newspapers offer such programmes (Goldblatt, 1981), private radio organizations do not.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, CBC newsworkers are, as a group, the best educated, best paid, most experienced (Pollard and McConney, 1985) and enjoy the greatest level of job security of all newsworkers in Canada.

Local CBC newsrooms are usually daytime operations. There is no place in the CBC evening and overnight schedule for local news. The 6 pm to 6 am time block is devoted to network programming. Private sector newswriters, on the other hand, usually have on-the-hour or half-hour newscast schedules, twenty-four hours a day. Demands on local CBC radio newsrooms are also decreased by network news programming (e.g., the "World at 6"), which eases the pressure of prime-time news deadlines (i.e., 7 am, 8 am, 6 pm).

This framework makes a compelling case for studying CBC newsrooms (cp. CRTC, 1977). It makes a stronger case for not undertaking a combined analysis of public and private sector newswriting, newsrooms and newswriters without a firm comprehension of each sector, and there is little work on the topic. The enumerated points underscore that public and private radio station newsrooms are distinct universes. To attempt a comparison without a fuller understanding of each sector would be misleading. To attempt a diagnosis of each sector within the context of this study would be a gargantuan task that would seriously undermine reliability.

Organization of the Study. Chapter 2 develops a model of the dependent variable, decision acceptance. It combines a review of existing specific decision acceptance literature with a discussion of literature dealing with aspects of the decision acceptance process such as legitimate authority structures and trust relations.

Chapter 3 examines one of the independent variables, organizational structure. Of particular interest are organizational theories relating to

formalization and centralization. A model of organizational structure is presented and applied to the relevant newswork literature.

Chapter 4 examines the second independent variable, professionalism and the special case of employee professionalism. A functionalist model of professionalism is presented and applied to newswork.

Chapter 5 suggests several propositions derived from the discussions of decision acceptance, organizational structure, professionalism and employee professionals, that serve as guideposts for analysis of the empirical evidence. Then the sampling and data collection procedures are detailed and the dependent and independent variables are operationalized.

Chapter 6 (1) discusses sample responses; (2) estimates sample representativeness; (3) addresses indice reliability and validity issues; and (4) describes intra-sample data trends. Chapter 7 discusses the propositions presented in Chapter 5 in light of the empirical evidence. Chapter 8 offers an interpretation of Chapter Seven findings in light of theoretical premises; evaluates the study; considers possible alternative interpretations; and offers recommendations for future research.

## Chapter Notes

1. Authorities make binding decisions for members of a social system (cf. Grimes, 1978; Gamson, 1968).
2. Partisans are individuals affected-by and concerned-about the implications of superordinate decisions (cf. Grimes, 1978; Gamson, 1968).
3. Statistics Canada (1986) reports 921,416 firms employ 9,307,617 people of which 5.1% have between 20 and 49 employees, 1.7% between 50 and 99 and 1.4% more than 100 employees. The rest have less than 20 employees.
4. This focus necessarily ignores other equally important concerns (e.g., gender). One study cannot cover everything. Managability involves selection. Ideally, others will look at related issues and, collectively, a fuller understanding will emerge.
5. For example, employee participation in the decision-making process, reducing reliance on the hierarchy of authority.
6. For example, allowing professional employees to participate in the decision-making process.
7. cf. Tuchman, 1979, 1969; Gans, 1979; Fishman, 1977; Altheide, 1976, 1974; Epstein, 1973; Tunstall, 1971; Matejko, 1970; Warner, 1970; Gieber, 1964; Stark, 1962; Breed, 1955.
8. cf. Pollard, 1985a, 1985b; Slattery and Fosdick, 1979; Slattery, 1977; Idsvoog and Hoyt, 1977; Wright, 1976, 1974a, 1974b; Idsvoog, 1975; Weinthal and O'Keefe, 1974; Coldwell, 1974, 1970; Lattimore and Nayman, 1974; Lattimore, 1972; Nayman, 1973; Linehan, 1970; McLeod and Hawley, 1964; Hawley, 1964.
9. CBC newswriters earn 49.4% more than private sector newswriters -- \$36,972 vis a vis \$24,743 (Pollard and McConney, 1985: 10).
10. Seminars and workshops are increasingly part of the regional and national meetings of the Radio Television News Directors Association, wire and voice service affiliates (e.g., News Radio, Broadcast News), but are informational rather than instructional in presentation and substance.

## Chapter II

### DECISION ACCEPTANCE

This chapter examines decision acceptance, the dependent variable in this study. The underlying premise is that cooperation is a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for decision acceptance. A principal concern, therefore, is (1) the role of the informal organization;<sup>1</sup> (2) authority, power and trust relations; (3) decision response alternatives; and (4) decision categories.

Organizations are decision-making systems and the effective decision is their ambrosia. Decision effectiveness hinges on two things. First, decision quality,

the objective aspects of a decision that influence subordinate's performance .... Some job-related decisions are linked to performance, while other ... decisions are relatively unimportant. For example, determining work-flow patterns and layout, performance goals and deadlines, or work assignments usually has an important influence on ... performance. ... selecting work area location for water coolers or the type of cafeteria furniture to buy has no [effect] on ... performance (Gibson, Ivancevich and Donnelly, 1982: 262

Second, acceptance, the degree of subordinate commitment to the decision or, more formally, the probability a subordinate will perceive as legitimate and, thus, implement a unilateral decision made by a superordinate (Gibson, Ivancevich and Donnelly, 1982: 262; cf. Vroom and Yetton, 1973). In radio

newsrooms, decision quality is, for all intents and purposes, given. News occurrences, for example, are ostensibly beyond the personal control of newswriters and newscast schedules are determined by listening patterns. Decision acceptance, however, varies and can affect the news product. For example, the willingness of a newswriter to bias a news story at the behest, subtle or otherwise, of a superordinate contaminates the information and images received by listeners and can have a far-reaching impact on the listener and society.

Barnard (1938) places decisions on a continuum ranging from totally unacceptable (i.e., would not be implemented) to totally acceptable (i.e., would be implemented). Between the termini are neutral decisions, which may or may not be implemented depending on substance and circumstance. Totally acceptable decisions constitute a zone of indifference, where implementation is ostensibly taken for granted (pp. 168-169).<sup>2</sup>

Indifference varies with the efforts made to elude acceptance. Barnard (1938) sees the indifference as proportional to the value and necessity of inducements offered by the organization minus the burdens and sacrifices associated with decision acceptance. The fewer burdens and sacrifices, the more subordinate indifference to decisions. The equation essentially estimates the degree of subordinate attachment to the organization (p. 169). Attachment, he implies, leads to cooperation. Thus, attachment, cooperation and indifference are concomitant with the net benefits of acceptance: the greater the net benefits, the stronger the attachment, the more cooperation and the wider the zone of indifference.

Both material (e.g., pay, promotion) and non-material (e.g., praise, recognition) inducements are important in securing attachment, cooperation and acceptance. Barnard (1938) asserts the latter are most effective in securing long-run decision acceptance. He believes that when formal organizational goals and inducements are reasonably consistent with the values and goals of the work group (i.e., informal organization), cooperation ensues and the work group is effective in securing decision acceptance (Perrow, 1986: 63). This stabilizes authority relations<sup>3</sup> (cf. Smith, 1975: 31). Thus, the more alike formal and informal organizational values and goals, the wider the zone of indifference (cf. expectancy theory, Vroom, 1964).

In a newsroom, for example, editorial decisions (e.g., space, time) and those concerning staff scheduling and assignments would be in Barnard's (1938) zone of indifference. Theoretically, decisions concerning story "slant", what facts to exclude and who not to interview would be generally unacceptable, but perhaps open to negotiation, depending on the circumstances (e.g., an exceptionally complex story such as the Sinclair Stevens case, Tuna-gate and Defence Minister Cote's resignation for Canadian news media; Irangate or Watergate for USA news media). Neutral decisions might involve purchasing supplies, organizing meetings and so forth (cf. Tunstall, 1971). Effective decision acceptance inducements would include peer group pressures, mobility aspirations, absence of conflicting allegiance, feelings of obligation and esteem for superiors and, most important, the commonly shared value to "get the news out", first and at all costs (Breed, 1955). Those who do not accept



decisions and inducements are ostracized:

Simon (1957a, 1957b) clarifies the notion of decision zones. He refers to a range "within which the subordinate is willing to accept the decisions made for him by his superior" (p. 133). Decision acceptance, then, is authority acceptance,

an individual accepts authority when his choice among alternative behaviors is determined by the communicated decision of another. The acceptance of authority may stem from any combination ... of the bases of power -- monetary inducements, force, legitimacy .... (Simon, 1957b: 75)

If the incentives offered by the organization are consistent with the values and goals of the informal organization and not simply to the organization's advantage, they will promote cooperation and decision acceptance.

To underscore the positiveness of the concept, Simon (1957a: 12) uses the term, zone of acceptance. He imputes dissimilar effects to indifference and acceptance. Whereas Barnard (1938) equates indifference and acceptance, Simon (1957a) implies indifference results in decision compliance -- implementation without commitment, typically in exchange for personal rewards (e.g., pay, job security). Acceptance, however, implies belief the decision is important and contributes to the cooperation necessary to realize the shared goals of the formal and informal organization. Subordinates are thus committed to decisions they accept and, by implication, they are committed to the organization.

Simon (1957a; 1957b) also underscores the influence of decision style on decision acceptance. Superordinates may, for example, strive to make decisions that satisfice rather than optimize. Normally, decision-making,

is concerned with the discovery and selection of [immediately] satisfactory ... alternatives; only in exceptional

cases is it concerned with the discovery and selection of optimal alternatives (March and Simon, 1967: 140-141)

Thus, there is no ideal decision, no assurance of acceptance. Some decisions are simply more satisfactory, by whatever standards, than others. Optimization is supplanted by expediency.

Satisficing is a method for simplifying selection among decision alternatives. It promotes decisions that are "good enough", from the decision maker's (i.e., superordinate) perspective. These decisions are a direct result of the superordinate's personal needs, goals and capacity for information processing (Bridges, 1970: 8; 1967). The superordinate originates decisions with little or no consideration of employees.

Satisficing, however, neglects the role of the informal organization in the decision-making process. When formal organizational goals are at odds with those of the informal organization decision resistance is high (Simon, 1957a: 12). As well, a superordinate-as-decision-originator situation denies the importance of cooperation and precludes linking decision-making with decision acceptance — an essential connection if decision-making is to move toward optimum and away from the vested interests of superordinates.

To link decision-making with decision acceptance, Bridges (1970) restates the superordinate's role as origin or pawn. When the superordinate is a pawn (i.e., the subordinates' pawn), s/he searches for a decision that is good enough from the subordinates' standpoint. The search terminates when a course of action is found which is satisfactory to the subordinate.

The superordinate-as-pawn perspective asserts that the goal of

decision making is acceptance and is the opposing terminal of satisficing. The superordinate-as-pawn strives to make decisions which are accepted. The superordinate is no longer the exclusive decision originator. S/he is subject to subordinate attempts to control decision-making. As a result, the superordinate's decisions are perhaps "more effectively understood in terms of the goals of subordinates rather than those of the organization or the administrator" (Bridges, 1970: 8).

A model of shared decision-making, which underscores the necessity of mutual consideration, cooperative action and balancing the needs of superordinates and subordinates, at least in the long run, links decision-making with decision acceptance in a manner consistent with Bernard (1938) and Simon (1957a, 1957b). Bridges (1970; 1967) views the effectiveness of subordinate involvement in the decision process as contingent on decision location. When the decision is in the zone of acceptance, subordinate involvement will be unnecessary and ineffective: acceptance is a given. When the decision is outside the zone of acceptance, involvement is necessary and effective: subordinates are unlikely to fall-to-accept decisions they help make.

To determine which decisions are in the zone of acceptance and which are not, Bridges (1967) suggests two tests. First, relevance, that is, do subordinates have a high personal stake in the issue? If yes, involvement in decision processes will be effective. Second, expertise, that is, are subordinates qualified to contribute to decision processes on this issue? If no, involvement may mean frustration, since the decision is beyond the subordinate's experience and competence (Bridges, 1967: 51-52).

An involvement matrix is implicit in Bridges (1967: 51-53). First, if subordinates have (1) a high personal stake (i.e., high relevance) in the decision and (2) the ability to make a useful contribution (i.e., high expertise), the decision falls outside the zone of acceptance. Subordinate involvement will be effective. The policy story, as described by Breed (1955), is an example of effective subordinate involvement because newswriters have a high personal stake in such stories decisions (i.e., they are bylined) and the ability to make a meaningful contribution.

Second, if the issue is (1) not relevant (i.e., low stake) and (2) outside the subordinate's sphere of competence (i.e., low expertise), it is in the zone of acceptance. Acceptance is virtually assured and involvement is unnecessary. Establishing newsroom policy, as described by Warner (1971), Matejko (1970) and Breed (1955), among others, is an instance where newswriters will have little stake-in and ability-to contribute to a decision.

The next two situations are marginal. Third, if subordinates have (1) a high personal stake but (2) little expertise in an issue, occasional involvement will be most effective. Frequent involvement may lead to frustration and hostility because subordinates have little to offer and the ultimate decision will be made by superordinates (Hoy and Miskel, 1978: 229). If too often, involved in such decisions, subordinates come to regard involvement as an empty exercise since the decision has already been made. Staff scheduling is an example where occasional involvement is effective: employees have an interest in their work schedule since it affects other aspects of their life. Among newswriters, work schedules

can affect the kinds of stories they cover. Most news occurs during regular working hours (i.e., 9 am to 5 pm). Newsworker assigned to overnights do not have the same reportorial opportunities as those assigned to days. The ability to contribute to scheduling decisions rarely extends beyond personal concerns into the realm of effective and efficient use of organizational resources.

Fourth, if subordinates have (1) little stake and (2) high expertise, occasional involvement will be effective. Involvement increases decision quality, but subordinates may come to question the role of the superordinate, if they are too often involved in this type of decision (Hoy and Miskel, 1978: 229). An example of this might be involving newsworkers in scheduling staff meetings and determining meeting agenda.

In sum, by categorizing decisions, superordinates can estimate the probability of acceptance and act accordingly.

Clear and Seager (1971) provide empirical support for Bridge's (1970, 1967) model of Shared decision-making. An analysis of decision acceptance among teachers revealed three areas in which superordinates attempt to make acceptable decisions: organizational, personal, professional. Subordinates agree on the legitimacy of a superordinate's decisions on matters of organizational maintenance (e.g., setting meeting schedules and deadlines for reports, purchase and maintaining equipment). Decision acceptance is greatest on these issues since they have little relevance to subordinates who have little specific expertise to contribute.

Subordinates believe decisions in the personal domain (e.g., wearing a beard or mustache, making a charitable donation and to what charities)

are outside superordinate prerogative. Acceptance is lowest on personal issues since subordinates have a high personal stake in them and considerable expertise.

On matters involving professional judgment (e.g. methods, standards, practices), subordinates resist encroachment by the superordinate and the degree of acceptance vacillates. Subordinates have a high stake and considerable expertise in these matters and firmly believe the organization should not constrain them professionally (Clear and Seager, 1971: 55). But, from the superordinate's point-of-view, these matters are potentially,

sensitive areas in which failure of [subordinates] to perform successfully brings immediate repercussion [usually from outside the school], not typically on the [subordinate] ..., but on the [superordinate] "responsible" (Clear and Seager, 1971: 56)

Superordinates have a personal stake in such issues that is at least equivalent to the professional concerns of subordinates.

Overall, subordinates can expect superordinates to attempt to influence them, to do otherwise might be a dereliction of the superordinate's responsibilities. Similarly, superordinates can expect their attempts to affect subordinates to be met by an ambiguous and inconsistent reception (i.e., resistance) because the superordinate's desire to influence is always greater than the subordinate's zone of acceptance.

The Clear and Seager (1971) study is important because it empirically categorizes decisions according to acceptability and supports Bridges' (1970; 1967) notion that shared or cooperative decision-making can increase acceptance. The evidence suggests subordinates exhibit the greatest acceptance of decisions related to organizational maintenance,

limited but vacillating acceptance of decisions relating to professional judgment and little or no acceptance of decisions relating to personal matters. Moreover, as the superordinate's confidence (i.e., feeling of legitimacy) rises, the desire to influence, particularly on matters of professional judgment, increases. The potential for conflict rises concomitantly because the subordinate's decision acceptance does not keep pace with the superordinate's desire to influence. The superordinate's desire to influence may, in fact, be inversely proportional to the subordinate's willingness to accept. Clear and Seager (1971), thus, demonstrate the effect of subordinate and superordinate roles, interests and goals on decision acceptance and underscore the role of authority in the decision acceptance process.

Grimes (1978) enhances understanding of decision acceptance through an analysis of the superordinate-subordinate relationship. Essentially, he offers a synthesis of authority, power, influence and social control mechanisms operative in organizations.<sup>4</sup> Power and authority are cast as continuum termini and are differentiated along several dimensions suggested by Blau and Scott (1962). Authority is institutionalized and presumed to be legitimate. Power is illegitimate and personalized. Authority is vested in a position (i.e., an office) and attached to social status (i.e., incumbency). Power depends on enforcement (i.e., coercion). Consent is a basic characteristic of authority and subordinates are committed to accept authoritative decisions, a priori. Finally, authority exists only in a collective context. Its legitimacy derives from,

the structure of official positions in conjunction with the pursuit of compatible individual and common goals and group

consensus about the nature of goals and how they are to be pursued (Buckley, 1967 quoted in Grimes, 1978: 726)

Power, on the other hand, has a distinctly personal goal orientation.<sup>5</sup>

Grimes (1978: 727) adopts Gamson's (1968) notion of superordinates and subordinates. Superordinates are authorities, individuals who can make decisions that are binding<sup>6</sup> on the members of a social system (e.g., an organization). Subordinates are partisans, individuals significantly affected-by, and concerned-about the implications of a given decision. Authorities try to make decisions to achieve commonly held goals whereas partisans try to alter the authorities' decisions to increase the benefits to themselves (i.e., they try to transform the authority from origin to pawn).

Influence, the capacity to affect a consensual change in attitude or opinion, is the principal tool of partisans. It is based on resource control. Expertise (e.g., professionalism) or a gatekeeping position (e.g., appointment secretary) are potentially powerful resources for exerting influence on authorities (Grimes, 1978: 727-728).

Means of influence determine how partisan resources can be deployed. Grimes (1978) reviews three means of influence suggested by Gamson (1968),

persuasion: attempts to literally change an authority's mind on some matter to the point where s/he actually believes it is in the best interests of those concerned (e.g., through advertising, public and personal relations);

inducements: transfer of tangible resources to affect the situation, but not the authorities' overall orientation (e.g., labour, cooperation, affiliation, support); and

constraints: the addition of disadvantages-to or removal-of tangible resources from the situation of authorities (e.g., strikes, protest demonstrations, consumer boycotts and threats thereof) (p. 728)



Inducement and constraints are effective, particularly in the short run, because authorities want the resources offered or want to avoid loss of resources. Persuasion, however, has long term benefits because it changes the authorities' general orientation: s/he comes to believe the partisans' position is in the best interest of all concerned.

Social control is used by authorities to counter partisan influence. It is distinct from influence since "authorities are acting as agents of the social system and are promoting the good of the collective" (Grimes, 1978: 728). Theoretically, social control is legitimate because it reinforces authority whereas influence weakens it.

The means of social control parallel those of influence,

persuasion: counters subordinate attempts to influence by changing the orientation of partisans (e.g., personal lobbying, image building corporate advertising, et cetera);

sanctions: alters the situation of partisans and rewards the 'responsible' while punishing the 'irresponsible' (i.e., through promotions, pay raises, company cars and so forth); and

insulation: denies access to authorities thereby restricting attempts to influence (e.g., banishment, purging and segregation) (Grimes, 1978: 729)

Based on this synthesis, Grimes (1978: 730) posits a continuum of partisan responses to decisions: acceptance, indifference, attempts to influence change, or rejection.

For authorities, acceptance and indifference are desirable, rejection is not. The third response — attempts to influence change — is essentially a negotiation area in which trust plays a pivotal role. If partisans have a high level of trust in authorities (i.e., confidence), they will use persuasion to try to change or reverse a decision. Authorities will

also use persuasion as a means of social control aimed at educating acceptance. When the trust level among partisans is moderate, they will use inducements as a means of influence while the authorities will use positive and negative sanctions as a means of social control. Where the trust level is low (i.e., alienation), partisans will use constraints and authorities will insulate themselves.

Grimes (1978) thus recasts the superordinate-subordinate relationship as a sequential interaction (p. 733) between authorities and partisans (i.e., formal and informal leadership structures). Unlike Barnard (1938) and Simon (1957a; 1957b), he posits two decision-related zones: the subordinate's zone of acceptance and the superordinate's zone of desired influence. Superordinates and subordinates attempt to manipulate the substance of the other's zone and protect their own zone from encroachment. They compete in a context of cooperation intended to achieve common goals.

Influence and social control are congruent techniques that differ in focus. Use of influence by partisans, rather than inducement or constraint, suggests confidence in authorities. Use of persuasion by authorities, rather than sanctions or insulation, implies confidence in partisans and that consent is anticipated.

Having to exercise social control, however, suggests at least some decision resistance exists or is expected. In other words,

the extent to which social control means are required [used] suggests at least initially the unwillingness on the part of the subordinates to accept the authority of the formal leader. (Grimes, 1978: 733)

Thus, there may be an inverse relation between social control and decision

acceptance by partisans that reinforces the assumption of two distinct decision-related zones.

Hanson (1976) integrates the zones of acceptance and desire to influence in an Interacting Spheres Model. Although the substance of each zone is fundamentally different (e.g., organizational matters, professional concerns), there is overlapping which constitutes a third, demarcation zone, a zone of permissibility -- the extent to which the superordinate allows subordinates to be involved. Unlike the neutral zone proposed by Barnard (1938), this zone has a democratic nature (cp. Bridges, 1967: 55-57), that is, a bargaining orientation (cp. Grimes, 1978) and a shared interest in cooperation and conflict resolution (cp. Bridges, 1970). Special circumstances (e.g., exceptions to specific rules, rule changes) bring matters, normally in the exclusive domains of either the superordinate or subordinate, into the overlapping zone where they can be effectively handled. The zones are merged, "in such a way as to carry forward simultaneously with each presenting a relatively low level of interference to the other" (Hanson, 1976: 330).

The Interacting Spheres Model illustrates the professional organizational interface. The notion of an overlapping zone highlights the importance of the influence superordinates and subordinates exert on each other as they attempt to prevail in an organizational context characterized by cooperation.

Summary. This overview highlights several aspects of effective decision-making which lead to increased acceptance. First, the importance of the informal organization. The norms, values, symbols and subgroups

which comprise the informal organization play a cogent yet subtle role in the decision-making process. They legitimize the authority of the formal organization and define the zones of acceptance, desire to influence and permissibility.

Second, a sense of subordinate attachment or commitment to the organization is vital. The stronger the attachment, the more decision acceptance and, presumed, the stronger the orientation to resolve conflict through negotiation and compromise. Attachment is based on the assumption superordinates and subordinates cooperate to achieve shared goals. This helps consolidate the superordinate's authority because his or her decisions are presumed to be made for common rather than personal ends. Shared goals are more likely to be achieved because the perception of shared goals makes decisions authoritative and authoritative decisions are more likely to fall within the subordinate's zone of acceptance.

Third, decision acceptance varies with the value system embraced by the informal organization, the extent of subordinate attachment, decision substance and circumstance. On matters of personal concern to the subordinate, the zone is narrowest: subordinates believe such matters are outside the superordinate's legitimate sphere of influence. On matters of organizational maintenance, the subordinate's zone of acceptance is widest: such matters are considered a legitimate part of the authorities' mandate. When it comes to professional concerns, however, the size of the zone of acceptance vacillates, perhaps extensively. Cooperation and compromise are the means of achieving shared goals: extenuating circumstances require superordinate or subordinate to occasionally yield some ground.

Fourth, the perceived net benefit of inducements offered to obtain acceptance affect the efficacy of bi-lateral attempts to influence. The greater the net benefit to the subordinate, the more decision acceptance, particularly if the decision is perceived as authoritative. Moreover, the level of net benefits necessary to elicit compliance may be affected by the relative strength of the informal organization, the intensity of subordinate attachment to the organization and a belief that the decision issue is legitimately in the superordinate's domain.

Fifth, the more subordinates participate in the decision-making process, the more likely decision acceptance.<sup>7</sup> Participation enhances the sense of attachment, the perception of shared goals and the legitimacy of a superordinate's decisions in the eyes of subordinates.

Sixth, trust, confidence that the superordinate wants to achieve shared and not merely personal goals. Basically, subordinate decision acceptance is proportional to the level of trust s/he has in the superordinate: the greater the trust, the more decision acceptance.<sup>8</sup>

Newsroom Literature. Decision acceptance is not explicitly addressed in the literature, but is implicit in many studies. Organizational analyses of newsrooms usually note the importance of an informal organization that, at deadline, involves everyone in the newsroom — reporters, editors, even publisher. The over-riding newsroom goal is to get the news out. Nothing can get in the way of achieving that goal and everyone cooperates to achieve it (cf. Tuchman, 1979, 1969; Altheide, 1976, 1974; Tunstall, 1971; Matejko, 1970; Warner, 1970; Stark, 1962; Breed, 1955). The strength of the informal organization and the obvious commonality of newsroom goals

foster strong attachments that abate conflict and abet cooperation. The efficacy of non-material rewards (cf. Bagdikian, 1971; Breed, 1955) underscores the key role of the informal organization, common goals and trust relations that ensue. Collectively, this suggests newswriters may be more amenable to accept decisions than other workers (cf. Gans, 1979; Halberstam, 1979; Fishman, 1977; Epstein, 1973).

Implicit in the discussion is the impact of organizational structure (e.g., bureaucracy) and work-related attitudes (e.g., professionalism) on decision acceptance. Where the organization is flexible, attachment, cooperation and decision acceptance are realizable goals, if they do not already exist. The situation is less so in organizations employing professionals who generally seek control of their work. This is no less true of newswriter professionals than of doctors or lawyers.

## Chapter Notes

1. The informal organization involves the interpersonal relations that develop spontaneously as workers interact with the formal organization and each other (Simon, 1957: 147-149).
2. Within the zone of indifference, subordinates are, "relatively indifferent to what the order is so far as the question of authority is concerned" (Barnard, 1938: 169). This discussion is extremely general, virtually devoid of exemplars and thus subject to considerable interpretation.
3. "The common sense of the community informally arrived at [the work group] affects the attitude of individuals, and makes them, as individuals, loath to question authority that is within or near the zone of indifference" (Barnard, 1938: 169).
4. This is essentially a restatement of Parsons (1963a, 1963b), Coleman (1963) and Bauer (1963).
5. A prison may be an exception.
6. A binding decision is implemented uncritically. An authoritative decision is accepted, ad unguem. If not accepted, it can be legitimately enforced because authority is legitimate because it is used to achieve common goals (Grimes, 1978: 727).
7. Subordinate participation is presumedly effective participation and not a patronizing exercise.
8. These dimensions of effective decision-making underscore the cooperative view of organizations expressed by Barnard (1938), whose ideas thread through most post-WWII organization and management theory. Organizations, he argued, are rational and legitimate because they are cooperative systems pursuing commonly shared goals. Individuals, however, are non-rational and must be properly shaped by superordinates. The shaping process strives for consensual cooperation by accommodating the informal organization; fostering subordinate attachment; recognizing when a decision is (may be) unacceptable and acting to increase its acceptability; offering appropriate inducements; understanding when and how to involve subordinates in decision processes; and building trust relationships with subordinates.

## Chapter III

### ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND NEWSWORK

Organizational structure is a principal component of the decision acceptance process. A highly bureaucratic organization, for example, will not enjoy the same level of decision acceptance as a less bureaucratic one. This chapter examines organizational structure, one of the two independent variables in the study. A model of bureaucracy is offered and applied to (1) radio and (2) a selective review of the newswork literature.

The institutional dimension of an organization is reflected in its bureaucratic structure. Bureaucracy is widely held to be cumbersome, bungling and inefficient. Yet, its underlying principles emphasize the basics of organizational success: rationality and efficiency. A bureaucracy, like any formal and complex organization, is deliberately structured to achieve specific goals (e.g., state administration, profitable provision of goods or services). Accordingly,

[t]he duties and responsibilities of individuals are ... clearly defined and highly specialized, ... all roles presumedly are intermeshed in a complex organizational structure that is stable, predictable and self-perpetuating (DeFleur, D'Antonio and DeFleur, 1973: 70)

Success depends on rules, hierarchy and formal procedures (Crozier, 1976, 1964; Jacques, 1976; March and Simon, 1967; Blau and Scott, 1961; Weber,



1947).

While bureaucracy often connotes 'large and unwieldy', all organizations are, to some extent, bureaucratic. Bendix (1974) offers a definition of bureaucracy that focuses on developmental tendencies and is applicable to any organization. It is,

the increasing subdivision of the functions which the owner-managers of the early enterprises had performed personally in the course of their daily routine (Bendix, 1974 in Scott, 1977: 23)

For example, accounting, research, sales, supervision, recruitment, short- and mid-range planning and so forth. This notion removes top management (e.g., chairman, board of directors) and production level employees (e.g., piece workers, those on the production line) from the bureaucracy and focuses on contributions to organizational survival (i.e., mid-management). Bureaucracy thus implies "a specialized administrative staff" (Scott, 1977: 24).

Bureaucracy is a variable. Organizations differ in the distribution of personnel resources to management and production activities (Scott, 1977: 24). A government department, for example, devotes more personnel resources to administration than does a manufacturing firm.

A crude but useful index of bureaucratization is the ratio of administrative to production employees (i.e., salaries to wages). The larger the ratio, the more bureaucratic. Analysis of data from several countries reveals an increase in the ratio from .1 in 1900 to .2 in 1950 (Bendix, 1974: 214 and Melman, 1951 cited in Scott, 1977: 24). For all industries in Canada, the index was .351 in 1975 and .363 in 1976 (Statistics Canada, 1978: 374).<sup>1</sup> The trend is toward bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy is best thought of as a continuum rather than a dichotomous characteristic that is simply present or absent. All organizations possess bureaucratic traits and bureaucratization is proportional to the intensity with which they are embraced. The more bureaucratic traits and the stronger they are embraced, the greater the bureaucratization.<sup>2</sup>

Bureaucracy is based on authority. By implication, it is perceived to be legitimate. Subordinates, it is assumed, voluntarily,

hold in abeyance [their] own critical faculties for choosing between alternatives and [use] the formal criteria of the receipt of a command or signal as [the] basis of choice (Simon, 1957: 126-127)

An effective bureaucracy thus requires (1) voluntary acceptance of perceived-to-be legitimate commands and (2) suspension by the subordinate of his or her decision-making criteria, in favour of acceptance of decisions made by superordinates. Attachment, trust and cooperation are important considerations in the willingness to relinquish individual decision-making criteria (cp. Grimes, 1978; Chapter Two).

Blau and Scott (1962) add a third element to the definition of bureaucracy. They argue,

a value orientation must arise that defines the exercise of social control as legitimate, and this orientation can arise only in a group context (Blau and Scott, 1962: 28-29)

The informal organization, the work group, is basic to bureaucracy since perceptions of what is and is not legitimate are determined and maintained by the work group (Hoy and Miskel, 1982: 88-89).

Bureaucracy, then, is a superordinate-subordinate power relationship legitimized by group norms that emphasize cooperation. The perceived

legitimacy of the relationship induces subordinates to suspend their own decision-making criteria in favour of the superordinate's. As a result, the superordinate's decisions are accepted by subordinates.

Hall (1963) catalogues organizational attributes relevant to the study of bureaucracy.<sup>3</sup> First, a division of labor based on task specialization as "determined by the organization" (Hall, 1975: 110). Subunits with specific duties such as accounting, research, news or sales insure "each task will be performed by an expert in the most efficient way" (Federico and Schwartz, 1983: 362). The more bureaucratic an organization, the finer the division of labour; that is, the more differentiated its role structures (e.g., news director, assistant news director, assignment editor, city editor, county editor, national editor, copy editor, etc.).

Second, a well-defined hierarchy of authority, that is, explicit lines and levels of authority and responsibility (e.g., station manager, news director, assistant news director, assignment editor, newsworker). Hierarchy insures each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one and the rights of control and complaint between levels are clearly specified (Lee and Newby, 1983: 194). A bureaucracy, then, is a pyramid with a coterie of policy makers at the top, a larger echelon of middle managers and a much larger group of workers at the base. The decision locus is at the top and other decisions are made at various levels on the assumption authority is related to hierarchical location (Hall, 1975: 110).

Third, a system of rules covering rights and duties determine the extent of organizational control over the behaviour of employees and

officers (Hall, 1975: 110). The rules are instrumental (i.e., techno scientific) or rational (i.e., legal) (Lee and Newby, 1983: 194). As with the division of labour, a system of rules insures each task will be performed efficiently, uniformly and consistently.

Fourth, a system of procedures defines "the extent to which [all employees] must follow organizationally defined techniques in dealing with the [work] situations they face" (Hall, 1975: 110). In other words, rule enforcement.

Fifth, impersonality of interpersonal relations insures that employees and outsiders (e.g., clients, customers) are "treated without regard to individual qualities" (Hall, 1975: 110). Formally recorded rules and procedures (i.e., objectification) clarify employee performance and responsibilities standards and client or customer eligibility. Differential treatment is based on demonstrated merit. As well impersonality, theoretically, insures organizational and employee resources are separate (i.e., offices are distinct from incumbents).

Sixth, promotion and selection for employment based upon technical competence (e.g., merit demonstrated via skills testing, on-the-job performance). New employees are selected because of their knowledge and skills, not because they are related to the boss. Thus,

promotions, raises, job security and tenure are guaranteed ...  
if employees do their jobs properly. Seniority [loyalty] is  
valued and rewarded (Federico and Schwartz, 1983: 362)

Only those with demonstrated and recognized ability are eligible to join or advance in the organization.

In an ideal-type bureaucracy, each dimension is present to a high

degree. In other organizations, each dimension is, to some extent, present.<sup>4</sup>

Hall (1963) ignores the role of the informal organization. As previously noted, bureaucratic effectiveness is based in legitimate authority, which is contingent on a value system that arises in and is maintained by the work group. This value system defines legitimate intra-organizational relationships which, in turn, induce subordinates to accept decisions (i.e., decisions are perceived as legitimate).

The informal organization can have a positive or negative impact on the organization. In the Bank Wiring Observation Room (Homans, 1950: 54-55, 66-72), for example, the informal organization weakened organizational effectiveness and efficiency,

variations in productivity were not due to the fact that the mechanical ability of some workers happened to be superior to that of others but to the social organization of the group, as indicated by the finding that productivity was related to clique membership and not to manual dexterity or intelligence (Blau and Meyer, 1971: 46)

An output level above the minimum, but below the achievable, was set by the work group. The "artificial restriction on output" was enforced by the norms operational among co-workers (Etzioni, 1964: 33).

Page (1946) demonstrates how the informal organization can contribute to organizational efficiency. In the USA Navy,

official communications must be routed through the "chain of command", which often is a long drawn-out process. Frequently, the circumvention of the rule, or "grapevine", appears to be precisely what is necessary .... When such a situation occurs, the knowledgeable and flexible administrator (officer) operates through the informal organization (Hoy and Miskel, 1982: 89)

The informal organization can be an efficient communication medium.

While other examples abound, suffice it to say the informal organization makes important contributions to organizational effectiveness and efficiency.

In sum, organization presumes predominance of hierarchical authority. Without a rank ordering of authority, organization is effete. The control and coordination of effort demands higher ranks have authority over lower ones. This is also true for public, private and profit-seeking organizations: if goals are not realized, the organization ceases to exist. The informal organization, by legitimizing the hierarchy of authority and providing means of circumventing it, is vital to the formal organization.

Aiken and Hage (1966) based their study of two aspects of organizational structure — centralization and formalization — and their affect on decision acceptance on Hall (1963). Specifically, they are interested in two kinds of alienation<sup>5</sup> — instrumental and expressive<sup>6</sup> — which are thought to be inversely proportional to the trust subordinates have in superordinates. Essentially, they relate structural elements to worker morale: low alienation reflects a high degree of trust and a high degree of decision acceptance (p. 497-499).

Instrumental and expressive alienation are more likely in highly centralized, highly formalized organizations, especially if there is little participation in decision processes by employees, an entrenched hierarchy and strict rule enforcement.<sup>7</sup> Aiken and Hage (1966) report job codification<sup>8</sup> creates a positive work environment because it sets the parameters of work which, in turn, reduces uncertainty among employees. When uncertainty is reduced, morale is high and decision acceptance and

goal achievement are more likely. As well, job codification and participation in the decision processes are collaterals that appear in roughly equal proportions in the organizations studied (Aiken and Hage, 1966: 503-504).

Hage and Aiken (1967) examine the relations among centralization, formalization and complexity (i.e., professionalism).<sup>9</sup> Findings include those reported in Aiken and Hage (1966). Considering organizational complexity, there is a positive correlation between (1) participation in decision processes and (2) professional training<sup>10</sup> and (3) professional activity.<sup>11</sup> Only the relation between participation in decisions and professional training is unaffected when the other variables are controlled for (partial  $r = .53$ ) (p. 83). There was, as well, an inverse relationship between rule observation and professional training ( $r = -.43$ ). These findings suggest the organizational-professional interface can be effectively managed if professionals are involved in decision processes.

Overall, Hage and Aiken (1967) and Aiken and Hage (1966) identify several factors that affect decision acceptance. For instance, highly centralized, highly formalized (i.e., highly bureaucratized) organizations (1) permit little, if any, subordinate participation in decision processes (i.e., narrow zone of permissibility); (2) have an entrenched hierarchy of authority; (3) have a high level of job codification; and (4) strictly enforce rules. Generally, such organizations are unable to effectively accommodate professionals; they have fewer occupational specialties and less professional personnel (i.e., less professionally trained and less professionally active). Employee professionals in highly bureaucratized

organizations thus experience a high level of alienation from both work and co-workers and are disinclined to accept superordinate decisions.

Participation in decision processes emerges as the axial element. As participation increases, formalization eases and professionalism increases. There is, as Scott (1977, 1966, 1965) and Hall (1975, 1968) suggest, a conflict-oriented, inverse relation between bureaucracy and professionalism. Less bureaucratic organizations are better able to accommodate professionals. Essentially, as the dependency on bureaucracy decreases, the dependency on professionalism increases.

Radio Stations and Newsrooms. A division of labour is evident in radio stations.<sup>12</sup> Most have separate staffs for programming (i.e., announcers, programme and music directors), news, sales, production (i.e., copywriters, commercial producers) and office administration. In practice, however, role differentiation is limited. Roles generally overlap (e.g., announcers may be salespeople or copywriters; newswriters may also be announcers, commercial producers or salespeople; news directors almost always double as reporters or newscasters and programme directors as announcers, commercial voices or producers).

Since newsrooms are usually small, a clear division of labour is seldom evident. One employee may be designated "news director". S/he is responsible for the day-to-day operation of the newsroom. In small stations, news director responsibilities are in addition to regular newsroom duties. The news director has a variety of responsibilities, including supervising newsroom operation; ensuring local news is adequately covered; ensuring that the news production process is a co operative team effort;



building morale; offering constructive criticism to newsroom staff; assigning newswriters to local story coverage; determining what regional, national and international news is reported; determining how much detail stories include; setting newscast schedules, length and so forth; ensuring coverage is balanced, honest and truthful; coordinating staff shifts (Routt, 1974, 1972; Hoffer, 1971, 1968; and Dary, 1970). In sum, the news director is responsible for ensuring the smooth operation of the newsroom and implementing any policies established by station management and owners. Theoretically, the news director reports directly to the station manager, but, in practice, s/he reports to, or perhaps through, the programme director.

While the division of labour can be specific (e.g., beat reporters, writers, newscasters, editors, et cetera), radio newsrooms are largely populated by generalists. Radio newswriters spend most of their time preparing newscasts, thus, they are generally in the newsroom. Technology allows radio news to rely on wire and "voicer" services (e.g., Broadcast News, Canadian Press, Standard Broadcast News) for non-local news and the telephone for most local news. One employee may be designated as "street reporter", spending the day away from the station to attend meetings, conduct interviews and telephone reports to the newsrooms. Larger stations may have distinct staffs for AM Drive (6 am to 9 am) and PM Drive (3 pm to 6 pm) or ostensibly separate reportorial and newscasting staffs.

A hierarchy of authority is evident in most radio stations. Typically, it includes the owner(s), manager and programming, news,

engineering and sales department heads. In practice, sales is often first among equal departments and news frequently reports to programming. In the newsroom, the hierarchy of authority begins with the news director and, depending on newsroom size and role, may include assistant news director, assignment editor and shift editor.

Given the small size of private radio stations in Canada, the commensurable small size of radio newsrooms, the practice of radio news (i.e., most newswriters work in the newsroom) and the technological simplicity, the opportunity and temptation for owners or managers to personally enforce policy is greater than in the larger newspaper or television newsroom. For the same reasons, however, there is also ample opportunity for a resilient informal organization to develop.

Beyond the Promise of Performance component of its license,<sup>13</sup> few private radio stations have formal, written policies. Most are smaller organizations (average 21 employees) and sensitive to the whims of the marketplace. They need to remain flexible. Larger chain operations may have formal, written policies, but these generally apply to dealings with head-office, sales and simulcast programming, for example.

Newsroom policies generally address telephone beats and various routine and emergency procedures. For example, which local agencies (e.g., police and fire departments) should be called each shift and perhaps how often; newscast schedules, length and format; what constitutes an editorial, who editorializes, how and when may be implicit in newsroom policy; what constitutes a reliable news source; how to handle sensitive situations such as identifying accident victims, alleged criminals, etc.; and

how to treat emergency situations (e.g., do not air airline commercials in the 48 hours following an air disaster).

Job security hinges on station ratings. When ratings drop department heads and announcers may be replaced. News positions, which are less directly tied to ratings and sales, are usually untouched, but vacancies may not be filled as they occur if ratings or sales are down. Attrition, in other words, is used to control the size of newsroom staff, rather than firings which might be seen as an attempt to interfere with the news product.<sup>14</sup>

Theoretically, newsroom hiring is based on competence. In practice, it is based on need. While submitted work samples and auditions have a role in the hiring process, the first applicant after a vacancy occurs often gets the job. Promotion, again theoretically based on competence, is usually a reward for loyalty (i.e., not leaving for another job).<sup>15</sup>

In sum, there is relatively little bureaucracy in radio stations and radio newsrooms. These are smaller organizations (average 21 employees per station and 4.5 employees per newsroom)<sup>16</sup> characterized by limited role differentiation, which impedes the bureaucratization process. Since decision acceptance and bureaucratization are, at least theoretically, inversely related, a relatively high level of decision acceptance should be evident in radio newsrooms.

Newswork Literature. The newswork literature does not specifically address the issues of interest here and, with few exceptions (e.g., Pollard, 1982; Buckalew, 1974), ignores radio completely. Still, a selective review of existing work can educe information regarding the effect of organization

on decision acceptance among newswork professionals.

Breed (1955) and Stark (1962) laid the foundation for organizational analyses of newsrooms.<sup>17</sup> Breed (1955) assumed all news organizations had a policy, which constituted a set of rules determining how news was slanted and typically involved a covert favourable political, business or labour orientation (Breed, 1955: 326). A newspaper might, for example, be pro-Progressive Conservative, pro-business and anti-labour.

Slanting did not imply deception and was implemented by selective omission and preferential placement of items (i.e., play). To readers and newsworkers, play signals importance. Featuring a pro-policy item on page two and burying an anti-policy item on page 97 demonstrated the relative importance of each for the newspaper and to its readers (Breed, 1955: 326-327).

Policy was maintained even though it (1) contravened journalistic norms not to mention the spirit and letter of US Constitutional protections of the news media; (2) newsworkers were antagonist toward it; and (3) media elites (i.e., owners, publishers, senior editors) could not openly demand compliance.<sup>18</sup> Policy, therefore, was necessarily ambiguous, covert and large in scope.

To uncover how policy was maintained, Breed (1955) interviewed 120 newsworkers on mid-sized newspapers in the northeastern USA. Content related controls, he found, existed in the form of implicit newsroom policy. Informants reported their employers were largely pro-Republican, pro-business and anti-labour while they were mostly Democrats with varying attitudes toward business and labour. Newsworkers came to know

the substance and limits of newsroom policy by osmosis. They read their own newspaper. Most read the competition.<sup>19</sup> News columns and editorials were effective learning tools. Policy knowledge was also acquired from what newswriters knew about the interests, characteristics, backgrounds and affiliations of media elites. Observing how media elites dealt with other elites and listening to the opinions they voiced contributed policy awareness (Breed, 1955: 330).

Breed (1955) identified a hierarchy of authority (i.e., media elites; city, desk and other editors; newswriters). He decided, however, that it was incidental to policy enforcement. Media elites set policy. Editors were expected to implement it. Newswriters were expected to follow it. Once in place, the hierarchy worked well without flexing.

Informants believed punishment was implied if policy was not followed. Firings, however, were rare due to strong unions and media elites not wanting to be seen overtly enforcing policy. Thus, punishment typically meant not publishing an item, publishing it on a back page (i.e., burying it) or relegating the transgressor to the "dead beat" (i.e., obituaries) (Breed, 1955: 331).

Status relations were evident, but had little effect. Cooperation was the newsroom standard. Newswriters, editors and media elites shared a common goal: getting the news out and that required team work. Media elites often worked side-by-side with newswriters on policy stories. Editors and newswriters held frequent but brief conferences regarding story assignments and final copy (p. 183). Most news came from beats on which the newswriter worked alone and was in total control of which

Items were covered, who was interviewed, what facts were omitted and so on (Breed, 1955: 333-334; cf. Fishman, 1982, 1980, 1977).

Rule enforcement was ineffective and ostensibly unnecessary for several reasons. Many newswriters were isolated on beats until the story was finished. Since editors had neither the time nor information to adequately question every story, only blatant policy violations could be detected and rectified, principally through editing. The career aspirations of newswriters also promoted policy compliance: page one stories build reputations, but mean following the policy line. A reputation as a policy transgressor impeded career progress. Moreover, the absence of conflicting and external group allegiance (e.g., professional association), and pleasant nature of the work -- newswriters thoroughly enjoyed the work -- combined to further reduce the potential for policy violations. Disciplined compliance was impossible and unnecessary for the same reasons (Breed, 1955: 333-336).

The informal organization in the newsrooms studied was strong, as evinced by the extent of cooperation and team effort invested in getting the news out. The level of newswriter participation in the decision making process was necessarily high. Newswriters essentially controlled news gathering through the beat system, story conferences among newswriters and with operational editors were frequent and congenial teamwork the byword.

These factors, according to Breed (1955), fostered reference group identification (i.e., informal organization). For the news organization this meant that,

where the allegiance is directed toward legitimate authority [e.g., news organization, media elites] that authority has only to maintain the equilibrium within limits by the prudent distribution of rewards and punishments (Breed, 1955: 188)

The reference group, however, could not change policy because it is responsible for carrying it out and policy makers (i.e., media elites) were insulated by editors from discussions of policy problems.

Policy compliance, and by implication decision acceptance, can be seen as the result of several factors. Since there is virtually no firing, continued employment is a realistic expectation and newswriters likely feel some obligation in exchange for job security. (This is certainly truer today, than thirty years ago.) Newswriters tend to respect co-workers and editors, so convenient role models are present. Career aspirations encourage "inter-status-bonds", in the absence of conflicting loyalties. Newsrooms are characterized by a shared value system and newswriters enjoy the work (Breed, 1955: 325).

There is, as a result, little incentive to challenge policy. If a challenge is mounted, the instigator is ostracized by the work group (ergo, social control). Moreover, the negative career implications of challenging authority are ominous.

Situations permitting deviations from policy existed. Breed (1955: 334-335) identified five factors that allowed newswriters to circumvent policy. First, the ambiguity of policy norms: policy is covert and large in scope, so there is room to maneuver on some issues, sometimes. Second, newswriters control the process: they work the beats, identify newsworthy stories, gather information and write the copy. Third, newswriters can 'plant' items: even though a particular item may not get into a

newsworker's paper because of policy, s/he may plant the item in another newspaper, then use the other paper's coverage in pleading the item is too big to ignore (cp. McFarlane, 1955: 126-128)

Fourth, categorizations of news: policy or campaign, assigned, beat and newsworker initiated. In the campaign story, newsworker and media elite work side-by-side and there is little, if any, possibility of circumventing policy. Assigned stories came from editors and were unlikely to impugn policy. With beat stories, the newsworker is in control: no editor or media elite comes between him or her and beat sources (e.g., police, city hall) (cp. Fishman, 1982, 1980, 1977). Newsworkers decided which trails to follow, whom to interview and what facts went into the story. Newsworker initiated stories were rare, although informants said they were free to initiate a story if they wished (Breed, 1955: 336).

Fifth, star newsworkers could violate policy more easily than their co-workers. Typically, they had been in the newsroom for some time, so severance pay clauses in union contracts made firing for policy transgressions costly. Furthermore, most had developed strong, informal relationships with editors and media elites, which meant punishment for transgressions of any kind was unlikely. Finally, firing a 'star' newsworker could not be a silent action, it would be widely publicized, especially in the newswork community.

News organizations emerge in Breed's (1955) analysis as relatively fluid, flexible and congenial. Rules (i.e., policy) exist, but enforcement is effete and sporadic. Punishment for rule infractions is a rarely invoked threat. Disciplined compliance is impractical, given the nature of the



work: most news is beat-generated, giving the newsworker virtual control over content.

The importance of status relationships and reliance on hierarchy vary considerably, principally influenced by the type of news in question and the particular newsworker involved. Campaign stories, for example, were ostensibly team efforts with media elites and newsworkers working closely together. Editors avoid conflict by assigning "safe" newsworkers to stories.

Newsworker participation in decision processes is necessarily high. They are, for the most part, responsible for gathering and writing items which are ostensibly subject to editing. The informal organization is strong. Since getting the news out is a team effort, editors and media elites are effectively integrated into the newsrooms' informal organization. Their participation in the informal organization is, however, modified by their organizational responsibilities.

Overall, Breed (1955) described the newsroom as free of conflict, operating by consensus based on a set of shared norms and values, which were embodied in news policy. There was no evidence newsworkers conspired against policy or media elites (cp. Bagdikian, 1974). Newsworkers, editors and media elites were co-workers, they were congenial and cooperative doing a job they all enjoyed immensely. The newsroom was a friendly, "first-nameish" place. Everyone liked the work. Few took advantage of the opportunity to complain during the interviews. All in all, Breed (1955) found morale to be unexpectedly high among the newsworkers in his sample. Based on Breed (1955), decision acceptance among

newswriters may be expected to be high.

Whereas Breed (1955) generalized across several newsrooms, Stark (1962) focused on the newsroom of a family newspaper in a large, west coast USA city. What Stark (1962) found disputes the harmonious newsroom environment described by Breed (1955). According to Stark (1962),

the solid in-group observed in this newsroom did not function to implement the publisher's control of staffers [i.e., policy], but consisted of ... embittered and embattled newsmen in open, and often acrimonious, conflict with management policy (p. 11)

Policy was set and enforced by three male members of the owning family who delegated considerable authority to non-news departments (e.g., circulation, printing, sales) and very little to news. Policy was enforced. Disciplined compliance was the standard.

Although the hierarchy of authority formally included editors, the publishers usually prevented them from enforcing policy through a system of personal authority (i.e., power) facilitated by,

- (1) proximity of their offices which are adjacent to the newsroom;
- (2) limiting the duties of the managing editor to simple clerical and routine administrative functions;
- (3) maintaining direct communication with newsroom editors and limiting their authority so important news decisions would be brought directly to the publishers for action;
- (4) frequent physical presence in the newsroom to insure direct communications with loyal local staffers which kept them informed of the current state of newsroom affairs;
- (5) personally editing certain important news-copy and initiating and even writing stories; and
- (6) taking action to hire and fire newsroom personnel (Stark,

1962: 14)

The publishers, however, did not assume responsibilities commensurate with their intrusion into the news operation. Editors were denied sufficient formal authority to carry out their responsibilities, but, nonetheless, were accountable for newsroom activities. Decision-making was thus highly centralized in the publishers.

Beat reporters had some leeway (cp. Breed, 1955), but policy violations were usually punished. Firings and demotions were frequent. Editors were often scapegoated to keep newswriters in line (Stark, 1962: 21-22). Pay and job security were the principal inducements to policy compliance (p. 28).

Newswriter participation in the decision-making process was severely circumscribed and generally discouraged. Cooperation and team work was limited to non-policy stories. Any esprit de corps that did develop was short lived (Stark, 1962: 26).

Newsroom employees polarized into two groups: pros and locals. Pros were the expert employees the newspaper required to maintain news quality. They were a cohesive group (i.e., strong informal organization among pros) of well-educated, experienced newswriters whose primary allegiance was to professional norms and values. Locals had less experience, less education and comprised a far less cohesive group than did pros. Loyalty to the organization was the local's principal asset. Editors usually came from the ranks of the locals (Stark, 1962: 15-20).

Pros often conflicted with the publishers and were punished for it. Stark (1962: 27) reported the pro staff turned over every five years.

Locals were apt to have spent most of their news careers in this newsrooms. In many cases, it was the only newsroom in which a local had worked.

The newsroom studied by Stark (1962) was as an autocracy ruled by an ownership triumvirate. Its hierarchy was short and direct: publisher to newsworker. Rules were ossified and strictly enforced, even though it interfered with work, especially among beat reporters and pros, and created a tense, conflict prone climate. Two informal organizations existed: pros and locals, of which only the pros was, in any way, cohesive. Newsworker participation in the decision-making process was sparse, but necessarily evident, given the nature of the work and the newsworker's role.

Decision acceptance in this newsroom was surely limited and varied between pros and locals. Among pros, it was likely minimal. Among locals decision acceptance was likely maximized, although minuscule in comparison with Breed's (1955) informants. Compliance (i.e., lack of decision commitment) was most likely the byword.

Subsequent organizational analyses of news organizations have stuck to the blueprint established by Breed (1955) and Stark (1962). Typically, findings echo Breed (1955).<sup>20</sup> Matejko (1970), for example, focused on social psychological aspects of the problem. He recast the question of how policy adherence was educated to facilitate analysis of how a newsroom continues to operate given the enormous disparity between professional and organizational objectives (Matejko, 1970: 168-169). On the four Polish newspapers studied, Matejko (1970) found the hierarchy of authority and

status relations, while evident, were relatively unimportant to the day-to-day newsroom operations. They were, however, vital in dealing with external authorities (e.g., government) who determined much of the newspaper content (i.e., stories and treatment).

Rules (i.e., policy) existed. Getting the newspaper out, however, was more important than strictly enforcing rules or obtaining disciplined adherence to policy, except as it effected externally imposed news content. The informal organization was strong in the newsrooms Matejko (1970) studied. The atmosphere was, as Breed (1955) reported, congenial, cooperative and effective. Newswriters actively participated in the decision-making process, which was largely decentralized.

Matejko (1970) found policy adherence was related to the motivation level of newswriters and that motivation was related to autonomy, a principal component of the professional value system. The greater the autonomy, the greater the motivation level among newswriters. The greater the motivation level, the more willing newswriters were to comply with newsroom policy or, perhaps, the less likely they were to question it. Thus, among the Polish newswriters studied by Matejko (1970), decision acceptance was likely high.

Warner (1971) essentially replicated Breed (1955) among newswriters in the three major USA television network newsrooms (i.e., ABC, CBS, NBC). For the most part, his findings paralleled Breed's (1955). A few exceptions, however, did emerge. First, he found newsroom policy to be a product of corporate tradition, not the personal biases of owners. Ownership of the major USA television networks is highly diffused. As a

result, it is unlikely any owner, ownership group or group of executives, could impose personal bias on the news operation for long.

Second, newsrooms at the major television networks were more autonomous than those of the newspapers studied by others. Several factors contributed to the enhanced autonomy of network newsrooms. They provided a small part of network programming. While the absence of constitutional protections for television news presumed greater opportunity for direct intervention, intervention was eschewed because it interfered with getting the news out. The existence of legal responsibilities to ensure balanced coverage acted as an interdict against overt injection of organizational bias into news processes. The intensity of adherence to newswork ethics, whatever they may be, by network newspeople makes direct interference potentially explosive.

Third, the pressure on television newswriters to conform to policy was greater than among newspaper newswriters, due to time and technological considerations, but network newswriters had more opportunities to circumvent policy. The autonomy evident in network television newsrooms and time pressures, which made it necessary to conform or bring the process to a halt, likely resulted in considerable decision acceptance.

The findings of Sigelman (1973) generally fit with those of earlier studies. He believed, however, that news bias (i.e., slanting) was not the product of a "single policy-policy avoidance calculus" (p. 149), but was rooted in a subtler, more complex organizational process: conflict avoidance. He identified three processes which contributed to conflict

avoidance. First, organizational socialization, that is, how policy is learned (cp. Breed, 1955). Second, selective recruitment, which was more a case of newswriters seeking newsrooms that shared their political views than the other way round, which is generally presumed to be the case. Third, organizational control structures, principally rewards and punishments, and structuring of newswriter activities. Socialization and selective recruitment, in particular, likely resulted in a high degree of decision acceptance.

This review suggests the organizational structure of newsrooms falls between the term of full- and non-bureaucracy. They are characterized by a division of labour. At a minimum, there are media elites (i.e., owners, publishers, senior editors), middle level editors (i.e., city editor, copy editor, assignment editor, et cetera) and newswriters (i.e., beat reporters, general reporters, columnists, editorial writers, et cetera). A hierarchy of authority exists in newsrooms (e.g., publisher, editor, newswriter), but is ill-defined and exerts little influence in the news making process.

Rules are evident in the form of newsroom policy, which delineates the slant of political, business and labour news, and outlines the general rights and duties of employees (i.e., job codification). Policy, however, is not strictly enforced — that would interfere with getting the news out — and disciplined compliance with policy directives is virtually impossible, given the nature of the work (i.e., deadlines, technology, beats, story assignment, media elites pitching in to help get the news out).

Newsrooms are anything but impersonal. They are friendly,

congenial, first-nameish places.

While only Stark (1962) explicitly dealt with the issue of promotion on the basis of competence, the other studies implied promotion was largely based on competence. Policy adherence, however, was an invisible factor in promotion decisions: policy foes were unlikely to remain in the newsroom long enough to be promoted, and if they did, editors closely, but silently, scrutinized their work and policy sensitive stories were assigned to other newswriters.

Newsrooms are flexible, accommodating work environments. An informal organization, characterized by congenial cooperation and an easy integration of superiors, prevailed in most newsrooms. Policy compliance was achieved because superiors and subordinates shared the same goals (i.e., news values, getting the news out). Moreover, newswriting is an interesting, enjoyable activity and, while it is generally not stated as such, an axial benefit of compliance is continued employment.

The decision orientation of newsrooms is toward optimum, that is, toward decisions that balance the needs of the news organization, editors and newswriters: this is what gets the news out. From all accounts, Bridges (1970) notion of a model of shared decision-making is in place in most newsrooms. Furthermore, power is virtually absent in newsrooms. Shared goals and newswriter participation in the decision making process contribute a perception of media elites as exercising legitimate authority.

Several points flow from this interpretation of the literature. First, there is a high trust orientation extant in newsrooms and newswriters have a strong sense of attachment to the newsroom work group. Second,



persuasion (e.g., during news conferences) is the principal means of newsroom influence (i.e., newswriters to superiors) and social control (i.e., superiors to newswriters). Third, newsroom relationships are sequential interactions between newswriters, editors and media elites. Overall, then, centralization and formalization are not especially evident in newsrooms, thus, decision acceptance is likely to be high.

## Chapter Notes

1. Statistics Canada no longer collects the data on which the ratio is calculated.
2. cp. Lutzker, 1982; Scott, 1977; Hinings and Lee, 1971; Pugh, Hickson, Hinings and Turner, 1969, 1968; Pugh, Hickson and Hinings, 1969; Hass and Johnson, 1967; Hage and Aiken, 1967; Aiken and Hague, 1966; Hage, 1965; Crozier, 1964; Hall, 1963; Pugh, Hickson, Hinings and Macdonald, 1963.
3. Hall's (1963: 33) selection of bureaucratic attributes was based on "frequency of citation and theoretical importance" principally in Udy, 1959; Dimock, 1959; Heady, 1959; Blau, 1959; Berger, 1957; Gouldner, 1950; Merton, 1949; and Parsons, 1937.
4. Hall (1963: 39-40) operationalized the attributes as Likert scales, which were administered among employees in ten organizations. He empirically demonstrated (1) the attributes existed independent of each other and most other factors, (2) formed continua and (3) were related to the activity of the organization (e.g., organizations whose activities involved a large number of customers tended to be more bureaucratic).
5. Aiken and Hage (1966) aver they are dealing with "alienation". Yet, there is an undercurrent of "resistance" in the label, particularly, when the focus is on professionals and decision acceptance. The organization's values and norms may have little meaning for the salaried professional. But, s/he is unlikely to feel powerless in dealing with the organization. The profession's normative system assures the practitioner is not estranged from his or her professional role. Thus, when an organization relies on bureaucracy, it fosters resistance to its decisions by professionals, as well as alienation.
6. Instrumental alienation, alienation from work, evinces disappointment with career development and fulfillment. Expressive alienation evinces dissatisfaction in social relations with superordinates and co-workers. Indicators of two aspects of centralization were developed (1) a measure of how involved subordinates were in the decision-making process; (2) a measure of the extent which subordinates rely on superordinates to make decisions regarding work assignments (i.e., hierarchy of authority). Formalization was also measured with two indices (1) job codification (i.e., conformity to rules) and (2) rule observation (i.e., checking rule violations) (Aiken and Hage, 1966: 497-499).
7. Alienation from work is inversely correlated with decision participation ( $r = -.59$ ) and positively correlated with job codification ( $r = .51$ ) and rule observation ( $r = .55$ ). Expressive alienation is positively correlated with hierarchy of authority ( $r = .45$ ), job codification ( $r = .23$ ) and rule

observation ( $r = .65$ ); and inversely related to participation in decision-making ( $r = -.17$ ) (Aiken and Hage, 1966: 503).

8. Job codification is the clear and concise specification of what is to be done, hopefully why it must be done and who is to do it. It puts the organization's goals on the table, so-to-speak.

9. Centralization and formalization involved the same indices as Aiken and Hage (1966). Complexity involved three indices measuring professional activity, training and number of occupation specialties (p. 77-80).

10. Professional training was defined as completion of graduate education ( $r = .68$ ).

11. Professional activity included publishing, presentations at professional conferences, et cetera ( $r = .74$ ).

12. Unless otherwise noted, the description of radio station organization is based on Kierstead (1979), Quaal and Brown (1976), Siller (1972), Routt (1974, 1972), Hoffer (1971; 1968) and Dary (1970).

13. The CRTC views the Promise of Performance as a contractual obligation and a license is contingent on it.

14. From December 1984 to December 1985 Canada's radio news workforce decreased 4%. Much of the decline occurred outside large radio markets (i.e., 90,000+ population) and by attrition (Pollard, 1986). Neil Oakley, publisher of the Matthews List, noticed a decline in senior news positions in all media, which he believes is due to attrition motivated by decreased advertising revenue (personal conversation).

15. Sean Ryan, CIHI/Fredericton (NB), observes, "whoever stays longest becomes news director" (personal conversation).

16. Organizational size may have a role in the decision acceptance process, but anything beyond cursory consideration of it strains the parameters of this exploratory study.

17. Despite Stark's (1962) apparent divergence from Breed (1955), the studies are similar in approach and substance. Both analyze the authority of media elites and, incidentally, decision acceptance. Both emphasize managerial and employee strategies of control and counter control. Differences are largely in nomenclature. What Breed (1955) calls "mechanisms promoting conformity", Stark (1962) calls "mechanisms for reducing conflict". What Breed (1955) calls "situations permitting deviation from policy", Stark (1962) calls "methods of retaliation against policy". These are variations on a theme: how newsroom policy effects the news product and how media elites educe decision acceptance. Breed (1955) emphasizes cooperation. Stark (1962) emphasizes conflict.

18. Policy compliance is assumed to precipitate decision acceptance.

19. Today, this would include radio, television and cable news services.

20. cp. Altheide, 1978 1976, 1975 and 1974; Fishman, 1982, 1980, 1977; Dahlgren, 1977.

## Chapter IV

### PROFESSIONALISM AND NEWSWORK

In many ways, professions and organizations are quite different. Organizational work is routinized. Professional work is individualized. Organizations rely on hierarchial authority; professions on expertise. The basis of organizational behaviour is conformity with its rules, regulations and goals. The basis of professional behaviour is that, to the best of the practitioner's knowledge, it is right. For the organization, the central issue in dealing with professionals is how to integrate their expertise without jeopardizing structure, purpose and survival while, for the professional, the issue is abiding employee status without jeopardizing professional norms, values and standards. Cooperation is obviously the axial element of the relationship as both yield some self-proclaimed rights and responsibilities in favour of common goals (e.g., survival, prosperity, service).

The emergence of news as a for-profit cultural good began with the reader-oriented penny press of the nineteenth century. Its free-market competition for advertising challenged the partisan press, which represented elite structures and ideology (cf. Emery, 1972: Chapter Two). Schudson (1978: 30) argues the penny press reflected "broad social, economic and

political changes" linked to a "democratic market society" manifested in a "democratization of business and politics" that reflected the interests of a "an urban middle class which trumpeted 'equality' in social life". For newswork, this meant emphasizing fact. Factuality attracted urban middle-class readers who, in turn, attracted advertisers.

Factuality was problematic. Factual for one reader was factitious for another. Given the volume of occurrences, newswork was vulnerable to considerable criticism.

Professionalism arose as an insulative ideology (Tuchman, 1979; Schudson, 1978). Theoretically, professionals are detached. They use prescribed methods to insure neutrality, impartiality and objectivity. Professionalism reinforces the reliability of factuality in news.

Are newsworkers professionals? Do they share the occupational structure and work-related attitudes of acknowledged professionals (e.g., doctors, lawyers, clergy)? Can newsworkers be professionals? Is newswork professionalism a fragmentation of true professionalism? If newswork is a profession, it can be expected to, at least partially, counter potentially dysfunctional organizational effects on news.

This chapter explores professionalism as a precursor to estimating its potential impact on decision acceptance among newsworkers. A model of professionalism is developed and applied to newswork. The last section of the chapter addresses the special case of employee professionalism.

Sociological understanding of professions largely derives from the work of Talcott Parsons and Everett Hughes. Three themes are central to Parsons (1968, 1959, 1939).<sup>1</sup> First, cataloguing the characteristics (i.e.,

attributes) of professional roles and professions is essential for explicating their social status and function. Professionals are objective (i.e., emotionally detached from the work and clients problems), yet able to put community interests and client needs ahead of self-interest. Their knowledge and skills are scientific. They hold an achieved status that derives from how well they fulfill their responsibilities. Finally, they are aware of their competence limits. A professional thus engages in a detached, service-oriented and restrained application of specific, scientific knowledge and skills.<sup>2</sup>

Autonomy is thus an axial professional attribute. To effectively deploy expertise for social purposes, professionals, alone must, for example, be able to (1) decide what constitutes socially responsible uses of their competence and problems of particular social importance, (2) endorse curricula and instructors to insure internal consistency and (3) control the effect of external influences and interference.

Second, Parsons (1968) underscores the professional role in industrial society,

the professional complex has ... come into prominence [and] begun to dominate the contemporary scene in such a way as to render obsolescent the primacy of the old issues of political authoritarianism and capitalistic exploitation (p. 546)

Society is recast as a professional-action complex, rather than a political-economic one, in which most, if not all, occupations are attempting to professionalize.

Third, Parsons (1968: 539-544) believes the organizational roots of the professions are in the university. He argues the university represents a fusion of the cultural and social elements of a social system. The

professional system is based "In the marriage [of] academic professions and certain categories of practical [people who] have taken responsibility for a variety of operative functions in the society" (1968: 546). Learning and teaching are cultural elements; application of what is learned and taught is the social element. In the university, cultural and social coalesce.

Hughes (1971: 375) accepts the professions' claim "to know better than their clients what ails them or their affairs".<sup>3</sup> He defines a profession as having achieved special status among occupations because it provides esoteric services, involving advice or action, to anyone and everyone (e.g., doctor, lawyer, clergy) (Hughes, 1958: 57). The essence of the service is a specialized body of knowledge systematically applied to problem solving (Hughes, 1965: 1). While the precise nature of the knowledge is often unclear -- it might be substantive, theoretical, experiential or a combination of all three -- it is,

part of the professional complex and the professional claim, that the practice should rest upon some branch of knowledge to which the professionals are privy by virtue of long study and by initiation and apprenticeship (Hughes, 1965: 2)

Hughes (1965: 1) summarizes his conceptualization of professions and professionals as, "professionals profess". They profess an exclusive right to practice, to apply their esoteric knowledge, to be objective in their work, to hold public trust because their conduct is based on credat emptor (i.e., let the buyer trust) not caveat emptor and "to set the terms in which some aspect of society, life or nature is to be thought of, and to define the general lines, or even the details of public policy concerning it" (1965: 3).

Hughes (1971, 1965, 1958, 1956) is also concerned with emerging



professions and the career pattern of an occupation. Just as the career of an individual unfolds,

in some organized system without reference to which it cannot be described, much less understood; [the] career of an occupation consists of changes in its internal organization and of its place in the division of [labour] of which society itself consists (Hughes, 1958: 128)

Emerging professions are transitional occupations self-consciously striving for true professional status. They arise from new technologies, methods, social institutions or social movements (Hughes, 1958: 133). Formal training is undertaken and the first teachers, by default, are the first leaders of the incipient profession. A curriculum, "which is likely to persist for some time and be thought so sacred that to propose to alter it drastically is considered heretical", is developed (Hughes, 1958: 134). University affiliation is achieved and leads to curricula standardization, academic degrees, research foci, teacher-practitioners and licensing. This is the natural history of a profession.

The effects of this process are not uniform for all practitioners, some more than others will be swept up into the main streams of change and professionalization. Some will have drifted into the occupation, and will not want to leave home to take new jobs. Others, fully committed and more alert to the new developments will move from place to place seeking ever more interesting, prestigious and perhaps, more profitable positions (Hughes, 1958: 137)

The convergence of career paths among a majority of practitioners is essential to the professionalization of an occupation.

Three occupational matrices are central to Hughes (1971, 1965, 1958, 1956). First, an institutional matrix which refers to the impact of a profession's organizational milieu (e.g., a legal department within a large

corporation or government agency) (1958: 75-77). This matrix determines division of labour and relations among elements. The structure of prisons, for example, differ from those of television newsrooms which, in turn, differ from those of radio newsrooms which, in turn, vary among owners. The organization can thus be influential in setting the professional agenda in an organizational context. This is especially true for professionalizing occupations because they are largely employee professions and thus organizationally dependent.

Second, a social matrix of external factors (e.g., socio-economic, physical environment). Social matrices are not unique and may be traced to Durkheim's Suicide. A profession, like suicide, is a social fact, shaped by war and peace and economic boom and bust, among other things. The profession has little, if any, influence over these factors (Hughes, 1971).

Third, a professionalization matrix through which the effect of time is evident (i.e., "how social values and collective arrangements are made and unmade: how things arise and how they change") (Hughes, 1971: 53). Professionalization represents a reaching for value, status and prestige (cf. Prandy, 1965). It is an expression of how the individual, and the collective, wish to be viewed (Hughes, 1958: 44-45). This notion moves beyond asking if an occupation is a profession to more fundamental questions regarding the circumstances in which an occupation professionalizes and the steps involved in that process (cf. Reader, 1966; Freidman, 1965).

A multifaceted professional model emerges from the writing of Parsons (1968, 1959, 1939) and Hughes (1971, 1965, 1958, 1956). First, an underlying emphasis on autonomy as the generative element of

professionalism. While certainly not a sufficient condition, it is necessary for the transition from occupation to profession.

Second, how a profession is integrated into the larger whole (e.g., an organization, society or both). Third, the social status of the professional and the power and prestige concomitant with its status. Fourth, the classification of professions along a continuum (e.g., non, would-be, semi- or emerging or full), thereby underscoring the process of becoming a professional. And, fifth, the emphasis on cataloguing professional characteristics as a means of locating the occupation on the continuum.

Subsequent analyses of the professions underscore the relativeness of professional status. Barber (1965b), for example, notes there will be,

no absolute difference between professions and other kinds of occupational behaviours, but only relative differences with respect to certain attributes common to all occupational behaviour ... [some of which are] ..., fully professional; ... partly professional; ... barely or not at all professional (Barber, 1965b: 17-18)

A principal focus, then, is the operationalization of profession, "a way of measuring the extent to which it is present in different forms of occupational performance" (Barber, 1965b: 19). This requires cataloguing professional attributes (i.e., attributes approach). To this end, Barber (1965b) cites four axial professional attributes,

a high degree of generalized and systematic knowledge;

primary orientation to the community interest rather than to individual self-interest;

a high degree of self-control of behaviour through codes of ethics internalized in the process of work socialization and through voluntary associations; and

a system of rewards (monetary and honorary) that is primarily a set of symbols of work achievement and thus ends in themselves, not means to some end of individual self-interest (p. 18)

Professional status is presumed proportional to the intensity with which these attributes are embraced.

Among professionalizing occupations leaders push for professionalism and map the professionalization process. They (1) devise a code of ethics; (2) form a professional association; (3) establish standards, measures and titles of professional behaviour; (4) strive to establish professional schools with university affiliation; (5) implement public information programmes regarding professional services and standards; and (6) 'battle' forces within and without the occupation to carve out a professional niche (Barber, 1965b: 22-24).

Goode (1960: 903; 1969, 1961, 1957) emphasizes two professional characteristics: prolonged education in a specialized area of knowledge and a collective or service orientation. From these, he derives ten sub-characteristics necessary for the professionalization of an occupation,

a professionalizing occupation sets its own standards of education and training [autonomy];

the student professional undergoes a more thorough, more comprehensive adult socialization process than aspirants to other occupations; [enculturation];

the practice of a profession is typically licensed or otherwise state sanctioned [legitimacy];

licensing and admission boards are established and manned by members of the profession [autonomy];

the profession shapes and otherwise influences legislation affecting it [influence];

as the occupation gains in income, power and professional

prestige, it attracts and demands higher caliber students [competence];

as the occupation becomes recognized as professional, it becomes increasingly freer of lay evaluation and control [autonomy];

as the occupation becomes more professional, the norms of practice enforced by the profession, itself, become more stringent than legal controls [autonomy];

increasingly, members are more strongly identified with the profession than are members of other occupations [autonomy];

a profession is more likely than other occupations to be a terminal career, few practitioners leave the profession and most assert they would again choose to enter the profession. [commitment] (Goode, 1960)

Underlying these items is autonomy and a strong concern for the relationship between the profession and society (i.e., social responsibility). There is also an implied spectrum of professionalism, tied to the intensity with which these characteristics are embraced.

Greenwood (1966; 1957) emphasizes a career perspective and five structural attributes of a profession: a systematic theory, authority, a regulative code of ethics, a professional culture and community sanction (1957: 55). Gross (1958) emphasizes several attitudinal attributes,

deep involvement in the work while remaining detached from the client and the problem;

rewards based in the intrinsic satisfaction of 'a job well done';

close identification among professional colleagues;

formal and informal professional associations which reinforce professional culture;

unstandardized application of esoteric knowledge and skills: each problem is ostensibly unique although each falls into a general category (e.g., medical, legal);

belief knowledge is the source of professional authority; and,

belief professional service is essential to society.

The assertion of a social consensus on the necessity of professional service shrouds the fact such services are only available from recognized professionals.

As Barber (1965b), Goode (1969, 1961, 1960, 1957), Gross (1958) and Greenwood (1966; 1957), among others,<sup>4</sup> argue, the attributes approach has many advantages. First, the notion of an underlying continuum ranging from non-professional through would-be and semi-professional to full professional facilitates locating one occupation relative to another. Second, in addition to an intra-occupational analysis, inter-occupational and inter-researcher comparisons are also possible. Third, it is empirical. Fourth, it accentuates the importance of autonomy in the professionalization process. Fifth, the attributes approach facilitates evolutionary model of a profession.<sup>5</sup>

The attributes approach is not without problems. A definition of profession does not fully materialize; it remains a relatively fluid, indistinct and incomplete notion that may never be satisfactorily defined. The core criteria of a profession, however, become clearer: autonomy, basically the right to set standards, admission policies and freedom from lay interference; prolonged university-based education in an ostensibly esoteric techno-scientific field; dedication to a community service ideal; state sanction; self-control through formal and informal associations and an enforced code of ethics, a facet of autonomy; enduring professional culture into which enculturation begins at school and continues throughout a practitioners life. The more intensely an occupation embraces these

criteria, the more professional it may be assumed to be.

The catalogued attributes, furthermore, can be somewhat ambiguous. What, for example, constitutes "prolonged education"? Etzioni (1964: 87) suggests "5 years or more", presumably at the post-secondary level and, perhaps, including post-graduate work. Withal, ambiguity leads to inconsistency and imprecision in the application of core criteria across studies and occupations.

Overall, the advantages of the attributes approach outweigh its problems. It underscores that professionalism (i.e., professional orientation) is both an individual and a collective orientation: the professionalism of a practitioner can vary considerably and only when most, if not all, practitioners are highly professional can an occupation achieve true professional status. Alternative approaches,<sup>6</sup> for the most part, are concerned with analyzing imputed power relationships among presumed professions and not with determining if an occupation is a profession (cp. Johnson, 1972). The attributes approach is concerned with developing a comparative definition of a profession to account for differences among occupations. Discovering the status of an occupation, even if it is a relative status, is an essential empirical step which must be taken before an analysis of power relations, for example, can be satisfactorily undertaken.

Synthesis. This professional model can be operationalized as a set of structural and attitudinal attributes. Structural attributes allegedly emerge in a specific chronological order (Caplow, 1966; Wilensky, 1964).<sup>7</sup> First, the occupation becomes full time. Technological, intellectual or organizational

developments respond to social needs and the performance of long-standing activities is formalized.<sup>8</sup> At this stage, practitioners necessarily come from outside the profession (Hall, 1966: 92-93; Wilensky, 1964: 142).

Second, training schools are established. Early practitioners, clients or perhaps a nascent professional association press for the formal training of recruits, preferably in a university-based programme (Parsons, 1968). This reflects the state-of and potential-for the profession's knowledge base, the desire of its leaders to enhance the occupation's status as well as distance it from lay interference. Formal education enculturates recruits thus ensuring their primary allegiance is to the profession, primary orientation is to community and client interests, and primary identification is with colleagues (Hall, 1966: 92-93; Wilensky, 1964: 142, 144).

Third, formation of a professional association. One result of this is a change in occupational title (e.g., relief investigators become caseworkers; undertakers become funeral directors; real estate salespeople become realtors). A second result is the authority to remove incompetent and otherwise undesirable practitioners. Eventually, local associations coalesce into regional and, ultimately, a national association, usually after considerable internal political agitation (Wilensky, 1964: 144).

Fourth, with internal solidarity attention shifts to external political agitation as the profession pursues licensing laws, protection from competing occupations and so forth. If the area of competence is ambiguous or not exclusive, legal claim to the professional title (e.g., registered nurse, psychologist, realtor) may be the primary aim. If the area of competence is clearly defined (e.g., medicine, law), the profession



will lobby to have task performance by unlicensed practitioners criminalized (e.g., medical practice laws) (Wilensky, 1964: 144-145).

Fifth, formulation and implementation of a code of ethics embodying mechanisms to eliminate the unqualified and unscrupulous, reduce and regulate internal conflict, protect clients and emphasize the community service ideal. The code is enforced by the profession, typically through its formal association. Ideally, the code will become law, enforceable by the judiciary (Hall, 1966: 92-93; Wilensky, 1964: 145).

There is little disagreement with the structural attributes of a profession. The only noteworthy point is that the structures might emerge concomitantly rather than sequentially (Coode, 1969: 274-275). It is, for example, difficult to establish grounds for removing incompetent practitioners without a code of ethics and legitimizing the means to enforce it.

Attitudinal attributes reflect how professionals view their work (Hall, 1966: 93). Attitudes influence behaviour and thus are a crucial part of work, professional or otherwise (Hall, 1986: Chapter 3; Tausky, 1984: 70-104.). Once structural prerequisites are fulfilled, the approach taken in practice is critical.

More pertinent perhaps, a professionalizing occupation might not possess well developed structural attributes, but the attitudinal predisposition of its practitioners might be highly professional (i.e., they may have a strong professional orientation). Professional status depends on a mixture of structural and attitudinal attributes. Two occupations may share professional status, but for different reasons: one may possess all the

structural attributes but few attitudinal attributes; the other may possess all the attitudinal attributes but few structural ones. As a result, structural and the attitudinal attributes are necessary to complete the picture (cf. Seymour, 1966).

Attitudinal attributes include, first, recognition and acceptance of the profession as principal reference point (Goode, 1957; Greenwood, 1957). This involves use of formal and informal professional structures (e.g., associations, collegiality) as the primary source of ideas and judgements. Entry into a profession is acceptance as a colleague, but acceptance is contingent on participation beyond 'getting the job done'. Practitioners are expected to support professional norms, cooperate with colleagues, offer a solid front to outsiders and uphold the ideal of harmonious solidarity within the profession (Beattie, 1984: 157).

Second, a public service ideal posits professional service as indispensable and beneficial to the community (Gross, 1958). This may be interpreted as service to clients who are "subordinate to the professional's monopoly of ... specific knowledge and protected by professional norms of restraint" (Boyd-Barrett, 1970: 182). Clients submit to professional dictates, authority to determine client needs is voluntarily ceded on the assumption competence is used to benefit the client, not the practitioner (Beattie, 1984: 154).

Third, belief in self-regulation. By virtue of a prolonged education and enculturation into the profession, practitioners are expected to have developed a set of "inner directives", working principles that insure socially responsible behaviour (Beattie, 1984: 155). Practitioners, therefore, are the

best judges of professional work: colleague control is desirable and practical because it benefits the community and the profession (Goode, 1957; Greenwood, 1957).

Fourth, a sense of calling to the profession, "the belief that the development and exercise of expertise is worthy of a lifetime and carries its own reward" (Kornhauser, 1962: 1-2). Among professionals, work is more than a job, it is part of their identity (Freidson, 1970: 70). This reflects dedication to the profession and its ideals (Gross, 1958). Collectively, these factors increase the likelihood the profession is a terminal occupation rather than a career-stage.

Autonomy is a structural and an attitudinal attribute. Structural autonomy is achieved through efforts to control entrance-to and practice-of the profession, state sanctioning and protection of the labour monopoly and so forth. Attitudinal autonomy reflects the belief professionals must be free to exercise their judgement, to make their own decisions, unencumbered by pressures from clients, employing organizations, the community and others lacking their specialized knowledge, commitment and ethical orientation (Hall, 1966: 93).

To summarize this model of professionalism, (1) the occupation becomes full time, (2) training schools are established, (3) a professional association is formed and empowered, (4) external political agitation is undertaken, (5) code of ethics is formulated and implemented. These attributes contribute to the structural autonomy of the profession. More or less simultaneously, (1) the profession becomes the central reference point for practitioners who (2) display a sense of calling to the occupation,

(3) adopt a public service orientation and (4) firmly believe in self-regulation. These attributes contribute to the attitudinal autonomy of the profession.

threading through this discussion is an implied ranking of occupations according to degree of professionalization. A profession possesses all the structural and attitudinal attributes to the fullest extent (e.g., doctor, lawyer, clergy). Professionalizing occupations are categorized according to the structural and attitudinal attributes they possess relative to the full professions.

The intellectual base and skills level of the semi-professions is developed to the point where an undergraduate degree is usually required; a graduate degree preferred. The semi-professions include nurses, teachers, social workers, librarians, accountants, engineers and architects. Semi-professions possess, in varying degree, most of the structural attributes of a profession and display, in varying degree, most of the attitudinal attributes of a profession.

Would be professions require "neither theoretical study nor the acquisition of exact techniques, but rather a familiarity with [industry] structure, administrative practice, and current conventions" (Carr-Saunders, 1962: 281). These professionals are organizational generalists (e.g., administrative specialists such as MBA's and MPA's, newswriters, computer programmers). Would-be professions possess few structural attributes of a profession, although individual practitioners may be highly professional because they strongly embrace professional attitudes (cp. Seymour, 1966).

Non professions are occupations with a minimal intellectual base and

a set of generally acquirable skills (e.g., taxi driver, janitor, boot black, truck or bus driver).

Structural Attributes of Newswork. Newswork, needless to say, is a fulltime occupation.<sup>9</sup> In the 1981 census, 28,755 Canadians reported the best description of their occupation as "writer or editor" (Statistics Canada, 1986). Focusing on the daily media, 23.1% of 9,363 Canadian newsworkers are on daily newspapers, 21.9% in radio and 55% in television.<sup>10</sup> Narrowing the focus to the most prominent news media with the largest audiences,<sup>11</sup> it is clear a few hundred newsworkers supply most of the public information in Canada.

Weaver and Wilholt (1986) estimate there are 112,072 full-time newsworkers in the USA. Of these, 46.1% are on daily newspapers, 13.6% in television (including those working in newsrooms serving a radio and television station) and 17.5% in radio. The remainder work for weekly newspapers, news magazines and news services (p. 13). These numbers notwithstanding, most public information in the US is generated by a coterie of about 7,000 newsworkers: 6.2% of fulltime newsworkers (Weaver and Wilholt, 1986: 15; cp. Johnstone, et al, 1971: 19).

Newswork education began in 1861 at Williams' College (Williamstown, Ma.) with a one semester course.<sup>12</sup> In Canada, the University of Western Ontario began offering newswork courses in the mid-1920's. In 1945, the University of Western Ontario and Carleton University offered degree programmes in newswork. Today, nine universities in all regions of Canada offer undergraduate degrees in newswork. Master's degrees are offered at Carleton University and the

University of Western Ontario. Twenty-seven community colleges and CEGEP's offer diploma or certificate programmes in newswork (Sloan, et al, 1981).<sup>13</sup>

A professional education ostensibly exposes recruits to a specialized, abstract and systematic body of knowledge claimed as the exclusive domain of the profession. Newswork, however, claims no body of knowledge as its own,

there is no system of abstract propositions to which new recruits are exposed and without which they cannot practice (Boyd-Barrett, 1970: 181)

Without a formalized body of systematic knowledge, the substance and necessity of a long period of advanced training and the status concomitant with it, are questionable. The situation is similar in other professionalizing occupations (Goode, 1961: 312-313).

Given the absence of a body of newswork-specific knowledge essential to the practice of the profession, it is not surprising there is considerable variation in the approaches taken to newswork education. Despite some shared features, sharp distinctions exist within and among degree and non-degree granting institutions (Sloan, et al, 1981: 163, 165). Degree programmes, for example, are typically three or four years long and mix "background instruction"<sup>14</sup> (Johnstone, et al, 1976: 99) with more practical, "trade tool" courses.<sup>15</sup> Non-degree institutions, community colleges and CEGEP's, generally run one or two year programmes concentrating on trade tool skills (cf. Sloan, et al, 1981).

The existence, status and authority of professional newswork associations is sporadic. No association speaks for all, or even most,

newswriters. A large number of potentially professional associations speak for the interests of their members. Loose groupings of media elites have existed for some time.<sup>16</sup> Other groups, such as provincial press councils (e.g., Council de presse, Ontario Press Council), have an ombudsmen-like role. Still other groups, such as the Association Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, exist to to promote newswriter-related research and scholarship. There are several US-based quasi-professional associations with specialized interests which are more fraternities or clubs than professional associations.<sup>17</sup> The Centre for Investigate Journalism (CIJ) is a quasi-professional Canadian newswriter association.<sup>18</sup> As with all voluntary associations, however, these groups have only moral suasion over members; their influence likely stops at the newsroom door.

External political agitation in pursuit of licensing power, protection from competing occupations and so forth is viewed as antagonist to the basic aims and freedoms of newswriting.<sup>19</sup> Licensing is a complex, emotive issue. While socialist countries embrace licensing, Western standards of press freedom deny its legitimacy (McPhail, 1981: Chapter Two). Among Western newswriters, licensing is tantamount to government control.<sup>20</sup>

The first code of newswriter ethics was adopted by the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1923 (Weaver and Wilholt, 1986: Chapter 5; Johnstone, et al, 1976: 101; Kirschner and Kirschner, 1971: 31-33; Carsuo, 1965: 104). While there is no single, universal, binding code, various interests have articulated codes<sup>21</sup> Enforcement is difficult. Codes are proffered by voluntary organizations and conscience is the sole inducement to adherence. Thus, ethical codes are largely statements of

principle.

Structural autonomy is virtually absent in newswork. Beyond a few trade tool capabilities, there are no barriers to the practice of newswork, ipso facto. In the work place, market forces presumedly ferret out the unacceptable, ex post facto. State sanction is meticulously avoided and protection of the occupation's labour monopoly is antithetical to the newsworker's liberal-democratic self-image.

Structurally, newswork is an incipient would-be profession. It possesses one structural attribute of a profession: full-time occupation. Other structural attributes are inchoate. There are no formal entrance requirements other than a general familiarity with the industry (e.g., print, broadcast, cable). Post-secondary education is unstandardized, underscoring the absence of a body of abstract knowledge specific to newswork. Recruits are, for the most part, enculturated on-the-job.

Unlike the archetype professions (i.e., doctors, lawyers), there is no cohesive professional newswork culture characterized by formal institutions which hold professional meetings, emphasize rationality and promote collegiality. Variegated approaches to newswork education and the newsworker's self-image contribute to manifold newswork cultures. Overall, this fails to insure the newsworker's primary allegiance is to the profession, primary orientation is to community and client interests and close identification exists among colleagues.

No formal professional newswork association exists, although in Canada CIJ could effectively move in that direction. In the USA, quasi-professional associations exist but do not possess the legitimacy and



authority of formal medical and legal associations, for example. Furthermore, newswriters are reluctant to lobby for political power in the form of state sanction, licensing and protection from competing occupations. Finally, where codes of newswriter ethics do exist, enforcement is difficult and adherence erratic. As a result, the structural autonomy of newswriting, its freedom from external pressures, is severely circumscribed.

Attitudinal Attributes of Newswriting. Perception of the profession as principal reference point may be estimated from participation levels in formal and informal professional groups. The more active the practitioner, the greater the assumed importance and influence of the profession. Several factors, including professional experience, age, medium, size of organization and so forth may affect participation levels. The evidence is, for the part, garnered from USA studies because the necessary evidence is lacking in Canada.

Weaver and Wilhoit (1986) report 40.4% of 1,001 respondents belong to at least one formal association (32.5% of broadcast newswriters and 38.4% of those on daily newspapers) (p. 107). The longer a respondent has been in newswriting and the greater his or her managerial responsibilities, the greater the level of participation in formal professional newswriting associations (p. 108). These data are consistent with the findings of Johnstone, et al (1976), Idsvoog (1975) and Welnthal (1972), among others.

Most respondents (90.7%) have social contact with other newswriters; 34.4% of broadcast newswriters and 44.3% those on daily newswriters report fifty or more work-related informal contacts (Weaver

and Wilhoit, 1976: 108-109). These findings are consistent with Johnstone, et al (1976). Major influences on informal contacts include age: younger respondents have more contacts than older ones; media sector: television newswriters have more than those on daily newspapers; market size: informal contacts are more prevalent among newswriters in larger media markets; organization size: newswriters in larger organizations are more likely to fraternize with other newspeople than those in smaller organizations; organizational prominence: the more prominent the news organization, the more contacts (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1986: 108; Johnstone, et al, 1976: 107).

A public service ideal, embodied in an inchoate theory of a socially responsible news media, is the bedrock of contemporary newswriting philosophy.<sup>22</sup> It proposes a balance of news media freedoms with moral and ethical obligations (Black and Whitney, 1983: 383-384; Merrill and Lowenstein, 1979: 162-163). The central premise is freedom has a price. When the news media fulfill its responsibilities, there is no problem. When they do not, some agency, usually the government, must intervene to insure essential media duties (e.g., accuracy, fairness, variety of opinion) are met (Siebert, et al, 1956: 73-74).<sup>23</sup>

A theory of social responsibility endeavours to insure free expression by insisting the news media "represent all hues of the social spectrum" (Black and Whitney, 1983: 384). It holds the news media responsible for its content, urges adherence to the principal of credat emptor and denies public interest is automatically served as entrepreneurs pursue their own interests. Public interest must prevail or all lose (cf. Rivers, Schramm

and Christians, 1980: 1-50). For newswriters clarification of their obligations establishes manifold loyalties — society, self and employer — which may clash.

For a true professional, the profession is the central reference point, that is, his or her principal loyalty is to the profession, and by implication society, not to employer. Loyalty to profession is evinced in the breadth of outlook. A narrow outlook, for example, suggests the principal reference point is the immediate environment, the employer or self (cp. Gouldner, 1958, 1957).

Several ethnographies have located, often unintentionally, newswriter loyalties. Rosten (1937), for example, found Washington correspondents had a narrow outlook. They valued their jobs because of the access it gave them to Washington social life and the important people they worked with or came to know through their work. For these individuals, newswriting was a game scored in terms of the importance or prestige of one's contacts.

Breed (1955; 1952) implied social control by media elites, in part, fostered a narrow perspective that tried to refocus the newswriters' reward system from, "readers, who are manifestly [his/her] clients, [to] colleagues and superiors" (1955: 335). If newswriters succumbed, they reaped status rewards and entrance to a cohesive group "engaged in interesting, varied and sometimes important work" (Breed, 1955: 335). This had obvious career implications: greater job security, better assignments and less supervision, among other things, but was not work in the public interest.

Stark (1962) classified respondents as professionals ("pros") and non-professionals ("locals") on the basis of cosmopolitan (i.e., societal, general) or local-parochial (i.e., employer, personal) orientation. Professionals had more education than locals, displayed a generalized outlook and, while ostensibly loyal to their employer, identified most strongly with the profession. Non-professionals, on the other hand, had less education, were loyal to their employer, first, and to the profession, second, if at all.

In a study of foreign policy newswriters, Cohen (1963) found a heavy emphasis on the "trade-tool" approach (i.e., writing, reporting and editing skills), which he implied reflected a narrow outlook. What was needed, he asserted, was a stronger professional education, "what seems to be required, in addition to these tools of the trade, is more explicit training in theories and modes of analysis of international relations and foreign policy" (1963: 267).

Rivers (1965) replicated Rosten's study of Washington correspondents. His respondents were better educated, more likely to consider newswriting a profession and more community qua public service oriented.

As Rivers (1965), Cohen (1963), Stark (1962), Breed (1955; 1952) and Rosten (1937), among others, argue, more professional newswriters, for the most part, are loyal to professional, first, and possess a generalized outlook. Furthermore, they imply a professional education (i.e., background courses in addition to trade tool courses) tends to solidify and intensify professional loyalty and generalize outlook.

Quantitative studies offer further insight into loyalty placement among newswriters. These studies categorize newswriters as high, moderate or low level professionals on the basis of responses to twenty-four Likert scaled items (McLeod and Hawley, 1964). Theoretically, differences should exist between high and low level professionals. Moderate professionals are viewed as a transitional stage between high and low levels.

High professionals, for example, place more emphasis on the community or public service ideal than do low professionals and are less likely to be influenced by sources and élites, generally. All newswriters, regardless of professional orientation, emphasize personal and related rewards (Pollard, 1985a, 1985b; Pollard and McConney, 1985; Slattery and Fosdick, 1979; Idsvoog, 1977; Wright, 1976, 1974; Lattimore, 1972; Linehan, 1970). These data support the contention that more professional newswriters exhibit a more general outlook than their less professional co-workers. High professionals seek and appreciate the personal rewards which dominate the goals of lesser professionals and remain loyal to their employer in exchange for these rewards. They are, however, more likely to subscribe to social and professional ideals in the performance of their work which, as Hall (1976), Kornhauser (1962) and Stark (1962) found, can strain the employer-employee relationship.

Belief in self-regulation usually accompanies a predisposition toward state sanctioning of a profession (i.e., licensing, protection of labour monopoly, et cetera) and the existence of an enforceable code of ethics. As noted above, overt state intervention is antithetical to dominate

newsworker values, and ethical codes are apparently of little value. Nonetheless, a review of eleven introductory reporting texts by Scanlon, Cuttler and Farrell (1983: 7-8) reveals several aspects of the newswork process which the authors of the texts believe require regulating, including the ground rules for dealing with information,<sup>24</sup> junkets and freebies,<sup>25</sup> deceit<sup>26</sup> and the quest for objectivity.<sup>27</sup> Authors of these texts, however, disagreed on particular areas requiring regulation, operationalization of those areas and how they might be regulated. This underscores a critical problem of the professionalization of newswork: the absence an underlying theoretical base on which a generally accepted and uniform operationalization of what newswork is and what constitutes professionalism among newsworkers can be developed.

For a true professional, work is its own reward and a lifetime commitment. It is difficult to discern how newsworkers approach their work. Asking if they are committed to the work is akin to asking if they are patriotic. It is more precarious to impute commitment based on what newsworkers say about themselves and their work. Everything — book article, interview — dealing with a newsworker's attitudes, interests and opinions confirms that the newsworker in question is distinct from the occupational rank-and-file, otherwise why would s/he be the focus of a book, article or interview.

Degree of commitment, however, may be estimated by asking what it would take for a newsworker to accept a non-news-media job. Lattimore (1972: 132, 135) asked print newsworkers in Colorado if they would consider leaving newswork for private sector public relations.

Fifty-two percent of high professionals and twenty-five percent of low professionals said they would not consider leaving newswork for public relations. Money had some effect: 24% of high and 36% of low level professionals said they would consider leaving newswork for public relations if it meant a pay increase of \$5000 or more per year (in 1972); 15% of high and 27% of low said they would leave for a pay increase of \$2500 per year. Interestingly, 4% of low professionals said they would leave newswork even without an increase in pay. High level professionals were not so inclined.<sup>28</sup>

Attitudinal autonomy, the belief professionals must be free from external pressures, is an important concern among newsworkers. It is the principle underlying their unwillingness to be licensed or seek state sanction and protection of their labour monopoly. Moreover, it likely helps explain the lack of a dominant professional association and binding code of ethics and, indirectly, may account for variegated approaches to newswork education in Canada: most faculty come from the field, heavily laden with the baggage of work-a-day values.

Attitudinally, newswork appears more professional than it did from a structural perspective. Although the level of participation in formal professional newswork associations is generally low and may reflect a lack of interest, other factors may be at work. Participation levels, for example, were higher among certain newsworkers: those in larger media markets, those with administrative responsibilities and those in more prominent media organizations. The profile of the participating newsworker implies a well-paid specialist or newsroom administrator whose

career has stabilized. Special interest quasi-professional associations service his or her purposes well.

The typical newsworker, however, works in a decidedly non-prominent news organization in a small-to-moderate market and has few administrative responsibilities. S/he is not well-paid, is a generalist and highly mobile. As a result, the opportunity to participate may not exist. Local associations depend on a core of stable newsworkers — by implication, local media elites — and transient members of the rank-and-file may not feel welcome. Generalists, moreover, may not qualify for membership in more specialized groups. Furthermore, the absence of a national umbrella association, which could accommodate the typical newsworker, obviously affects participation and feelings of belonging to a cohesive occupational group. Thus, it may be the exigencies of the occupation rather than the predilection of practitioners that results in low participation levels and, by implication, failure to use the profession as principle reference point.

A public service ideal is evident among newsworkers. Most ascribe to the general principles of social responsibility. The ideal, however, may be a source of dissonance since it establishes manifold loyalties for newsworkers — society, self, employer. Fidelity largely depends on the breadth and depth of individual perspective: the more generalized a newsworker's outlook, the more likely s/he is to ascribe to the public service ideal. Comparing the earlier (Rosten, 1937; Breed, 1955) with the later (Rivers, 1962; Stark, 1962) ethnographies, it appears that as newsworkers become better educated their outlook generalizes. Thus, a



more educated news media workforce may mean more professional newswriters with a stronger commitment to public service. While this may be one of the few standardized effects of newswriter education, more educated likely means more background or academic courses in relation to trade-tool training.

Self-regulation among newswriters is impractical, largely because the structural underpinnings of self-regulation are absent. Since there is no cohesive professional association and no generally accepted or enforceable code of ethics, there can be little agreement on what aspects of newswriting should be regulated, why they should be regulated or how regulation might operate. Conscience is the only mechanism of self-regulation among newswriters.

As with commitment to public service, commitment to occupation varies among newswriters and appears tied to outlook. Professional newswriters are less likely to leave the occupation, even for more money, than are other newswriters. The latter are motivated more by personal rewards than are professionals and, therefore, more likely to leave newswriting, especially if it means more money.

Finally, the quest for attitudinal autonomy among newswriters also varies with outlook. More professional individuals see it as critical while their less professional coworkers are unconcerned. For the most part, radio newswriting and newswriters fit the general patterns outlined here (cf. Pollard, 1985a, 1985b; Pollard and McConney, 1985).

Employee Professionalism. In concert with Chapter Four, the foregoing discussion argues that professions and organizations are founded on

ostensibly divergent principles. Professionalism is,

a highly individualized principle ... diametrically opposed to the very essence of the [organizational] principle of control and coordination by [superordinates] (Etzioni, 1964: 76)

The organization presumes a hierarchy of authority, the profession presumes expertise. Thus,

the ultimate justification of an [organizational] act ... is that it is in line with the organization's rules and regulations, and ... has been approved — directly or by implication ... The ultimate justification for a professional act is that it, is, to the best of the professional's knowledge, the right act (Etzioni, 1964: 77)

For the organization, the question is how to integrate professional expertise without jeopardizing structure, purpose and survival. For the profession, the question is how to perform as employee without jeopardizing professional norms, values and standards (cp. Guy, 1985; Abrahamson, 1967: Chapter Five; Prandy, 1965: Chapter Nine).

Conflict is implicit in this interface. Conflict realization, however, varies with organizational type (Hall, 1975: Chapter Four). The solo practitioner theoretically operates one-on-one with clients; the organization is the practitioner (Etzioni, 1964: 77). The high cost of equipment, the necessary financing and the competitive environment of the solo practice vis a vis the benefits of intra-organizational collaboration among professionals make solo practice less attractive and employee status a viable alternative (Blau and Scott, 1962: 62). There are few newswork solo practitioners (i.e., freelancers). Most who test the freelancing waters, quickly return to the newsroom. Rare exceptions include Izzy Stone and Seymour Hirsch.

The autonomous professional organization is an employment option

for professionals (Hall, 1975: 90-98). The medical clinic or legal firm is designed to achieve professional goals. Thus, professional concerns are paramount and organizational structure is imported (Scott, 1962). Moreover, the professional is often a partner or associate, rather than employee (Moore, 1970: 193-194), which insures greater participation and reduced conflict potential (cf. Smigel, 1964). The news service such as Broadcast News (BN), Canadian Press (CP) and Associated Press (AP) are, perhaps, autonomous professional newswork organizations. Employee Professionalism. In concert with Chapter Four, the foregoing discussion argues that professions and organizations are founded on ostensibly divergent principles. Professionalism is,

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The influence of organization varies among autonomous organizations according to extent of professionalization. While full professions and semi-professions can operate autonomously, the latter do not have the strong normative base and general acceptance of the former. Thus, organizational concerns can be more persuasive in autonomous semi-professional organizations than in those staffed by full professionals (cf. Smigel, 1964; Etzioni, 1964: Chapter Eight). The news service such as Broadcast News (BN), Canadian Press (CP) and Associated Press (AP) are,

perhaps, autonomous professional newswork organizations.

For many professions, there is little alternative to employee status (Hall, 1975; Moore, 1970; Prandy, 1965; McFarlane, 1961, 1955). This is especially true for some semi-professions such as librarians, who necessarily work in libraries; social workers, who necessarily work in service agencies; and teachers who necessarily work in schools. The heteronomous professional organization (i.e., multiple power centres) provides an environment in which organization dominates profession (Hall, 1975: 98-102) to a point where,

the amount of autonomy granted professional employees is relatively small. An elaborate set of rules and a system of routine supervision control many if not most aspects of the tasks performed by professional employees, so that it is often difficult, if not impossible, to locate or define an arena of activity for which the professional group is responsible (Scott, 1966: 67)

Domination, however, is usually partial because both organization and profession are committed to the same goal and differ principally in perception of goal attainment (Wasserman, 1971).

The professional department maximizes organizational domination of profession. Minimumly, a basic role conflict exists: employee or professional. Strains are evident in dichotomous authority sources: expertise and hierarchy; and loyalty: collegiality and hierarchy (cp. Gouldner, 1958, 1957). Most would-be professions are faced with the problems of performing ostensibly professional services in the context of a professional department (e.g., newsworkers, nurses aides, computer programmers). Needless to say, this is the milieu of necessity for the vast majority of newsworkers.

Several studies focus on the employee professional. Corwin (1961), for example, reports nurses who try to accommodate both organizational and professional roles are less effective than those opting for one role. Shepard (1961) argues organizational-professional conflict is dysfunctional because it leads to tension evincable in isolationist tendencies and other barriers to cooperation. Scott (1962: 269) outlines specific conflicts: rejection of organizational standards, resistance to supervision and conditional loyalty by professionals (cf. Gouldner, 1958, 1957). Hall (1968) finds inverse relationships between professional autonomy and hierarchy, division of labour, job codification and rule enforcement.

Engel (1969) sees the extent of bureaucracy, not just bureaucracy, as weakening autonomy. She posits two types of professional autonomy: autonomy for the profession and personal autonomy for the practitioner. In a professional department, the former is thwarted by bureaucracy while the latter may be advanced because it contributes to organizational ends. This may be the case in newsrooms.

Bucher and Stelling (1969) argue employee professionals have "honourific status" flowing from interactions with coworkers (i.e., professional status is achieved and maintained). When professional status is bestowed, the occupation is a profession in the context of the organization. Newswork, then, may qualify as a profession in a news or broadcast organization, regardless of its status in other contexts.

Kornhauser (1962) proffers four areas of potential conflict evident in the professional department of profit-seeking organizations. First, the goals sought. Organizations and professions agree on the importance of

excellence. Professionals seek excellence through expertise and adherence to high standards, which can conflict with the organization's need for a regular flow of profitable output (Hall, 1975: 102; Kornhauser, 1962: 17-41). For the organization, excellence is an optimization of time, money and quality. For professionals, quality is implicit in expertise.

Second, there is potential conflict over control of work. The organization's personnel policy will likely emphasize potential long-run contributions (e.g., ability, loyalty, desire for managerial roles) while the profession emphasizes competence (cp. Marcson, 1966; Gouldner, 1958, 1957). The profession favours work organized by speciality; the organization prefers work organized by task. The organization's principal control mechanism is hierarchical authority; the profession relies on expertise. Finally, the profession emphasizes free flow of collegial communication; the organization prefers secrecy (Hall, 1975: 102-103; Kornhauser, 1962: 49-80).

Third, incentives can also lead to conflict. As Merton (1968), Glaser (1965) and Gouldner (1958, 1957), among others, argue, organizations reward loyalty (i.e., local orientation); but professions transcend organizational boundaries and reward knowledge and contributions to the field (i.e., cosmopolitan orientation). Therefore, organizational advancement may not motivate professionals and professional advancement may impede organizational ends.

Fourth, influence, basically, who has decision authority. The organization assumes considerable risk and demands final authority which, in effect, places the professional under hierarchical control. If a

professional becomes involved in decision processes, s/he may ease into an organizational and out of a professional role (Hall, 1975: 104; Kornhauser, 1962: 158-191).

Needless to say, conflict is likely, but not inevitable. Organizations can and do adjust to the presence of professionals. Kornhauser (1962) suggests conflict can be,

accommodated by the creation of new roles. [Organizational] matters are controlled on the basis of hierarchial ... authority, while matters regarded by professionals as [their] responsibility ... are more subject to multilateral determination through colleague relations (p. 201-202)

General policy (i.e., what is done, for whom and at what cost) is left to the organization while work specifics (i.e., who does what and how) are left to professionals (cp. Barber, 1965b: 24-28 and Hall, 1975: 81-115; Parson, 1968; Corwin, 1961). This, of course, is consistent with the Model of Shared Decision Making suggested by Bridges (1970, 1967) and the Interacting Spheres Model suggested by Hanson (1976-1977).

Oswald Hall (1954) sees this as a dual authority system because it involves two chains of command. In a hospital, for example,

one [chain of command] proceeds from the superintendent of the hospital down through supervisors of nursing, of the kitchen, of the housekeeping staff, of accounts, and so forth, and provides a system of orders, and of accountability, from the top to the bottom of the organization [i.e., organizational]. On the other hand, the hierarchy of the doctors stands completely outside the structure. The doctors have their hierarchy [i.e., professional authority] (Hall, 1954: 459)

How well dual authority systems work determines overall organizational effectiveness and efficiency.

Needless to say, the success of a dual authority system is tenuous.



Dual authority is a bilateral process, so, organization and profession must be proactive. Dual authority is most likely to succeed in less bureaucratic milieux where the structure is reasonably flexible — where the hierarchy is not heavily relied on nor rules too strictly enforced (cf. Hage and Aiken, 1967; Aiken and Hage, 1966). Professional participation in decision processes, especially in areas where they have a high stake and the ability to contribute (Bridges, 1970, 1967), add most to the success of a dual authority system (cf. Scott, 1977, 1966, 1965; Hall, 1975, 1968).

In some contexts, it is apparently possible for employee professionals to develop a dual or mixed orientation that reflects facets of organizational and professional cultures (Hoy and Miskel, 1982: 117). Contrary to Corwin (1961), Glaser (1965) believes a dual orientation can emerge when (1) organizational and professional goals, standards and practices are concordant and (2) professionals are highly motivated. Similarly, Thornton (1970) argues that,

the more professional the criteria of performance, the more professional authority relations and the more professional the supervision. ... [then] organizational and professional commitments ... become compatible (in Hoy and Miskel, 1982: 117)

If there is substantial professionalism in organizational involvement, individuals become committed to organizational and professional goals.

Regardless of approach, reconciling organizational and professional concerns is difficult because it requires coalescence of ostensibly antithetical orientations. Theoretically, the professional qua manager favours professional over organizational needs. But, professionals who accept organizational roles are often less committed to professional norms

and values than are their colleagues (Etzioni, 1964: 83; cp. Gouldner, 1958, 1957), which undermines their effectiveness in organizational and professional roles. Similarly, the non-professional manager favours organizational over professional needs. Glaser's (1965, 1964) notion of a professional-manager is ideal, if realizable.

In practice, it seems mutual accommodation via a dual authority system, although imperfect, is most effective (cp. Shapero, 1985). The hierarchy retains control of organizational matters (e.g., what is done, for whom and at what cost). The profession retains control of work specifics (e.g., who does what and how). Overlapping matters are handled bilaterally (cp. Hanson, 1976-77; Bridges, 1970).

Leroy (1971) and Edelstein (1966), among others, imply newswork professionals recognize and accept the limits in which they are free to make decisions (e.g., how to cover a beat, who to interview, what facts to include, item and newscast length, newscast schedules). Rules are followed, compromises made and decisions accepted, because they are seen as necessary to realization of the overarching newsroom, newswork and news organization goal: getting the news out. Ideally, decision acceptance among newswork professionals will reflect a balance of professional norms, values and standards with organizational exigencies. But, as Breed (1955) argued and others reaffirm (e.g., Tuchman, 1979; Matejko, 1970; Warner, 1970), anything and everything is sacrificed to get the news out.

## Chapter Notes

1. Parsons influence on theories of professions and professionalism often shrouds its implicit ethnocentric viewpoint.
2. A profession, it follows, is a service-oriented occupation with institutionalized methods for ensuring its competence-base is used responsibly. It applies a systematic body of scientific knowledge and emphasizes intellectual and technical skills. This necessitates extensive formal training and endorsement of curricula relevance and instructor competence by the profession (Parsons, 1968: 526).
3. Cp. Abbott (1981: 829) and Shils (1965) who argue professionals have order-giving power.
4. Cf. Ritzer, 1977, 1972; Perucci and Gerstl, 1969; Gross, 1969; Solcum, 1966; Hall, 1968; Gerald, 1963; Lieberman, 1956; Carr-Saunders, 1966, 1962; Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933; Flexner, 1915.
5. While the evolution of an occupation is rarely, if ever, studied, it is an area of considerable potential. Since there is little tendency to change occupations among professionals, research over time — ten, twenty, thirty, even forty or fifty years — would yield important information and new insights regarding the professionalization of an occupation. The careers of various professional ideals, practices and specialties could be traced as could the careers of individual practitioners.
6. Cf. the ecological model, resource dependency model (Aldrich and Pfeffer, 1976) or Klegon's Alternative (1978). Also, Callan (1979).
7. Caplow (1966) and Wilensky (1964) propose essentially the same formulation, but Wilensky is more thorough and most concerned with the acquisition of these attributes.
8. Rise of the mass production capitalist firm, for example, increased the complexity of record keeping and created a demand for accountants. Advances in knowledge influenced technology and resulted in a need for electrical and computer engineers, for instance. Increased complexity and intensity of social relations accompanied urbanization and created a demand for legal expertise.
9. It is difficult to specify exactly when newswork became a fulltime occupation, it depends on the medium. By 1939, radio news was a fulltime occupation (Wallace and Gates, 1984; Barnouw, 1968).
10. These data are derived from a census of the December, 1985 Matthews List. The remaining 19,392 people who described themselves to Statistics Canada as writers or editors are engaged in public relations, government

information services, wire services, freelance and related activities.

11. For example, "The National", "CTV National News" and newspapers, radio and television stations in the largest markets, the latter reaching well beyond normal boundaries via CATV).

12. The first comprehensive newswork curriculum was offered at the University of Pennsylvania in 1893; the first undergraduate degree programme at the University of Illinois in 1904; and the first school of journalism opened in 1908 at the University of Missouri (Emery, 1972: 726; Carsuo, 1965: 13). Today, 216 US universities offer graduate and undergraduate programmes in newswork with an estimated enrollment of 18,044 (Peterson, 1983: 4).

13. Total enrollment in Canadian institutions is difficult to estimate. Mass communications and broadcasting students are often included with those in newswork streams. Nonetheless, based on Sloan, et al (1981: 166-174), there are about one thousand students in university-based newswork programmes. Based on the Broadcaster Directory (Spring, 1986), there are about 1,600 students in community college and CEGEP programmes.

14. "Background instruction" includes courses in economics, political science, geography, sociology, journalism or mass communications theory, et cetera.

15. "Trade tool" courses include reporting, writing, editing, interviewing, news media law and so forth.

16. For example, the Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers Association founded in 1919; the American Newspaper Publishers Association, founded in 1887.

17. For example, the Radio Television News Directors Association (RTNDA); Sigma Delta Chi, the Society of Professional Journalists; The Newspaper Guild; the Overseas Press Club; the Gridiron Club; the National Press Club and regional and local press clubs. They associations are forums for talking shop, swapping ideas and "forging consensus among more varied sets of newsmen than those who get together in the newsroom and on the beat" (Sigal, 1973: 39). They set standards and shape perspectives which reflect the predispositions of their membership.

18. Its expressed goals include upgrading the profession and "to advance understanding of the concealed, obscure or complex aspects of matters which significantly affect the public" (CIJ Bulletin, 1985: 3). CIJ's effectiveness is limited by its rather small membership (about 750).

19. The image of newsworkers as an "old pro": a cynical yet compassionate loner, eccentric, hard-living and effective under pressure is more pervasive among newsworkers than the public. To license these Paladins of virtue would circumscribe their autonomy, impugn their credibility and make it easier to prescribe qualifications. Virtue, idealism and zeal plus an ability

to learn to write in the required style might no longer suffice. Formal requirements to become a licensed newsworker would remove the quirks which separate good newswork from bad.

20. There is a subtler reason for opposing external political agitation. As Bethell (1977: 33) puts it, "the news media [are] part of the government in all but formal constitutional ratification of the fact ... what we are witnessing is the equivalent of a marathon dance, in which media and government lean on each other because they need each other to survive and prosper". This unspoken symbiosis leads to adoption of a "reasonable-seeming and all-pervasive", "relentlessly and strenuously impartial" reportorial style (Bethell, 1977: 34). Licensing or occupational protection would impugn the credibility of a claim to impartiality and reveal a different picture of the news media-government relationship. Cf. comments by Charles Lynch in Knightly (1975: 333).

21. For example, the National Association of Broadcasters' radio (Dary, 1970: 186-187) and television (Dary, 1971: 223-224; Green, 1969: 320-323; Fang, 1968: 220-229) news codes, the RTNDA (Dary, 1971: 227-230; Kittross and Harwood, 1971: 194-196) and Sigma Delta Chi.

22. A theory of social responsibility emerged in the late 1940's from Hutchins Commission (1947) and Hocking (1947), a member of the Hutchins Commission (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, 1974). The influence of Lippmann (1925, 1922-1919) is also evident.

23. Five propositions flow from this premise. (1) The chief purpose of the news media is to raise conflict to the plane of discussion; informing and entertaining audiences to sell goods are necessary, but less important purposes of the news media. (2) Everyone who has something to say has a right to media access. (3) Community opinion, consumer action and professional ethics are the primary means of controlling the news media. (4) Serious invasion of recognized private rights and vital social interests are forbidden. (5) Ownership remains in private hands unless the government has to intervene to insure public service (Siebert, et. al, 1956: Chapter Three). Core propositions of social responsibility allegedly protect clients (i.e., the audience) who, out of necessity, submit to the newsworkers dictates regarding what is covered and how.

24. These ground rules include how newsworkers use source supplied information. Background information, for example, may be used as the newsworker sees fit, but without direct attribution: "according to a source close to the mayor." Deep background information can not be attributed to anyone. If used, the newsworker is the source. "Deep Throat" gave Woodward and Bernstein deep background information. Off-the-record binds the newsworker not to use the information, regardless of source, unless of course someone else says it on-the-record. Newsworkers often use each other as on-the-record, background sources of otherwise off-the-record information.

25. Sources offer junkets (i.e., expense paid trips) in exchange for

coverage. Publishers, record companies, theatres and sports organizations, among others, exchange new products or press passes for coverage. As Black and Whitney (1983: 419) observe, newswriters "may find it difficult to be dispassionate in writing about their hosts." Cf. McFarlane (1955: 79-98).

26. An example of newswriter deceit is Janet Cooke's 1981 Pulitzer Prize winning expose of an eight year old drug addict, for the Washington Post. The child did not exist, Cooke revealed under pressure; he was a composite. She had, plainly, fabricated the story. "In my case," Cooke told Phil Donohue, "the temptation did not derive from ambition. I simply wanted to write a story that I had been working on so that I wouldn't have to go back [to the editors] and say, 'I cannot do it'. I did not want to fail." (Black and Whitney, 1983: 415).

27. According to Stephens (1980: 40), objectivity is "undistorted reporting. That's a working definition for ... an unattainable goal. Journalists are expected to write words that are not distorted by their desire to impress or by their opinions."

28. 68% of television newswriters in Wisconsin said they would take a related job (e.g., public relations, advertising) (Iidsvoog, 1975: 32-33). By level of professionalism, 46% of high and 80% of low professionals would accept a related job; 54% of high level professional newswriters said money did not matter, 20% said they would consider a non-news job if it meant at least a \$4000 increase in their salary. Among low level television news professionals, 15% said money did not matter, 55% said they would take less than \$4000 to leave television news and 53% said it would take more than \$4000.

## Chapter V

### RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS, METHOD, OPERATIONALIZATION

Several themes emerge from the discussion of decision acceptance, organizational structure, professionalism and employee professionalism. While the analytical focus of the decision acceptance literature differs from this study (i.e., organization versus individual), its findings, while not directly comparable with current data, are provocative and useful as guidelines. As a result, it is more effective to consider these themes as propositions to be explored, rather than hypotheses to be tested.

**Propositions.** Regarding organizational structure, Hage and Aiken (1967) and Aiken and Hage (1966) identified an inverse relationship between decision participation and reliance on hierarchy: the more an organization relies on the authority implicit in its hierarchical structure, the less willing it is to allow subordinates to participate in decision processes. The relationship held when other variables were controlling for.

Second, an inverse relationship between decision participation and rule enforcement was found, but, when other variables were controlled for, it reversed direction. Thus, the intervention of job codification and reliance on hierarchy affected, rather dramatically, the relationship between decision participation and rule enforcement.

Third, a positive relationship between between reliance on hierarchy

and job codification emerged in Alken and Hage (1967). This relationship is rather fragile: it disappears when decision participation and rule enforcement are controlled for.

Fourth, a robust relationship was identified between reliance on hierarchy and rule enforcement. This correlation increased in strength when controlling for job codification and decision participation.

Several propositions regarding professionalism emerge from the discussion in Chapter Four. First, when presented with statements reflecting professional and non-professional aspects of newswork, such as those implicit in the McLeod-Hawley Method, more professional newswriters should place significantly more emphasis (ostensibly) on professional and less emphasis on statements of non-professional aspects of their work. Second, more professional newswriters should have more education and more specific education (e.g., journalism education, a professional education). Third, more professional newswriters will display greater concern for professional autonomy, at least in the sense of personal professional autonomy, than will their less professional co-workers.

Propositions reflecting the interaction of organization and profession are implicit in the sociological literature. As Hall (1975) and Kornhauser (1962), among others, argue, less centralized and less formalized organizations will have more professional employees. That is, employees in organizations characterized by (1) a low level of reliance on hierarchical authority and rule enforcement, and (2) a high level of subordinate participation in decisions and job codification will likely be more



professional than those in organizations that (1) rely more on hierarchy authority and strict rule enforcement and (2) allow less subordinate participation in decisions and exhibit less job codification.

Several propositions are also evident regarding the inter-relationships between decision acceptance and organizational structure and professionalism. First, the more emphasis on hierarchy of authority, the weaker the superordinate's informal authority. The weaker the superordinate's informal authority, the less likely decision acceptance. This is especially true in complex organizations (e.g., organizations with employee professionals).

Reliance on hierarchy impedes development of informal authority, especially among professional employees. The collaterals of hierarchy<sup>1</sup> reduce the superordinate's capacity, opportunities and inclination to develop informal relations with professional subordinates or satisfactorily deal with their professional concerns and needs (i.e., develop an expressive leadership role). This relegates the superordinate to the fringes of professional activity — s/he become insulated from professional subordinates. Thus, when an organization places heavy reliance on hierarchical authority, the superordinate provides for the organization (i.e., develops an instrumental role) and decisions are based on what is 'good enough', given the immediate goals of the superordinate (i.e., satisficing). Decisions, therefore, depend on the superordinate's personal needs, goals and capacity for information processing (Bridges, 1970: 8; cf. March and Simon, 1967: 140-141; Simon, 1957). Superordinates originate all decisions and there is little, if any, consideration of decision acceptance among employees.

Needless to say, this situation is dysfunctional. It relegates superordinates to the periphery vis a vis the needs of professionals and the needs of those who rely on professional services provided via the organization. This distances subordinates from superordinates and disconnects professional service from organizational maintenance. Service becomes the domain of subordinates who resist encroachment. Organizational maintenance becomes the domain of superordinates who similarly resist encroachment. Separate rather than shared goals prevail and services are not well provided.

When superordinates are on the periphery, organizational maintenance focuses on routine tasks (e.g., purchasing supplies, scheduling meetings). When this occurs, professionals believe routine tasks are at odds with provision of professional service. From the professional's standpoint, then, the superordinate is more concerned with organizational needs than professional service (i.e., is bureaucratic). The superordinate's authority and ability to elicit acceptance is undermined and the probability of decision acceptance reduced (cp. Clear and Seager, 1971; Chapter 2, passim)

Reliance on hierarchy, moreover, reduces the superordinate's opportunity to cultivate informal authority. S/he is forced to rely on formal authority (i.e., sanctions) to implement decisions. Since formal authority is the superordinate's only option, it is protected (i.e., insulation). Protection precludes subordinates from decision processes. Thus, the superordinate's willingness to allow subordinates to participate in the decision process (i.e., zone of permissibility) is reduced when there is

heavy reliance on hierarchy (cp. Grimes, 1978).

Second, the more subordinates are involved in decision processes the more opportunity superordinates have to cultivate informal authority. When subordinates participate in decisions, superordinates are incorporated into the work group and can not remain on the periphery. Participation means superordinates interact (i.e., communicate) with subordinates. Interaction facilitates development of informal relationships. This facilitates development of informal authority, which increases the probability of decision acceptance (cp. Smith, 1975; Simon, 1957a, 1957b; Barnard, 1938).

When subordinates participate in decisions, superordinates are viewed as less bureaucratic. When superordinates are viewed as less bureaucratic, subordinates believe the organization and the profession share a common goal: provision of professional service (e.g., getting the news out.) Subordinates must also believe responsibility for goal achievement is shared (i.e., the organization, superordinates and subordinates all have reasonably well-defined roles to play — job codification). If goals and responsibility for goal achievement are shared, an amicable interaction develops between subordinates and superordinates. This contributes to shared decision making and greater decision acceptance (cp. Grimes, 1978; Hanson, 1976; Bridges, 1970, 1967).

Moreover, when subordinates participate in decision processes, they are more likely to accept decisions, especially if they have a high personal stake in the decision and the expertise to make a useful contribution (e.g., personal and professional matters). As well, when subordinates are

Involved in decision processes, superordinates learn to recognize acceptable decisions. This contributes to the superordinate's ability to know when to involve professional employees in decisions, which helps reduce decision acceptance through efficient use of informal authority (cp. Grimes, 1978; Hanson, 1976; Bridges, 1970, 1967; Simon, 1957a, 1957b; Barnard, 1938).

Third, job codification, as noted earlier, creates a positive work environment. When subordinates perceive responsibility for goal achievement is shared -- when the organization, superordinates and subordinates have reasonably well defined roles to play in the goal attainment process -- they view superordinates as less bureaucratic. They believe the organization and the profession share a set of common goals. This impels them to accept decisions made by superordinates. Job codification (i.e., establishing goals, how they are to be achieved and who is responsible for achieving them) contributes to the perception of shared responsibility and stabilizes the work environment. Rules and regulations, which specify the parameters of work, tend to reduce uncertainty among subordinates, enhances the probability decisions will be accepted and goals met (cp. Hage and Aiken, 1967; Hage and Aiken, 1966).

When subordinates and superordinates share a set of common goals and responsibility for goal fulfillment is clear, goals are achieved. Goal achievement is conducive to the development of formal and informal authority (i.e., instrumental and expressive leadership) because morale and job satisfaction are high. Moreover, it is easier for superordinates to interact with subordinates in a positive work environment. Informal authority, as a result, flourishes.

Job codification produces a positive work environment in which superordinates freely interact with subordinates and informal authority prevails. As a result, superordinates are willing to allow subordinates to participate in decisions (cp. Hage and Aiken, 1967; Hage and Aiken, 1966).

Fourth, rule enforcement, an aspect of formalization, is proportional to reliance on hierarchy, especially among employee professionals. If rule enforcement is strict, superordinates are denied the opportunity to cultivate informal authority. Organizational maintenance and professional judgment are disconnected. Rules become ends. Subordinates see superordinates as bureaucrats. Professional-bureaucratic conflict ensues. Strict rule observation forces superordinates to rely on formal authority and resist influence attempts by subordinates. As a result, subordinate participation in decision processes is circumscribed (cp. Grimes, 1978; Hanson, 1976; Bridges, 1970, 1967; Simon, 1957a, 1957b; Barnard, 1938).

Employee professionalism exacerbates the potential problems associated with decision acceptance and the influence of organizational structure and professionalism on it. Reliance on hierarchy can lead to a clash of organizational and professional authority. Professional employees, for example, resist organizational encroachment into the professional domain. Organizations resent the influence attempts of professionals. Similarly, the clash of professional and organizational authority impacts the willingness of superordinates to allow subordinates to participate in decision process (cp. Hall, 1975, 1968; Wilensky, 1964; Kornhauser, 1962).

Employee professionals will seek to participate in decisions, especially when it impacts professional concerns. Whether or not they are

allowed to participate, and to what extent, effects decision acceptance (cp. Kornhauser, 1962).

Professionals will also resist strict rule enforcement, especially where it effects the provision of professional services. Service is perceived as the exclusive domain of professionals. While some negotiation on service-related matters is possible, employee professionals will resent organizational attempts to dominate this area (cp. Kornhauser, 1962)..

When professionals are employees, conflict is a distinct possibility. A dual authority system (i.e., organizational and professional), while imperfect, appears optimal in reducing the conflict potential. The effectiveness of dual authority systems, however, is inversely related to extent of bureaucracy: the less bureaucratic the organization, the more successful dual authority systems will be (cp. Hall, 1975, 1968; Kornhauser, 1962).

To review, the central propositions are,

the more reliance on the hierarchy of authority, the less subordinates participation in decision processes;

the more strictly rules are enforcement, the less subordinates participate in decision processes;

the more reliance on hierarchy of authority, the more job codification;

the more reliance on hierarchy of authority, the more rule enforcement;

the more reliance on hierarchy of authority, the less professional (i.e., professionally oriented) employees will be;

the more rules are enforced, the less professional (i.e., professionally oriented) employees will be;

the more subordinates are allowed to participate in decisions,

the more professional (i.e., professionally oriented) employees will be;

the more job codification, the more professional employees will be;

more professional newswriters will emphasize the professional and de-emphasize the non-professional aspects of newswriting;

more professional newswriters will have more education;

more professional newswriters will have more specific education, such as formal newswriting training;

the more an organization relies on hierarchy of authority, the less likely decision acceptance;

the more an organization relies on hierarchy of authority, the less willing superordinates are to allow subordinates to participate in decision processes (i.e., narrower the zone of permissibility);

the more subordinates are allowed to participate in the decision making process, the more likely decision acceptance;

the more job codification, the more likely decision acceptance;

the more job codification, the more willing superordinates are to allow subordinates to participate in decision processes (i.e., wider the superordinate's zone of permissibility);

the more strictly rule observation is enforced, the less likely decision acceptance;

more strictly rules are enforced, the less willing superordinates are to allow subordinates to participate in decision processes (i.e., narrower the zone of permissibility);

the more reliance on hierarchy and the more professional subordinates, the less likely decision acceptance;

the more reliance on hierarchy and the more professional subordinates, the less willing superordinates are to allow subordinates to participate in decision processes (i.e., narrower the superordinate's zone of permissibility);

the less subordinates are allowed to participate in decision processes and the more professional subordinates, the less likely decision acceptance;

the more strictly rules are enforced and the more professional subordinates, the less likely decision acceptance

Some support for these propositions is evident in the literature. With the exception of Stark (1962), the literature reveals little reliance on hierarchical authority in newsrooms. As Stark (1962) showed, reliance on hierarchy undermines news production. The literature also underscores the cooperative nature of news production: it is a team effort. Reliance on hierarchy undermines the cooperation necessary to a successful team effort. Thus, little reliance on the hierarchy of authority likely promotes decision acceptance among newswriters.

The literature evinces considerable decision participation by newswriters. Beat stories, for example, are a solo effort except for a brief conference with the editor over final copy, thus, most, if not all, decisions are made by the newswriter, except the decision to publish. Assigned stories are bi-laterally negotiated (i.e., editor and newswriter). Political stories, particularly campaign stories in which newsroom policy is important, are team efforts involving newswriter, editor and media elite in ostensibly equal roles (Altheide, 1976; Warner, 1971; Matejko, 1970; Breed, 1955)

Given that newsroom policy essentially defines newswriter roles — beat reporters, general news reporters, rewriters, editors — the level of job codification is likely high. With the exception of Stark (1962), there is little indication of strict rule enforcement in newsrooms. Quite the opposite, in fact. Thus, decision acceptance is likely high.

Overall, organizational analyses of newswriting suggest decision acceptance among newswriters, with few exceptions, is the norm. The



literature implies the nature of news and newswork contributes most to decision acceptance. Organizational and professional factors are less important. This contradicts the results of research among other occupations, principally teachers.

The newswork literature thus suggests newsrooms are not highly centralized nor are they highly formalized. More specifically, there will not be a high level of reliance on hierarchy of authority in radio newsrooms, meaningful participation in decision processes will be high, rules will not be strictly enforced and jobs will be sufficiently codified to permit effective execution of tasks and responsibilities.

Most organizational analyses of newsrooms are qualitative, based on limited observation (e.g., one, two or perhaps three newsrooms) and, thus, not widely generalizable. In fact, little methodological progress has been made since Breed (1955; 1952). Findings, moreover, generally echo Breed (1955) and, to a lesser extent, Stark (1962), perhaps because of methodological stagnation (cp. Altheide, 1976).

Examination of newswork professionalism began as speculation: can newswork be a profession? (cf. Gerald, 1963; Schramm, 1957; Lippmann, 1919) It moved to description, which used a sociological framework to qualitatively estimate professionalism (cf. Cohen, 1963; Rivers, 1962; Roston, 1937). Recently, it has settled into quantitative behavioural studies, which operationalize professionalism as a set of Likert-scaled items that facilitate categorizing newsworkers as high, moderate or low professionals, and analytically focus on similarities and differences between high and low professionals — moderate professionals are a transitional

stage (cf. McLeod and Hawley, 1964).

Few studies attempt to integrate organizational and professional concerns and no study has focused on decision acceptance among newswriters. Given the socio-cultural importance of news, a generalizable understanding of the impact of organization and professionalism on newswriters, in particular on their willingness to accept decisions, is needed.

This study contributes, if inchoately and tentatively, to such understanding. Propositions are examined among private sector commercial radio newswriters using a mail questionnaire. Given the paucity of available knowledge about the relationships between decision acceptance and its precipitating phenomena, these are necessarily working hypotheses and, thus, quite tentative. Ideally, this examination will result in more concrete knowledge about decision acceptance, generally, and among newswriters, specifically and provide a firmer grounding for future research.

Data. Data were gathered with a 95-item questionnaire mailed, on 2 January 1986, to a stratified random sample of 623 non-management radio newswriters (i.e., news directors were excluded) drawn from the December 1985 Matthews' List, a tri-annual census of media employees in Canada.<sup>2</sup> The strata were gender, region, language and market size. Region was defined along traditional lines: British Columbia, The Prairies, Ontario, Quebec and Atlantic Provinces. Based on pretest results (Pollard, 1985a), radio markets were defined according to community size, rather than number of commercial stations, as was the case in earlier studies (e.g.,

Pollard, 1982). Thus, a small radio market has less than 30,000 people, a medium market between 30,000 and 90,000 and a large market more than 90,000 residents.

Analysis of the Matthews List revealed 3.2% (14) of commercial radio stations employed one full-time newsworker. S/he, by default, was defined as news director, whether or not the title was used. Given the small number, questionnaires were sent on the presumption these individuals would respond generally and comparison testing would ferret out any implicit bias.

Based on discussions with newsworkers and analysis of the Matthews List, it was assumed the news director was the newsroom superordinate. In cases where the real superordinate was the programme director or general manager, and not the news director, it was advised not to acknowledge it. Newsworkers might tolerate a non-news superordinate, but it was not in the interests of the study to acknowledge that fact or have the newsworker admit to it (e.g., "Who is your supervisor?"). To do so may have adversely effected the response rate or introduced an undetectable source of bias.

The first step in evaluating the applicability of the propositions is operationalizing the concepts.

Operationalization: Dependent Variable. Thirty-two items were adapted from Shilane (1983), Kunz (1973) and Clear and Seager (1971) to form a Decision Acceptance Index (DAI) with three sub-indices: organizational, personal and professional. Item responses range from "Always Accept" to "Never Accept" on a seven-point Likert scale. (See Appendix A) The

organizational decision index (ODI) items are,

1. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the changing or modifying of the way things are currently done in the newsroom?
2. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the planning and content of newsroom staff meetings?
3. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the success of the newsroom?
4. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the assignment of non-work related duties during your regular shift (e.g., attending social functions, meetings, et cetera)?
5. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the assignment of non-work related duties after your regular shift (e.g., attending social functions, meetings, et cetera)?
6. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the setting of shift schedules?
7. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the selection of equipment, supplies and other material specifically related to your work (e.g., tape recorders, typewriters, et cetera)?
8. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the determination of a dress code for newsroom employees during working hours?
9. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the hiring of newsroom employees?
10. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the promotion of newsroom employees?
11. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the conduct of newsroom employees during working hours?
12. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the assignment of news stories?
13. How often would you accept your news director's decision

✓ regarding the setting of deadlines?

The personal decision index (PRDI) items are,

1. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding your political views?
2. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding whether or not you contribute to a charity the station actively supports?
3. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding your religious views?
4. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the friends you have outside work?
5. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding whether or not you smoke?
6. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding your personal grooming (e.g., hair colour, facial hair, et cetera)?
7. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the conduct of newsroom employees during non-working hours?
8. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding your marriage or relationship?
9. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding your involvement in outside activities such as community groups, professional associations, et cetera?

The professional decision index (PDI) items are,

1. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the appropriate way of identifying a newsworthy issues, event or personality?
2. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding of handling a news story?
3. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding how to report an issue, event or personality?

4. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding item selection for your newscast?
5. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the methods used to discipline newsroom employees?
6. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the evaluation of individual news stories?
7. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the evaluation of newsroom employees?
8. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the determination of who should be interviewed as part of your coverage of a news story?
9. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the determination of how to write a particular story?
10. How often would you accept your news director's decision regarding the determination of what facts should be used in a news story you are writing? (See Appendix A, pages 8 and 9)

Neither Shillane (1983) nor Kunz (1973) report problems with DAI items. They, however, focused on teaching, a more developed profession than newswork. Their concerns, moreover, only indirectly dovetail with those of this study. Kunz (1973) was concerned with leadership and Shillane (1983) with the influence of organizational structure and climate on decision acceptance. The reliability and validity of DAI items, as applied to newsworkers, thus remains an empirical question. Still, practitioners and researchers consulted during scale development believed the items effectively captured the essence of the underlying concepts.

Operationalization: Independent Variables. Organizational structure (i.e., bureaucracy) is defined as the degree of centralization and formalization evident in an organization (Hage and Aiken, 1967; Aiken and Hage, 1966). Centralization has two dimensions: (1) participation in decisions regarding

the hiring and promotion of professional employees, and organizational policy; (2) reliance on hierarchy of authority. A Decision Participation Index (PAI) was adapted from Hage and Alken (1966: 78). It involves four seven-point Likert scaled items, ranging from "Always" to "Never":

1. How often do you participate in decisions to hire new newsroom staff?
2. How often do you participate in decisions regarding the modification of newsroom policies?
3. How often do you participate in decisions regarding the promotion of newsroom staff?
4. How often do you participate in decisions regarding the adoption of new newsroom policies? (See Appendix A, pages 5 and 6)

This index is also used as an indicator of the superordinate's willingness to allow subordinates to participate in decision processes (i.e., zone of permissibility). The greater the participation level, the greater the greater the participate level.

Three other indices — reliance on hierarchy of authority, job codification and rule observation — were also adapted from Hage and Alken (1966: 78-79) who based the scales on Hall (1963). Each is a seven-point Likert scale ranging from "Definitely True" to "Definitely Not True".

The reliance on hierarchy of authority index (RHI) involves five items,

1. How true is it that making your own decisions is discouraged in this newsroom?
2. How true is it that employees in this newsroom can do very little unless it is first approved by the news director?

3. How true is it that in this newsroom, even the smallest matters have to be referred to the news director for a final decision?

4. How true is it that any decision you make has to be approved by the news director?

5. How true is it that in this newsroom, you have to ask the news director before you can do almost anything? (See Appendix A, page 7)

Formalization, the second aspect of organizational structure, is also bifurcate: job codification and rule observation. The job codification index (JCI) involves five items,

1. How true is it that in most work-related matters employees in this newsroom can do almost as they please?

2. How true is it that you feel you are your own boss in most work-related matters?

3. How true is it that employees in this newsroom generally make their own rules in most work-related matters?

4. How true is it that in this newsroom, how things are done is left up to the person doing the work?

5. How true is it that anyone in this newsroom can make his/her own decisions without checking with anybody? (See Appendix A, page 6)

RHI and JCI appear similar. The latter seems a reflection of the former. If this is so, a statistically significant inverse correlation should exist between the indices. Aiken and Hage (1966: 502) report a correlation of .14 between the two indices.<sup>3</sup> Shilane (1983: 99) reports a correlation of .56 ( $p < .05$ ) between the indices among a sample of 399 teachers in ten elementary and five secondary schools. In an examination of the reliability and validity of indices used by Hage and Aiken (1967) and Aiken and Hage (1966), Dewar, Whetten and Boje (1980) found RHI and JCI



varied independently, as assumed; the reliability coefficient for RHI ranged from very good ( $\alpha = .7$  to  $.85$ ) to excellent ( $\alpha > .85$ ), while JCI was in the very good range.<sup>4</sup> In a comparative study of measures of organizational structure, Pennings (1973: 694) reported a correlation of  $.50$  ( $p < .05$ ) between RHI and JCI. Thus, while the indices appear similar, the empirical evidence reveals, respondent perceptions of RHI and JCI items vary.

The rule observation or enforcement index (REI) involves two items,

1. How true is it that employees in this newsroom are constantly being checked for rule violations?
2. How true is it that employees in this newsroom feel as though they are constantly being watched to see that they obey all the rules? (See Appendix A, page 7)

Index reliability and validity is discussed in Chapter Six.

A method for assessing the professionalism (i.e., professional orientation) of newswriters has been developed by McLeod and Hawley (1964). The McLeod-Hawley Method acknowledges newswriting as an emerging profession in which practitioners display, in varying degree, the characteristics of true professionals (i.e., doctors, lawyers). A professional newswriter is assumed to possess a distinct point-of-view which emphasizes traditional professional concerns (e.g., service orientation, intellectual activity, autonomy, influence) and de-emphasizes non-professional ones (e.g., monetary reward, job security, prestige, human relations).

These concepts form the basis of a Professional Orientation Index (POI) which requires respondents to rate several Likert-scaled items dealing

with professional norms, values and standards. A seven-point scale, ranging from "Extremely Important" to "Extremely Unimportant", is used to measure these items. The professional (P) items are,

1. How important is having a job that is valuable and essential to my community?
2. How important is an opportunity for originality?
3. How important is full use of my abilities and training?
4. How important is the opportunity to learn new skills and acquire new knowledge?
5. How important is an opportunity for initiative?
6. How important is getting ahead in my professional career?
7. How important is working in a well-known and respected station?
8. How important is respect for the ability and competence of my co-workers?
9. How important is an opportunity to have an influence on the public's thinking?
10. How important is having a supervisor who appreciates the time I spend improving my capabilities?
11. How important is freedom from close continual supervision of my work?
12. How important is a job that makes my station different in some ways because I work for it?
13. How important is having an influence on important decisions?

Items two and five ("originality" and "initiative") constituted a single item in previous applications of the McLeod-Hawley Method, but may involve potentially conflicting concepts. Initiative is, of course, the essence of good reporting. Originality, however, may impugn the objectivity so

essential to notions of professionalism among newswriters. As a result, the item was split, and responses will be examined to see if respondents do, indeed, perceive these concepts as different.

The non-professional (NP) items are,

1. How important is being able to enjoy what is involved in my job?
2. How important is the availability of support: working with people who will stand behind me and who will support me in a tough situation?
3. How important is getting ahead in the organization I work for?
4. How important is working with people rather than things?
5. How important is my job being as permanent as anyone's?
6. How important is earning enough money for a good living?
7. How important is having a job which provides excitement and variety?
8. How important is having a job with prestige in my community?
9. How important is having a job my family is proud of?
10. How important is having a job that does not interfere with my personal life?
11. How important is being with people who are congenial and easy to work with?
12. How important is a job that brings me in contact with important people (e.g., community leaders, politicians). (See Appendix A, pages 4 and 5)

Generally, POI values are computed by subtracting the sum of the Non-professional items from the sum of the Professional items ( $POI = P - NP$ ). Resulting difference scores are trichotomized, respondents are classified according to level of expressed professionalism: high, moderate,

low; and analyses focus on differences among levels of professionalism (cp. Wright, 1976, 1974). This study uses a method, developed by Ferguson (1981), that is based on scores generated through factor analysis to determine POI values, which are then trichotomized.

In the formative study, McLeod and Hawley (1964; cf. Hawley, 1964) argued their method was effective in discriminating among groups of newswriters because, "those having [a professional] outlook tended to exhibit distinctive patterns of cognitive judgment" as demonstrated by differing specific attitudes (p. 538). Replication among a variety of newswriters and other communicators has confirmed the value of the McLeod-Hawley Method. Ward (1966), for example, found more professional advertising agency personnel were more concerned with ethical and evaluative issues. Graff (1971), Coldwell (1974), Lattimore and Nayman (1974) and Idsvoog and Hoyt (1977) all found professional newswriters performed significantly better than their less professional co-workers. Linehan (1970) found more professional newswriters to be more favourable disposed to increased occupational specialization (e.g., science reporting) and shield laws, and demanded greater say in determining content. Wright (1976, 1974a, 1974b) identified considerable discontent and occupational frustration, ostensibly linked to inadequate education and training, among more professional newswriters in Canada. Nayman, McKee and Lattimore (1977), in a comparative study of public relations practitioners and newswriters, found that although both groups placed a high value on professionalism, public relations workers were more concerned with influencing decisions while newswriters stressed performance of a valuable

and essential decision. For the most part, these studies have characterized more professional newswriters as younger and better educated than their less professional co-workers as well as more prevalent in smaller markets and, therefore, generally less experienced and less well paid.

As with all indices, improvements are certainly possible in those being adapted and adopted from Shilane (1983), Kunz (1973) and Clear and Seager (1971), Aiken and Hage (1967), Hage and Aiken (1966) and McLeod and Hawley (1964).<sup>5</sup> As this is the initial application of the organizational and decision indices among newswriters, there is no way of estimating the effect of possible alterations. If other work among newswriters existed, responses could be compared and differences explored. As this is not the case, where possible the indices are adopted intact and modifications that are made will be limited to contextual particulars. Ideally, the analysis will uncover possible shortcomings and offer improvements for future research.

## Chapter Notes

1. For example, limited subordinate involvement in decision making, strict rule observation
2. Minimum sample cell size was the lesser of 5 or universe cell count. Universe refers to the 2,058 radio newswriters employed full-time as of December 1985. If a cell had less than 6 newswriters (e.g., Francophone large market newswriters on the Prairies), each cell member was contacted. The sample represents 30.3% of the universe and the 371 returns 18.03%. (See Appendix C) The questionnaire contained six indices, ten demographic and eleven work-related items (Appendix A). An introductory letter (Appendix B) and a self-addressed, postage-paid envelope were included in the questionnaire package.
3. Aiken and Hage (1966: 502) did not report the significant levels for their statistics because the sixteen organizations and 314 employees involved in their study constituted the universe of pertinent organizations and employees, not a sample.
4. Dewar, Whetten and Boje (1980) was based on four applications of the indices developed by Hage and Aiken (1967) and Aiken and Hage (1966).
5. Leroy (1971) used the bureaucratic indices developed by Hall (1968), as did Hage and Aiken (1966) and Aiken and Hage (1967), to study a sample of television newswriters. He used all 64 items original items whereas Hage and Aiken (1966) and Aiken and Hage (1967) pared it to 16 items without losing much variance. Furthermore, the wording of some items in Leroy (1971) varied from current usage and placement considerations (1-of-16 vis a vis 1-of-64) likely affected responses. Leroy (1971) defined a small universe of 24 newsrooms, cut to 17 after an initial mailing, and had a response rate of 40% to a questionnaire sent to all newswriters in the 17 newsrooms, thus, he had to extrapolate to the population from a base of less than 50% of the sample frame. Given these methods problems and the focus on television newswriters, it was decided to forgo a comparison of the current data with Leroy (1971).

## Chapter VI

### RESPONSE, REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY and DATA DESCRIPTION

This chapter departs from traditional expository style by integrating data description and data precision (i.e., representativeness, indice reliability and validity). As this is the first study of its kind among newswriters, generally, and radio newswriters, specifically, the departure is warranted in order to provide an orderly, thorough and solid foundation on which (1) to make decisions regarding data quality and precision and (2) to examine, in Chapter Seven, the propositions offered in Chapter Five. The chapter thus begins with response rate, then examines sample representativeness in light of pretest and known population parameters followed by a descriptive overview of the sample and discussion of intra-sample trends. The final three sections (1) provide reliability and validity estimates for the professionalism, organizational and decision indices and (2) offer descriptive analyses of the relationships between each indice and newswriter and newsroom characteristics.

Response. Three hundred and seventy-one (371) questionnaires were returned. All are usable. The response rate, 59.6%, is consistent with other studies of radio communicators in Canada (Arminio and Teasdale,

1986; Pollard, 1985a, 1982; Wright, 1976).

One-person newsrooms represent 4.9% (18) of the returns. The larger proportion of returns over mailings (3.2%) is in-line with recent industry trends (Pollard, 1986). Radio newsmen in one-person newsrooms are generally located in small radio markets,<sup>1</sup> but otherwise differ little from their colleagues in larger newsrooms. (See Table 5) [Tables are at end of chapter.]

Representativeness. The distribution of sample characteristics generally fits the pattern evident in both the universe and pretest. (See Table 1) A few sample distributions, however, do not conform with some expectations. Women represent 20.1% of the universe and 29.1% of the sample; they were more likely than men to respond.<sup>2</sup> Small and large markets are underrepresented in the sample and there are more medium market stations than anticipated.<sup>3</sup> Regionally, British Columbia and Ontario are overrepresented; The Prairies, Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces are underrepresented.<sup>4</sup>

Pollard (1985a) was a pretest, of sorts, for this study.<sup>5</sup> It provided benchmarks for comparing some of the current data (i.e., newsmen, newsroom and professional characteristics). (See Table 1) Responses are 68.8% higher for women and 14.5% lower for men than expected, given pretest results.<sup>6</sup> Sample respondents are more educated than those in the pretest.<sup>7</sup> Regionally, Ontario and Quebec are overrepresented; British Columbia, The Prairies and The Atlantic Provinces underrepresented vis a vis the pretest.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, news experience is lower than in the pretest,<sup>9</sup> as are years in current job<sup>10</sup> and number of news jobs.<sup>11</sup>



Some concern about sample representativeness may be warranted. Of particular concern are the disproportional response rates for women (86.4%) and men (47.4%). As Table 3 suggests, women newswriters are younger and more educated, but have less news experience than their male co-workers. Perhaps it is youthful enthusiasm, a respect for research instilled by post-secondary education, a neophytes' idealistic image of the occupation (which apparently wanes with experience; cf. Pollard, 1985a) or a combination of all three that produced a higher response rate among women.

About half (48.1%) the female and a third (34.1%) of the male respondents volunteered comments about their work. More than three-quarters (76.8%) of the women mentioned on-the-job harassment or discrimination. Perhaps the opportunity to anonymously disclose these experiences motivated some women to respond.

Indice responses were examined to ferret out possible gender-based patterns. Whether or not comments were volunteered on the last page of the questionnaire was used as a benchmark with which to compare gender test results. While bivariate and multivariate testing revealed significant gender differences, the differences were consistent with what might be reasonably expected between groups of employees distinguished by variations in age, education and experience rather than purely gender differences. Similarly, differences between commenters and non-commenters were generally consistent with expectations. Commenters were younger, earned less and had less time in their current job than did non-commenters and, thus, may be expected to vary on some indice

Items.

Overall, then, the sample is reasonably representative of the population based on pretest and known population parameters. Remedial action (e.g., weighting) is not warranted.

Sample Description. Tables 2 through 7 reveal intra-sample variations. As expected, Francophone newswriters are centralized in Quebec.<sup>12</sup> (See Table 2 and 4) Newswriters in all regions are more likely to be married than single, widowed, divorced or separated.<sup>13</sup>

The distribution of respondents by market size and station type (i.e., AM, FM, combined AM and FM) vary by region,<sup>14</sup> neither can be considered random. Each is tied to the Canadian population via the CRTC licensing process. Larger communities can support more stations. Larger market resources and competition generally mean more employees. Thus, proportionally more respondents from larger radio markets is not unexpected. Similarly, the CRTC allocates FM licenses ostensibly in proportion to the Canadian population. More populous regions and communities are more likely to have an independent FM or joint AM and FM licenses.<sup>15</sup> (See Tables 2 and 5)

Newswriters in British Columbia have more education than those in other regions, especially the Atlantic Provinces. The root of this variation is post-secondary education. Newswriters in British Columbia are nearly twice as likely to have graduated from a post-secondary programme as are those in the Atlantic Provinces.<sup>16</sup> (See Table 2)

Radio experience does not vary across regions, but news experience does, especially between Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces.<sup>17</sup> Variations in

news experience are linked to whether news was the principal radio career choice; whether a newsworker entered directly into news or pursued a non-news radio career before switching to news.<sup>18</sup> Less than half (44.7%) of newsworkers had at least one non-news radio job before switching to news. More than four-fifths (80.7%) of the non-news jobs were in announcing. Anglophones are more likely than Francophones to have entered directly into news<sup>19</sup> and women are more likely than men to have entered directly into news.<sup>20</sup>

Average time in a non-news job was 2.75 years. Women spent less time in non-news jobs than did men — .67 years compared to 3.3 years.<sup>21</sup> (See Tables 2, 3 and 4) Those who held non-news jobs before entering news are older.<sup>22</sup> They also have more radio experience,<sup>23</sup> more news experience<sup>24</sup> and have been in their current job longer<sup>25</sup> than those who have not had non-news radio jobs. Newsworkers who held non-news jobs before switching to news earn 33.4% more than those who entered directly into news (\$27,137 and \$20,337, respectively).<sup>26</sup>

Table 3 reveals women newsworkers are younger<sup>27</sup> and have more education<sup>28</sup> than men. They also have less radio experience<sup>29</sup> and less news experience<sup>30</sup>, not to mention less time in their current job<sup>31</sup> than do their male colleagues. Since women are younger than their male coworkers and spent longer in school, the variations are not entirely unexpected.

For women, news appears to be the principal career choice. That they are more likely than men to have completed a post-secondary newswork programme supports this finding.<sup>32</sup> For men, news appears to be

second choice. Nearly half (49.8%) of male newswriters are self-recruited from non-news radio jobs, almost all from the ranks of announcers.<sup>33</sup> This is consistent with the findings of Pollard (1982, 1979),

announcing emerges as a career stage rather than a career. Few announcers have more than eight years experience; few are over thirty-five years of age. ... Announcers appear to enter the occupation in their early twenties, possibly enticed by its glamorous public image, and exit by their early thirties. Part of the problem may be the mobility requirement for career advancement. An increase in pay, for instance, and a concomitant extension of responsibilities appear to accompany a change of employer and market. This may place considerable strain on incipient family relationships (1982: 45)

Newswork is relatively stable compared to announcing. For example, newswriters report having up to a dozen different news jobs whereas announcers reported up to 27 jobs (Pollard, 1979). Furthermore, while younger newswriters (i.e., under 28) had, one or, perhaps, two different news jobs, younger announcers had an average four different jobs and as many as nine (Pollard, 1982, 1979). Thus, news is likely an attractive option for announcers who are tired of re-locating and the stress of job security tied to ratings. Announcers, moreover, reported a life-long career interest in radio and, as a result, are likely to seek other radio jobs rather than leave the business. Many who can not or do not want to move into management find their way into news for which they at least have the trade tool skills (e.g., vocal and on-air reading skills).

Francophone newswriters earn sixty percent more than their Anglophone counterparts,<sup>34</sup> have two years more news experience,<sup>35</sup> two years longer in their current jobs,<sup>36</sup> and work in smaller newsrooms.<sup>37</sup> (See Table 4) Differences in news experience are linked to the fact

Francophones generally enter directly into news whereas Anglophones are more likely to hold non-news jobs prior to entering news.

Small market newspeople work in smaller newsrooms, have less news experience and earn less than those in medium and large markets. There are across market variations in radio<sup>38</sup> and news experience,<sup>39</sup> years in current job,<sup>40</sup> number of news jobs,<sup>41</sup> newsroom size<sup>42</sup> and income.<sup>43</sup> (See Table 5)

Francophone respondents are more evident than Anglophones in stand-alone AM stations, which is a by product of the CRTC licensing process discussed earlier.<sup>44</sup> (See Table 6) Newsrooms serving combined AM and FM stations have the the largest staffs.<sup>45</sup> The only significant experience difference among newswriters in different types of stations occurs on number of news jobs held: those in stand-alone AM stations have had fewer news jobs than those working FM or AM-FM combinations.<sup>46</sup>

Over the past decade, the number of FM stations has almost doubled. This has increased the demand for newswriters among stand-alone FM and newly formed AM-FM combinations. Furthermore, new FM and AM-FM combinations are generally in larger markets and thus attractive to newswriters in smaller markets. These stations also have the resources and the inclination to siphon the best and the brightest from existing newsrooms. Moreover, faced with declining audience and revenues over the past decade, AM stations cutback staff. Thus, fewer employees in AM newsrooms is not out of line with recent industry trends. That newswriters in stand-alone AM stations have held fewer news jobs underscores that (1) AM newsrooms are spread across markets, whereas FM

and AM-FM newsrooms tend to be in larger markets where staffs are generally more experienced and (2) smaller market newsrooms are generally staffed by less experienced and otherwise less qualified newswriters.

Some concern about intra-sample biases is perhaps warranted. The regional distribution of respondents is biased. There is significant regional variation on some demographic and work-related attributes. Francophone respondents, as expected, are centralized in Quebec. British Columbia newswriters have more education than those in other regions, especially the Atlantic Provinces. Newswriters in Quebec earn the most; those in the Atlantic Provinces the least. The distribution of respondents by market size, while regionally biased, is consistent with the distribution of stations by market size, which is a result of the CRTC licensing process. Moreover, large market stations usually have more employees. Thus, proportional variations in the distribution of newswriters by market size are in-line with expectations. The distribution of station types (i.e., AM, FM, AM-FM combinations) is similarly explained. Finally, there is apparent regional bias in news experience. This variation and those evident between the sample and the pretest on education, news experience, years in current job and number of news jobs likely reflect the greater precision of a substantially larger sample (sample, 371; pretest, 99).

Overall, then, implicit sample biases are generally explainable and do not warrant remedial action (e.g., weighting). (See Table 7)

Professionalism Indices. As argued in Chapter Four, newswriting does not meet the structural prerequisites of a profession. This, however, does not preclude newswriters from embracing professional attitudes and exhibiting

a professional orientation. Attitudinally, it is plausible some newswriters are more professional than some doctors or lawyers. For this study, newswriters are assumed to be professionals, specifically, employee professionals who, by virtue of attitudinal predisposition and/or bestowed honourific status, are accorded professional status, at least in the employing organization. This section examines the reliability and validity of the professionalism indices and provides a descriptive analysis of the relationships between the indices and newswriter and newsroom characteristics.

Twenty-five items captured information on the professionalism of newswriters. (See Appendix A) These data form the basis of a Professional Orientation Index (POI) developed by McLeod and Hawley (1964). Table 8 displays the mean and standard deviation for POI items and compares sample and pretest (Pollard, 1985a: 276-288) responses. Between study mean response differences are evident on thirteen of the twenty-items.<sup>47</sup> As with some demographic and work-related items, these differences likely result from different sized samples (371 versus 99).

One POI item, "opportunity for originality and initiative", involved allegedly contradictory newswriter values. (See Chapter Five) Initiative is clearly basic to newswriting. Originality, however, may impugn objectivity. Furthermore, how do respondents deal with the bifurcated item? How do they respond if, for example, they believe initiative is important and originality is unimportant? Whatever the response, it must be interpreted as applying to both initiative and originality without any apparent basis for doing so.

To determine if respondents did, indeed, see initiative and originality as conceptually different, the item was dichotomized and the resulting items separated on the questionnaire. (See Appendix A) Item responses were correlated; mean differences were not significant.<sup>48</sup> Respondents saw little difference between initiative and originality. To bring current POI items in line with the pretest and other studies using the McLeod-Hawley Method, the two items were combined. (See Table 8)

As Ferguson (1981) observes, one shortcoming of research using the McLeod-Hawley Method is a failure to consider POI reliability and validity issues. Reliability assumes observed scores combine a true score with an error score. A reliable measure has a small error component and does not fluctuate from respondent to respondent; it is consistent. Reliability estimates, therefore, are concerned with the internal consistency of a scale (Kidder, 1981: 126-129).

Validity asks if a scale, for example, measures what it is supposed to measure. An index can be reliable, but invalid for intended purposes. A classic case of reliability without validity involved application of the Stanford-Binet IQ test to black children in Harlem. Test results were reliable, but because the test was based on the dominant white normative structure and ensuing life experiences, black children scored consistently and significantly lower than white children elsewhere. For Harlem blacks, the Stanford-Binet test was invalid, as was the Black Intelligence Test for Children of Harlem when given to white children elsewhere (cp. Gould, 1981; Kidder, 1981: 129-143).

Lack of interest in reliability and validity issues among researchers



using the McLeod Hawley Method is largely due to the widespread use of the POL. Lattimore (1972) is typical in dismissing reliability concerns,

since the professionalism questionnaire has been used several times previously, its reliability already has been established (p. 202)

Most applications of the McLeod Hawley Method evince a strong need for active consideration of POI reliability. Based on the fundamental assumption of the McLeod Hawley Method — professional and non-professional items are inversely, if at all, related — most studies simply subtract the sum of the non-professional items from the sum, or twice the sum, of the professional items (Ferguson, 1981: 18). The resulting POI difference scale is assumed to be a reliable and valid. Seldom, however, is the assumption well-founded or supported by systematic analysis.

Since the McLeod Hawley Method combines two theoretically distinct indices, the first step in determining POI reliability is to establish the reliability of each index. Cronbach's Alpha,

$$np/[1 + (p(n - 1))],$$

where  $n$  is the number of index items and  $p$  is the mean interitem correlation, is an efficient estimate of reliability for single administrations of Likert-scaled items (cf. Carmines and Zeller, 1979; Cronbach, 1951).  $p$  for the professional items is .187 and .206 for the non-professional items. Alpha for the Professional Index is .758 ( $p < .001$ ) and .757 ( $p < .001$ ) for the Non-professional Index.<sup>49</sup> The reliability of the POI is estimated by,

$$DSR = re_x + re_y - 2r_{xy} / 2 - 2r_{xy},$$

where DSR is the estimate of difference score reliability,  $re_x$  is a

reliability estimate for the first set of scores (e.g., professional items),  $r_y$  is a reliability estimate for the second set of scores (e.g., non-professional items) and  $r_{xy}$  the correlation between the sum of  $x$  and  $y$  (e.g., sum of professional item scores and sum of non-professional item scores). Given  $r_{xy} = .553$  ( $p < .001$ ),  $DSR = .435$  ( $p < .02$ ). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume the Professional, Non-professional and the overall Professional Orientation (POI) indices are statistically reliable measures.

Whereas reliability is concerned with internal consistency, validity is concerned with determining if a measurement tool does its job. Does the POI developed by McLeod and Hawely (1964) measure newsworker professionalism, as it purports to. The answer begins with testing the central assumption of the McLeod Hawley Method: a professional newsworker will emphasize items defined as professional and de-emphasize those defined as non-professional. An inverse correlation is expected between the sum of the professional and the sum of the non-professional items. No correlation between the two sums will also support the validity of the method.

As already reported, the two sums are positively correlated ( $r = .553$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Newsworkers who perceive the importance of professional items to be high also perceive the importance of non-professional items to be high. The two indices apparently do not measure antithetical phenomenon, a finding shared by most studies using the McLeod Hawley Method (Ferguson, 1981). On this level, then, the McLeod Hawley Method does not measure what it purports to measure.

Another estimate of validity involves examining the infrastructure of

the twenty-four POI items using factor analysis. If the McLeod Hawley Method is valid, a set of pure dimensions comprised exclusively of professional or non-professional items should emerge. Ferguson (1981: 4, 5) reports pure dimensions are rare; mixed dimensions, comprised of professional and non-professional items, are typical.

As Table 9 reveals, two pure and two mixed dimensions, involving 21 of 24 POI items, emerged from the factor analysis.<sup>50</sup> Overall, the four orthogonal dimensions account for 50.6% of the POI variance.

Nearly a fifth of the variance is explained by the first dimension, which includes five professional and three non-professional items reflecting concern for competence, collegiality and job attributes. (See Table 9) Competence and collegiality are typical professional concerns. Enjoying work and working with people not things, while called non-professional by McLeod and Hawley (1964), do not necessarily reflect a lack of professionalism. Professionals should enjoy their work, given the depth of enculturation they are assumed to acquire via professional training. Since professionals are unlikely to abandon their occupations, job enjoyment is likely high. Whether one works with things or people, it seems, has little relevance for professionalism. Some professionals work with things (e.g., computer or mechanical engineer), others with people (e.g., psychologist, teacher). Arguably, some doctors work with things not people without undermining their professionalism. Surgical skills, for example, are thing rather than people oriented.

The items constituting this dimension reflect what might be expected of professional employees: concern for competence and growth,

colleagial relations and work performed not for the benefit of client and profession, but the continuance of employing organization. This mixed dimension, therefore, is not inconsistent with the milieu of newswriters: employee professionals in profit-seeking organizations.

A seventh of the variance is explained by a pure dimension of four non-professional items that reflects on- and off-the-job social benefits of being a newswriter. This dimension is consistent with expectations of the McLeod Hawley Method regarding non-professional item clustering.

Slightly more than an eleventh of the variance is explained by the third dimension, which includes one professional and four non-professional items. This dimension clearly reflects the importance of career-related personal rewards among radio newswriters and is generally consistent with McLeod Hawley Method expectations regarding non-professionals. Perhaps among professional employees, such as newswriters, a mingling of professional and organizational career concerns is inevitable and not necessarily non-professional (cp. R. Hall, 1986; Merton, 1968; Glaser, 1965; Kornhauser, 1964; Scott, 1962; Gouldner, 1958, 1957; O Hall, 1954).

One-fourteenth of the variance is explained by a dimension of four professional items, reflecting the importance of the impact of professional work and the necessity of autonomy for newswriters. This dimension is consistent with the expectations of the McLeod Hawley Method.

Since two pure and two mixed dimensions emerged, some concern with POI validity may be warranted. The social, impact and autonomy, and careerism dimensions, however, are generally consistent with the McLeod Hawley Method. This is especially true when the employee status

of newswriters is considered, the importance of which is evinced by the professional employee dimension which explains the largest amount of variance.

It is, therefore, more effective to view POI items as a single dimension: professionalism or, perhaps more precisely, employee professionalism among newswriters; rather than the two antithetical dimensions proposed by McLeod and Hawley (1964). As a result, the traditional POI calculation,

$(2P - NP)$  where  $P$  is the sum of professional item scores and  $NP$  is the sum of non-professional item scores.  $P$  scores are doubled to eliminate negative POI values (Ferguson, 1981: 18),

is inappropriate. An index involving all twenty-four items will more precisely reflect the relative attitudinal employee professionalism of radio newswriters, especially if each item contributes to the index in proportion to the extent it covaries with the single dimension. To this end, an index is constructed using the following formula, suggested by Ferguson (1981: 18),

$$\text{SUM} [(Item_1 * Item_1 \text{ dimension loading}) + \dots (Item_{24} * Item_{24} \text{ dimension loading})]$$

The overall professional index is based on a one-dimension solution. Separate indices are similarly calculated for each of the four dimensions emerging from the factor analysis of McLeod Hawley POI items and based on loadings displayed in Table 9. Tables 10 through 14 display demographic, work-related and newsroom characteristics by trichotomized versions of each professionalism related scale.

PROFESSIONALISM INDEX (PI) scores range from 34.9 to 72.4 with

a mean of 58.5 and a median and a mode of 58.3. As Table 10 reveals, high professionals (HP's), those scoring in the top third of the PI range, have less education<sup>51</sup> and earn less<sup>52</sup> than low professionals (LP's), those scoring in the bottom third of the PI distribution. This is consistent with pretest findings (Pollard, 1985a: 273), but not with other applications of the McLeod Hawley Method. Influencing these findings, but not evident in Table 10, is an inverse correlation between radio experience and PI scores: the less radio experience, the higher the PI score.<sup>53</sup> This is also consistent with pretest findings. As well, the less education, specifically no post-secondary education, the more professional. The finding that education and experience detract from professionalism among radio newsmen tends to contradict the literature.<sup>54</sup>

HP's are most prevalent in newsrooms serving AM and FM stations while LP's are equally evident in stand-alone AM or FM newsrooms.<sup>55</sup> (See Table 10) Newsrooms serving combined AM-FM stations are usually larger operations in larger markets. As a result, they are attractive to professional and non-professional alike, but have the resources to select only the best newsmen (i.e., HP's). Stand-alone AM stations, on the other hand, are distributed across markets and likely include newsmen whose skills are under or poorly developed, thus, impeding their advancement.

The PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEE (PE) index reflects the general trends evident in the PI. (See Table 11) PE scores range from 7.6 to 34.4 with a mean of 30.1, a median of 30.3 and a mode of 34.4. Newsmen scoring low on PE have more education<sup>56</sup> and earn more<sup>57</sup> than their

colleagues who score higher on this factor-based index.

Scores on the SOCIAL Index (SOC) range from 3.7 to 27 with a mean of 18.1, a median of 18.6 and a mode of 26. Francophone newswriters are likely to be low on the SOCIAL Index whereas Anglophones are likely to be in the moderate or high range.<sup>58</sup> (See Table 12) Furthermore, those low on this Index earn more<sup>59</sup> and the less radio experience a newswriter has, the higher the score on this factor-based index.<sup>60</sup>

CAREERISM Index (CAR) scores range from 3.1 through 21.9 with a mean of 16.9, a median of 17.1 and a mode of 20.9. As with the SOC index, Francophones are low on this index while Anglophones tend to score in the moderate to high range.<sup>61</sup> (See Table 13) Again, those on the low end of the Index earn more than other newswriters.<sup>62</sup> CAR Index items are also more important to newswriters in Ontario than elsewhere in Canada.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, the less radio experience<sup>64</sup> and the less news experience,<sup>65</sup> the higher the score on this Index.

Finally, IMPACT and AUTONOMY (IA) Index scores range from 4.8 to 19 with a mean of 13.8, a median of 14 and a mode of 19. Francophones are likely to be low on this index and Anglophones moderate or high.<sup>66</sup> (See Table 14) Incomes also vary among categories of this Index with those in the low group earning more than those in the moderate or high groups.<sup>67</sup> As well, newswriters who are in the low Index category work in larger newsrooms than those who are in the moderate or high Index groups.<sup>68</sup>

Previous studies using the McLeod Hawley Method have

characterized more professional newswriters as younger, more educated, more prevalent in smaller media markets, less experienced and less well paid than other newswriters. This suggests those who score high on professional indices (i.e., PE, PI, IA), should be younger, have more education, work in smaller markets, have less radio and news experience and earn less than those who score low.

Current data offer limited support for these expectations. Newswriters high on all professionalism-related facets earn less than those who rank low on them. Furthermore, those who are high on two professional indices (PI, PE) have less education than those who are low.

Income is linked to education. Those who graduated from a journalism-related programme earn less than those who studied in other areas.<sup>69</sup> Those who have a bachelor's or master's degree score lower on the SOC index than those who have a community college diploma or a bachelor's and a community college diploma.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, on the CAR index, community college graduates score higher than university graduates.<sup>71</sup>

A professional education adversely impacts income and a community college education heightens concern for the SOC and CAR facets of newswriter professionalism. For 81.7% of respondents, a professional education means graduating from a community college. Thus, attending community college has dual effects: it leads to below average earnings and an enhanced concern for social benefits facet of newswriter professionalism.

Perhaps, it is low income coupled with a pragmatic perception that



the essence of the social facet can enhance income opportunities, within or without the profession, that produces the bifurcated effects structure (i.e., a conduit to news sources or, maybe, a public relations job). This viewpoint, according to news reports, is not uncommon among post-secondary graduates, today. On the other hand, perhaps these anomalous findings are shaped by intervening influences (e.g., organizational structure or the interaction of demographic, work-related and organizational influences).

Organizational Structure Indices. Decision acceptance is linked to the social arrangements evident in an organization, especially those reinforcing legitimacy, cooperation and trust relations between superordinates and subordinates. Organizational structure thus plays a vital role in the decision acceptance process. An overly rigid organization, for example, has more difficulty in realizing decision acceptance than a more flexible organization. This section examines the reliability and validity of the organizational indices and provides a descriptive analysis of the relationships between the indices and newsworker and newsroom characteristics.

Sixteen items solicited newsworker perceptions of the organizational structure of newsrooms. (See Appendix A) These data are the basis of four distinct Likert-scaled indices that estimate the degree of centralization and formalization. Centralization involves two indices: reliance on hierarchy of authority and decision participation. Formalization involves indices focusing on job codification and rule enforcement. (See Table 15)

Each of the four indices is statistically reliable. Cronbach's Alpha for the reliance on hierarchy of authority index is .89 ( $p < .001$ ); for the decision participation index .8 ( $p < .001$ ); job codification index .87 ( $p < .001$ ); and for the rule enforcement index .76 ( $p < .001$ ). Index measurements are consistent, vary little from respondent to respondent and the implicit error component in each index is relatively small.

Index validity involves using factor-analysis to test the underlying assumption of these sixteen items. If the items measure theoretically distinct aspects of organizational structure, as Hage and Aiken (1967) and Aiken and Hage (1966) claim, the factor-analysis should produce four pure, orthogonal dimensions -- one for each of the indices. As Table 16 reveals, this is the case and the organizational structure indices may be considered valid.

Factor loadings are again used to enhance index precision. Tables 17 through 20 display demographic, work-related and newsroom characteristics by trichotomized versions of each organizational structure index.

RELiance ON Hierarchy OF Authority INDEX (RHI) scores range from 3.9 through 27.3 with a mean of 8.9, a median of 7.3 and a mode of 3.9; the perception is of less rather than more reliance on hierarchical authority in radio newsrooms. As Table 17 reveals, perceptions of reliance on hierarchy varies among men and women, some aspects of news experience and station type. Women and men perceive a moderate level of reliance on hierarchy in their newsrooms, but men are almost twice as likely as women to perceive a low level of hierarchical reliance,<sup>72</sup>

which, in turn, is linked to work experience: the less radio experience, the greater the perceived newsroom reliance on hierarchy.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, the less news experience<sup>74</sup> and the fewer news jobs held,<sup>75</sup> the greater the perceived newsroom reliance on hierarchy. Newswriters in stand-alone AM stations perceive the newsroom reliance on hierarchy as low to moderate while those in stand-alone FM stations perceive it as moderate to high.<sup>76</sup>

JOB CODIFICATION INDEX (JCI) scores ranged from 3.8 through 26.6 with a mean of 15.8, a median of 15.9 and a mode of 25.6: the perception is of a moderate level of job codification. Perception of job codification in newsrooms varies according to language, region of work and two aspects of news experience. (See Table 18) Francophone newswriters are likely to see the level of job codification in their newsrooms as low while Anglophones see it as moderate to high.<sup>77</sup> Newswriters who perceive job codification to be either low or high earn less than those who perceive it to be in the moderate range.<sup>78</sup> Regionally, newswriters in BC and on the Prairies see a high level of job codification in their newsrooms; those in Ontario and the Atlantic Provinces see it as moderate while those in Quebec see job codification as low.<sup>79</sup> Finally, the less time a newswriter has spent in the current job<sup>80</sup> and the fewer news jobs s/he has had,<sup>81</sup> the greater the level of perceived job codification.

DECISION PARTICIPATION INDEX (PAI) scores range from 3.4 to 23.5 with a mean of 10.7, a median of 9.3 and a mode of 3.4; perceptions are of less rather than more newswriter participation in newsroom decisions. As Table 19 reveals, reports of decisions participation in newsrooms vary by income group, region and three aspects of news

experience. Those reporting moderate decision participation earn more than those reporting either low or high participation.<sup>82</sup> Regionally, newswriters in BC, on the Prairies and in Quebec generally report decision participation to be high while those in Ontario see it as low and those in the Atlantic Provinces see it as moderate.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, more radio experience<sup>84</sup> and more years in the current job<sup>85</sup> are associated with perceptions of more decision participation. Not unexpectedly, newswriters in smaller newsrooms report a greater role in decision processes than do newswriters in larger newsrooms.<sup>86</sup>

RULE ENFORCEMENT INDEX (REI) scores range from 1.6 through 11 with a mean of 3.8, a median of 3.3 and a mode of 1.6: the perception is of less rather than more rule enforcement in radio newsrooms. As Table 20 reveals, variations in responses to this two item index varied by region and station type. Regionally, newswriters in BC and on the Prairies see little rule enforcement in their newsrooms, those in Ontario and Quebec see a moderate amount and those working in the Atlantic Provinces see a high degree of rule enforcement.<sup>87</sup> Newswriters in stand-alone AM and FM newsrooms report moderate rule enforcement while those in newsrooms serving AM-FM combinations are split between low and high perceptions of rule enforcement.<sup>88</sup>

Experience effects perceptions of the centralization and formalization evident in radio newsrooms: more experienced newswriters see less centralization and formalization than do less experienced newswriters. Overall, experience is associated with perceptions of little reliance on the hierarchy of authority, little job codification and little rule

enforcement and, by virtue of experience, more frequent participation in newsroom decisions. The evidence thus suggests some radio newswriters, by virtue of experience, can ignore what their less experience colleagues can not.

Gender, regional and language variations in organization perceptions are linked to variations in relevant experience. Women generally have less relevant experience than their male counterparts. (See Table Three) While only news experience varied meaningfully across regions, other aspects of relevant work experience ostensibly vary sufficiently, if not significantly, to affect perceptions of newsroom organization. (See Table Two) This is most evident in language variations. (See Table Four)

Decision Acceptance Indices. The probability a subordinate will perceive as legitimate and, as a result, implement a unilateral decision made by a superordinate (i.e., decision acceptance) is the principal concern of the study. An inventory of decisions, operationalized as Likert-scaled items, was adapted from Shilane (1983), Kunz (1973) and Clear and Seger (1971). Overall, there are 32 decision acceptance items covering three areas: professional judgment, organizational matters and personal concerns. (See Appendix A) This section examines the reliability and validity of the decision indices and provides a descriptive analysis of the relationships between the indices and newswriter and newsroom characteristics.

Each of the decision acceptance indices was found to be statistically reliable. (See Table 21). Alpha for items comprising the acceptance of decisions in the professional area is .92 ( $p < .001$ ), .89 ( $p < .001$ ) for items addressing decisions concerning organizational matters and .76 ( $p < .001$ )

for items in the personal area.<sup>89</sup>

If decision acceptance items validly comprise three separate decisions areas, as Shilane (1983), Kunz (1973) and Clear and Seger (1971) claim, a factor analysis should produce three pure, orthogonal dimensions — one for each of the assumed areas. Table 22 displays results of the factor analysis performed to test decision acceptance item validity. Two of the three dimensions are mixed. One organizational item, "assignment of non-work related duties during work hours", loaded on the professional dimension and another, "assignment of news stories", loaded on both the professional and organizational dimensions. Two professional items, "methods used to discipline newsrooms employees" and "evaluation of newsroom employees" slipped into the organizational dimension. The third dimension, dealing with decisions in the personal area, is pure.<sup>90</sup>

Given the analysis of professional data, the overlapping items are not entirely out of line, that is, they are generally consistent with theoretical positions regarding employee professionals. The examples of non-work related duties that might be assigned by the news director during regular work hours are, perhaps, interpreted as public relations oriented (e.g. attending social functions, meetings). Given the prominence of SOC and CAR indices, it is not surprising this decision item fell in the professional area. That this decision is seen as professional is consistent with the employee professional perceptions of radio newswork.

The assignment of stories is a major concern of profession and organization. The profession's concern with assignments likely focuses on the integrity of the work while the organizational concerns are with

effective use of personnel and assured supply of news (cp. Warner, 1971, 1970; Matejko, 1970; Breed, 1955). It is, therefore, consistent for "assignment of news stories" to overlap professional and organizational dimensions.

Respondents perceive two decisions in the professional area, "methods to discipline newsroom employees" and "evaluation of newsrooms employees" as organizational responsibilities. Again, not surprisingly, given the employee professional status of newswriters. If newswriting was an ostensibly independent profession such as medicine or law, discipline and evaluation would be the sole responsibility of the profession. Since it is an employee profession, these responsibilities are transferred to, or perhaps shared with, the organization because, as argued by Hall (1975) and Kornhauser (1962) among others, the organization will make most, if not all, enforceable decisions about employees, whether the profession likes it or not.

While some adulteration is evident in the indices, it is not necessarily out of line. As a result, professional, organizational and personal decision indices were constructed using the item factor loadings displayed in Table 22. Tables 23 through 25 display newswriter and newsroom characteristics by trichotomized versions of the three decision indices.

As Table 23 reveals, willingness to accept decisions in the professional index (PDA) varies among language, age and income groups, across markets and regions and according to work experience. PDA scores range from 7 through 49.3 with a mean and median of 32.2 and a mode of

13.9. Francophones are clearly less willing than Anglophones to accept a superordinate's decision in the professional area.<sup>91</sup> There is an inverse correlation between professional decision acceptance and age, which is only partially evident in Table 23: younger respondents more willingly accept such decisions.<sup>92</sup> Similarly, the more a newsworker earns, the less willing s/he to accept a superordinate's decisions in the professional area.<sup>93</sup>

Newsworkers in smaller markets are more willing than those in larger markets to accept professional decisions.<sup>94</sup> Consistent with Francophone reluctance to accept professional decisions, newsworkers in Quebec exhibit less willingness to accept these decisions than do those in other regions.<sup>95</sup> Younger newsworkers generally have less relevant experience, thus, inverse correlations between willingness to accept professional decisions and radio experience,<sup>96</sup> news experience,<sup>97</sup> years in current job<sup>98</sup> and number of news jobs<sup>99</sup> are not unexpected.

There are similar patterns evident between willingness to accept decisions in the organizational index (ODA) and language,<sup>100</sup> income,<sup>101</sup> region,<sup>102</sup> radio experience<sup>103</sup> and news experience.<sup>104</sup> (See Table 24) Furthermore, respondents in smaller newsrooms are less willing and those in larger newsrooms are more willing to accept organizational area decisions.<sup>105</sup> ODA scores range from 6.9 through 48.25 with a mean of 36.3, a median of 37 and a mode of 27.6.

The general pattern of decision acceptance extends to the personal area (PRDA). (See Table 25) Francophones are less willing than Anglophones to accept superordinate's decisions concerning their personal life,<sup>106</sup> as are older newsworkers.<sup>107</sup> For the first time, decision acceptance is influenced



by education: the more education, the less willing a newsworker is to accept a superordinate's decisions that effect his or her personal life.<sup>108</sup> Furthermore, newsworkers in small and large markets more willingly accept personal area decisions than do those in medium markets.<sup>109</sup> There is a higher level of personal decision acceptance among newsworkers with more radio experience<sup>110</sup> and more time in the current job,<sup>111</sup> while there are correlations between news experience,<sup>112</sup> number of news jobs<sup>113</sup> and willingness to accept decisions in the personal area. PRDA scores range from 11.7 through 27.2 with a mean of 25.5, a median of 26.6 and a mode of 27.2.

Overall, the tendency is toward decision acceptance. Nearly two-thirds (65.2%) of PDA decisions will be accepted as will 75.3% of ODA and 93.8% of PRDA decisions. Clearly, the zone of acceptance is wide, extremely wide, among radio newsworkers. Given the relative inexperience of this workforce, this finding may not be out of line. Neophyte newsworkers have a lot to learn about the work and acceptance, especially of professional and organizational decisions, is part of the learning process. Insecurity, stemming from inexperience, may also contribute to acceptance. Moreover, a central theme of the literature — getting the news out supersedes all other newsroom priorities including professionalism and personality — predicts a high degree of decision acceptance among newsworkers.

Nonetheless, the level of willingness to accept decisions in the personal domain was not anticipated. Some independence is anticipated among professionals, employed or otherwise. This is not the case among

newswriters.

Perhaps PRDA responses reflect concern with the professional or organizational implications of the items and not simply personal concerns. The friends one has outside work may have professional or organizational implications, especially for less experience newswriters. If the people in question are news sources or topics, reporting might be influenced by the friendship. If they are reputed gangsters or otherwise undesirables, this may reflect on the station. Obviously, political and religious views can affect work, especially if they are uncritically embraced or if the employee is disposed to proselytizing his or her views among co-workers or injecting personal opinion into newscasts, et cetera.

Every newswriter deals with these ethical and moral dilemma, which underscores their personal nature. More experienced newswriters, however, may be more aware of the implications. Strong union contracts insulate Quebec radio newswriters from domination by superordinates while those in other regions generally lack such protection. This is clearly evinced by the low level of decision acceptance evident among Francophone newswriters and newswriters in Quebec, generally. (See Tables 23 through 25) Furthermore, as Professor Peter Johansen, of the School of Journalism at Carleton University (Ottawa) suggests, "a news director may feel compelled to deliberately broach these issues with less experienced newspeople as part of the learning process" (personal conversation), in which case PRDA items may take aura of professional or organizational issues.

If the professional and organizational implications of decisions are,

in fact, principal operational considerations in PRDA item responses, a factor-analysis should reveal a distribution of PRDA across professional and organizational dimensions. This did not occur. Professional and organizational items loaded on one item that included a negative loading of one personal item, "personal grooming". Eight of the nine personal items, including "personal grooming", loaded together on a second item characterized by a positive loading of an organizational item, "promotion of newsroom employees" and the negative loading of a professional item, "determination of what facts should be used in a news story". Items pre-designated as personal clearly constitute a separate decision area and "personal grooming" has cross-over implications.

Summary. This chapter departed from traditional expository style by integrating data description with consideration of data precision (i.e., sample representativeness, index reliability and validity). As this is the first study of its kind among newswriters, the departure was justified as a means of providing an orderly, thorough and solid foundation on which (1) to make decisions regarding data precision and (2) to examine, in the next chapter, the propositions proffered in Chapter 5.

The level of data precision is acceptable. Indices are statistically reliable and, for the most part, demonstrably valid. The Professional Orientation Index (POI) did not produce exactly the expected results, however, a factor-analysis of POI items suggested a recasting of expectations was in order.

As suggested in Chapter 4, newswriters are employee professionals. A majority work in organizations (e.g., radio or television station,

newspaper, magazine, wire service). What constitutes professionalism among newswriters, as a result, need not match expectations based on the mythical solo medical or legal practitioner. The exigencies of career fulfillment among employee professionals necessarily means getting ahead in the profession and the organization, job security, reasonable earnings, concern with competence and collegiality, growth and development, among other things. A commingling of such ostensibly antithetical concerns was confirmed by a factor-analysis of POI items. (See Table 9) That the professional and non-professional indices are correlated confirms the relative importance of all items among radio newswriters and supports the notion of the POI as an estimate of employee professionalism, not just professionalism, among newswriters. (See Tables 26 and 27)

A factor-analysis of the sixteen organization items confirmed expectations of four distinct indices of organizational structure, reflecting aspects of centralization: reliance on hierarchy of authority (RHI) and decision participation (PAI); and formalization: job codification (JCI) and rule enforcement (REI). Generally, newswriters perceive less rather than more reliance on hierarchical authority, decision participation and rule enforcement and more rather than less job codification. These findings are consistent with expectations based on earlier work (cp. Tuchman, 1979; Warner, 1971, 1970; Matejko, 1970; Edelstein, 1966; Stark, 1962; Rivers, 1962; Breed, 1955).

The extent of decision acceptance is high. This is true of the overall decision index and concerning professional judgment, organizational matters and personal issues. Given the limited variation in decision

acceptance, the impact of professionalism and organizational structure, not to mention the ability to test for such effects, may be impugned. This is the focus of Chapter 7.

## Chapter Notes

1.  $X^2$  (2) = 29.6,  $p < .001$ . Throughout the paper, and with few exceptions, significant test results ( $p < .05$ ) are reported; non-significant results ( $p > .05$ ) are not reported. Degrees of freedom are parenthesized following test designation.
2. Response rates: 86.4% among women; 47.4% among men.  $X^2$  (1) = 18.8,  $p < .001$ . (Goodness-of-fit)
3.  $X^2$  (2) = 9.51,  $p < .01$ . (Goodness-of-fit)
4.  $X^2$  (4) = 10.7,  $p < .03$ . (Goodness-of-fit)
5. The pretest, and examination-for-discover of sorts, involved a 78 items questionnaire covering newsworker, newsroom and professional attributes mailed to 302 and returned by 184 (57.6%) radio, television and daily newspaper newspeople in Canada. Based on pretest results, it was decided to focus on radio newsworkers since they were ostensibly more heterogeneous than other newsworkers, more accessible and, given pretest returns, more inclined to complete and return questionnaires (cf. Pollard, 1982, 1979).
6.  $X^2$  (1) = 36.96,  $p < .01$ . (Goodness-of-fit)
7.  $z = 2.03$ ,  $p < .05$ .
8.  $X^2$  (4) = 377.3,  $p < .01$ . (Goodness-of-fit) Language of work was not considered in the pretest — only Anglophone newsworkers were involved — thus Quebec was not a factor. When Quebec is removed from the analysis, the sample overrepresents Ontario and The Atlantic Provinces and underrepresents British Columbia and The Prairies ( $X^2$  (3) = 56.96,  $p < .01$ . (Goodness of fit)). Other comparisons are unchanged.
9.  $z = 8.25$ ,  $p < .001$ .
10.  $z = 3.23$ ,  $p < .002$ .
11.  $z = 7.84$ ,  $p < .002$ .
12.  $X^2$  (4) = 198.7,  $p < .001$ .
13.  $X^2$  (8) = 16.76,  $p < .04$ . Widowed, divorced and separated are hereafter referred to as "other".
14. Market size by region  $X^2$  (8) = 17.36,  $p < .03$ ; station type by region  $X^2$  (8) = 18.69,  $p < .02$ .

15. When universe cell counts are used as expected values for  $X^2$  tests-of-independence, regional bias in the distribution of market size and station types disappears. For market size by region  $X^2 = (8) 4.11, p > .05$ . For station type by region  $X^2 (8) = 3.96, p > .05$ .

16. Overall, 63.1% of respondents completed a community college or university programme. 75.9% of British Columbia respondents graduated from such a programme as did 63.9% from The Prairies, 67.4% from Ontario, 57.5% from Quebec and 43.5% from the Atlantic Provinces. Of those who completed a post-secondary programme, 50.2% graduated from community college or College d'enseignement general et professionnel (CEGEP), 46% from university and 3.9% from both community college or CEGEP and university. Arts or Social Sciences degrees were most prevalent (33%), especially in Ontario (42.3%), and journalism and radio-television degrees or diplomas each accounted for 27.9%. Women most likely took journalism at a community while men studied arts in a university. ( $F = 4.65, df = 1,365, p < .001$ .)

17.  $F (4,364) = 4.21, p < .002$ .

18. The underlying assumption: news was not the first career choice for most, if not all, current newswriters who had non-news before switching to news, was considered reasonable by those the author consulted.

19.  $X^2 (1) = 29.1, p < .001$ . 57.7% of Francophones and 41.4% of Anglophones held non-news jobs.

20.  $X^2 (2) = 8.67, p < .003$ . 49.8% of men held non-news jobs compared to 32.4% of women.

21.  $F (1,161) = 4.24, p < .05$ .

22.  $F (1,338) = 13.18, p < .001$ . Mean age for those who held non-news jobs is 33.5 years and 30.4 years for those who did not.

23.  $F (1,367) = 27.32, p < .001$ . Mean radio experience for those who held non-news jobs is 10.5 years compared to 6.6 for those who have not.

24.  $F (1,367) = 6.8, p < .01$ . Mean years of radio experience for those who held non-news jobs is 8.1 compared to 6.5 for those who did not.

25.  $F (1,367) = 16.83, p < .001$ . Mean for those who held non-news jobs is 5.8 years compared to 3.8 years for those who did not.

26.  $F (1,338) = 13.8, p < .001$ .

27.  $F (1,370) = 39.4, p < .001$ .

28.  $F (1,367) = 21.3, p < .001$ .

29.  $F (1,370) = 36.3, p < .001$ .

30.  $F(1,370) = 32.4, p < .001.$
31.  $F(1,370) = 18.3, p < .001.$
32.  $X^2(2) = 11.18, p < .02.$  34.6% of women completed a post-secondary newswork programme compared to 23.7% of men. 31.7% of men completed a post-secondary communications-related (e.g., radio-television, advertising, mass communication/s) programme compared to 21.2% of women.
33.  $X^2(1) = 8.67, p < .004.$  32.4% of women newsworkers had a non-news radio job(s) before switching to news.
34.  $F(1,343) = 32.9, p < .001.$
35.  $F(1,370) = 6.43, p < .02.$
36.  $F(1,370) = 10.4, p < .001.$
37.  $F(1,370) = 4.67, p < .04.$
38.  $F(1,370) = 5.5, p < .004.$
39.  $F(1,370) = 6.3, p < .001.$
40.  $F(1,370) = 4.3, p < .02.$
41.  $F(1,370) = 14.4, p < .001.$
42.  $F(1,370) = 51.7, p < .001.$
43.  $F(1,342) = 13.7, p < .001.$
44.  $X^2(2) = 7.95, p < .02.$
45.  $F(2,368) = 23.6, p < .001.$
46.  $F(2,368) = 3.35, p = .04.$
47. In the pretest, POI items were rated on a 9-point scale. To compare current item means, which are on a 7-point scale, with those of the pretest, the latter were transformed to a 7-point scale (i.e.,  $7/9 \times$  pretest item score).
48.  $r = .475, p < .001.$   $t(363) = .09, p > .05.$  Initiative mean, 6; originality mean, 6.1.
49. See Kidder, 1981: 126-129.
50. Other dimensions were dominated by one-item and overlapped with one



or more of the four primary dimensions. This and all subsequent factor analyses involve extraction via principal components analysis and varimax rotation. Two professional items ("working in a well-known and respected newsroom" and "supervisor who appreciates time I spend improving") and one non-professional item ("availability of support from co-workers") did not load on any dimension.

51.  $F(2,365) = 3.1, p < .05$ . As noted in Chapter Five, moderate professionals (MP's) are generally not considered in analyses using the McLeod Hawely Method, they are assumed to be a transitional station between LP's and HP's.

52.  $F(2,340) = 4.22, p < .02$ .

53.  $r = -.1139, p < .02$ .

54. It is worth noting that much theorizing about professions and professionals is not empirically based (e.g., Parsons). This finding, perhaps, underscores a discrepancy between non-empirical and empirical thinking.

55.  $X^2(4) = 10.21, p < .04$ . Mean PI score among newswriters in AM newsrooms is 58.12; FM newsrooms, 56.7; newsrooms serving AM and FM stations, 59.4 [ $F(2, 368) = 3.11, p < .05$ ].

56.  $F(2,365) = 4.1, p < .02$ . PE with education  $r = -.1846, p < .001$ .

57.  $F(2,340) = 3.74, p < .03$ . PE with Income  $r = -.1453, p < .005$ .

58.  $X^2(2) = 9.8, p < .007$ .

59.  $F(2,340) = 3.61, p < .03$ . SOCIAL with Income  $r = -.1013, p < .04$ .

60.  $r = -.1511, p < .004$ .

61.  $X^2(2) = 13.87, p < .001$ .

62.  $F(2,340) = 3.7, p < .03$ . CAR with Income  $r = -.1233, p < .02$ .

63.  $X^2(2) = 23.5, p < .004$ .  $F(4, 363) = 5.04, p < .001$ .

64.  $r = -.1227, p < .02$ .

65.  $r = -.1106, p < .03$ .

66.  $X^2(2) = 6.63, p < .04$ .

67.  $F(2,340) = 5.74, p < .005$ . IMPACT and AUTONOMY with Income  $r = -.1306, p < .009$ .

68.  $F(2,368) = 3.37, p < .04$ . IMPACT and AUTONOMY with number of newsroom employees  $r = -.1205, p < .02$ .

69.  $F(3,190) = 16.35, p < .001$ . This finding holds when controlling for experience variables.
70.  $F(3,207) = 61.5, p < .001$ .
71.  $F(3,207) = 35.9, p < .001$ .
72.  $X^2(2) = 10.3, p < .006$ . Using raw RHI scores,  $F(1,358) = 2.17, p < .02$ . Mean RHI score for women is 18.3% higher than the mean for men (9.5, 8.4).
73.  $F(2,357) = 6.9, p < .002$ .
74.  $F(2,357) = 5.2, p < .006$ .
75.  $F(2,357) = 6.9, p < .002$ .
76.  $X^2(4) = 10.1, p < .04$ .
77.  $X^2(2) = 10.3, p < .006$ . With raw JCI data,  $F(1,361) = 12.1, p < .001$ . Francophone JCI mean, 13.7; Anglophone mean, 16.3.
78.  $F(2,320) = 3.7, p < .03$ .
79.  $X^2(8) = 17.7, p < .03$ .
80.  $F(2,362) = 4.21, p < .02$ .
81.  $F(2,362) = 6.1, p < .003$ .
82.  $F(2,320) = 4.9, p < .008$ .
83.  $X^2(8) = 21.1, p < .01$ . Using raw DPI data,  $F(4,361) = 3.96, p < .004$ . Regional means: BC, 12.9; Prairies, 11.6; Ontario, 9.4; Quebec, 11.4; Atlantic Provinces, 10.1.
84.  $F(2,366) = 7.9, p < .001$ . Quebec and Ontario, Prairies and Ontario, BC and Ontario and BC and Atlantic Provinces differences are significant at or below .05.
85.  $F(2,366) = 3.9, p < .03$ .
86.  $F(2,366) = 7.4, p < .001$ .
87.  $X^2(8) = 16.4, p < .04$ . Using raw REI data,  $F(4, 359) = 2.99, p < .02$ . Regional means: BC, 3.8; Prairies, 3.7; Ontario, 4.0; Quebec, 3.2; Atlantic Provinces, 4.5. Ontario and Quebec, Atlantic Provinces and Quebec and Atlantic Provinces and Prairies differences are significant at or below .05.
88.  $X^2(4) = 13.04, p < .02$ .

89. Alpha for the overall decision acceptance index (DAI) is .86 ( $p < .001$ ). DAI patterns are reflected in the sub-indices, thus, to avoid duplication, only with the sub-indices are analyzed.

90. Six of the thirty-two decision items did not load on any of the three dimensions. Non-loading items included three in the organizational area: "setting shift schedules", "assignment of non-work related duties after regular shift" and "determining dress code for newsroom employees during work hours"; and three in the personal area: "whether you smoke", "personal grooming" and "conduct during non-working hours".

91.  $X^2 (2) = 59.9$ ,  $p < .001$ . With raw professional decision index (PDA) data,  $F (1,346) = 56.9$ ,  $p < .001$ . Mean for Francophones, 33.7; for Anglophones, 25.5.

92.  $r = -.174$ ,  $p < .01$ .  $F (2,345) = 4.9$ ,  $p < .01$ .

93.  $F (1,318) = 10.5$ ,  $p < .001$ .  $r = -.178$ ,  $p < .001$ .

94.  $X^2 (4) = 10.4$ ,  $p < .04$ .  $\eta^2 = .14$ ;  $p < .007$ . This may be a sampling artifact since metric level testing produced statistically insignificant results. [ $F (2,345) = .6$ ,  $p > .05$ .]

95.  $X^2 (8) = 48.4$ ,  $p < .001$ . With raw PDA data,  $F (4,341) = 8.6$ ,  $p < .001$ . Regional means: BC, 34.4; Prairies, 32.3; Ontario, 33.4; Quebec, 27.2; Atlantic, 32.2. Significant differences are between Quebec and the other regions, only.

96.  $r = -.283$ ,  $p < .001$ .  $F (2,345) = 7.99$ ,  $p < .001$ .

97.  $r = -.297$ ,  $p < .001$ .  $F (2,345) = 10.3$ ,  $p < .001$ .

98.  $r = -.182$ ,  $p < p.001$ .  $F (2,345) = 4.1$ ,  $p < .02$ .

99.  $r = -.188$ ,  $p < .001$ .  $F (2,345) = 7.9$ ,  $p < .001$ .

100.  $X^2 (2) = 37.2$ ,  $p < .001$ .  $F (1,338) = 29.98$ ,  $p < .001$ .

101.  $r = -.115$ ,  $p < .03$ .  $F (2,312) = 12.5$ ,  $p < .001$ .

102.  $X^2 (2) = 37.7$ ,  $p < .001$ .  $F (4,341) = 2.3$ ,  $p < .03$ . Means: BC, 34.4; Prairies, 32.8; Ontario, 33.7; Quebec, 27.2; Atlantic, 32.2. Significant differences are between Quebec and the other regions.

103.  $r = -.126$ ,  $p < .02$ .  $F (3,338) = 7.5$ ,  $p < .001$ .

104.  $r = -.098$ ,  $p < .05$ .  $F (2,338) = 4.81$ ,  $p < .01$ .

105.  $F (2,338) = 4$ ,  $p < .02$ .

106.  $X^2 (2) = 16.98, p < .001. F (1,346) = 11.7, p < .001.$
107.  $F (2,346) = 3.3, p < .04.$
108.  $F (2,344) = 6.31, p < .01. r = -.219, p < .001.$
109.  $X^2 (4) = 9.5, p < .05. F (2,346) = 6.5, p < .01. Means: small, 25.9; medium, 24.7; large, 25.7.$
110.  $F (2,346) = 3.32, p < .04.$
111.  $F (2,346) = 3.9, p < .03.$
112.  $r = .101, p < .05.$
113.  $r = .129, p < .02.$

Table 1  
Comparison of Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics  
with Universe and Pretest Distributions

	Sample	Pretest <sup>d</sup>	Universe
Gender <sup>a</sup>			
Men	70.9%	82.8%	79.9%
Women	29.1	17.2	20.1
Language			
English	75.3%		79.8%
French	24.7		20.2
Age*	32.0 yrs	32.5 yrs	
Education <sup>c*</sup>	14.2 yrs	13.9 yrs	
Income*	\$23,423	\$22,593	
Market Size <sup>b</sup>			
Small	24.3%	21.9%	27.8%
Medium	27.0	26.0	20.6
Large	48.8	52.1	51.6
Region <sup>a</sup>			
British Columbia	14.6%	27.1%	10.9%
Prairies	16.5	30.2	19.9
Ontario	36.6	26.0	32.7
Quebec	19.8	3.2	22.2
Atlantic Provinces	12.5	13.5	14.4
Radio experience <sup>c*</sup>		7.2 yrs	9.8 yrs
In current job <sup>c*</sup>		4.7 yrs	5.5 yrs
Newsroom employees*	7.1		7.5
Number of news jobs <sup>c*</sup>		3.2	4.0

<sup>a</sup>  $\chi^2$  goodness of fit of sample to pretest and universe  $p < .05$ .

<sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  goodness of fit of sample to universe  $p < .05$ .

<sup>c</sup> z one sample test  $p < .05$ . \* denotes mean. (n = 371)

<sup>d</sup> G Pollard (1985), "Canadian Newsworkers: a cross media analysis of professional attitudes and personal attributes", in Canadian Journal of Communication: 11: 3, pp. 269-286. (Summer)

Table 2  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics by Region

Characteristic	BC	Prairies	Ontario	Quebec	Atlantic
Gender					
Men	15.2%	13.7%	35.4%	22.4%	13.3%
Women	13.2	23.6	39.6	13.2	10.4
Language <sup>b</sup>					
English	17.4%	20.4%	42.1%	5.7%	14.4%
French	2.9	00.0	12.9	80.0	4.3
Marital Status <sup>b</sup>					
Married	11.8%	18.0%	31.5%	24.2%	14.6%
Single	16.5	18.7	42.4	14.4	7.9
Other	20.0	6.0	36.0	20.0	18.0
Age*	32.6 yrs	30.4 yrs	32.8 yrs	32.8 yrs	30.0 yrs
Education <sup>a*</sup>	15.1 yrs	14.1 yrs	14.4 yrs	14.2 yrs	12.7 yrs
Income <sup>a*</sup>	\$20,552	\$20,484	\$21,509	\$33,965	\$18,025
Market Size <sup>b</sup>					
Small	15.6%	23.3%	27.8%	14.4%	18.9%
Medium	17.0	16.0	42.0	14.0	11.0
Large	12.8	13.4	38.0	25.7	10.1
Radio experience*	8.6 yrs	7.6 yrs	8.7 yrs	9.7 yrs	6.6 yrs
News experience <sup>a*</sup>	7.9 yrs	6.2 yrs	6.8 yrs	9.3 yrs	5.4 yrs
In current job*	5.2 yrs	3.6 yrs	4.6 yrs	5.5 yrs	4.4 yrs
Number of news jobs*	3.0	3.4	3.4	3.0	2.9
Newsroom employees*	6.3	6.2	7.5	6.6	6.7
Station <sup>b</sup>					
AM	20.1%	20.1%	29.9%	21.3%	8.6%
FM	9.7	19.4	38.7	16.1	16.1
AM & FM	29.6	32.8	52.6	42.5	56.5

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  test-of-independence  $p < .05$ . (n = 371)  
\* denotes mean.

Table 3  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics by Gender

	Men	Women
Language		
English	70.0%	30.0%
French	74.6	25.4
Marital Status <sup>a b</sup>		
Married	63.5%	36.5%
Single	81.3	18.7
Other	72.5	27.5
Age <sup>a*</sup>	33.6 yrs	28.1 yrs
Education <sup>a*</sup>	13.8 yrs	15.3 yrs
Income*	\$23,127	\$23,974
Market Size		
Small	76.7%	23.3%
Medium	75.0	25.0
Large	65.7	34.3
Region		
British Columbia	74.1%	25.9%
Prairies	59.0	41.0
Ontario	68.9	31.1
Quebec	80.8	20.2
Atlantic Provinces	76.1	23.9
Radio experience <sup>a*</sup>	9.9 yrs	4.9 yrs
News experience <sup>a*</sup>	8.3 yrs	4.5 yrs
In current job <sup>a*</sup>	5.3 yrs	3.1 yrs
Number of news jobs*	3.2	3.0
Newsroom employees*	7.1	6.8
Station		
AM	68.4%	31.6%
FM	63.6	36.4
AM & FM	75.0	25.0

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  test of independence  $p < .05$ . (n = 371).  
\* denotes mean.

Table 4  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics by Language

	English	French
Gender		
Men	79.8%	20.2%
Women	83.3	16.7
Marital Status		
Single	79.2%	20.8%
Married	84.9	15.1
Other	74.5	25.5
Age*	31.9 yrs	32.5 yrs
Education*	14.3 yrs	14.0 yrs
Income <sup>a</sup> *	\$20,811	\$33,142
Market Size		
Small	86.7%	13.3%
Medium	82.0	18.0
Large	77.3	22.7
Region <sup>b</sup>		
British Columbia	96.3%	3.7%
Prairies	100.0	00.0
Ontario	93.3	6.7
Quebec	23.3	76.7
Atlantic Provinces	93.5	6.5
Radio experience*	8.3 yrs	9.1 yrs
News experience <sup>a</sup> *	6.8 yrs	8.8 yrs
In current job <sup>a</sup> *	4.3 yrs	6.3 yrs
Number of news jobs*	3.2	3.0
Newsroom Employees <sup>a</sup>	7.4	5.4
Station <sup>b</sup>		
AM	74.7%	25.3%
FM	87.9	12.1
AM & FM	86.0	14.0

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  test of independence  $p < .05$ . (n = 371)  
\* denotes mean.



Table 5  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics by Market Size

	Small	Medium	Large
Gender			
Men	26.2%	28.5%	45.2%
Women	19.4	23.1	57.4
Language			
English	26.0%	27.3%	46.7%
French	16.9	25.4	57.7
Marital Status <sup>b</sup>			
Married	20.9%	25.9%	53.2%
Single	28.1	32.6	39.3
Other	21.6	11.8	66.7
Age*	30.6 yrs	31.8 yrs	32.9 yrs
Education*	14.0 yrs	14.2 yrs	14.3 yrs
Income <sup>a*</sup>	\$15,550	\$24,806	\$26,532
Region <sup>b</sup>			
British Columbia	25.9%	31.5%	42.6%
Prairies	34.4	26.2	39.3
Ontario	18.5	31.1	50.4
Quebec	17.8	19.2	63.0
Atlantic Provinces	37.0	23.9	39.1
Radio experience <sup>a*</sup>	7.0 yrs	7.4 yrs	9.8 yrs
News experience <sup>a*</sup>	5.0 yrs	6.0 yrs	8.9 yrs
In current job <sup>a*</sup>	4.1 yrs	3.9 yrs	5.4 yrs
Number of news jobs <sup>a*</sup>	2.4	2.9	3.7
Newsroom employees <sup>a*</sup>	3.9	5.7	9.5
Station Type <sup>b</sup>			
AM	38.5%	27.6%	33.9%
FM	6.1	30.3	63.6
AM & FM	12.8	25.6	61.6

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  test-of-independence  $p < .05$ . (n = 371)

\* denotes mean.

Table 6  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics by Station Type

	AM	FM	AM & FM
Gender			
Men	45.2%	8.0%	46.8%
Women	50.9	11.1	38.0
Language <sup>b</sup>			
English	26.0%	27.3%	46.7%
French	16.9	25.4	57.7
Marital Status			
Married	20.9%	25.9%	53.2%
Single	28.1	32.6	39.3
Other	21.6	11.8	66.7
Age*	31.3 yrs	32.5 yrs	32.7 yrs
Education*	14.2 yrs	14.5 yrs	14.1 yrs
Income*	\$23,950	\$21,186	\$22,889
Market Size <sup>b</sup>			
Small	74.4%	2.2%	12.8%
Medium	48.0	10.0	42.0
Large	32.6	11.6	55.8
Region of Work <sup>b</sup>			
British Columbia	64.8%	5.6%	9.8%
Prairies	57.4	9.8	32.8
Ontario	38.5	8.9	52.6
Quebec	50.7	6.8	42.5
Atlantic Provinces	32.6	10.9	56.5
Radio experience*	8.2 yrs	9.3 yrs	8.6 yrs
News experience*	6.7 yrs	7.1 yrs	7.7 yrs
In current job*	4.7 yrs	4.7 yrs	4.7 yrs
Number of news jobs <sup>a*</sup>	2.9	3.5	3.4
Newsroom employees <sup>a*</sup>	5.4	6.7	9.0

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  test of independence  $p < .05$ . (n = 371)

\* denotes mean.

Table 7  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics by Gender by Region

	BC		Prairies		Ontario		Quebec		Atlantic	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
English	12.8%	4.7%	29.2%	8.4%	29.2%	12.8%	5.4%	.3%	10.7%	3.7%
French	2.9	0.0	00.0	0.0	7.1	5.7	61.4	18.6	4.3	0.0
Married	7.9%	4.0%	18.6%	10.2%	9.6%	12.4%	19.2%	5.1%	9.6%	5.1%
Single	14.4	2.2	15.1	3.6	33.8	8.6	10.8	3.6	7.2	.7
Other	12.0	8.0	2.0	4.0	24.0	12.0	20.0	0.0	16.0	2.0
Age (yrs)*	33.6	29.8	32.8	27.0	34.8	28.3	33.8	28.2	31.1	26.4
Education (yrs)*	14.7	16.5	13.4	15.0	13.6	16.2	14.1	14.4	13.0	11.9
Income*	\$21378	\$18429	\$22163	\$18244	\$23426	\$17943	\$27072	\$61046	\$19033	\$15000 <sup>a</sup>
Small market	11.1%	4.4%	15.6%	7.8%	20.0%	7.8%	14.4%	0.0%	15.5%	3.3%
Medium market	13.0	4.0	10.0	6.0	33.0	9.0	9.0	5.0	10.0	1.0
Large market	9.6	3.4	6.7	6.7	23.0	14.6	20.8	5.1	6.2	3.9
Radio experience (yrs)*	9.4	6.2	9.4	5.0	10.6	4.6	11.0	4.1	7.3	4.2
News experience (yrs)*	8.1	7.2	7.8	3.9	7.9	4.2	10.5	4.2	6.1	2.9
In current job (yrs)*	5.4	4.6	4.4	2.5	5.3	3.0	6.2	2.3	5.0	2.6
Number of news jobs*	2.9	3.1	3.5	3.2	3.7	2.7	3.0	3.3	2.5	4.0 <sup>a</sup>
Newsroom empl*	6.3	6.4	6.3	6.0	7.9	8.0	7.3	3.9	6.4	7.9
AM only	14.4%	5.7%	11.5%	8.6%	20.1%	9.8%	14.9%	6.3%	7.5%	1.1%
FM only	6.5	3.2	6.5	12.9	25.8	12.9	16.1	0.0	12.9	3.2
AM & FM	8.0	1.8	8.6	3.7	30.1	12.9	17.2	1.8	11.0	4.9

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . (n = 371) \* denotes mean.

Table 8  
McLeod-Hawley Professional Orientation Index Item Responses

PROFESSIONAL ITEMS

	Mean	(SD)	Pretest <sup>a</sup>
job is valuable & essential to community	5.697	(1.273)	5.592
an opportunity for originality and initiative <sup>b</sup>	5.997	(.927)	6.329*
full use of my abilities and training	6.273	(.995)	6.499*
opportunity to learn new skills & knowledge	6.380	(.996)	6.475*
getting ahead in my professional career	5.782	(1.321)	5.981*
working in a well known and respected newsroom	5.765	(1.376)	5.615*
respect for ability & competence of co-workers	5.911	(1.195)	5.924
opportunity to influence public thinking	4.871	(1.597)	4.984*
supervisor who appreciates time spent improving	5.426	(1.502)	5.454
freedom from continual close supervision	5.469	(1.546)	5.816*
newsroom different because I work for it	5.399	(1.551)	5.584*
influencing important decisions	4.835	(1.599)	5.098*

NON-PROFESSIONAL ITEMS

enjoying what is involve in my job	6.372	(1.009)	6.435
availability of support from co-worker	5.813	(1.445)	5.648*
getting ahead in the organization worked for	5.194	(1.489)	5.325*
working with people rather than things	5.827	(1.314)	5.811
my job being as permanent as anyone's	5.154	(1.689)	5.178
earning enough money for a good living	6.005	(1.115)	5.892*
job provides excitement & variety	6.248	(.988)	6.200
job with prestige in my community	4.469	(1.800)	4.943*
having a job my family is proud of	4.768	(3.594)	4.799
job does not interfere with personal life	4.345	(3.713)	4.182
co-workers are congenial	5.284	(3.601)	5.332
job brings me in contact with important people	4.408	(3.484)	4.652

<sup>a</sup> G Pollard (1985), "Canadian Newswriters: a cross media analysis of professional attitudes and personal attributes", in Canadian Journal of Communications: 11: 3, pp. 269-286.

<sup>b</sup> 1986 composite item.

\* Response differences  $p < .05$  for one-sample  $z$  test.

Pretest items ranged from "Extremely Important" to "Extremely Unimportant" on a scale of 9 to 1. They were proportionally reduced to match the 7-point scale used in this study. (See note in text.)

Table 9  
Factor-based Dimensions  
of McLeod-Hawley Professional Orientation Index

<u>Professional Employee</u>	Factor Loadings
full use of my abilities and training [P]	.71127
opportunity to learn new skills & knowledge [P]	.65090
enjoying what is involve in my job [NP]	.64537
an opportunity for originality and initiative [P]	.63714
respect for ability & competence of co-workers [P]	.62726
job provides excitement & variety [NP]	.55515
working with people rather than things [NP]	.54748
job is valuable & essential to community [P]	.54028
Variance explained 19.8%	
<u>Social</u>	
co-workers are congenial [NP]	.93913
having a job my family is proud of [NP]	.93508
job does not interfere with personal life [NP]	.92010
job brings me in contact with important people [NP]	.91645
Variance explained 14.3%	
<u>Careerism</u>	
earning enough money for a good living [NP]	.77351
my job being as permanent as anyone's [NP]	.65304
getting ahead in my professional career [P]	.59980
getting ahead in the organization worked for [NP]	.59851
job with prestige in my community [NP]	.50697
Variance explained 9.2%	
<u>Impact and Autonomy</u>	
influencing important decisions [P]	.80481
opportunity to influence public thinking [P]	.69984
newsroom different because I work for it [P]	.66158
freedom from continual close supervision [P]	.54601
Variance explained 7.3%	

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Other items did not load significantly ( $> \pm .50$ ) on any factors. P = professional item. NP = non-professional item. Total variance explained by four dimensions, 50.6%.

Table 10  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics by Professionalism

	Low	Moderate	High
Gender			
Men	31.6%	32.3%	36.1%
Women	37.0	38.9	24.1
Language			
English	32.8%	33.1%	34.1%
French	35.2	38.0	26.8
Age*	31.8 yrs	33.2 yrs	31.0 yrs
Education <sup>a*</sup>	14.7 yrs	13.9 yrs	14.0 yrs
Income <sup>a*</sup>	\$27,026	\$21,228	\$21,934
Market Size			
Small	35.6%	28.9%	35.6%
Medium	29.0	46.0	25.0
Large	34.3	30.4	35.4
Region of Work			
British Columbia	33.3%	31.5%	35.2%
Prairies	31.1	36.1	32.8
Ontario	35.8	35.1	29.1
Quebec	31.5	34.2	34.3
Atlantic Provinces	30.4	30.4	39.2
Radio experience*	9.3 yrs	8.3 yrs	7.7 yrs
News experience*	7.4 yrs	7.3 yrs	6.9 yrs
In current job*	4.7 yrs	4.9 yrs	4.4 yrs
Newsroom employees*	7.6	6.4	7.3
Number of news jobs*	3.4	3.1	3.0
Station <sup>b</sup>			
AM	36.8%	33.9%	29.3
FM	36.4	48.5	15.2
AM & FM	28.7	31.7	39.6

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  test of independence  $p < .05$ . (n = 371)  
\* denotes mean.

Table 11  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics  
by Professional Employee Factor

	Low	Moderate	High
Gender			
Men	33.8%	34.2%	31.9%
Women	30.6	32.4	37.0
Language			
English	33.4%	35.5%	31.1%
French	31.0	25.4	43.7
Age*	32.9 yrs	32.2 yrs	31.0 yrs
Education <sup>a</sup> *	14.8 yrs	13.8 yrs	14.1 yrs
Income <sup>a</sup> *	\$26,820	\$21,971	\$21,358
Market Size			
Small	31.1%	37.8%	31.1%
Medium	31.0	33.0	36.0
Large	34.8	32.0	33.1
Region of Work			
British Columbia	37.0%	22.2%	40.7%
Prairies	23.0	45.9	31.1
Ontario	34.3	35.8	29.9
Quebec	31.5	31.5	37.0
Atlantic Provinces	39.1	26.1	34.8
Radio experience*	9.5 yrs	8.6 yrs	7.3 yrs
News experience*	7.8 yrs	6.6 yrs	7.2 yrs
In current job*	5.0 yrs	4.2 yrs	4.8 yrs
Newsroom staff*	7.1	7.2	7.1
Number of news jobs*	3.2	3.2	3.1
Station			
AM	46.7%	8.2%	45.1%
FM	47.2	12.8	40.0
AM & FM	46.8	5.6	47.6

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . (n = 371) \* denotes mean.

Table 12  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics by Social Factor

	Low	Moderate	High
Gender			
Men	32.3%	30.8%	36.9%
Women	32.4	41.7	25.9
Language <sup>b</sup>			
English	28.8%	36.1%	35.1%
French	47.9	23.9	28.2
Age	32.1 yrs	31.8 yrs	32.2 yrs
Education*	14.5 yrs	14.4 yrs	13.8 yrs
Income <sup>a</sup> *	\$26,766	\$21,809	\$21,555
Market Size			
Small	28.9%	44.4%	26.7%
Medium	38.0	32.0	30.0
Large	30.9	29.8	39.2
Region of Work			
British Columbia	35.2%	37.0%	27.8%
Prairies	24.6	31.1	44.3
Ontario	32.8	34.3	32.8
Quebec	42.5	30.1	27.4
Atlantic Provinces	19.6	39.1	41.3
Radio experience*	9.5 yrs	8.3 yrs	7.7 yrs
News experience*	7.9 yrs	6.4 yrs	7.3 yrs
In current job*	5.0 yrs	4.5 yrs	4.6 yrs
Newsroom staff*	7.0	6.5	7.9
Number of news jobs*	3.4	3.3	2.9
Station			
AM	35.6%	34.5%	29.9%
FM	48.5	27.3	24.2
AM & FM	25.6	34.8	39.6

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  test of independence  $p < .05$ . (n = 371)

\* denotes mean.



Table 13  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics by Careerism Factor

	Low	Moderate	High
Gender			
Men	29.7%	36.1%	34.2%
Women	42.6	28.7	28.7
Language <sup>b</sup>			
English	29.1%	34.8%	36.1%
French	50.7	31.0	18.3
Age*	31.1 yrs	33.3 yrs	31.6 yrs
Education*	14.7 yrs	13.9 yrs	14.0 yrs
Income <sup>a*</sup>	\$26,967	\$21,614	\$21,448
Market Size			
Small	32.2%	36.7%	31.1%
Medium	35.0	30.0	35.0
Large	33.1	34.8	32.0
Region of Work <sup>b</sup>			
British Columbia	33.3%	33.3%	33.4%
Prairies	34.4	27.9	37.7
Ontario	31.3	37.3	31.4
Quebec	45.2	38.4	16.4
Atlantic Provinces	17.4	26.1	56.5
Radio experience*	8.1 yrs	9.4 yrs	7.9 yrs
News experience*	7.1 yrs	8.0 yrs	6.5 yrs
In current job*	4.7 yrs	4.7 yrs	4.7 yrs
Newsroom Staff*	6.5	7.3	7.5
Number of news jobs*	3.2	3.2	3.2
Station <sup>b</sup>			
AM	39.7%	29.3%	31.0%
FM	39.4	45.4	15.2
AM & FM	25.6	36.6	37.8

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  test of independence  $p < .05$ . (n = 371)  
\* denotes mean.

Table 14  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics  
by Impact-Autonomy Factor

	Low	Moderate	High
Gender			
Men	31.6%	32.3%	36.1%
Women	33.3	41.7	25.0
Language <sup>b</sup>			
English	29.4%	37.5%	33.1%
French	43.7	23.9	32.4
Age*	31.6 yrs	33.0 yrs	31.4 yrs
Education*	14.3 yrs	13.8 yrs	14.6 yrs
Income <sup>a</sup> *	\$27,823	\$21,794	\$20,856
Market Size			
Small	27.8%	38.9%	33.3%
Medium	26.0	33.0	41.0
Large	37.5	34.3	28.2
Region of Work			
British Columbia	31.5%	33.3%	35.2%
Prairies	27.9	44.3	27.9
Ontario	34.3	31.4	34.3
Quebec	34.2	30.2	35.6
Atlantic Provinces	28.3	41.3	30.4
Radio experience*	8.8 yrs	9.2 yrs	7.4 yrs
News experience*	7.4 yrs	7.5 yrs	6.7 yrs
In current job*	4.9 yrs	4.8 yrs	4.4 yrs
Newsroom Staff <sup>a</sup> *	8.1	6.9	6.4
Number of news jobs*	3.0	3.2	3.2
Station			
AM	28.2%	42.0%	29.8%
FM	27.3	36.4	36.3
AM & FM	37.2	27.4	35.4

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  test of independence  $p < .05$ . (n = 371)  
\* denotes mean.

Table 15  
Summary of Organizational Structure Item Responses

How TRUE is it that <sup>a</sup> ...	Mean	Std Dev
in most work-related matters, employees in this newsroom can do almost as they please [JC]	4.366	1.904
you feel you are your own boss in most work-related matters [JC]	5.249	1.594
employees in this newsroom generally make their own rules in most work-related matters [JC]	3.809	1.935
in this newsroom, how things are done is left up to the person doing the work [JC]	4.236	1.864
anyone in this newsroom can make [their] own decisions without checking with anyone [JC]	3.458	1.956
employees in this newsroom are constantly checked for rule violations [RE]	2.631	1.600
employees in this newsroom believe they are always being watched to insure they obey the rules [RE]	2.226	1.629
any decisions you make has to be approved by the news director [RH]	3.072	1.801
making your own decisions is discouraged [RH]	2.290	1.639
in this newsroom, you have to ask the news director before you do almost anything [RH]	2.076	1.491
employees in this newsroom can do very little unless it is first approved by the news director [RH]	2.238	1.512
in this newsroom, even the smallest matters have to be referred to the newsdirector for a decision [RH]	1.862	1.428
How OFTEN do you participate in decisions to <sup>b</sup> ...		
hire new newsroom staff [PA]	2.565	2.086
regarding modification of newsroom policies [PA]	3.938	2.085
regarding the promotion of newsroom staff [PA]	2.249	1.988
regarding adoption of new newsroom policies [PA]	4.970	2.174

(a) Responses ranged from "Definitely True" to "Definitely Not True" on a 7-point scale. (b) Responses range from "Always" to "Never" on a 7-point scale. JC, job codification item. RE, rule enforcement item. RH, reliance on hierarchy of authority item. PA participation in decision making item.

Table 16  
Factor-based Dimensions of Organizational Structure Items

	Factor Loadings
<u>Reliance on Hierarchy of Authority</u>	
can do little if not first approved by news director	.90018
even smallest matters require news director decision	.83760
have to ask news director before almost anything	.79870
making own decisions is discouraged	.68065
any decision must be approved by news director	.67521
Variance explained 37.1%	
<u>Job Codification</u>	
generally make own decisions	.84578
how things are done is up to person doing work	.82981
can make own decisions without checking with anyone	.77622
can do almost as they please	.77237
feel as if own boss in most work-related matters	.57570
Variance explained 17.5%	
<u>Participation in Decision Making</u>	
modify newsroom policies	.86431
hire new newsroom staff	.84242
adopt new newsroom policies	.83563
promote newsroom staff	.82275
Variance explained 11.9%	
<u>Rule Enforcement</u>	
constantly checked for rule violations	.84081
believe always watched to insure obey rules	.73145
Variance explained 6.0%	

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Total variance explained by four dimensions, 72.6%.

Table 17  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics  
by Reliance on Hierarchy of Authority Index

	Low	Moderate	High
Gender <sup>b</sup>			
Men	37.9%	32.0%	30.1%
Women	20.5	40.2	39.3
Language			
English	33.3%	33.7%	33.0%
French	29.6	38.0	32.4
Age*	31.5 yrs	31.7 yrs	32.0 yrs
Education*	13.9 yrs	14.6 yrs	14.0 yrs
Income*	\$23,285	\$21,885	\$24,583
Market Size			
Small	37.9%	34.5%	27.6%
Medium	34.0	26.6	39.4
Large	29.6	38.5	31.8
Region of Work			
British Columbia	42.9%	26.5%	30.6%
Prairies	40.7	32.2	27.1
Ontario	25.4	40.8	33.8
Québec	37.0	35.6	27.4
Atlantic Provinces	26.1	28.3	45.7
Radio experience <sup>a*</sup>	9.8 yrs	8.0 yrs	6.5 yrs
News experience <sup>a*</sup>	8.0 yrs	7.3 yrs	5.6 yrs
In current job*	4.9 yrs	4.5 yrs	4.4 yrs
Newsroom employees*	7.3	7.0	6.9
Number of news jobs <sup>a*</sup>	3.6	3.1	2.7
Station <sup>b</sup>			
AM	35.7%	38.7%	25.6%
FM	18.2	36.4	45.5
AM & FM	32.7	29.6	37.7

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  test of independence  $p < .05$ . \* denotes mean (n = 371)

Table 18  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics  
by Job Codification Index

	Low	Moderate	High
Gender			
Men	33.3%	32.6%	34.1%
Women	32.7	38.3	29.0
Language <sup>b</sup>			
English	29.4%	36.2%	34.5%
French	49.3	26.8	23.9
Age*	31.9 yrs	32.0 yrs	32.1 yrs
Education*	14.2 yrs	14.3 yrs	14.0 yrs
Income <sup>a*</sup>	\$20,972	\$26,948	\$22,212
Market Size			
Small	31.5%	30.3%	38.2%
Medium	35.7	40.8	23.5
Large	32.6	32.6	34.8
Region of Work <sup>b</sup>			
British Columbia	32.1%	28.3%	39.6%
Prairies	29.5	27.9	42.6
Ontario	32.6	44.7	22.7
Quebec	41.7	23.6	34.7
Atlantic Provinces	25.0	38.6	36.4
Radio experience*	9.0 yrs	8.8 yrs	7.7 yrs
News experience*	7.3 yrs	7.3 yrs	6.9 yrs
In current job <sup>a*</sup>	5.1 yrs	5.3 yrs	3.6 yrs
Newsroom employees*	6.9	7.2	7.1
Number of news job <sup>a*</sup>	2.7	3.5	3.3
Station			
AM	33.5%	35.8%	30.6%
FM	21.9	50.0	28.1
AM & FM	35.0	29.4	35.6

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  test of independence  $p < .05$ . \* denotes mean ( $n = 371$ )

Table 19  
 Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics  
 by Participation in Decision Making Index

	Low	Moderate	High
Gender			
Men	33.0%	32.2%	34.9%
Women	33.3	39.8	26.9
Language			
English	34.0%	36.0%	30.0%
French	28.2	28.2	43.7
Age*	31.9 yrs	31.5 yrs	32.8 yrs
Education*	14.2 yrs	14.4 yrs	14.0 yrs
Income <sup>a*</sup>	\$20,648	\$26,591	\$22,518
Market Size			
Small	27.0%	37.1%	36.0%
Medium	29.3	37.4	33.3
Large	38.1	31.5	30.4
Region of Work <sup>b</sup>			
British Columbia	24.5%	24.5%	50.9%
Prairies	28.3	33.3	38.3
Ontario	41.0	38.1	20.9
Quebec	27.4	32.9	39.7
Atlantic Provinces	32.6	41.3	26.1
Radio experience*	8.2 yrs	7.9 yrs	9.4 yrs
News experience <sup>a*</sup>	6.2 yrs	6.5 yrs	9.0 yrs
In current job <sup>a*</sup>	4.1 yrs	4.3 yrs	5.7 yrs
Newsroom employees <sup>a*</sup>	8.3 yrs	7.2 yrs	5.8 yrs
Number of news jobs*	3.1	3.1	3.3
Station			
AM	25.0%	30.8%	44.2%
FM	39.4	30.3	30.3
AM & FM	40.2	39.0	20.7

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  test of independence  $p < .05$ . \* denotes mean ( $n = 371$ )

Table 20  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics  
by Rule Enforcement Index

	Low	Moderate	High
Gender			
Men	33.5%	37.3%	29.2%
Women	30.8	28.0	41.1
Language			
English	32.9%	32.5%	34.6%
French	31.0	43.7	25.4
Age*	31.3 yrs	32.5 yrs	32.0 yrs
Education*	14.5 yrs	14.2 yrs	13.9 yrs
Income*	\$21,405	\$21,326	\$27,007
Market Size			
Small	41.1%	35.6%	23.3%
Medium	27.8	35.1	37.1
Large	31.1	33.9	35.0
Region of Work <sup>a</sup>			
British Columbia	36.5%	32.7%	30.8%
Prairies	39.3	26.2	34.4
Ontario	25.8	38.6	35.6
Quebec	39.7	42.5	17.8
Atlantic Provinces	28.3	26.1	45.7
Radio experience*	9.7 yrs	7.9 yrs	7.6 yrs
News experience*	7.6 yrs	7.2 yrs	6.5 yrs
In current job*	4.7 yrs	5.1 yrs	4.1 yrs
Newsroom employees*	7.0	6.6	7.6
Number of news jobs*	3.3	3.1	3.0
Station <sup>a</sup>			
AM	32.0%	40.7%	27.3%
FM	21.2	48.5	30.3
AM & FM	35.8	25.3	38.9

<sup>a</sup> X<sup>2</sup> test of independence  $p < .05$ . \* denotes mean (n = 371)



Table 21  
Summary of Decision Acceptance Item Responses

How OFTEN WOULD YOU ACCEPT your news director's decision regarding ...	Mean	SD
identifying a newsworthy issue, event personality [P]	4.713	1.358
conduct of newsroom employees during working hours [O]	5.274	1.409
appropriate way of handling a news story [P]	4.741	1.536
friends you have outside work [Pr]	6.575	.997
changing or modifying how things are now done [O]	5.044	1.253
your political views [Pr]	6.574	.986
if you contribute to a charity station supports [Pr]	6.295	1.302
planning and content of newsroom staff meetings [O]	5.433	1.384
success of the newsroom [O]	5.380	1.350
assigning non-work duties during regular shift [O]	4.279	1.921
setting of shift schedules [O]	5.497	1.337
hiring of newsroom employees [O]	5.665	1.491
assigning non-work duties after your regular shift [O]	2.997	1.788
selecting equipment, supplies & materials for work [O]	5.383	1.378
a dress code during working hours [O]	4.633	1.945
promotion of newsroom employees [O]	5.398	1.478
assignment of news stories [O]	5.287	1.440
setting of deadlines [O]	5.596	1.537
your religious views [Pr]	6.731	.878
whether you smoke [Pr]	5.551	2.064
personal grooming [Pr]	5.102	1.879
conduct of newsroom employees in non-working hours [Pr]	5.713	1.609
your marriage or relationship(s) [Pr]	6.795	.701
involvement in outside activities [Pr]	6.407	1.034
how to report an issue, event or personality [P]	4.478	1.579
item selection for your newscast [P]	4.505	1.535
methods used to discipline newsroom employees [P]	4.684	1.474
evaluation of individual news stories [P]	4.759	1.391
evaluation of newsroom employees [P]	4.854	1.427
determining who to interview for your stories [P]	4.529	1.559
determining how to write a particular news story [P]	4.267	1.522
which facts to be used in a story you're covering [P]	4.283	1.575

(n = 371) P, professional decision area. O, organizational decision area. Pr, personal decision area.

Table 22  
Factor-based Dimensions of Decision Acceptance Items

<u>Professional Decision Area</u>	Factor Loading
determining facts used in news story you're covering [P]	.82534
how to report an issue, event or personality [P]	.82073
determining how to write a particular news story [R]	.79866
item selection for your newscast [P]	.76780
determining who to interview a story you're covering [P]	.76270
appropriate way to identify a newsworthy story [P]	.70646
the appropriate way of handling a news story [P]	.68686
the evaluation of individual news stories [P]	.61080
assigning non-work duties during regular shift [O]	.54706
the assignment of news stories [O]	.51448
Total variance explained, 31.2%	
<u>Organizational Decision Area</u>	
the promotion of newsroom employees [O]	.83428
the planning and content of newsroom staff meetings [O]	.66042
the hiring of newsroom employees [O]	.64244
the success of the newsroom [O]	.63864
the setting of deadlines [O]	.61863
the evaluation of newsroom employees [P]	.61379
the methods used to discipline newsroom employees [P]	.59573
assigning non-work duties after regular shift [O]	.58834
the conduct of newsroom employees during working hours [O]	.58118
changing/ modifying how things are done in the newsroom [O]	.57815
the assignment of news stories [O]	.54150
Total variance explained, 11.0%	
<u>Personal Decision Area</u>	
your political views [Pr]	.74927
the friends you have outside work [Pr]	.72980
your religious views [Pr]	.69785
your contributing to charity station supports [Pr]	.61288
your involvement in outside activities [Pr]	.54979
your marriage or relationship(s) [Pr]	.53938
Total variance explained, 6.2%	

Total variance explained by three dimensions, 48.4%. P, professional decision item. O, organizational decision item. Pr, personal decision item.

Table 23  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics  
by Professional Area Decision Acceptance Index

	Low	Moderate	High
Gender			
Men	33.8%	33.1%	33.1%
Women	32.0	30.1	37.9
Language <sup>b</sup>			
* English	24.6%	34.0%	41.4%
French	73.0	23.8	3.2
Age <sup>a*</sup>	31.4 yrs	33.6 yrs	30.6 yrs
Education*	14.5 yrs	13.7 yrs	14.4 yrs
Income <sup>a*</sup>	\$28,855	\$23,265	\$18,616
Market Size <sup>b</sup>			
Small	30.5%	23.2%	46.3%
Medium	28.1	34.8	37.1
Large	37.3	35.0	27.7
Region of Work <sup>b</sup>			
British Columbia	18.0%	34.0%	48.0%
Prairies	24.1	43.1	32.8
Ontario	28.0	28.8	43.2
Quebec	62.7	31.3	6.0
Atlantic Provinces	32.6	26.1	41.3
Radio experience <sup>a*</sup>	9.3 yrs	9.5 yrs	6.3 yrs
News experience <sup>a*</sup>	8.0 yrs	8.2 yrs	5.2 yrs
In current job <sup>a*</sup>	4.7 yrs	5.3 yrs	3.7 yrs
Newsroom employees*	6.6	7.6	7.6
Number of news jobs <sup>a*</sup>	3.4	3.6	2.6
Station			
AM	36.9%	29.9%	33.1%
FM	38.7	41.9	19.4
AM & FM	28.8	46.4	51.7

a. F-test  $p < .05$ . b.  $X^2$  test of independence  $p < .05$ . (n = 371)  
\* denotes mean.

Table 24  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics  
by Organizational Area Decision Acceptance

	Low	Moderate	High
Gender			
Men	34.7%	35.1%	30.1%
Women	28.4	32.4	39.2
Language <sup>b</sup>			
English	25.7%	35.5%	38.8%
French	62.5	29.7	7.8
Age*	32.7 yrs	31.2 yrs	31.3 yrs
Education*	14.5 yrs	13.8 yrs	14.2 yrs
Income <sup>a*</sup>	\$29,995	\$19,787	\$20,451
Market Size			
Small	40.0%	38.8%	26.3%
Medium	29.5	42.0	28.4
Large	31.2	30.6	38.2
Region of Work <sup>b</sup>			
British Columbia	12.2%	51.0%	36.7%
Prairies	40.0	20.0	40.0
Ontario	23.6	35.0	41.5
Quebec	53.0	31.8	15.2
Atlantic Provinces	37.8	37.8	24.4
Radio experience <sup>a*</sup>	10.3 yrs	6.9 yrs	7.6 yrs
News experience <sup>a*</sup>	8.4 yrs	6.1 yrs	6.7 yrs
In current job*	5.2 yrs	4.0 yrs	4.1 yrs
Newsroom employees <sup>a*</sup>	6.3	7.0	8.2
Number of news jobs*	3.3	3.1	3.2
Station			
AM	37.0%	35.1%	27.9%
FM	35.5	35.5	29.0
AM & FM	28.2	33.3	38.5

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  test of independence  $p < .05$ . (n = 371)

\* denotes mean.

Table 25  
Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics  
by Personal Area Decision Acceptance

	Low	Moderate	High
Gender			
Men	29.7%	17.5%	52.8%
Women	42.7	16.5	40.8
Language <sup>b</sup>			
English	28.7%	19.7%	51.6%
French	53.6	7.2	39.1
Age <sup>a*</sup>	31.4 yrs	30.1 yrs	32.9 yrs
Education <sup>a*</sup>	14.6 yrs	14.7 yrs	13.6 yrs
Income*	\$26,306	\$20,820	\$22,204
Market Size <sup>b</sup>			
Small	27.1%	14.1%	58.8%
Medium	43.2	20.0	36.8
Large	31.4	17.2	51.5
Region of Work			
British Columbia	38.3%	10.6%	51.1%
Prairies	28.3	16.7	55.0
Ontario	26.4	21.6	52.0
Quebec	49.3	11.6	39.1
Atlantic Provinces	31.1	22.2	46.7
Radio experience <sup>a*</sup>	7.4 yrs	6.9 yrs	9.1 yrs
News experience*	6.4 yrs	6.6 yrs	7.6 yrs
In current job <sup>a*</sup>	4.5 yrs	3.2 yrs	5.1 yrs
Newsroom employees*	5.8	7.9	7.5
Number of news jobs*	2.9	3.1	3.3
Station			
AM	36.2%	14.1%	49.7%
FM	21.2	30.3	48.5
AM & FM	33.3	17.6	49.0

<sup>a</sup> F-test  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2$  test of independence  $p < .05$ . (n = 371)  
\* denotes mean.

Table 26  
Professional and Organizational Inter-indices Correlations

A: Professional Indices Inter-correlations

	PI	PE	SOC	CAR
PE	.6930			
SOC	.6170	.1364		
CAR	.6748	.2282	.4523	
IA	.5679	.2159	.2698	.2401

B: Professional and Organizational Indices Correlations  
with Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics

	Lang	Educ	Income	Radio Exp	News Exp	Yrs in Cur Job	No News Jobs	Nwsrm Empl
PI	-.12	-.11	-.20	-.11				
PE	.11	.19	-.15					
SOC	-.11		-.10	-.15				
CAR	-.22	-.11	-.13	-.12	-.11			
IA			-.13					-.12
RHI				-.11	-.13		-.23	
PAI	.12				.19	.14		-.19
JCI	-.19					-.14	.14	
REI		-.10		-.11	-.12			

All correlations significant at or beyond .04. Minimum n = 324. PI, professionalism index. PE, professional employee index. SOC, social aspects of newswork index. CAR, career aspects of newswork index. REI, rule enforcement index. RHI, reliance on hierarchy of authority index. JCI, job codification index. PAI, decision participation index. Language is normalized.

Table 27  
Correlation of Professional and Organizational Indices  
with Decision Areas

	<u>Decision Type</u>			
	Prof	Org	Pers	Total
<u>Professional Indices</u>				
Professionalism [PI]	.031	.076	.108 <sup>a</sup>	.061
Professional employee [PE]	-.047	.169 <sup>c</sup>	.269 <sup>c</sup>	.104 <sup>a</sup>
Social benefits of newswork [SOC]	.107 <sup>a</sup>	.030	.049	.042
Careerism [CAR]	.026	-.043	.024	-.016
Impact & autonomy [IA]	-.015	-.102 <sup>a</sup>	-.042	-.075
<u>Organizational Indices</u>				
Reliance on hierarchy [RHI]	.064	-.144 <sup>b</sup>	-.076	-.057
Job codification [JCI]	-.047	-.100 <sup>a</sup>	.009	-.145 <sup>b</sup>
Decision participation [PAI]	-.152 <sup>b</sup>	.030	-.043	-.073
Rule enforcement [REI]	-.002	-.107 <sup>a</sup>	.038	-.041

<sup>a</sup>  $p < .05$ . <sup>b</sup>  $p < .01$ . <sup>c</sup>  $p < .001$  Minimum  $n = 322$ .

Table 28  
Correlations Among Professional, Organizational and Decision Indices

	PI	PE	SOC	CAR	IA	RHI	JCI	PAI	REI	PDA	ODA
PE	.73										
SOC	.64	.18									
CAR	.73	.34	.48								
IA	.57	.19	.32	.30							
RHI	-.06	-.15	.04	.09	-.01						
JCI	.03	-.07	.01	.02	.11	-.34					
PAI	.12	.16	-.05	.03	.12	-.36	.11				
REI	.05	.01	.11	.08	-.01	.61	-.32	-.26			
PDA	.03	-.05	.11	.03	-.02	.06	-.05	-.15	-.01		
ODA	.08	.17	.03	-.04	-.10	-.14	-.10	.03	-.11	.59	
PRDA	.11	.27	-.05	.02	-.04	-.08	.01	-.04	.04	-.24	.01

Correlations larger than  $\pm .091$  significant at or beyond .05. The correlation coefficient,  $r$ , is rounded to two decimal places. Minimum  $n = 325$ . PI, professionalism index. PE, professional employee index. SOC, social aspects of newswork index. CAR, career aspects of newswork index. IA, impact and autonomy index. REI, rule enforcement index. RHI, reliance on hierarchy of authority index. JCI, job codification index. PAI, decision participation index. PDA, professional decision index. ODA, organizational decision index. PRDA, personal decision index.



## Chapter VII

### ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS

Chapter 6 provided a foundation for assessing the viability of the propositions proffered in Chapter 5. Generally, the propositions deal with (1) inter-relationships among aspects of the organizational structure of radio newsrooms, (2) professionalism among radio newsmen, (3) the effect of organizational structure and (4) the combined (i.e., additive) influence of organizational structure and professionalism on newsmen's willingness to accept superordinate decisions regarding professional judgment, organizational matters and personal issues. This chapter tests the propositions.

Four propositions deal with organizational structure. The first, the more reliance on the hierarchy of authority (RHI), the less subordinates participation in decision processes (PAI), addresses the relationship between the two indices of centralization. It implies an inverse relation between them and is, as Table 28 reveals, supported by the data ( $r = -.36$ ). Thus, the more reliance on hierarchical authority in radio newsroom, the less decision participation by newsmen.

Table 29  
Correlations of Professional, Organizational and Decision Indices  
with Newsworker and Newsroom Characteristics

	Age	ED	RE	NE	ICJ	NNJ	NRS	\$\$\$	G*	LG*	MS*	RG*
PI	-.05	-.05	-.05	-.01	.05	-.01	.05	-.20	.10	.13	.01	.01
PE	-.07	-.19	.01	.03	.06	.05	.12	-.14	.09	.04	.08	.01
SOC	.04	-.05	-.11	.03	.03	-.10	-.01	-.91	.05	.07	.01	.01
CAR	.01	.01	-.05	-.06	.05	-.05	.05	-.16	.12	.17	.07	.02
IA	.01	.10	.05	-.01	.02	.07	-.06	-.12	.04	.14	.04	.06
RHI	-.02	.03	-.13	-.17	-.10	-.19	-.06	.07	.15	.05	.05	.04
JCI	.08	-.02	.02	.02	-.09	.11	.08	-.01	.09	.16	.08	.01
PAI	.04	-.08	.11	.20	.16	.08	-.01	-.20	.08	.12	.10	.05
REI	-.02	-.09	-.13	-.09	-.08	-.08	.06	.01	.07	.05	.11	.04
PDA	-.14	.02	-.25	-.26	-.15	-.18	.15	-.18	.13	.36	.05	.13
ODA	-.08	-.12	-.15	-.09	-.06	-.05	.17	-.10	.13	.25	.07	.13
PRDA	.06	-.20	.03	.08	.01	.15	.08	-.26	.09	.10	.01	.01
ED	-.24											
RE	.71	-.16										
NE	.67	-.16	.76									
ICJ	.59	-.11	.66	.74								
NNJ	.23	-.11	.28	.36	.14							
NRS	.16	-.11	.18	.26	.16	.30						
\$\$\$	.27	.01	.30	.26	.23	.18	.11					
G*	.32	.23	.30	.29	.23	.03	.04	.03				
LG*	.05	.03	.04	.13	.16	.04	.16	.34	.04			
MS*	.12	.04	.17	.28	.15	.30	.47	.24	.11	.10		
RG*	.02	.18	.01	.01	.03	.03	.03	.15	.16	.73	.17	

PI, professionalism index. PE, professional employee index. SOC, social aspects of newswork index. CAR, career aspects of newswork index. IA, impact and autonomy index. REI, rule enforcement index. RHI, reliance on hierarchy of authority index. JCI, job codification index. PAI, decision participation index. PDA, professional decision index. ODA, organizational decision index. PRDA, personal decision index. RE, radio experience. NE, news experience. ICJ, years in current job. NNJ, number of news jobs. NRS, newsroom size. \$\$\$, income. G, gender. MS, market size. REG, region. \* eta used to estimate association of gender, language, market size and region with other variables; phi used to estimate gender and language association; Cramer's V used to estimate association between gender market size and region, language, market size and region and market size and region.  $r \geq \pm .09$ , eta  $> .09$  and phi and V  $> .16$  significant  $\leq .05$ . r rounded to two decimal places. Minimum n = 325.

The second organizational structure proposition,

the more rule enforcement (REI), the less subordinates participate in decision processes (PAI),

deals with the relationship between one aspect of formalization (REI) and one aspect of centralization (PAI), as defined by Aiken and Hage (1967) and Hage and Aiken (1966) and implies an inverse correlation between the indices. As Table 28 reveals, REI and PAI are correlated, as anticipated ( $r = -.26$ ). In newsrooms characterized by strict (i.e., higher) rule enforcement, newswriters participate in decisions less often.

The third organizational proposition,

the more reliance on hierarchy of authority (RHI), the more job codification (JCI),

deals with one aspect of centralization (RHI) and a second aspect of formalization (JCI). It suggests that in radio newsrooms a high level of reliance on hierarchical authority is accompanied by explicitness in defining the duties and responsibilities of newsroom jobs and predicts a positive correlation. This proposition was not supported. (See Table 28) In fact, quite the opposite: in radio newsrooms, a high level of reliance on the hierarchy is accompanied by a low level of job codification ( $r = -.34$ ).

The final organization-related proposition,

the more reliance on hierarchy of authority (RHI), the more rule enforcement (REI),

implies reliance on hierarchy and rule enforcement are related such that one increases in proportion to the other, that is, they are positively correlated. As Table 28 reveals, there is a robust correlation between reliance on hierarchy and rule enforcement ( $r = .61$ ), which supports the existence of the predicted relationship in radio newsrooms.

Overall, three of the four organizational structure propositions are supported. In radio newsrooms, reliance on hierarchical authority is associated with a high level of rule enforcement and a low level of newsworker participation in decisions. Needless to say, in radio newsroom that strictly enforce rules, regardless of level of reliance on hierarchical authority, there is little decision participation by newsworkers.

The data contradict one proposition, that reliance on hierarchy and job codification are inversely related. This should not have been entirely unexpected. If all but the most routine tasks must be referred to a superordinate for approval, as in the newsroom Stark (1962) studied, extensive job definition is unnecessary, not to mention ineffective. In other words, reliance on hierarchy implies most, if not all, employee actions are pre-approved by a superordinate, whereas job codification implies that once job requirements are laid out, employees are on their own; only exceptional actions require approval.

The next four propositions concern professionalism among newsworkers. First,

more professional newsworkers will emphasize the professional and de-emphasize the non-professional aspects of newswork,

which implies an inverse correlation between professional and non-professional attitudes regarding work. This topic was touched on in Chapter 6. The proposition is not supported by the data. Perceptions of professional and non-professional items in the McLeod and Hawley (1964) Professional Orientation Index (POI) are positively correlated ( $r = .553$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Thus, newsworkers who perceive the professional items to be important also perceive the non-professional items to be important,

although not quite as important, as evinced in the less than perfect correlation (cp. McFarlane, 1961).

The second professionalism proposition, more professional newswriters will have more education, implies a positive correlation between professionalism and education. This is a basic issue in the professionalism literature (cp. Ritzer, 1977; Moore, 1970; Parsons, 1968, 1939, 1937; Goode, 1969, 1961, 1960; Barber, 1965b). It was also touched on in Chapter 6. As Table 28 reveals, education is inversely related to the professional employee (PE) index and positively related to the impact and autonomy (IA) index. Thus, radio newswriters with less education tend to emphasize the professional employee dimension, while their colleagues with more education emphasize impact and autonomy. (See Table 29)

More than three-fifths (63.3%) of radio newswriters completed a post-secondary degree or diploma programme: 46.4% graduated from a university, 49.8% from a community college and 3.8% from both a university and community college.<sup>1</sup> Radio newswriters who did not complete a post-secondary programme exhibit more professionalism, as estimated by the version of the McLeod Hawley Method used in this study, than do those who completed post-secondary programme. (See Table 30:1) There is some indication, then, that more education, specifically completion of a post-secondary education, dilutes professionalism among radio newswriters.

Does type of post-secondary education effect professionalism? Does a newswriter with a BA, for example, exhibit more or less professionalism

**Table 30**  
**One Way Analyses of Variance**  
**Professionalism Indices by Post-secondary Education**

**1. Professionalism Index by "Completed post-secondary programme?"**

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob
Between Groups	1	168.0563	168.0563	4.1550	.0422
Within Groups	369	14924.6876	40.4463		
Total	370	15092.7439			

Means (n): Yes (235), 58.02; No (136), 59.42.

**2. Professionalism Scale by post-secondary degree type.**

Between Groups	3	552.2503	184.0834	4.8939	.0026
Within Groups	231	8689.1066	37.6152		
Total	234	9241.3570			

Means (n): BA (96), 57; MA/PhD (13), 54; Community College (117), 59; Community College and BA (9), 60.5.

**3. Social benefits of newwork Index (SOC) by post-secondary degree type.**

Between Groups	3	226.0313	75.3438	4.8605	.0027
Within Groups	231	3580.8131	15.5014		
Total	234	3806.8444			

Mean (n): BA (96), 17.4; MA/PhD (13), 14.4; Community College (117), 18.5; Community College and BA (9), 18.7.

**4. Professionalism Index (PI) by type of post-secondary education.**

Between Groups	3	416.6317	138.8772	3.6748	.0130
Within Groups	213	8049.6720	37.7919		
Total	216	8466.3036			

Mean (n): newwork (60), 59.1; radio-television (61), 59.4; Arts (72), 56.3; Other (24), 56.9.

**5. Careerism Index (CAR) by type of post-secondary education.**

Between Groups	3	161.3083	53.7694	5.2564	.0016
Within Groups	213	2178.8623	10.2294		
Total	216	2340.1705			

Mean (n): newwork (60), 17.3; radio-television (61), 17.4; Arts (72), 15.6; Other (24), 15.8.

Table 31  
Standardized Betas, Correlation and Partial Correlations  
for Multiple Regressions on Decision Areas

## 1. Professional

Variable	Beta (SE)	ZOR	PR	PR <sup>2</sup>	t-test	Sign
Anglophone	.329 (.05)	.356	.337	.114	6.84	.0000
News Exp	-.376 (.07)	-.209	-.249	.062	-5.31	.0000
In Curr Job	.232 (.07)	-.073	.171	.029	3.33	.0010
Newsroom Size	.148 (.05)	.125	.155	.024	3.01	.0028

Multiple R = .444; R<sup>2</sup> = .197. F (4, 366) = 22.5, p < .001 .

## 2. Organizational

Anglophone	-.529 (.07)	-.266	-.372	.138	-7.58	.0000
Rule Enfrcm't	-.225 (.05)	-.106	-.230	.053	-4.48	.0000
Radio Exp	-.281 (.06)	-.128	-.226	.051	-4.39	.0000
Education	-.211 (.05)	-.086	-.222	.049	-4.31	.0000
Job Codft'n	-.206 (.05)	-.098	-.212	.045	-4.10	.0001
Atlantic Prov	-.154 (.05)	-.101	-.162	.026	-3.10	.0021
Quebec	.192 (.07)	-.107	.144	.021	2.76	.0061
The Prairies	-.125 (.05)	-.025	-.134	.018	-2.56	.0110
Small Market	-.105 (.05)	-.081	-.116	.014	-2.21	.0280
In Curr Job	.142 (.06)	-.051	.119	.014	2.26	.0245
Impct & Atmny	-.099 (.05)	-.095	-.113	.013	-2.15	.0321
Female	.103 (.06)	.119	.108	.012	2.06	.0402

Multiple R = .509; R<sup>2</sup> = .259. F (12, 358) = 5.73, p < .001 .

## 3. Personal

Income	-.208 (.05)	-.208	-.209	.044	-4.08	.0001
Prof Empl	.130 (.05)	.181	.139	.019	2.69	.0075
No. News Jobs	.120 (.05)	.109	.123	.015	2.37	.0185
Rel on Hier	-.140 (.06)	-.108	-.116	.014	-2.23	.0262
Rule Enfrcm't	.134 (.06)	.038	.113	.013	2.17	.0303

Multiple R = .319; R<sup>2</sup> = .102. F (5, 365) = 8.3, p < .001.

SE, standard error of Beta. ZOR, zero-order correlation. PR, partial correlation. PR<sup>2</sup>, partial coefficient of determination.

than a community college graduate? Type of post-secondary education does, indeed, exert some influence on professionalism. Radio newswriters who graduated from both a university and a community college score highest on the overall professional index, followed by community college graduates, those with BA's and, lastly, those with graduate degrees (e.g., MA, PhD). (See Table 30:2) This pattern is also evident in the social facet of newswriter professionalism (SOC). (See Table 30:3) Thus, community college attendance enhances the overall professionalism of radio newswriters and, simultaneously, the perceptions of the importance of its social benefits.

It is not, however, just more education or the source of the education that contributes to professionalism. It is a professional education (e.g., post-secondary education in newswriting at a university or community college) that should enhance professionalism. Thus, the third professionalism related proposition,

more professional newswriters will have more specific education, such as formal newswriting training,

which implies a positive association between professionalism and post-secondary training in a newswriting-related area, finds some support. Newswriters with a post-secondary education in newswriting or radio-television, a newswriting-related area, score higher on the overall professionalism index than do those who completed a post-secondary programme in other areas (e.g., arts, humanities, business, engineering, social sciences). (See Table 30:4) Graduates of newswriting-related programmes also rate careerism (CAR) as more important than do other newswriters. (See Table 30:5) Since most radio newswriters undertake a



professional education at a community college, findings, once again, underscore the contradictory effects of such education.

Overall, the inter-relationships between education and various indicators of newsworker professionalism are not as expected. More education appears to dilute professionalism among newsworkers: those with less than a post-secondary education are more professional than those who completed a post-secondary education at a community college or university. Among newsworkers who complete a post-secondary education, community college graduates, who generally take newswork-related programmes, are more professional than university graduates, who generally study in a non-newswork-related area. This implies a newswork-related education may contribute to professionalism among newsworkers. The veracity of this finding, however, is undermined by the fact that while community college and university graduates do not vary in rating the importance of the overall professionalism, professional employee and impact and autonomy facets of their work, graduates of community college place significantly more emphasis on the social (SOC) and career (CAR) facets than do university graduates. Unlike the other facets of newswork professionalism, SOC and CAR are tinged by implied personal benefit.

The next four propositions consider the impact of organizational structure on professionalism. First,

the more reliance on hierarchy of authority (RHI), the less professional (i.e., professionally oriented) subordinates will be, implies reliance on hierarchy impedes or impugns professionalism among employees and anticipates inverse correlations between RHI and indicators of professionalism. As Table 28 reveals, the predicted relationships, for

the most part, do not materialize. Only RHI and the professional employee (PE) index are correlated, and as expected ( $r = -.15$ ).

Next,

the more rules are enforced (REI), the less professional (i.e., professionally oriented) subordinates will be,

implies rule enforcement, like reliance on hierarchy, is inversely correlated with indicators of professionalism among employees. Given the robust correlation between rule enforcement and hierarchical reliance, it is not surprising the anticipated relationships do not materialize. (See Table 28) An unanticipated positive correlation ( $r = .11$ ) between rule enforcement and the social facets (SOC) facet of newswork professionalism did, however, emerge. Thus, in radio newsrooms characterized by strict rule enforcement, there is a concomitant importance placed on the social facets of newsworker professionalism.

The third organizational impact on professionalism proposition,

the more subordinates are allowed to participate in decisions (PAI), the more professional (i.e., professionally oriented) subordinates will be,

implies positive correlations between decision participation and the indicators of newsworker professionalism, which are evident between PAI and the overall professional (PI) ( $r = .12$ ), the professional employee (PE) ( $r = .16$ ) and the impact and autonomy (IA) ( $r = .12$ ) facets. (See Table 28) Thus, in newsrooms where the level of decision participation is high, newsworkers exhibit a higher level of professionalism.

The last organizational impact on professional proposition,

the more job codification (JCI), the more professional subordinates will be,

implies, as did Hall (1975) and Kornhauser (1962), among others, that professionalism is abetted by the ostensibly hands-off implications of extensive job codification. Job codification, however, is correlated ( $r = .11$ ) only with the impact and autonomy (IA) facet of professionalism. Thus, in newsrooms where the level of job codification is high, newswriters place more emphasis on professional impact and autonomy.

Overall, there is some evidence the organizational structure of radio newsrooms, specifically the perceived degree of centralization and formalization, effects newswriter professionalism. Newsroom reliance on hierarchical authority, which is at best limited, dampens rankings on the professional employee index, but the other four professionalism facets are unaffected. Similarly, the anticipated relation of rule enforcement and professionalism do not materialize, although a positive correlation was discovered between rule enforcement and the importance of the social facets of newswriter professionalism.

Decision participation and professionalism are related, as expected. Generally, the more radio newswriters participate in decisions, the more importance they place on two facets of professionalism, professional employee (PE) and impact and autonomy (IA), and the overall professional index (PI). Of course, it is difficult to ascertain the direction of the influence. Does increased decision participation promote professionalism among newswriters? Or are newsrooms characterized by greater decision participation perhaps more attractive to more professional newswriters? Or, perhaps, are professionals more likely to be found in newsrooms characterized by a high level of decision participation (i.e., if decision

participation was low, professionals would leave the newsroom)? Lastly, job codification, which should contribute to professionalism among employees by enhancing their autonomy does: it was positively correlated with the impact and autonomy (IA) facet of newswork professionalism.

Several propositions address the effect of organizational structure on decision acceptance. As Table 28 reveals, the first structural effect on decision acceptance proposition,

the more an organization relies on hierarchy of authority (RHI), the less likely decision acceptance,

which implies an inverse correlation between reliance on hierarchical authority and the three indicators of decision acceptance, is supported only for decisions dealing with organizational matters (ODA) ( $r = -.14$ ). Thus, the willingness to accept a superordinate's decisions regarding organizational matters diminishes in proportion to the degree of reliance on hierarchical authority extant in a radio newsroom. Acceptance of decisions in the professional and personal areas, however, is not effected by reliance on hierarchical authority.

As noted in Chapter 5, the decision participation index (PAI), plays a dual role. On the one hand, it reflects newsworker perceptions of their role in newsroom decision processes. On the other, it reflects the superordinate's willingness to allow subordinates to participate in decision processes (i.e., zone of permissibility). The next proposition,

the more an organization relies on hierarchy of authority (RHI) the less willing superordinates are to allow subordinates to participate in decision (PAI) processes (i.e., narrow zone of permissibility),

focuses on the second conceptualization of PAI. It implies an inverse

correlation between hierarchical reliance and participation in decisions, which is revealed in Table 28 ( $r = -.36$ ). Thus, the more reliance there is on hierarchical authority in a radio newsroom, the less willing superordinate's are to allow newswork participation in decisions.

Third,

the more subordinates are allowed to participate in the decision making process (PAI), the more likely decision acceptance,

implies positive correlations between PAI and the three decision area indices, which did not materialize. (See Table 28) The data, in fact, suggest decision participation lessens newsworker willingness to accept decisions concerning professional judgment (PDA) ( $r = -.15$ ).

The fourth organizational effect on acceptance proposition,

the more job codification (JCI), the more likely decision acceptance,

implies the more thoroughly duties and responsibilities are defined, the more likely it is newsworkers will accept decisions and thus predicts positive correlations between job codification and the decision acceptance indicators. The data fail to support the proposition. In fact, a high level of job codification tends to decrease newsworker willingness to accept decisions dealing with organizational matters (ODA) ( $r = -.10$ ). (See Table 28)

The next proposition,

the more job codification (JCI), the more willing superordinates are to allow subordinates to participate in decision processes (PAI) (i.e., wide zone of permissibility),

views PAI as indicative of the willingness to allow newsworkers to participate in newsroom decisions. It implies a positive correlation

between JCI and PAI. Again, the anticipated relation does not emerge, in fact, just the opposite ( $r = -.36$ ). Thus, the greater the extent of newsroom job codification, the less willing superordinate's are to allow newswriters to participate in decisions. (See Table 28)

The sixth organizational impact on decision acceptance proposition, the more strictly rule observation is enforced (REI), the less likely decision acceptance,

implies strict rule enforcement decreases the inclination to accept decisions. It predicts inverse correlations between REI and the three decision acceptance indices. Only the willingness to accept decisions in the organizational area is effected by a high level of rule enforcement ( $r = -.11$ ) in radio newsrooms. (See Table 28) Thus, in radio newsrooms characterized by strict rule enforcement, newswriter acceptance of superordinate decisions regarding professional and personal issues will be unaffected while acceptance of decisions regarding organizational matters will be lessened.

Next,

the more strictly rules are enforced (REI), the less willing superordinates are to allow subordinates to participate in decision processes (PAI) (i.e., narrow zone of permissibility),

implies an inverse correlation between rule enforcement and decision participation, which materialized ( $r = -.26$ ). Thus, the greater the level of rule enforcement in newsrooms, the more willing are superordinates to allow newswriter participation in decision processes.

Overall, there is, at best, sporadic support evident among newswriters for these propositions. First, reliance on hierarchical authority does not effect acceptance of decisions regarding professional judgment or

personal issues, but undermines acceptance of decisions relating to organizational matters. Participation in decision processes, which Shilane (1983, Kunz (1973) and Clear and Seager (1971) found contributed to decision acceptance, was dormant among radio newswriters when it came to organizational and personal decisions, but demonstrably undermined their willingness to accept superordinate decisions regarding professional judgment.

Similarly, a high level of job codification was expected to enhance the willingness to accept decisions, but did not. In fact, it contributed to a lower level of acceptance of organizational decisions. Rule enforcement, like reliance on hierarchy, was predicted to reduce acceptance levels, generally, but only effected organizational decisions, as expected; acceptance of professional judgment and personal issue decisions were not effected by rule enforcement.

The decision participation index played a two-fold role in the analysis. It reflected newswriter perceptions of their roles in newsroom decision processes and the superordinate's willingness to allow subordinates to participate in decisions (i.e., zone of permissibility). Reliance on hierarchical authority, as expected, narrowed the zone of permissibility. Job codification was expected to widen the zone of permissibility, but, as the evidence reveals, among newswriters, it has the opposite effect. Finally, rule enforcement dampened superordinate willingness to allow subordinates to participate in newsroom decisions.

The next set of propositions address the combined (i.e., additive) effects of organizational structure and professionalism on decision

acceptance. Since professionalism has five dimensions and the principal concern is the effect of organizational structure and professionalism, multiple regression, rather than zero-order correlations (see Table 28), is used to gauge the relationships.

Multiple regression incorporates more than one independent variable. Thus, it

almost inevitably offers a fuller explanation of the dependent variable, since few phenomena are products of a single cause. ... [and] the effect of a particular variable is made more certain, for the possibility of distorting influences from other independent variables is removed (Lewis-Beck, 1980: 47)

Three multiple regressions were performed for each proposition, one per decision area: professional, organizational and personal. An analysis of variance was performed for each multiple regression equation and for each independent variable in the equation. If the analysis of variance is significant ( $p \leq .05$ ), the relationship is considered to be real rather than random.<sup>2</sup> Where appropriate, test results are reported in footnotes.

The first combined effects proposition,

the more reliance on hierarchy (RHI) and the more professional subordinates, the less likely decision acceptance,

implies more professional newswriters will resent newsroom reliance on hierarchial authority and, as a result, will resist decision acceptance. The proposition was not supported for decisions professional judgment (PDA) area.<sup>3</sup> For organizational decisions (ODA), only reliance on hierarchial authority had a significant effect: it was inversely related to the decision area, thus, decreasing newswriter willingness to accept superordinate decisions regarding organizational matters.<sup>4</sup> For personal decisions, regression results were significant,<sup>5</sup> but reliance on the hierarchy of



authority was not part of the equation that included only the professional employee (PE) and impact and autonomy (IA) facts of professionalism. The latter contributed to greater acceptance of decisions in the personal area while the former decreased newsworker willingness to accept such decisions.<sup>6</sup>

The second combined effects proposition,

the more reliance on hierarchy and the more professional subordinates, the less willing superordinates are to allow subordinates to participate in decision processes (i.e., narrow zone of permissibility),

implies greater decision participation, greater professionalism and less reliance on hierarchical authority induce newsworkers to accept decisions. The equation suggests (1) reliance on hierarchical authority (RHI) and impact and autonomy (IA) are related to zone of permissibility as predicted and (2) the social facet (SOC) of newswork professionalism is inversely, not positively, related to it.<sup>7</sup> Thus, in radio newsrooms characterized by (1) less reliance on hierarchical authority and (2) newsworkers who emphasize impact and autonomy and de-emphasize the social facet of newsworker professionalism and superordinates are more likely to exhibit a wider zone of permissibility (i.e., greater willingness to allow newsworker participation in decision processes).

The third combined effects proposition,

the less subordinates are allowed to participate in decision processes and the more professional subordinates, the less likely decision acceptance,

implies a low level of decision participation and high level of professionalism results in less decision acceptance. The proposition finds no support in the professional judgment decision area.<sup>8</sup> Among

organizational decisions, the regression equation includes only the overall professionalism index (PI) and the impact and autonomy (IA) facet.<sup>9</sup> While the overall professionalism index had the predicted effect, impact and autonomy tends to decrease newsworker willingness to accept such decisions. The regression equation was also significant for personal decisions,<sup>10</sup> but, again, decision participation was not in the equation, only three of the professionalism indicators: the overall professionalism index, impact and autonomy and social facets of newswork professionalism: the former contributes to a greater acceptance of decisions in the personal area while the latter two detract from acceptance of these decisions.<sup>11</sup>

The last combined or additive effects proposition,

the more strictly rules are enforced and the more professional subordinates, the less likely decision acceptance,

implies strict rule enforcement decreased the willingness of professional newsworkers to accept decisions. The data failed to support this proposition for decisions in the professional judgment area.<sup>12</sup> There was, however, some support among decisions regarding organizational matters. Rule enforcement and the impact and autonomy (IA) facet decrease newsworker willingness to accept organizational decisions, while a higher score on ~~the~~ professional employee facet (PE) increases newsworker willingness to accept these decisions.<sup>13</sup> Finally, the regression equation for decisions in the personal area was significant, but rule enforcement was not included, only the professional employee and impact and autonomy facets effected acceptance of decisions in the personal area: the former contributing to acceptance, the latter not.<sup>14</sup>

Overall, a pattern of limited support for the propositions continues.

No support was found for the predicted combined effect of reliance on hierarchial authority and professionalism on acceptance of decision regarding professional judgment. There is, however, confirmation that reliance on hierarchy undermines acceptance of organizational decisions and two facets of professionalism, professional employeeism and impact and autonomy, have opposite effects on acceptance of decisions in the personal area: the former contributes to while the latter detracts from acceptance.

Second, some support was found for the proposition reliance on hierarchy and professionalism would impact superordinate willingness to allow newswriters to participate in newsroom decisions (zone of permissibility): reliance on hierarchy and the social facets of professionalism exert negative influence, as predicted, but impact and autonomy enhances decision participation. Third, the predicted combined effect of decision participation and professionalism was not supported: less reliance on hierarchial authority and more professionalism among newswriters did not effect the willingness to accept decisions, of any kind. Nonetheless, the regressions revealed that (1) acceptance of organizational decisions was enhanced by professionalism employeeism, but impact and autonomy tended to decrease it and (2) for personal decisions, the overall professionalism index contributed to acceptance while impact and autonomy and the social facets facets of newswriter professional detracted from acceptance.

Lastly, the combined or additive effect of rule enforcement and professionalism on decision acceptance was supported, but only for organizational decisions: rule enforcement decreases newswriter willingness

to accept these decisions, but so does the impact and autonomy facet of professionalism while professional employeeism enhances acceptance of these decisions.

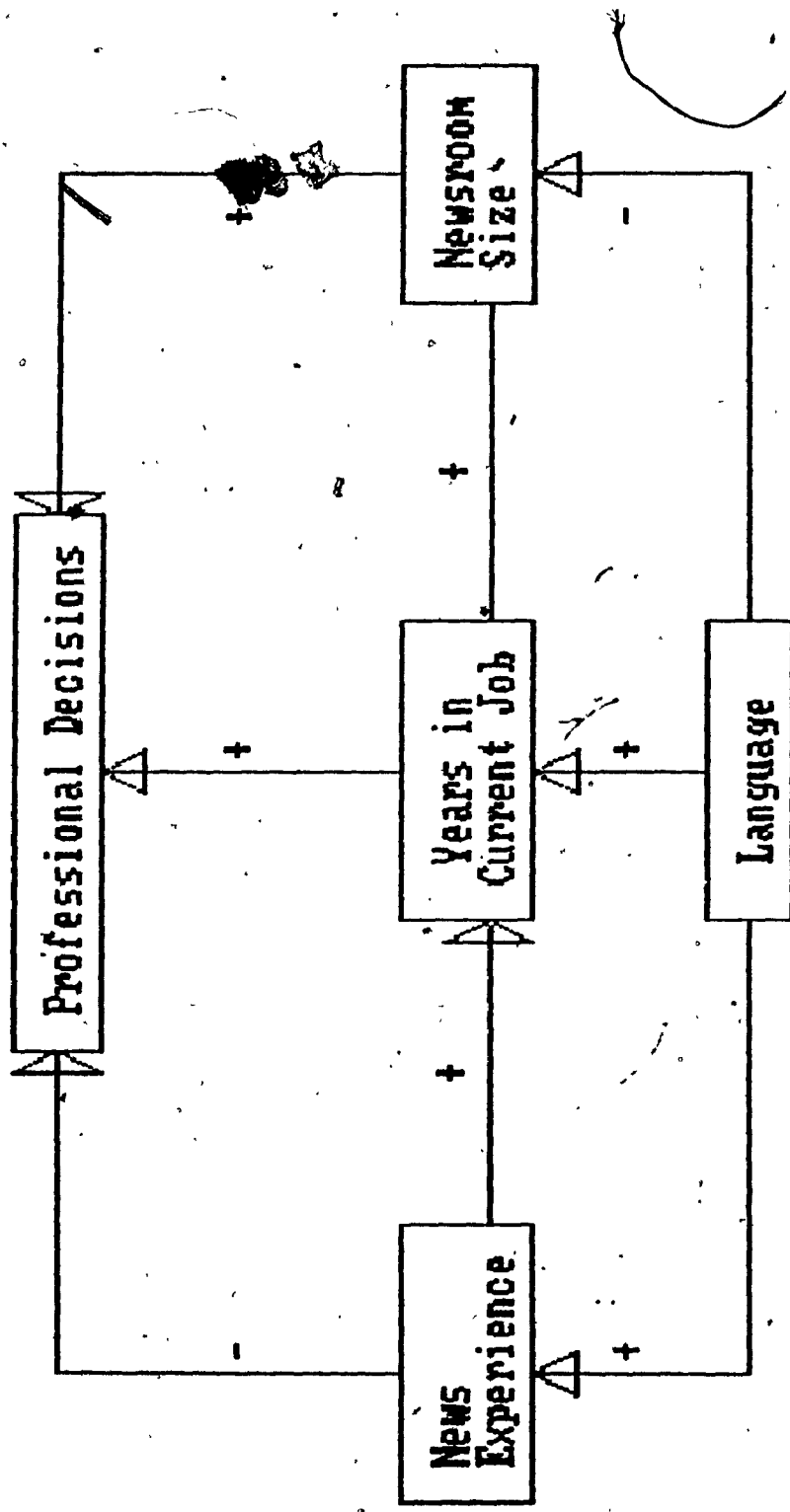
The data offer insight into the influence of professional attitudes and perceptions of organizational structure on newsworker willingness to accept superordinate decisions. Other factors, however, may also play a role. As suggested in Chapter Six, personal or newsworker<sup>15</sup> and newsroom<sup>16</sup> characteristics influence, in varying degrees, professional attitudes and perceptions of organizational structure. As a result, they effect decision acceptance, directly or indirectly.

A step beyond the formative research is required to examine the effect of personal and newsroom characteristics on decision acceptance among radio newsworkers. Exploratory multiple regressions are performed on each of the three decision areas: professional, organizational and personal. Included in the equations are (1) all newsworker and newsroom characteristics discussed in Chapter Six and (2) all professionalism and organizational structure variables.

The analysis involves entering all variables into an equation. After the first analysis, variables not contributing to the equation ( $p > .05$ ) are removed and another analysis performed. The process is repeated until all remaining variables make a significant contribution to the equation. Final results are displayed in Table 31.

Professional Decisions. Four variables: language, news experience, years in current job and number of newsroom employees, account for 19.7% of the variance in the willingness of newsworkers to accept decisions in this

Figure 1. Model of Professional Judgment Decision Acceptance.



area.<sup>17</sup> As Table 31:1 reveals, language, on its own, accounts for 11.4% of the variance — 57.9% of the variance explained by all four variables in the equation — and suggests that Anglophone newswriters are more willing to accept professional judgment decisions than are their Francophone counterparts. News experience accounts for 6.2% while years in current job and number of newsroom employees account 2.9% and 2.4%, respectively, of the variance in newswriter willingness to accept professionally-related decisions made by superordinates. Unlike language, years in current job and number of newsroom employees, which contribute to greater acceptance, news experience decreases the willingness to accept these decisions.

As Table 29 reveals, the four variables in the equation are inter-related. News experience is correlated with years in current job and newsroom size (i.e., number of employees). Thus, it effects the acceptance of professional judgment decisions directly and via years in current job and newsroom size. Directly, it detracts from acceptance and, indirectly, through years in current job and newsroom size, it contributes to acceptance.

The correlation of years in current job and newsroom size suggests slow staff turnover in larger radio newsrooms: those with more years in the current job work in larger newsrooms. Smaller newsrooms, which are usually located in smaller radio markets, are characterized by a higher rate of staff turnover. A slower staff churn rate fosters a forging of strong work-related inter-personal bonds, which generally include newsroom elites (e.g., news director). These relationships, as attested to in the

literature, tend to override professional and personal concerns, especially when it comes to getting the news out (cp. Altheide, 1976; Matejko, 1971; Warner, 1971; Breed, 1955). Thus, it is not inconsistent to find years in current job and newsroom size co-varying and influencing the willingness to accept superordinate decisions regarding matters of professional judgment.

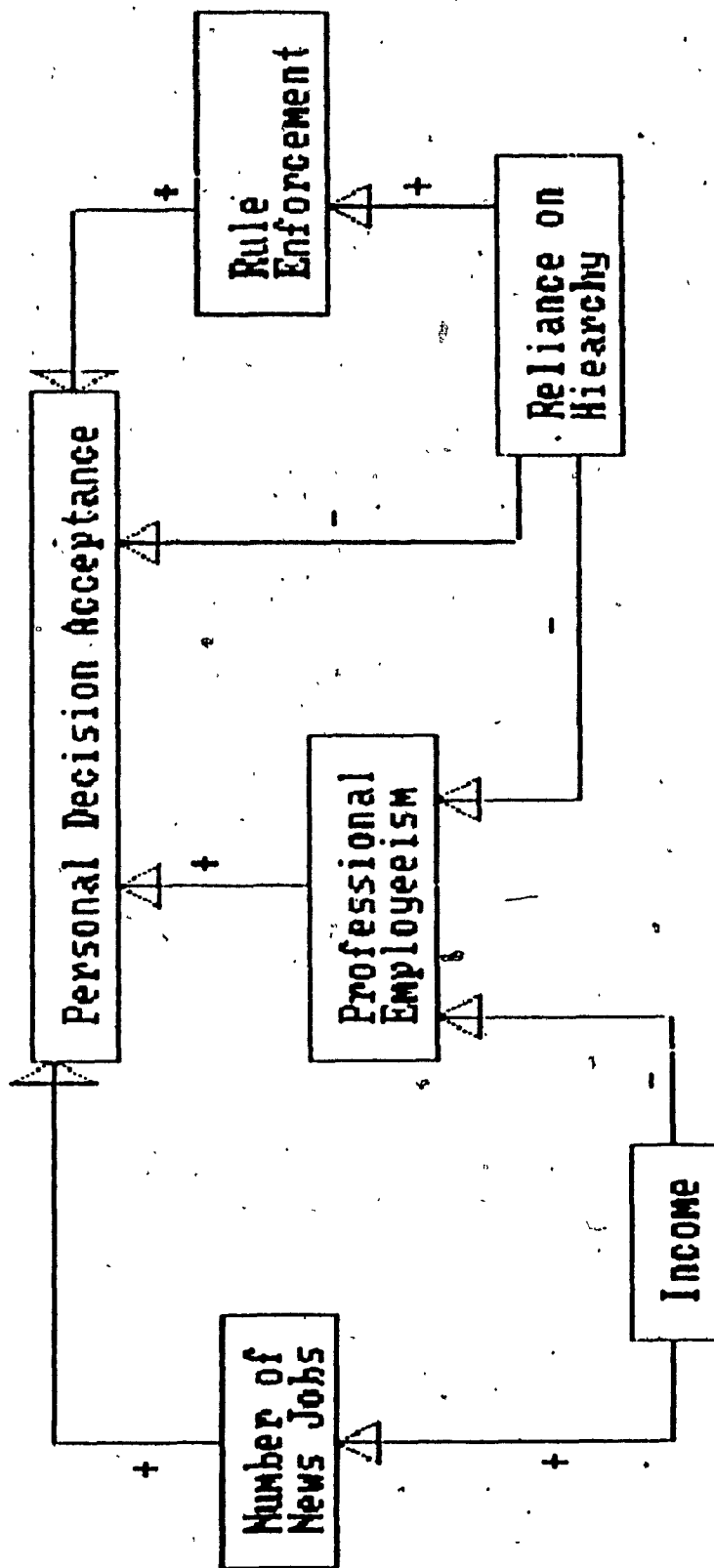
Language temporally precedes the others variables. Thus, it has a direct and an indirect effect on acceptance of professional judgment decisions. Its influence is one-on-one and via news experience, years in current job and number of newsroom employees to professional decisions acceptance.

Referring to Table 4, Chapter Six, it is clear language is important for differentiating among newswriters. There are definite personal and work-related differences extant between Anglophone and Francophone newswriters. Anglophones tend to be younger, more educated and paid less than their Francophone counterparts. Francophones have more radio and newswork experience, but have had few news jobs and work in smaller newsrooms. Given that less experienced newswriters in larger newsrooms exhibit more inclination to accept professional judgment decisions made by superordinates, it is consistent that Anglophone newswriters, who are generally less experienced and work in larger newsrooms, are more inclined to accept these decisions than are Francophone newswriters.

Figure One summarizes the causal system implied in the regression equation.<sup>18</sup>

Organizational Decisions. Twelve variables account for 25.9% of the variance in newswriter willingness to accept superordinate decisions

Figure 3. Model of Personal Decision Acceptance.





regarding organizational matters. As Table 31:2 reveals, the influence of nine of the twelve is away from, rather than toward, acceptance.

As with acceptance of professional judgment decisions, language explains a preponderance of the variance in newsworker willingness to accept organizational decisions made by superordinates. It accounts for 13.8% of the variance in acceptance of organizational decisions -- 53.3% of the variance explained by all twelve variables in the equation. The implicit assertion of the correlation is that Anglophone newsworkers more willingly accept these decisions than do their Francophone counterparts.

As Tables 28 and 29 reveal, language covaries with job codification, the impact and autonomy facet of professionalism, years in current job and, by virtue of the localization of Francophone newsworkers in Quebec, region. Consequently, language exerts indirect influence on acceptance of organizational decisions through these variables.

Rule enforcement, job codification and the impact and autonomy aspect of newsworker professionalism account for 5.3%, 4.5% and 1.3%, respectively, of the variance in organizational decision acceptance. Essentially, the less perceived newsroom rule enforcement and job codification and the less important impact and autonomy, the more willingly newsworkers accept these decisions. These variables covary: rule enforcement and job codification are inversely related while job codification is positively related to impact and autonomy. Job codification and impact and autonomy, however, are linked with language. (See Table 28) The root of the connection is likely in language. Thus, job codification effects acceptance of organizational decisions, directly, and

via rule enforcement, impact and autonomy directly has a direct effect.

The effect of rule enforcement on acceptance of organizational decisions is also influenced by radio experience and years in current job. The impact of years in current job on rule enforcement, however, is likely an overflow of the robust correlation between radio experience and years in current job. Furthermore, radio experience is related to market size: newswriters in larger markets tend to have more radio experience. So, market size indirectly influences perceptions of rule enforcement, while radio experience and years in current job effect it, directly.<sup>19</sup> (See Table 29)

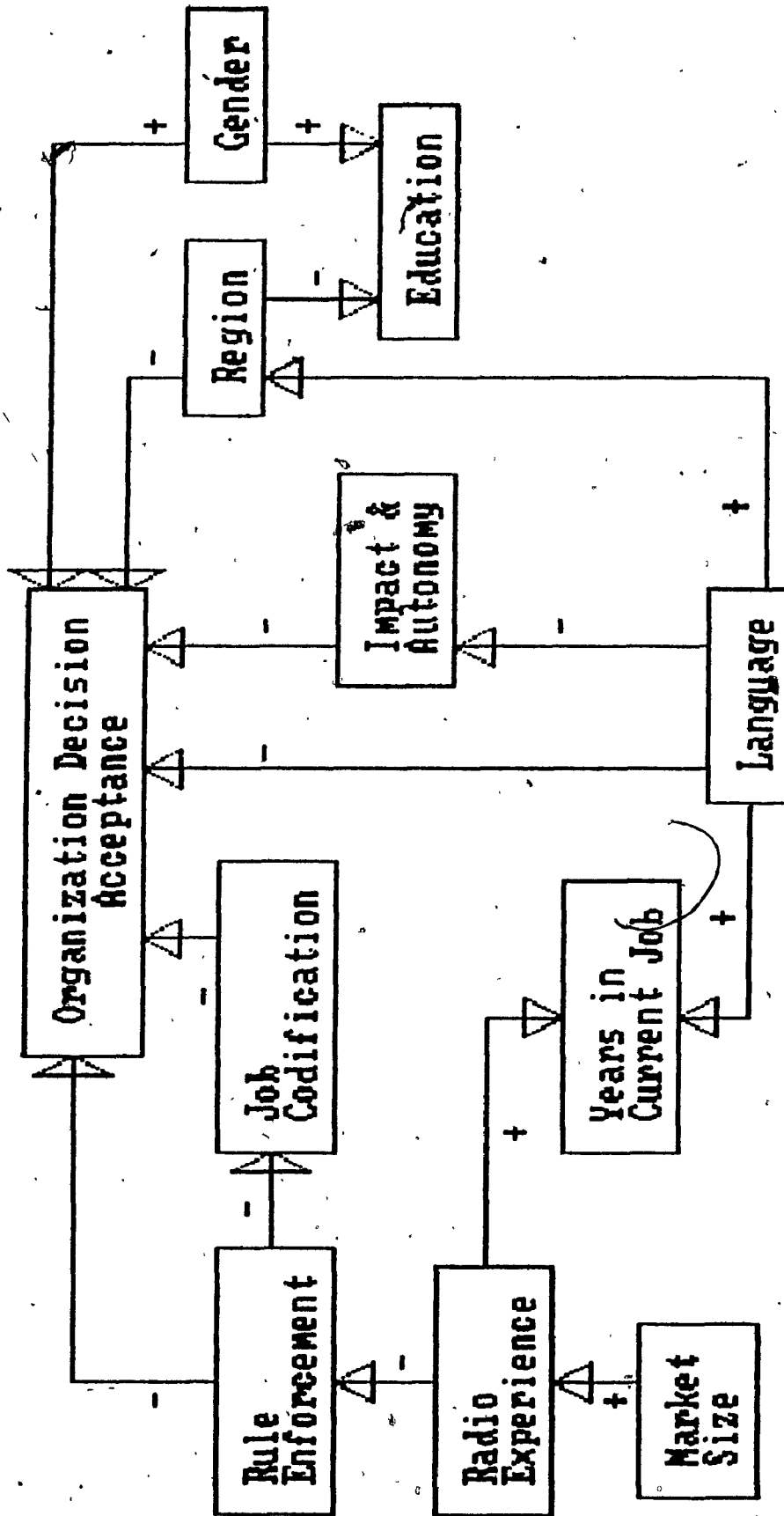
Region, gender and education directly influence acceptance of organizational decisions. Education, however, is inversely with region and positively related with gender. This implies its effect on acceptance of organizational decisions may be due to the intervening effects of region and/or gender.<sup>20</sup>

Figure Two summarizes the causal system implied in the regression equation.<sup>21</sup>

Personal Decisions. As Table 31:3 reveals, five variables: income, professional employeism, number of news jobs, reliance on hierarchial authority and rule enforcement account for 10.2% of the variance in newswriter willingness to accept decisions regarding personal issues made by a superordinate. Income and reliance on hierarchy exert a negative influence while professional employeism, number of news jobs and rule enforcement enhance acceptance of these decisions.

Income explains 4.4% of the variance in willingness to accept these

Figure 2. Model of Organization Decision Acceptance.



decisions, specifically, the more income, the less willing to accept these decisions. Referring to Chapter Six, income increased as facets of radio and newswork experience increased. (See Table 29) In the equation, therefore, income is perhaps representative of experience and implies reputation, reliability, employer confidence and other concomitants of work experience. Possibly, newsroom superordinates do not attempt to make decisions regarding the personal area for more highly paid and, by implication, more experienced newsworkers.

The professional employee (PE) facet of newsworker professionalism explains 1.9% of the variation in willingness to accept personal decisions. Generally, the higher a radio newsworker scores on the PE facet, the more willing s/he is to accept these decisions. Needless to say, this contradicts expectations. More professional newsworkers should, theoretically, exhibit more independence, especially when it comes to ostensibly personal matters.

Number of news jobs, a dimension of newswork experience, accounts for 1.5% of the variance in acceptance of personal decisions. The more news jobs a newsworker has held, the more likely s/he is to accept these decisions. Perhaps this suggests that in the relation between more experience and a decreased willingness to accept personal decisions, more experience means more experience in this newsroom?

Lastly, reliance on hierarchy and rule enforcement explain 1.4% and 1.3%, respectively, of the variance in acceptance of personal decisions. The former detracts from acceptance while the latter contributes to it. The directional contrasts are unexpected, given the robust positively

correlation between the two variables. (See Table 28)

Inter-relations among the variables mediate, in some cases, their effect. First, number of news jobs is correlated with income: the more jobs a newsworker has had, the more s/he earns. Thus, number of news jobs effects acceptance of personal decisions directly and via income.

Income is also related to the professional employee facet of newsworker professional (PE): those high on the PE scale tend to earn less than their colleagues who are low on the PE scale. Thus, number of news jobs effects income which, in turn, effects professional employeeism which, in turn, has a positive effect on newsworker willingness to accept personal decisions.

PE is correlated with perceptions of reliance on hierarchial authority -- those higher on the PE scale less newsroom reliance on hierarchy -- which decreases newsworker willingness to accept personal decisions. Furthermore, reliance on hierarchy and rule enforcement indices are positively correlated, yet exert the opposite effect on acceptance of personal decisions: the former decreases it while the latter increases it.

Figure Three summarizes the causal system implied in the regression equation. The provocativeness of the findings, notwithstanding, given the degree of homogeneity in acceptance of superordinate decisions regarding personal matters (93.8% acceptance level), the relationships require further research to be considered real and not due to sampling error, for example.

Summary. Since the implications of the analysis are discussed in Chapter Eight, it may be interesting to summarize the analysis of the exploratory

regression models by estimating their efficacy. To this end, efficacy is operationalized as the capacity to correctly classify newsworkers according to willingness to accept decisions in each of the three areas. This requires comparing the empirical self-classifications of newsworkers, based on item responses and scaling techniques, with the expected or theoretical classifications produced by the models.

Three discriminant analyses were performed, one for each decision area. discriminant analysis forms optimal linear combinations of specified independent qua predictor variables that serve as the basis for classifying respondents into one category of the dependent variable (e.g., high, medium or low decision acceptance). Essentially, discriminant analysis establishes classification rules which minimize the likelihood of misclassification (Kerlinger, 1979: 213-224; Kerlinger, 1973: 150, 650-652; Kerlinger and Pedhazur, 1973: 336-341).

The professional decision model correctly classified 54.4% of newsworkers, the organizational decision model 50.9% and the personal decision model 44.2%. Extraneous effects are implied in the three models, particularly, personal decisions. Moreover, the low rate of correct classifications generated by the personal decision model supports the contention the model may be due to sampling error.

## Chapter Notes

1. References to community college include CEGEP's.
2. Correlations among independent variables can impact solutions. The influence of X in an equation is partly due to its direct relation with the dependent variable and its relation to other independents in the equation. If an independent variable is a perfect linear combination of other independents, correlation matrix is singular and a unique, unbiased least-squares regression solution does not exist. Singularities are not as common as near singularities (i.e., multicollinearity) — almost linear combinations of independents. The regression programme, by default, issues estimates of multicollinearity and are implicit in the solutions and analysis (cf. Agresti and Findlay, 1986: Chapters 11, 12).
3.  $F(5,365) = 1.15, p < .05$ .
4. Equation  $F(2,368) = 4.02, p < .019$ . RHI Beta,  $-.1111$  ( $F(2,368) = 4.64, p < .04$ ).
5.  $F(2,368) = 8.51, p < .001$ .
6. Betas for PE,  $.205$  ( $F(2,368) = 15.4, p < .001$ ); for IA,  $-.109$ , ( $F(2,368) = 4.4, p < .04$ ).
7. Equation  $F(3,367) = 19.5, p < .001$ . Beta for RHI,  $-.313$  ( $F(3,367) = 41.6, p < .001$ ); SOC,  $-.18$  ( $F(3,367) = 12.5, p < .006$ ); IA,  $.16$  ( $F(3,367) = 9.7, p < .02$ ).
8.  $F(2,368) = 1.74, p > .05$ .
9.  $F(2,368) = 2.32, p < .05$ . Beta for PI,  $.266$  ( $F(2,368) = 7.6, p < .007$ ); IA,  $-.204$ , ( $F(2,368) = 9.9, p < .002$ ).
10.  $F(3,367) = 3.1, p < .01$ .
11. Betas for PE,  $.292$  ( $F(3,267) = 9.4, p < .003$ ); IA,  $-.178$  ( $F(3,367) = 7.6, p < .007$ ); SOC,  $-.162$  ( $F(3,367) = 5.9, p < .02$ ).
12.  $F(5,365) = 1.03, p < .05$ .
13.  $F(3,367) = 3.41, p < .006$ . Betas for REI,  $-.119$  ( $F(3,367) = 5.2, p < .03$ ); PE,  $.154$  ( $F(3,367) = 8.34, p < .005$ ); IA,  $-.136$  ( $F(3,367) = 6.22, p < .02$ ).
14.  $F(2,368) = 3.94, p < .002$ . Betas for PE,  $.194$  ( $F(2,268) = 13.33, p < .001$ ); IA,  $-.108, p < .05$ ).

15. For example, gender, language, education, work experience.

16. For example, region, market size, newsroom size

17. The professional and organizational decision equations involve dummy (i.e., dichotomously coded) variables, where 1 represents X and 0, not-X. Dummy variables were created for (1) gender: male, not male and female, not female; (2) language: English, not English and French, not French; (3) market size: (a) small, not small, (b) medium, not medium and (c) large, not large; and (4) region: (a) BC, not BC, (b) Prairies, not Prairies, (c) Ontario, not Ontario, (d) Quebec, not Quebec and (e) Atlantic Provinces, not Atlantic Provinces. It is only necessary to enter n-1 of each dummy set into an equation since the excluded dummy is implicit in the included. Since these regressions are exploratory, it was decided to allow the SPSS-PC default to randomly exclude one dummy variable from each set of dummies.

18. For simplicity, the dummy variable effect (English, not English) is subsumed in language.

19. The results of a multiple regression equation for rule enforcement that included radio experience, years in current job, the job codification index and two market size dummies (small, not small; medium, not medium) suggest one market size dummy (small, not-small) and radio experience effect perceptions of rule enforcement in radio newsrooms. Newswriters in medium and large markets perceive less rule enforcement (partial  $r = .147$ ; betas = partial  $r$ ) as do those with more radio experience (partial  $r = .129$ .)

20. This suspicion was confirmed by multiple regression: males, generally, (partial  $r = .236$ ) and newswriters in the Atlantic Provinces (partial  $r = .17$ ) have less education than the colleagues while those in British Columbia have more education (partial  $r = .114$ ).

21. For simplicity, Figure Two subsumes dummy variable effects for the Atlantic Provinces, Quebec and The Prairies in region and the tendency for the dummy gender variable: female, not female, in gender.



## Chapter VIII

### SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This study adopted a sociological perspective to examine the effects of organizational structure and professionalism on the willingness of subordinates to accept decisions made by a superordinate. Of particular interest were the degree of formalization and centralization evident in the focal organizations; professionalism as manifested in work-related attitudes; and decisions dealing with professional judgment, organizational concerns and matters personal generally considered as personal. Radio station newsrooms and newswriters were the empirical focus, but the study might have focused on any small organization or profession qua occupation. Superordinates were defined as authorities, radio station news directors, who make decisions that are binding on subordinates (i.e., newswriters), who are partisans affected by and, thus, concerned with the implications of a given decision. Decision acceptance was defined as the degree of subordinate commitment to a decision; that is, the probability s/he would view as legitimate and, thus, implement a unilateral decision made by a superordinate.

Data were gathered with a 95-item questionnaire mailed to a stratified random sample of 623 non-management radio newswriters in all parts of Canada. The response rate, 59.6%, was consistent with other

studies of radio communicators in Canada. Overall, sample distributions generally fit universe and pretest distributions. Some intra-sample bias was evident but generally explainable. Remedial action was unnecessary.

The professionalism index, comprised of 24 work-related Likert scaled attitudinal items, was reliable. The analysis, however, revealed attitude clusterings more in line with employee professionalism than the paradigmatic or true professionalism implied by the developers, McLeod and Hawley (1964).

Sixteen Likert scaled items, constituting four indices, dealt with perceptions of newsroom organizational structure. Each indice was reliable. A factor analysis of all 16 organizational items confirmed the uniqueness of each index.

Thirty-two Likert scaled items, forming three indices, were used to estimate willingness to accept decisions in professional, organizational and personal areas made by superordinates. While the decision indices were reliable, the analysis revealed an overlapping of some professional judgment and organizational decision items. This was not entirely out of line with expectations of employee professionals. Indice construction was modified to reflect item commingling. Overall, the trend was toward decision acceptance. Acceptance probability for professional judgment decisions was .652; for organizational decisions, .753; and for personal decisions, .958.

Several research propositions were offered in Chapter 5 and empirically tested in Chapter 7. The first four addressed relationships among facets of organizational structure. The evidence suggested that in radio newsrooms characterized by a high level of reliance on hierarchial

authority there was a concomitant level of rule enforcement and low level of newsworker participation in decisions. Furthermore, in radio newsroom characterized by strict rule enforcement there was little newsworker participation in decisions, regardless of how much reliance was placed on hierarchial authority.

These findings are consistent with the sociological literature. They are also implied in the newswork-related literature. In the newsroom Stark (1962) analyzed there was total reliance a truncated (i.e., media elite to newsworker) hierarchy, strict rule enforcement and no decision participation by newsworkers. In the newsrooms studied by Altheide (1974), Sigelman (1973), Warner (1971, 1970), Matejko (1970) and Breed (1955, 1952), however, there was little reliance on hierarchial authority, rare rule enforcement and considerable decision participation by newsworkers. Thus, when a newsroom is characterized by heavy reliance on hierarchial authority and/or strict rule enforcement, there will be little, if any, decision participation by newsworkers.

The evidence also revealed reliance on hierarchial authority and job codification were inversely related. Aiken and Hage (1966) and Hage and Aiken (1967) found reliance on hierarchy and job codification to be positively related. This finding, on which other studies have concurred, may be method-bound. Analytically, other studies have focused on organizations, not workers. This study focused on the attitudes and perceptions of workers. Withal, this finding should not have been unexpected. Reliance on hierarchy, at least as conceptualized by Aiken and Hage (1966) and Hage and Aiken (1967), implies most, if not all,

employee actions require pre-approval. Job codification implies that once job requirements are laid out, in a job description for example, employees are on their own and only exceptional actions require consultation. If all but the most routine tasks are pre-approved, as in the newsroom Stark (1962) studied, job codification is superfluous.

Four propositions dealt with professionalism among newswriters. Empirical relationships between education and various indicators of professionalism were not consistent with the literature. There was, for example, an inverse correlation between education and the overall professionalism index (PI). More education was associated with less professionalism. Those with less education (i.e., less than a post-secondary diploma or degree) were more professional than their more educated colleagues. Specifically, among newswriters with a post-secondary education, community college graduates, who generally have diplomas in a newswriting area (i.e., a professional education), exhibited more professionalism than did university graduates, who generally studied in a non-newswriting area. This finding was confounded by the fact community college and university graduates did not vary on the (1) overall professionalism index, (2) professional employee (PE) and (3) impact and autonomy (IA) facets of newswriting, but that community college graduates placed more emphasis than university graduates on the social (SOC) and career (CAR) facets, which have implicit personal, rather than professional, benefits.

It is difficult to ascertain why professionalism is lower among workers with a post-secondary education. When the issue was broached at

the June 1986 meeting of the Central Canada division of the Radio Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) in Kitchener (Ontario), speculation focused on the often unrealistic expectations of professionally educated recruits.

According to a radio journalism teacher at Loyalist College (Belleville, Ontario), students in newswork programmes often "expect too much, too soon and won't hear anything to the contrary". Radio news, added another, is hard work and very little of the drudgery is evident in the final product; so a lot of newcomers experience a kind of cultural shock. Tony Panacci, news director of CKVR-TV (Barrie, Ontario), added that,

what most beginning journalists won't understand is they're going into business, not news (personal conversation)

This is true of many professions. Lawyers who practice are in business; lawyers who teach are in law. The distinction is seldom appreciated.

The preconceptions of professionally educated neophyte radio newswriters are contrasted by the exigencies of the work. In Chapter 6 it was implied newswriters may favour environments that foster and appreciate originality and initiative while, at the same time, permitting pursuit of prestige and influence. (See Table 8 and the discussion of the social and career facets of newswork.) Radio newsrooms are smaller rather than larger. Just getting the news out likely leaves little time for originality and initiative. Furthermore, neophyte newswriters may not perceive the prestige and influence of the typical radio newsroom. An inability to satisfy these wants and needs, as Presthus (1962) argues, leads to ambiguity. Moreover, the distinction implied by Tony Panacci, allegedly

idealistic news values vis a vis news-as-a-business values, may, among beginners, lead to ambivalence.

Perhaps radio newswriters who forgo a professional education have different work-related wants and needs than their professionally educated colleagues. Ken Rockburn, news director of CHEZ-FM (Ottawa, Ontario), sees the difference as rooted in ethical awareness. Those with a professional education, he suggests, are exposed to discussions of law, ethics and ethical dilemma. They know what constitutes slander, for example, and understand it is no less unethical to slander someone in Vancouver, just because they are unlikely to hear it, than someone in the local community. He is less confident about newswriters without a professional education (personal conversation).

Panacci and Rockburn underscore variations in newswriter socialization. Those who are occupationally socialized on-the-job are imbued with a news-is-a-business value system rooted in one ethical orientation. Newswriters with a professional education are occupationally socialized (1) at school where they are introduced to an ethical orientation that differs, significantly, from what they encounter (2) on-the-job. The clash of the two may contribute to ambiguity and ambivalence, which is manifest in a professional orientation that fades over time (cp Goldstein, 1985; McKnight, 1975).

Alternatively, less educated newswriters may believe they have few occupational opportunities and endeavor to make a career of available opportunities. More educated newswriters, particularly university graduates, may perceive more occupational opportunities and are thus less

willing to compromise and capitulate what is personally important in their career. Furthermore, faculty may imbue and continually reinforce, as part of a professional education, the belief newswork is a profession and newsworkers are professionals. This is a vital component of the professionalization process. It sets the stage, however, for on-going confrontation with an industry that subscribes to professional newswork values only to the extent the values (e.g., objectivity, etc) insulate it from criticism and interference, and contribute to its conservative self-image.

Four research propositions addressed the effect of organizational structure on professionalism, as defined by the version of the McLeod Hawley Method used in this study. Newsroom reliance on hierarchical authority, which is at best limited, dampened professional employee index (PE) rankings, but did not effect the other facets of professionalism (PI, SOC, CAR, IA). The anticipated relationship between rule enforcement and professionalism did not materialize. A positive correlation was evinced between rule enforcement and the importance of the social facet of newsworker professionalism. Furthermore, the more newsworkers participation in decisions, the more importance they place on two facets of professionalism, professional employee (PE) and impact and autonomy (IA), and the overall professional index (PI). It is difficult to determine the direction of the influence. Increased decision participation may promote professionalism among newsworkers. Conversely, newsrooms characterized by greater decision participation may be more attractive to more professional newsworkers. Lastly, job codification was concomitant with, if not contributing to, one facet of newsworker professionalism: there was a

positive correlation between job codification and impact and autonomy (IA). Thus, there was evidence the organizational structure of radio newsrooms, specifically perceptions of centralization and formalization, impacted professionalism among radio newswriters.

Seven propositions examined the effects of organizational structure on decision acceptance. There was sporadic empirical support among newswriters for these propositions. Reliance on hierarchical authority did not effect acceptance of decisions regarding professional judgment or personal issues, but did undercut acceptance of decisions relating to organizational matters. Newswriters are often characterized as having an aversion to hierarchical authority, although their work tends to solidify rather than detract from it (cf. Fishman, 1980, 1977). Perhaps a lower level of acceptance of organizational decisions, where there is more reliance on hierarchical authority, is one way to register aversion.

Job codification played no role in acceptance of professional and personal decisions, but lead to reduced acceptance of organizational decisions among radio newswriters. In welfare organizations (cf. Hage and Aiken, 1967; Aiken and Hage, 1966) and schools (cf. Shilane, 1983; Hoy, Newland and Blazovsky, 1977); and Kunz, 1973), job codification created a positive environment. It established work parameters, thereby reducing uncertainty, which, in turn, heightened morale and, ultimately, decision acceptance. Perhaps when radio newsrooms are characterized by high codification, newswriters perceive their autonomy is circumscribed. This is a frequent complaint of CBC newspeople, whose newsrooms feature extensive job codification (See Chapter 1). Like the respondents to this



study, CBC newswriters often report assuaging their frustrations with job codification by resisting organizational directives (i.e., decision implementation without acceptance).

Rule enforcement, partly because of its robust relationship with reliance on hierarchical authority, undercuts acceptance of organizational decisions among radio newswriters. When newsroom rules are enforced, newswriters resist acceptance of organizational decisions, which are not perceived as directly influencing newswriting, their principal concern.

The decision participation index reflected (1) how newswriters viewed their roles in newsroom decision processes and (2) superordinate willingness to allow subordinates to participate in decisions. Participation, which elsewhere had been shown to contribute to decision acceptance, was dormant for organizational and personal decisions, but undercut acceptance of decisions involving professional judgment. Referring to the decision acceptance matrix presented in Chapter 2, radio newswriters clearly have (1) a high personal stake in and (2) the ability to contribute to professional judgment decisions. Involvement, therefore, should have increased acceptance of decisions dealing with matters of professional judgment. That it had the opposite effect likely reflects the complexity of participation in any activity. Additional information about newsroom leaders and leadership behaviours (e.g., initiating, loyalty and support structures), organizational climate (e.g., flexible, inflexible; open, closed) and, perhaps, individual personalities is necessary, it seems, to begin to offer an explanation of this particular finding.

Reliance on hierarchical authority, job codification and rule

enforcement all narrowed superordinate permissibility, that is, the willingness to allow newswriters to participate in newsroom decisions. When radio newsrooms are characterized by a high level of each of these dimensions, decision participation is an empty exercise that leads to intra-newsroom hostilities. Superordinates make all the decisions. Job codification and rule enforcement insure implementation, which is sufficient to satisfy hierarchical needs.

Furthermore, reliance on hierarchy and the social facets of professionalism combined to negatively affect superordinate willingness to allow newswriters to participate in decision processes. The more reliance on hierarchical authority in radio newsrooms and the more newswriters emphasize the social benefits and career facets of professionalism, the less likely they are involved in newsroom decisions. The impact and autonomy facet of professionalism, however, enhanced decision participation. The more radio newswriters emphasized the impact and autonomy of their work, the more likely superordinates were to involve them in decisions. Superordinates appear to have more confidence in newswriters who are more concerned with this facet of professionalism.

Several propositions addressed the additive effects of organizational structure and professionalism on the willingness to accept decisions dealing with issues related to professional judgment, organizational matters and personal concerns. The analysis suggested acceptance of organizational decisions was enhanced by professional employeeism, but impact and autonomy tended to decrease it. For personal decisions, the overall professionalism index contributed to acceptance while (1) impact and

autonomy and (2) the social benefits of newswork professional detracted from acceptance. Rule enforcement and the impact and autonomy facet of newswork professional were shown to decrease newsworker willingness to accept decisions relating to organizational matters while professional employeism contributed to acceptance of these decisions.

As Figures 1 and 2 of Chapter 7 revealed, language plays a role in the decision acceptance process. Anglophones were more inclined to accept superordinate decisions dealing with professional judgment or organizational matters than were Francophones. Acceptance probability for decisions dealing with issues of professional judgment was .481 for Anglophones and .365 for Francophones ( $t(346) = 7.54, p < .000$ ); for decisions dealing with organizational matters, the probability of acceptance for Anglophones was .41 and .357 for Francophones ( $t(338) = 5.48, p < .000$ ).

For professional judgment decisions, the influence of language was indirect, via newsworker and newsroom characteristics: Francophone radio newsworkers have more news experience, have been in their current jobs longer and work in smaller newsrooms than Anglophone radio newsworkers. (See Table 3, Chapter 6) For decisions dealing with organizational matters, language directly affected acceptance: Anglophones were more willing to accept superordinate decisions on these matters, and indirect via work experience which, in turn, influenced perceptions of rule enforcement; the impact and autonomy facet of newsworker professionalism; and the regional bias in the distribution of newsworkers by language.

The level of acceptance of superordinate decisions dealing with

concerns of a personal nature was unexpectedly high ( $p = .958$ ). The model of acceptance influence was, in some ways, counter intuitive. The more news jobs radio newswriters had, for example, the more willingly they accepted superordinate decisions dealing with personal matters. As well, those high on the professional employee index (PE) more willingly accept these decisions. Withal, more experienced and more professional workers, in any sector, might reasonably be expected to exhibit more independence than is evident here. Furthermore, reliance on hierarchical authority and rule enforcement, which are concomitant, exert opposite effects on the willingness to accept these decisions. In radio newsrooms characterized by hierarchical reliance, acceptance of personal decisions is low. Conversely, in newsrooms characterized by strict rule enforcement, acceptance of these decisions is high. Finally, both a high level of newswriter emphasis on professional employeeism and strict rule enforcement increase acceptance of personal decisions. These findings pose an intriguing conundrum for which the current data provide little insight.

Several issues for future research are evident. A number of propositions qua hypotheses warrant re-consideration and continued testing. For example,

a high level of reliance on hierarchical authority is concomitant a high level of rule enforcement;

a high level of reliance on hierarchical authority is associated with a low level of subordinate participation in decision processes;

a high level of reliance rule enforcement, regardless of reliance on hierarchical authority, is associated with a low level of subordinate participation in decision processes;

reliance on hierarchial authority and job codification are inversely related;

the positive correlation between rule enforcement and some facets of professionalism;

the more decision participation, the more importance placed on some facets of professionalism;

job codification is concomitant with, if not contributing to, some facets of professionalism.

These propositions probably highlight organizational structure and professionalism as it exists in small organizations and, thus, bring into question the generalizability of at least some principles developed from research on large organizations. Clearly, though, confirmatory work is required.

Specifically, development of an operational definition of newsworker professionalism should be a principal concern. The McLeod Hawley Method has a long history of uncritical implementation. Its main strength, it seems, is convenience, not explanatory power. Leroy (1971) used a professionalism indice developed by Hall (1968, 1963) to study television newsworkers. Perhaps an integration of McLeod-Hawley with Hall could be a start. This would, however, result in a long questionnaire, roughly 75 professionalism items, alone.

The role of a professional education among newsworkers also requires attention as do decision items. Perceptions extant in the radio newswork community suggest some commingling of professional and organizational decision areas, which may result from the employee status of newswork professionals. Then, again, it may not. Perhaps more clearly delineated decision areas and a more precise operationalization of professionalism could clarify the ambiguity evident in the affect of

professionalism, and the additive affect of professionalism and organizational structure, on decision acceptance.

Language plays an integral role in sociological explanations of Canadian society. Radio news, newsrooms and newswriters are no exception. It may be, however, the extent of unionization among Francophone radio newswriters, and a perception of protection against arbitrary decisions accompanying unionization, not just language, that produces the differences. If respondents had been asked if their newsrooms were unionized and if they were union members, the data may have revealed that union membership, for example, was the key, not just language. Clearly, this calls for further investigation.

Now armed with a basic understanding of the organizational structure of private sector radio newsrooms, it is perhaps feasible to include CBC radio newsrooms in future studies. This would, of course, contribute to an understanding of the role of unions in the decision acceptance process.

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**Appendix A**

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is anonymous and confidential. Its goals are to find out what Canada's radio journalists think about journalism as a career, how they perceive the profession and their place in it.

I realize some questions may ask for information of a personal nature. You may prefer not to answer them. But, let me assure that (1) individual questionnaires will not be available to anyone, I will be the only one to see them; (2) there are no identifying marks on the forms; (3) all questionnaires will be destroyed immediately after I enter the data into the computer; and (4) the analysis will concentrate on large groups of responses (e.g., language, market size, region, et cetera). Every possible step is being taken to protect your privacy. If you sincerely believe a question is too personal and prefer not to answer it, put N/A in the answer area or leave it blank and go on to the next question.

Questions have been designed so RESPONSES GENERALLY REQUIRE ONLY A CHECKMARK OR CIRCLE. Please answer all questions as instructed. Average completion time in the pretest was LESS THAN 9 MINUTES. If you have any questions about the survey, its purpose or intention, call me at (613) 731-0921 or 731-8029.

You may have a copy of the results as soon as they are ready. See page 9 for details.

Thanks for your help. I sincerely appreciate it.

.....

First, I'd like to get some basic background information.

1. Gender: male \_\_\_(1) female \_\_\_(2)
2. Are you single \_\_\_(1) married \_\_\_(2) widowed \_\_\_(3)  
separated \_\_\_(4) divorced \_\_\_(5) other \_\_\_(6)?
3. In what year were you born? 19 \_\_\_\_\_
4. In what province or territory are you currently working?  
BC \_\_\_(01) Alta \_\_\_(02) Sask \_\_\_(03) Man \_\_\_(04) Ont \_\_\_(05) PQ \_\_\_(06)  
NB \_\_\_(07) NS \_\_\_(08) PEI \_\_\_(09) Nfld \_\_\_(10) NWT \_\_\_(11) YK \_\_\_(12)
5. Do you work for an AM \_\_\_(1), FM \_\_\_(2) or combined AM/FM \_\_\_(3) outlet?

(more)

6. Including yourself, how many journalists work full-time in your newsroom?

\_\_\_\_\_ (00)

7. Which of these categories BEST DESCRIBES your current job?

newscaster \_\_ (1) news reporter \_\_ (2) sportscaster \_\_ (3)

sports reporter \_\_ (4) editor \_\_ (5) writer \_\_ (6) editorialist \_\_ (7)

other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_ (9)

8. Approximately, how many years have you worked in broadcasting?

\_\_\_\_\_ (000)

9. About how many years have you worked as a journalist, in any medium?

\_\_\_\_\_ (000)

10. About how many years have you been with your current employer?

\_\_\_\_\_ (000)

11. About how many journalism-related jobs have you had?

\_\_\_\_\_ (000)

12. Have you ever held a full-time, non-news related job in broadcasting?

Yes \_\_ (1) No \_\_ (2) --> GO TO QUESTION 13

12b. IF YES to 12, in a word or two, please describe that job.  
(e.g., sales, copywriter, announcer, manager, etc.)

13. How many years of schooling have you completed? (please circle)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

(more)

14. Have you completed a community college or university-based programme?

Yes \_\_\_(1) No \_\_\_(2) --> GO TO QUESTION 15

14b. IF YES to 14; do you have a community college diploma \_\_\_(4)

BA \_\_\_(1) MA \_\_\_(2) PHD \_\_\_(3) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_(9)

14c. What was your major? \_\_\_\_\_(1)

15. Roughly, what is your monthly income? \_\_\_\_\_(000000)

16. Do you earn any additional income from media-related sources?

Yes \_\_\_(1) No \_\_\_(2) --> GO TO QUESTION 17

16b. IF YES to 16, roughly how much do you estimate such activities add to your monthly income?

\_\_\_\_\_ (0000)

17. What is your mother tongue; that is, what is the first language you learned and still understand?

English \_\_\_(1) French \_\_\_(2) Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_(9)

18. Is the population of the community in which you work,

less than 30,000 \_\_\_(1) 30,000 to 90,000 \_\_\_(2) more than 90,000 \_\_\_(3)

One goal of this questionnaire is to identify work-related factors which Canada's radio journalists believe are important.

Here are some statements other journalists have made over the years regarding their work. I'd like to know HOW IMPORTANT each of these statements is to you. As you read each statement, ask yourself HOW IMPORTANT IS THIS TO ME?

To the right of each statement is a 7-point scale. If a statement is EXTREMELY IMPORTANT to you, circle the "7". If a statement is EXTREMELY UNIMPORTANT to you, circle the "1". If the statement falls somewhere

(more)

Between these two extremes, circle the number that most accurately reflects the importance of the statement to you.

How IMPORTANT is ...	EXTREMELY IMP						EXTREMELY UNIMP
"A job that is valuable and essential to my community"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"An opportunity for initiative"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Full use of my abilities and training"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"The opportunity to learn new skills and acquire new knowledge"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"An opportunity for originality"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Getting ahead in my professional career"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Working in a well-known and respected newsroom"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Respect for the ability and competence of my co-workers"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"An opportunity to have an influence on the public's thinking"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Having a supervisor who appreciates the time I spend improving my capabilities"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Freedom from continual close supervision of my work"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"A job that makes the newsroom different in some ways because I work for it"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Influencing important decisions"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Being able to enjoy what is involved in my job"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"The availability of support: working with people who will stand behind me and who will support me in a tough situation"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

(over)

How IMPORTANT is ...	EXTREMELY IMP				EXTREMELY UNIMP		
"Getting ahead in the organization I work for"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Working with people rather than things"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"My job being as permanent as anyone's"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Earning enough money for a good living"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Having a job that provides excitement and variety"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Having a job with prestige in my community"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Having a job my family is proud of"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Having a job that does not interfere with my personal life"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"Being with people who are congenial and easy to work with"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"A job that brings me in contact with important people (e.g., community leaders, politicians)"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Thinking just about the newsroom you are working in, do you think each of the following statements is DEFINITELY TRUE, DEFINITELY NOT TRUE or somewhere in between?

How TRUE is it that ...	DEFINITELY TRUE				DEFINITELY NOT TRUE		
in most work-related matters, employees in this newsroom can do almost as they please	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
you feel you are your own boss in most work-related matters	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
employees in this newsroom generally make their own rules in most work-related matters	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

(more)

How TRUE is it that ...	DEFINITELY TRUE				DEFINITELY NOT TRUE		
in this newsroom, how things are done is left up to the person doing the work	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
anyone in this newsroom can make his/her own decisions without checking with anyone	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Next, using a 7-point scale SEVEN means ALWAYS and ONE means NEVER, I'd like to know,

How OFTEN do you ...	ALMOST ALWAYS				ALMOST NEVER		
participate in the decision to hire new newsroom staff?	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
participate in decisions regarding the modification of newsroom policies?	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
participate in decisions regarding the promotion of newsroom staff?	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
participate in decisions regarding the adoption of new newsroom policies?	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Thinking just about the newsroom you are working in, do you think each of the following statements is DEFINITELY TRUE, DEFINITELY NOT TRUE or somewhere in between?

How TRUE is it that ...	DEFINITELY TRUE				DEFINITELY NOT TRUE		
employees in this newsroom are constantly being checked for rule violations	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
any decision you make has to be approved by the news director	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

(more)



How TRUE is it that ...	DEFINITELY TRUE							DEFINITELY NOT TRUE						
making your own decisions is discouraged in this newsrooms	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
employees in this newsroom believe they are always being watched to insure they obey all the rules	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
in this newsroom, you have to ask the news director before you do almost anything	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
employees in this newsroom can do very little unless it is first approved by the news director	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
in this newsroom, even the smallest matters have to be referred to the news director for a final decision	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Below are a few descriptions of areas in which your news director might attempt to make decisions which involve you or your work. Each description covers a wide area.

I'd like to know how OFTEN you think you'd ACCEPT or AGREE WITH decisions in these areas made by the news director. As you read each description, ask yourself, is it appropriate for the news director to make decisions for me in this area?

This time, SEVEN means you would ALWAYS ACCEPT your news director's decision in this area. ONE means you would NEVER ACCEPT your news director's decision in this area.

How OFTEN WOULD YOU ACCEPT your news director's decision regarding ...	ALWAYS ACCEPT							NEVER ACCEPT						
the appropriate way of identifying a newsworthy issue, event or personality	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the conduct of newsroom employees during working hours	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the appropriate way of handling a news story	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

(more)

How OFTEN WOULD YOU ACCEPT your news directors's decision regarding ...	ALWAYS ACCEPT						NEVER ACCEPT
the friends you have outside work	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
changing or modifying of the way things are currently done in the newsroom	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
your political views	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
whether you contribute to a charity the station actively supports	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the planning and content of newsroom staff meetings	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the success of the newsroom	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the assignment of non-work related duties <u>during</u> your regular shift (e.g., attending social functions, meetings, et cetera)	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the setting of shift schedules	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the hiring of newsroom employees	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the assignment of non-work related duties <u>after</u> your regular shift (e.g., attending social functions, meetings, et cetera)	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the selection of equipment, supplies and other material specifically related to your work (e.g., tape recorders, typewriters, et cetera)	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the determination of a dress code for newsroom employees during working hours	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the promotion of newsroom employees	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the assignment of news stories	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the setting of deadlines	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
your religious views	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
whether you smoke	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

(more)

How OFTEN WOULD YOU ACCEPT your news directors's decision regarding ...	ALWAYS ACCEPT						NEVER ACCEPT
your personal grooming (e.g., hair colour, facial hair, et cetera)	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the conduct of newsroom employees during non-working hours	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
your marriage or relationship(s)	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
your involvement in outside activities such as community groups, et cetera	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
how to report an issue, event or personality	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
item selection for your newscast	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the methods used to discipline newsroom employees	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the evaluation of individual news stories	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the evaluation of newsroom employees	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the determination of who should be interviewed as part of your coverage of a news story	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the determination of how to write a particular news story	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
the determination of which facts should be used in a news story you are covering	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

That's it! End of questionnaire. Thanks for your help. I appreciate it.

You'll want to know how the survey turned out. Both content and RPM have expressed interest in publishing a summary of the results. If you like, I'll send you a copy of the results as soon as they are ready. Drop me a note, separate from this questionnaire, with your name and address.

Finally, if you have any additional comments, opinions, criticisms or whatever, please add them on the next page.

(more)



QUESTIONNAIRE

Ce questionnaire est anonyme et confidentiel. Il a pour objet de sonder les journalistes canadiens de la radio pour connaître leurs opinions au sujet du journalisme de carrière, de la perception qu'ils en ont et de la place qu'ils devraient occuper au sein de cette profession.

Je suis conscient que certaines des questions revêtent un caractère personnel. Vous n'êtes pas obligés d'y répondre. Laissez-moi toutefois vous assurer 1) que les questionnaires retournés resteront anonymes, je serai le seul à les lire; 2) qu'aucune marque d'identification n'apparaît sur les formulaires; 3) que tous les questionnaires seront détruits dès que les données auront été informatisées; et 4) que l'analyse portera sur un échantillon très vaste de réponses (ex. langue, importance du marché, région etc.). Tout a été mis en oeuvre pour protéger votre identité. Si vraiment vous estimez qu'une question est très personnelle et préférez ne pas y répondre, vous pouvez alors inscrire S/O dans l'espace réservé à la réponse ou laisser tout simplement l'espace en blanc pour ensuite passer à la prochaine question.

Les questions ont été préparées de façon à ce que vous puissiez généralement y répondre par un crochet ou en encerclant la réponse. Veuillez répondre aux questions en suivant les instructions. Lors d'un pré-test, il n'a fallu en moyenne que moins de 9 minutes pour répondre à toutes les questions. Si vous avez des questions à poser sur ce sondage en général ou sur son but et son utilité, n'hésitez pas à m'appeler au (613) 731-0921 ou 731-8029.

Vous recevrez une copie des résultats dès qu'ils seront compilés (cf. page 9).

Merci de votre aide. Elle est grandement appréciée.

\*\*\*\*\*

D'abord, j'ai besoin de renseignements généraux.

1. Sexe: homme \_\_\_(1) femme \_\_\_(2)
2. Êtes-vous célibataire \_\_\_(1) marié(e) \_\_\_(2) veuf ou veuve \_\_\_(3)  
séparé(e) \_\_\_(4) divorcé(e) \_\_\_(5) autre \_\_\_(6)?
3. En quelle année êtes-vous né(e)? 19\_\_\_
4. Vous travaillez actuellement dans quelle province ou quel territoire?  
C.-B. \_\_\_(01) Alta. \_\_\_(02) Sask. \_\_\_(03) Man. \_\_\_(04) Ont. \_\_\_(05)  
QC \_\_\_(06) N.-B. \_\_\_(07) N.-É. \_\_\_(08) I. du P.-É. \_\_\_(09)  
T.-N. \_\_\_(10) T. du N.-O. \_\_\_(11) Yukon \_\_\_(12)
5. Travaillez-vous à la bande MA \_\_\_(1), MF \_\_\_(2) ou aux deux MA/MF \_\_\_(3)?

(tourner)

6. Au sein de votre service des nouvelles, combien de journalistes (vous inclus) y travaillent à temps plein?

\_\_\_\_\_ (00)

7. Laquelle de ces catégories décrit la mieux votre emploi actuel?

Présentateur(trice)\_\_\_(1) reporter\_\_\_(2) présentateur des nouvelles

sportives\_\_\_(3) reporter sportif\_\_\_(4) chef de pupitre\_\_\_(5)

rédacteur(trice)\_\_\_(6) éditorialiste\_\_\_(7)

autre (précisez)\_\_\_\_\_ (9)

8. Approximativement depuis combien d'année(s) travaillez-vous dans le domaine de la radiodiffusion?

\_\_\_\_\_ (000)

9. Depuis combien d'année(s) êtes-vous journaliste (peu importe le média)?

\_\_\_\_\_ (000)

10. Depuis combien d'année(s) travaillez-vous avec votre employeur actuel?

\_\_\_\_\_ (000)

11. Combien d'emploi(s) relié(s) au journalisme avez-vous occupé(s)?

\_\_\_\_\_ (000)

12. Avez-vous déjà occupé un poste à temps plein dans le domaine de la radiodiffusion qui n'était pas relié au service des nouvelles?

Oui\_\_\_(1) Non\_\_\_(2)----- Allez à la question 13

12B. Si vous avez répondu oui à la question 12, décrivez en un ou deux mots le poste que vous occupiez (ex. ventes, annonceur, rédacteur(trice) publicitaire, gestionnaire, etc.)

13. Veuillez indiquer au moyen d'un cercle le nombre d'années de scolarité à votre crédit.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

(tourner)

14. Avez-vous effectué des études collégiales ou universitaires?

Oui \_\_\_ (1) Non \_\_\_ (2) ----- Allez à la question 15

14B. Si vous avez répondu oui à la question 14, avez-vous obtenu un

BA \_\_\_ (1) MA \_\_\_ (2) doctorat \_\_\_ (3)  
diplôme d'études collégiales \_\_\_ (4) ou  
autre (précisez) \_\_\_\_\_ (9)

14C. Quelle est votre spécialisation? \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

15. Quel est approximativement votre revenu mensuel? \_\_\_\_\_ (000000)

16. Gagnez-vous un ou des revenu(s) additionnel(s) provenant de sources reliées aux médias?

Oui \_\_\_ (2) Non \_\_\_ (2) ----- Allez à la question 17

16B. Si vous avez répondu oui à la question 16, dites approximativement combien ce(s) revenu(s) d'appoint vous rapporte(nt) mensuellement?

\_\_\_\_\_ (0000)

17. Quelle est votre langue maternelle, c'est-à-dire la première langue que vous avez apprise et que vous comprenez encore?

Anglais \_\_\_ (1) Français \_\_\_ (2) Autre (précisez) \_\_\_\_\_ (9)

18. La population de la région dans laquelle vous travaillez compte-elle

moins de 30 000 habitants \_\_\_ (1) 30 000 à 90 000 habitants \_\_\_ (2)

plus de 90 000 habitants \_\_\_ (3).

Un des objectifs de ce questionnaire est d'identifier les facteurs reliés au travail qui sont importants aux yeux des journalistes radiophoniques canadiens.

Voici quelques commentaires formulés au fil des ans par d'autres journalistes au sujet de leur travail. Je voudrais savoir quelle importance revêt à vos yeux ces commentaires. Alors en lisant chacun des commentaires, demandez-vous quelle importance ils ont à vos yeux.

(tourner)

A la droite de chacun des commentaires se trouve une échelle numérique de 7 chiffres. Si l'un des commentaires est selon vous **EXTRÊMEMENT IMPORTANT** encerclez le chiffre "7". Au contraire, si un des commentaires est selon vous **ABSOLUMENT SANS IMPORTANCE**, encerclez le "1". Si un des commentaires se situe selon vous entre ces deux extrêmes, alors encerclez le chiffre qui reflète le mieux l'importance qu'il revêt à vos yeux.

QUELLE IMPORTANCE DONNEZ-VOUS ...	EXTRÊMEMENT IMPORTANT							ABSOLUMENT SANS IMPOR- TANCE
"à un travail qui est important et essentiel aux yeux de la population"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
"à une occasion de faire preuve d'initiative"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
"à une utilisation maximale de vos aptitudes et de votre formation"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
"à une occasion d'acquérir de nouvelles compétences et d'apprendre de nouvelles choses"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
"à une occasion de faire preuve d'originalité"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
"à l'avancement dans votre carrière professionnelle"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
"au fait de travailler au sein d'un service des nouvelles connu et respecté des gens"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
"au respect des aptitudes et des compétences de vos collègues"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
"à une occasion d'influencer l'opinion publique"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
"à un surveillant qui apprécie les efforts que vous faites pour vous perfectionner"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
"au fait que votre travail ne fait pas continuellement l'objet d'une surveillance étroite"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
"à un travail qui apporte un cachet différent au service des nouvelles du fait de votre présence"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
"au fait d'influer sur les décisions importantes"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
"au fait d'être en mesure d'apprécier toutes les facettes de votre travail"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
"au fait d'obtenir du soutien, c'est-à-dire de travailler avec des personnes qui partagent vos idées et vous appuient dans les moments difficiles"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	

(tourner)



QUELLE IMPORTANCE DONNEZ-VOUS ...	EXTRÊMEMENT IMPORTANT					ABSOLUMENT SANS IMPOR- TANCE	
"au fait d'obtenir de l'avancement au sein de l'organisme où vous travaillez"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"au fait de travailler avec des humains plutôt qu'avec des objets inanimés"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"au fait que votre travail est aussi permanent que celui d'un autre"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"au fait de toucher suffisamment d'argent pour bien vivre"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"au fait d'avoir un emploi exaltant qui vous amène de la variété"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"au fait de détenir un emploi prestigieux aux yeux du public"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"au fait de faire un travail dont votre famille est fière"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"au fait de faire un travail qui n'entrave pas votre vie personnelle"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"au fait de travailler avec des personnes sympathiques et accommodantes"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
"au fait de faire un travail qui vous permet de rencontrer des personnes importantes (ex. chefs de file de la communauté, politiciens)"	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

En pensant uniquement au service des nouvelles au sein duquel vous travaillez, dites si les énoncés suivants sont RIGOREUSEMENT VRAIS, CATÉGORIQUEMENT FAUX ou se situent quelque part entre les deux.

EST-IL RIGOREUSEMENT VRAI OU CATÉGORIQUEMENT FAUX ...	RIGOREU- SEMENT VRAI					CATÉGORI- QUEMENT FAUX	
qu'en ce qui touche les affaires reliées au travail, les employés du service des nouvelles font presque tout ce qu'il leur plaît	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
que vous sentez que vous êtes votre propre patron en ce qui concerne les affaires reliées au travail	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
que les employés de votre service des nouvelles établissent leurs propres règlements en ce qui touche les affaires reliées au travail	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

(tourner)

EST-IL RIGOREUSEMENT VRAI OU CATÉGORI- QUEMENT FAUX ...	RIGOREU- SEMENT VRAI							CATÉGORI- QUEMENT FAUX						
que dans votre service des nouvelles, les choses se font au gré de chacun	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
que dans votre service des nouvelles, chacun prend ses propres décisions sans consultation	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Maintenant, en utilisant l'échelle numérique de 7 chiffres où le sept (7) signifie TOUJOURS et le un (1) JAMAIS, je voudrais savoir,

DANS QUELLE MESURE ...	TOUJOURS							JAMAIS						
participez-vous à la décision entourant l'embauche de nouveaux employés pour le service des nouvelles	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
participez-vous aux décisions relatives aux modifications à apporter à la politique du service des nouvelles	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
participez-vous aux décisions relatives à l'avancement du personnel du service des nouvelles	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
participez-vous aux décisions entourant l'adoption d'une nouvelle politique au sein du service des nouvelles	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

En pensant uniquement au service des nouvelles au sein duquel vous travaillez, dites si les énoncés sont RIGOREUSEMENT VRAIS ou CATÉGORIQUEMENT FAUX ou se situant quelque part entre les deux.

EST-IL RIGOREUSEMENT VRAI OU CATÉGORIQUEMENT FAUX ...	RIGOREU- SEMENT VRAI							CATÉGORI- QUEMENT FAUX						
que les employés de votre service des nouvelles sont constamment surveillés pour assurer le respect des règlements	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
que toutes les décisions que vous prenez doivent être approuvées par le directeur du service	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

(tourner)

EST-IL RIGOREUSEMENT VRAI OU CATÉGORI- QUEMENT FAUX ...	RIGOREU- SEMENT VRAI							CATÉGORI- QUEMENT FAUX									
qu'il est déconseillé de prendre ses propres décisions dans votre service des nouvelles	7	6	5	4	3	2	1										
que les employés de votre service des nouvelles ont toujours l'impression d'être surveillés pour faire en sorte qu'il obéissent aux règlements	7	6	5	4	3	2	1										
que dans votre service des nouvelles, vous devez demander la permission du directeur du service avant de faire quoi que ce soit	7	6	5	4	3	2	1										
que les employés de votre service des nouvelles ne peuvent rien faire sans d'abord obtenir l'assentiment du directeur du service des nouvelles	7	6	5	4	3	2	1										
que dans votre service des nouvelles, même la moins importante des affaires doit être soumise au directeur du service pour qu'il en dispose	7	6	5	4	3	2	1										

Voici quelques descriptions de situations en regard desquelles votre directeur du service des nouvelles peut prendre des décisions qui vous concernent ou concernent votre travail. Chaque description couvre un domaine très vaste.

J'aimerais savoir dans quelle mesure pensez-vous pouvoir accepter les décisions prises par le directeur du service des nouvelles dans le contexte des situations ci-après décrites. En lisant chaque situation, demandez-vous s'il est convenable que le directeur prenne des décisions à votre place en regard desdites situations.

Cette fois, le chiffre sept (7) signifie que vous ACCEPTERIEZ TOUJOURS la décision de votre directeur en regard de la situation donnée. Le chiffre un (1) signifie que vous n'ACCEPTERIEZ JAMAIS sa décision.

DANS QUELLE MESURE ACCEPTERIEZ-VOUS LA DÉCISION DE VOTRE DIRECTEUR DU SERVICE DES NOUVELLES ...	ACCEPTERIEZ TOUJOURS							N'ACCEPTERIEZ JAMAIS									
en ce qui concerne la manière de reconnaître un sujet, un événement ou une personnalité digne d'intérêt public	7	6	5	4	3	2	1										

(tourner)

DANS QUELLE MESURE ACCEPTERIEZ-VOUS LA DÉCISION DE VOTRE DIRECTEUR DU SERVICE DES NOUVELLES ...	ACCEPTERIEZ TOUJOURS						N'ACCEPTERIEZ JAMAIS
relativement au comportement des employés du service des nouvelles durant les heures de travail	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à la façon de traiter une nouvelle ou de faire un reportage	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à vos amis qui ne travaillent pas avec vous	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
en ce qui touche aux changements ou modifi- cations à apporter au sein du service des nouvelles	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à vos opinions politiques	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement au fait que vous contribuiez ou non à une œuvre de charité qu'appuie financièrement votre station.	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à la planification et au contenu des réunions du personnel du service des nouvelles	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement au succès que connaît le service des nouvelles	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement aux tâches non-relatives à votre travail et qui vous sont assignées <u>durant</u> votre quart habituel (ex. activités mondaines, réunions, etc.)	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à la confection des horaires de travail	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à l'embauche du personnel au sein du service des nouvelles	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement aux tâches non-relatives à votre travail et qui vous sont assignées <u>après</u> votre quart habituel (ex. activités mondaines, réunions, etc.)	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement au choix de l'équipement, des fournitures et de tout autre matériel relié spécifiquement à votre travail (ex. enregist- reuses, machine à écrire, etc.)	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

(tourner)

DANS QUELLE MESURE ACCEPTERIEZ-VOUS LA DÉCISION DE VOTRE DIRECTEUR DU SERVICE DES NOUVELLES ...	ACCEPTERIEZ TOUJOURS	N'ACCEPTERIEZ JAMAIS					
relativement à l'imposition d'une tenue vestimentaire aux employés du service durant les heures de travail	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à l'avancement des employés du service	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à l'imposition des sujets de reportage	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à la fixation des échéances	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à vos convictions religieuses	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement au fait que vous fumiez ou non	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à votre allure générale (c.-à-d. la couleur de vos cheveux, votre barbe, etc.)	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement au comportement des employés du service en dehors des heures de travail	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à votre mariage ou à vos fréquentations	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à vos activités non reliées au travail telles le fait de militer dans des groupes communautaires, etc.	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à la façon de traiter un sujet, de rapporter un événement ou d'interviewer une personnalité	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement au choix des informations qui feront partie de votre bulletin de nouvelles	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement aux méthodes employées pour faire respecter les règlements au sein du service des nouvelles	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à l'appréciation de chacune des nouvelles	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement à l'évaluation des employés du service des nouvelles	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
relativement au choix des personnes à interviewer lors de vos reportages	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

(tourner)



**Appendix B**

GEORGE POLLARD  
483 Blair Street  
OTTAWA, Ontario K1G 0J3

Hi,

I'm a former journalist working on a Ph D at Concordia University in Montreal.

My interest is journalism research -- an area which has received less attention than its social and cultural importance in Canada warrants.

Specifically, I'm interested in you, the working radio journalist, as an individual. How do you feel about being a radio journalist? About radio journalism, in general? What do you like about your work? What don't you like about it? Do you think you get enough recognition for the work you do? Do you believe radio journalism is a profession? Should it be? Are radio journalists professionals? Should they be?

The enclosed questionnaire addresses these and related issues. Please take the 8 or 9 minutes required to complete it and return it to me. You will be making an important and vital contribution.

Let me assure you this questionnaire is completely anonymous; your confidentiality is assured. There are no identifying marks on the forms. I'm the only one who will see individual questionnaires and they will be destroyed immediately after the data are entered into a computer. Only a summary of the findings may be published.

If you're wondering how you were selected to participate in this study, it was a simple, anonymous process. A random sample of radio journalists were selected from the Matthews List to represent all Canadian radio journalists. It is, thus, essential to the reliability of this study that you complete and return the questionnaire, now, because you represent a specific number of your colleagues.

Finally, you'll want to know the results of this survey. Drop me a line with your name and address, and I'll send you a copy of the results as soon as possible, probably in 10 to 12 weeks -- it all depends on how quickly the questionnaires are completed and returned.

Thanks for your help! I sincerely appreciate it. If you have any questions, comments or whatever about the survey or questionnaire, please call me at (613) 731-0921 or 731-8029. I'd enjoy talking with you. I've enclosed a self-addressed, postage-paid envelope. Why not complete the questionnaire and return it right now?

Thanks again! Have great year!

Most appreciatively,

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Bonjour,

Je suis un ancien journaliste et j'étudie présentement à l'université Concordia de Montréal en vue d'obtenir un Doctorat.

Je m'intéresse particulièrement au domaine de la recherche journalistique, domaine qui a fait l'objet d'une moins grande considération par rapport à sa contribution importante à la société et à la culture canadienne.

Particulièrement, je m'intéresse à vous, journaliste radiophonique, en tant qu'individu. Quels sont vos sentiments à l'égard de votre occupation? Que pensez-vous du journaliste radiophonique en général? Qu'est-ce qui vous plaît dans votre travail? Qu'est-ce qui vous déplaît? Votre travail est-il reconnu à sa juste valeur? Considérez-vous le journalisme radiophonique comme une profession au même titre que le droit ou la médecine? Devrait-il être considéré comme une profession? Les journalistes radiophoniques sont-ils des professionnels? Devraient-ils l'être?

Le questionnaire ci-joint porte sur ces questions et sur d'autres qui y sont reliées. Prenez donc les 8 ou 9 minutes qu'il faut pour le remplir et me le retourner, car votre contribution est de toute première importance.

Laissez-moi vous assurer du caractère anonyme de ce questionnaire. Tout se fait sous le couvert de l'anonymat. Aucune marque d'identification n'apparaît sur les questionnaires. Je serai le seul à voir les questionnaires individuels et ils seront détruits dès que j'aurai informatisé les données. Seul un sommaire des résultats sera publié.

Vous vous demandez sans doute comment on a pu vous choisir pour participer à ce sondage. Rassurez-vous, il s'agit d'un processus simple et anonyme. Un échantillon de journalistes radiophoniques a été choisi au hasard du "Matthews List" pour représenter tous leurs confrères canadiens. Il y va donc de la fiabilité de cette étude que vous remplissiez et retourniez le questionnaire dès maintenant étant donné que vous représentez un grand nombre de vos confrères.

Vous désirerez sans doute connaître les résultats de l'enquête. Alors laissez-moi vos nom et adresse et je vous ferai parvenir une copie des résultats aussitôt que possible, probablement dans 10 ou 12 semaines. Tout dépend de la vitesse à laquelle les questionnaires seront remplis et me seront retournés.

Merci de votre aide! J'apprécie votre collaboration. Si vous avez des questions à poser ou des commentaires à formuler portant sur le questionnaire ou sur ce sondage, veuillez communiquer avec moi au (613) 731-0921 ou 731-8029. Je me ferai un plaisir d'en discuter avec vous. Vous trouverez sous pli une enveloppe pré-adressée dont le port a été payé. Pourquoi ne pas prendre le temps dès maintenant pour remplir et me retourner le questionnaire?

Merci encore une fois! Je vous souhaite une bonne année!

Très sincèrement,

Appendix C

## Sample Frame

Region by Language by Market Size by Gender	Count	Pct Sub Tot	Sample Count
BRITISH COLUMBIA	214	10.40	
English	210	10.20	
Small: male	42	2.04	12
female	15	0.73	5
Medium: male	54	2.62	16
female	17	0.83	5
Large: male	67	3.26	20
female	15	0.73	5
French	4	0.19	
Large: male	4	0.19	4
PRAIRIES	438	21.28	
English	430	20.89	
Small: male	102	4.96	30
female	34	1.65	10
Medium: male	56	2.72	16
female	16	0.78	5
Large: male	171	8.31	50
female	51	2.48	5
French	8	0.39	
Large: male	4	0.19	4
female	4	0.19	4
ONTARIO	689	33.48	
English	684	33.24	
Small: male	73	3.55	21
female	39	1.90	11
Medium: male	117	5.69	34
female	25	1.21	7
Large: male	352	17.10	103
female	78	3.79	23

French	5	0.24	
Small: female	1	0.05	1
Medium: male	4	0.19	4
QUEBEC	432	20.99	
English	33	1.60	
Large: male	26	1.26	11
female	7	0.34	7
French	399	19.39	
Small: male	126	6.12	37
female	24	1.17	7
Medium: male	43	2.09	13
female	7	0.34	5
Large: male	167	8.11	49
female	32	1.55	9
ATLANTIC PROVINCES	285	13.85	
English	278	13.51	
Small: male	103	5.00	30
female	19	0.92	6
Medium: male	64	3.11	19
female	9	0.44	5
Large: male	66	3.21	19
female	17	0.83	5
French	7	0.34	
Small: male	6	0.29	5
female	1	0.05	1
Totals	2058	100.00	623

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