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Professionalization Among Newsmen

A method for indexing "professional orientation" of newsmen is presented. "Pros" show distinctive cognitive orientations by comparison with "Semi-Pros" on the same newspapers; both differ from non-editorial employees.

► A recurrent journalistic controversy has involved the question whether journalism is a true profession or merely a craft. If any sort of agreement exists, it is probably that journalism is partly professionalized but lacks some important ingredients of a true profession. Schramm, for example, sees the stumbling block in the fact that newsmen are employees and that the final authority rests not with them but with their employers.¹ Gerald, on the other hand, sees as the key problem the fact that "journalists lack an image of themselves as persons of importance."²

Regardless of the present status of journalism as a profession, we must also ask if it really makes a difference how

much a journalist sees himself as a professional. The consensus seems to be that it does in fact make a difference. There is even some rather limited evidence that this is the case. Breed tells us that, in the several newspapers he studied, the existence of technical and ethical norms was an important deterrent to the carrying out of the publisher's policy.³ Stark, in a participant-observation study of a West Coast newspaper, used a "professional" vs. "local" classification of the news staff which predicted competence, resistance to policy, and even to differing styles of life.⁴

Neither these nor other "communicator" studies, however, give any precise definition of the professional orientation of the journalist, nor do they give many clues as to how to measure such an orientation. For the most part, these studies have emphasized the *uniqueness* of the journalistic occupation. An alternative is to take a *comparative* approach in defining the essential criteria of pro-

¹ Wilbur Schramm, *Responsibility in Mass Communications* (New York: Harper, 1957), p. 344.

² J. Edward Gerald, *The Social Responsibility of the Press* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963), p. 168.

³ Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom," *Social Forces*, 33:326-35 (1955). Reprinted in Wilbur Schramm (ed.), *Mass Communications* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960), pp. 178-94.

⁴ Rodney Stark, "Policy and the Pros: An Organizational Analysis of a Metropolitan Newspaper," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 1:11-32 (1962).

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fessionalization applicable to all occupations and professions.

There is some agreement on eight criteria that must be satisfied for an occupation to become a profession: 1) it must perform a unique and essential service, 2) it must emphasize intellectual techniques, 3) it must have a long period of specialized training to acquire a systematic body of knowledge based on research, 4) it must be given a broad range of autonomy, 5) its practitioners must accept broad personal responsibility for judgments and actions, 6) it must place greater emphasis on service than on private economic gain, 7) it must develop a comprehensive self-governing organization, and 8) it must have a code of ethics which has been clarified and interpreted by concrete cases.⁵

While we could debate at length just how well journalism meets these criteria, they serve our purpose here to suggest ways to develop a measure of professional orientation for journalists. They suggest that, in defining his job, a professional person should place heavy emphasis on service, intellectual activity, autonomy, and influence. Additionally, comparisons with other professions lead to predictions that professionally oriented persons will differ in overt behavior and in cognitive judgment.⁶

The present study is necessarily restricted to the cognitive domain. We predicted differences on three general patterns of similarity in cognitive judgment and on two specific sets of attitudes. With respect to similarity, we felt that the more professionally oriented newsman would: 1) use dimensions of judgment—or frames of reference—that differentiate them from less professional newsmen, 2) have differing positions along the various dimensions, and 3) have greater within-group agreement or homogeneity of position. *More specifically, we predicted that the attitudes of the more professionally oriented newsmen: 1) would be more in favor of implementing professional values, and 2)*

would be more critical of the newspaper for which they work.

Procedure

To test these hypotheses in the journalistic situation, we obtained the anonymous questionnaire responses of 78 Milwaukee *Journal* and 37 Milwaukee *Sentinel* editorial employees ranging from the executive editors to the reporters and desk men.⁷ The two papers are owned by the Journal Company, but each maintains a quite distinctive editorial viewpoint. Despite the difference in viewpoint, the staffs of the two papers were highly similar in the responses they gave to the various parts of the questionnaire. For example, the two staffs' ratings of 24 job characteristics had a correlation of +.92. This, plus the fact that we were not really interested in differences between papers, led us to combine the responses of the two staffs throughout the analysis.

Taking a systematic sample of the non-editorial employees of the Journal Company, we also obtained "control group" questionnaires from 27 advertising salesmen, 26 circulation managers, 14 business supervisors, and 26 clerical employees. Because of the highly similar response patterns shown, we combined the circulation and business people into a single group. With the exception of the clerical group, the age, sex, and educational composition of these

⁵ Myron Lieberman, *Education as a Profession* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1956), pp. 2-6.

⁶ See: A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, "Professions," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan, 1944), pp. 476-80; Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," *Social Work*, 2:45-55 (1957); Everett Hughes, "Professions," *Daedalus*, 92:655 (1963); Samuel Kramer, "The Professions in the United States Census," in Lloyd Blau (ed.), *Education for the Professions* (Washington, D.C., 1955), pp. 294-5; Lieberman, *op. cit.*; Harold Wilensky, "The Dynamics of Professionalism: The Case of Hospital Administration," *Hospital Administration*, 7:9-10 (1962); and Harold Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?," *American Journal of Sociology*, 70:137-158 (1964).

⁷ Our gratitude is heartily extended to the employees of each paper for their excellent cooperation and especially to Newell Meyer of the Journal Company for his assistance with the collection of data.

employees is quite comparable to that of the editorial respondents. The return rate of usable questionnaires for both the editorial and non-editorial groups was approximately two-thirds. While we would have liked a higher rate, we were comforted by our analysis of the various questionnaire items by wave of response. No systematic pattern of correlations was found. That is, those sending in their questionnaires late after a follow-up letter were no different in response from those replying early.

The questionnaire, which took about 30 minutes to complete, contained ratings of desired job characteristics and present job satisfaction, Semantic Differential judgments of five "newspaper" concepts, and specific questions regarding journalistic training and experience, and social and economic background. Certain questions were excluded from the questionnaire given the non-editorial respondents.

Our first task was to develop a measure of "degree of professional orientation" that would be independent of our predicted outcomes. That is, we needed an external criterion to be able to test for differences that ought to be associated with being professionally oriented. One possibility was found in our measures of the importance attached to 24 job characteristics.⁸ The respondents were asked to state how important each characteristic was to *them* in any job, regardless of how well their present job provided this. This measure of *desired* satisfaction is to be distinguished from *obtained* job satisfaction, which also was obtained but is not germane to this analysis.⁹

On the basis of sociological studies of professionalization in other occupations, we were able to divide the 24 characteristics into 12 which professionally ori-

ented people should value highly and 12 which they should stress less. Professionally oriented people should desire a job that uses their professional skills and knowledge, that contributes an essential service, that has an effect on the client and organization worked for, that permits free expression, and that has competent supervisors and co-workers. On the other hand, they should give less emphasis to the monetary, security, prestige, and human relations aspects of a job. The items are shown in Table 1.

By summing across the 12 Professional items and subtracting from the total the summation of the 12 Non-Professional items, a Professional Orientation score was assigned to each respondent. Dividing the ranking of respondents as close to the median as possible, we formed groups of 52 "Professionals" and 63 "Semi-Professionals" for our analysis. At first we called the latter group "Non-Professionals," but their pattern of responses convinced us that they were more aptly called "Semi-Pros." Our *a priori* assignment of items was given support by an analysis of internal consistency. Correlating each item against the total Professional Orientation index minus the score of that item as part of the whole index, we found that each of the 24 items correlated in the predicted direction. For only 14 of the 24 items, however, was the correlation significant.

Another check on the adequacy of our Professional Orientation index was given by a factor analysis of job characteristics. The factor structure of the 115 editorial employees, keyed in Table 1, showed that five of the seven factors obtained were "pure" factors; that is, they contained either all "Professional" items or all "Non-Professional" items. The dimensions of judgment for jobs, then, tended to follow the division of items we made.

A final supportive piece of evidence came from contrasting the desired job characteristics of the various groups. We assumed that the non-editorial groups

⁸ The methodology and several specific items were taken from Duane Marvick, *Career Perspectives in a Bureaucratic Setting* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Governmental Studies, 1954), No. 27, p. 50.

⁹ Merrill Samuelson, "A Standardized Test to Measure Job Satisfaction in the Newsroom," *JOURNALISM QUARTERLY*, 39:285-91 (1962).

TABLE 1
Desired Job Characteristics

	Percent of all newsmen who say "extremely important"
<i>Professional items</i>	
1. Full use of your abilities and training (E).....	75%
2. Opportunity for originality and initiative (E).....	72%
3. Opportunity to learn new skills and knowledge (NF).....	62%
4. Getting ahead in your professional career (A).....	56%
5. Having a job with a paper that is known and respected by journalists all over the United States (R).....	38%
6. Having a job that is valuable and essential to the community (I).....	37%
7. Respect for the ability and competence of co-workers (R).....	35%
8. Opportunity to have an influence on the public's thinking (I).....	30%
9. A supervisor who appreciates the time you spend in improving your capabilities (NF).....	30%
10. Freedom from continual close supervision over your work (R).....	29%
11. Having an influence on important decisions (I).....	26%
12. A job that makes the organization different in some ways because I work for it (I).....	21%
<i>Non-Professional items</i>	
1. An enjoyment of what's involved in doing the job (HR).....	76%
2. Availability of support; working with people who will stand behind a man—help out in a tough spot (HR).....	53%
3. Getting ahead in the organization you work for (A).....	38%
4. Salary; earning enough money for a good living (A).....	35%
5. Working with people rather than things (HR).....	33%
6. Security of the job in its being fairly permanent (S).....	32%
7. Excitement and variety the job provides (E).....	30%
8. Being with people who are congenial and easy to work with (S).....	26%
9. Having a job with prestige in the community (P).....	16%
10. Having a prestigious job in the organization (P).....	16%
11. A job that brings me in contact with important people, e.g., community and state leaders (P).....	12%
12. A job that does not disrupt my family life (S).....	10%

Key to factor analysis of Desired Job Characteristics:

E = Expressiveness factor

A = Advancement factor

R = Respect factor

I = Influence factor

HR = Human Relations factor

P = Prestige factor

S = Security factor

NF = Item does not load on any of seven factors

Question: "People look for different things in their occupations which make their work satisfying to them. Below are some job characteristics that can be applied to most occupations. First, we would like to know how important to you they are in any job. For each is it: 1) Extremely important, 2) Quite important, 3) Somewhat important or 4) Not important?"

—advertising, business-circulation, and clerical employees—are less professionalized than is the editorial staff. It was reasonable to expect, then, that these employees would be lower on our Professional Orientation index than would the editorial staffs. This proved to be the case, with each of the non-editorial groups being significantly "less professional" than the news staffers (Wilcoxon

test, $p < .01$, $< .01$, $< .05$, for the three groups respectively).¹⁰ Additionally, in combining the three employee groups, we found that only three of the 24 items were in the "wrong direction": freedom from close supervision; respect for the competence of co-workers; and

¹⁰ Described in Sidney Siegel, *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956), pp. 75-83.

having an appreciative supervisor. These were all opposite to our prediction that the editorial staffers would rate them more highly.

In general, we felt that our index of Professional Orientation had sufficient internal consistency and concurrent validity to encourage us to go on to test the major hypotheses of our study.

Results—Dimensions of Judgment

The raw data on which the first three hypotheses were tested consisted of judg-

ments of three basic concepts (IDEAL NEWSPAPER, MILWAUKEE JOURNAL, and MILWAUKEE SENTINEL) and a control concept (NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING).¹¹ In addition, the editorial staff judged a fifth concept (BANNER HEADLINE). The judgments were made on 18 Semantic Differential scales consisting of paired adjectival antonyms.

On the basis of an 18x18 scale-by-scale correlation matrix with respondents and the three basic concepts as

TABLE 2
Rotated Factor Loadings for Professionals, Semi-Pros and Non-Editorial Employees

	I Evaluative			II Sensationalism			III Difficulty		
	Prof	S-Pr	Empl	Prof	S-Pr	Empl	Prof	S-Pr	Empl
<i>Evaluative factor</i>									
Useful-Useless .....	.90	.78	.74						
Reliable-Unreliable .....	.89	.90	.57						
Responsible-Irresponsible ..	.88	.88	.64						
Important-Unimportant ...	.86	.85	.78						
Adequate-Inadequate .....	.83	.85	.75						
Good-Bad .....	.82	.87	.77						
Valuable-Worthless .....	.81	.80	.84						
Strong-Weak .....	.78	.71	.82						
Clear-Unclear .....	.66	.69	.55			.46			
Unbiased-Biased .....	.62	.56							
Unemotional-Emotional ...	.51	.46							
<i>Sensational factor</i>									
Colorful-Colorless .....			.66	.85	.76				
Exciting-Dull .....			.69	.73	.78				
Active-Passive .....			.71	.68	.67				
Interesting-Boring .....	.65	.82	.60			.45			
Daring-Cautious .....			.45						
<i>Difficulty factor</i>									
Complex-Simple .....							.63	.66	.63
Difficult-Easy .....							.62	.75	.59
Percent of Total Variance..	42%	49%	40%	15	16	5	8	7	6
Percent of Common Variance	65%	69%	80%	23	22	9	12	9	11

Indicated loadings are for the judgments of the concepts: *Ideal Newspaper*, *Milwaukee Journal*, and *Milwaukee Sentinel*.

Advertising, Business-Circulation, and Clerical employees have been combined as Employees in this table.

¹¹ The rationale and specific indices for the first three hypotheses are discussed in Percy Tannenbaum and Jack McLeod, "Public Images of Mass Media Institutions," and in Wayne Danielson (ed.), *Paul J. Deutschmann Memorial Papers in Mass Communications Research* (Cincinnati: Scripps-Howard Research, 1963), pp. 51-59.

replicates, a factor analysis was made for each group using a communality solution with a normalized varimax rotation. Factor loadings are shown in Table 2.

All three groups exhibit a dominant Factor I that is clearly identifiable as Evaluative. The scales *useful-useless*, *important-unimportant*, *adequate-inadequate*, *good-bad*, and *valuable-worthless* have loadings over .70 for each of the three groups. Other scale loadings, however, tend to add components to the Evaluative factor that differentiate the two editorial groups from the non-editorial employees. For both the Pros and Semi-Pros, the scales *responsible-irresponsible*, *unbiased-biased* and *unemotional-emotional* load on Factor I, tying evaluation to judgments of responsibility and detachment. Only *responsible-irresponsible* among the three scales loads on Factor I for the Employees; the other two scales did not show high loadings even when up to six factors were rotated. Instead, the Employees have Factor I loadings on *interesting-boring*, *active-passive*, *exciting-dull*, and *colorful-colorless*. For them, apparently, evaluation is more a matter of how exciting a paper is than of how responsible it is. The opposite seems to hold for both the Pros and Semi-Pros; they seem to use excitement independently from their general evaluation. The excitement aspect or Sensationalism appears as their Factor II. The Employees have a somewhat similar second factor, but the major excitement scales have their highest loadings on Factor I. All three groups have a rather similar third factor, which we called a Difficulty factor.

Pros and Semi-Pros are particularly similar on Factor I and on each factor the Pros and Semi-Pros are more similar than either is to the Employees. Separate factor analyses for the three non-editorial groups showed that these groups are also highly similar in factor structure, although not so close as the two editorial groups. In terms of factor structure, then, we found two clusters of groups: the two editorial groups and a second cluster of non-editorial employees.

Despite the factorial similarity of the two editorial groups, we went on to test

our first hypothesis that the factor structure of the Employees would be more similar to that of the Semi-Pro than to that of the Pros. That is, that the Pros would use standards of judgment more distinctive from those of the control group of Employees. On the scale-by-scale test over three factors, the Pros were more distinctive (Wilcoxon test, $p < .001$). This held for the comparisons with Business-Circulation and Clerical employees tested separately, but not for the Advertising group. It held for Factors I and III, but not for Factor II. Our Professionals did, then, use somewhat different standards of judgment, although this difference is overshadowed by a distinctive frame of reference common to all editorial employees.

Results—Specific Judgments

Quite apart from the dimensions of judgment used, we also predicted that the specific judgments of the control Employee groups would be more like the judgments of the Semi-Pros than of the Pros. The mean scale values of each group constitutes the basic data for analyzing the distance between groups. The distance between any pair of groups may be summarized by the descriptive statistic, D , computed here as a function of the difference in mean scale profiles of the two groups. The D scores between groups are shown in Table 3.

The Advertising and Business-Circulation groups are the closest in judgment (smallest D score), followed by the Professionals and Semi-Professionals. The three largest differences shown are between the Professionals and the three Employee groups. Thus, for the specific judgments, as was the case for factor similarity, we found two clusters of groups: the two editorial groups in one cluster and the three Employee groups in another.

Our second hypothesis, however, relates to comparisons of the magnitude of D for Professionals and Semi-Professionals against the three employee groups. As predicted, larger D 's are shown for the Professionals in each

TABLE 3

Distance Between Groups and Rank Ordering of that Distance Based on Combined Judgments of: IDEAL NEWSPAPER, MILWAUKEE JOURNAL, and MILWAUKEE SENTINEL Concepts

	<i>Professionals</i>	<i>Semi-Pros</i>	<i>Advertising</i>	<i>Business Circulat.</i>	<i>Clerical</i>
Professionals	—	2	10	9	8
Semi-Professionals	2.57	—	7	6	5
Advertising	5.37	4.30	—	1	4
Business-Circulation	4.85	4.12	2.35	—	3
Clerical	4.35	3.50	2.99	2.79	—

Distance scores are shown in the lower-left portion of the table; the rank order of these distances, shown in the upper-right, uses 10 as the greatest distance to 1 as the most similar pair of groups.

case. Evaluating this in terms of inductive statistics, using the Wilcoxon test, the data show the Professionals to be significantly more distant from the Advertising, Business-Circulation, and Clerical employees than are the Semi-Professionals. This holds for all groups and concepts combined ($p < .001$); for both specific newspaper concepts ($p < .001$), but not for IDEAL NEWSPAPER; and for each of the non-editorial groups separately ($p < .01$ in each case). We did not make specific predictions with respect to the control concept, NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING, but—surprisingly—significant differences in the same direction were found here as well ($p < .001$). We may conclude, then, that there is rather strong evidence that the Professional group does exhibit the more distinctive set of specific judgments.

Some of the specific scale differences are worth mentioning. For example, the Professionals more than the other five groups wanted the IDEAL NEWSPAPER to be more unbiased, unemotional, useful, valuable, important and responsible, but less easy. The higher demands the Professionals placed on objectivity and responsibility seem particularly salient.

Results—Homogeneity

Independently from the dimensions of judgment used and the locus of that judgment, professionalism requires a sharing of values, which should be evidenced here by greater agreement in judgment. We thus predicted greater

homogeneity of judgment within the Professional group than within the Semi-Professional group. This should apply in their ratings of the three basic concepts, IDEAL NEWSPAPER, MILWAUKEE JOURNAL, and MILWAUKEE SENTINEL, and for BANNER HEADLINE, which only the editorial groups judged. We made no specific predictions for the control concept, NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING. This third hypothesis was tested by comparing the standard deviations of each group's judgments, predicting small standard deviations for the Professionals using the various scales as replicates.

The data showed that the Professionals did in fact exhibit significantly greater homogeneity of judgment than did the Semi-Pros (Wilcoxon test, $p < .001$ for the two specific newspaper concepts, $p < .05$ for IDEAL NEWSPAPER and BANNER HEADLINE). Our control concept, NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING, showed no difference between the two groups.

Results—Implementation

Turning to more specific attitudes, our fourth hypothesis stated that the Professionals would more strongly desire the implementation of professional values than would the Semi-Pros. Our reasoning was that in an occupation not fully professionalized, the holding of professional values would be accompanied by desires to change the current state of affairs. The more professionally-oriented journalist, then, should want to

bring about changes in his own performance and that of his co-workers, changes in the content of professional training and changes in the operation of his newspaper. He should also be more in favor of an effective professional organization.

To index this desire for professional implementation, we designed a set of 13 questions that each respondent checked along a seven-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." As shown in Table 4, only four of the 13 questions yielded significant differ-

TABLE 4
Professional Implementation Items

	<i>Group Means</i>	
	<i>Prof.</i>	<i>Semi-Pros</i>
<i>Performance of job</i>		
Journalists should be willing to go to jail, if necessary to protect the identity of their news sources.	2.10	2.40*
Emphasis on the five "W's" in the lead is overdone.	2.79	3.76†
It is all right to take promotional or informational junkets sponsored by business organizations or government agencies if there are no strings attached.‡	5.15	4.62
A journalist should not continue to work for a newspaper if he disagrees with its editorial policy.	4.87	5.05
<i>Professional training</i>		
A college education should be mandatory for beginning journalists.	1.98	2.78*
For the working journalist, there should be required and periodic institutes or refresher courses at a nearby university, e.g., courses in economics or political science.	3.19	3.62*
In early journalism training, it is more important to learn how to write than how to get the story.‡	5.06	5.03
<i>Organization of the newspaper</i>		
There should be greater intellectual specialization in journalism, e.g., science, local government, farm economics.	3.08	3.18
Journalists as a group have a legitimate claim to help determine news column content and policies.	3.10	3.24
It is the duty of the newspaper to its stockholders to do more than break even, even at the expense of cutting back the news function.‡	5.04	4.68
<i>Professional Organizations</i>		
Professions such as law and medicine have developed organizations to uphold professional standards. Journalists themselves should form an organization to deal with problems that come up, and to police the profession.	4.12	4.13
If a member of a professional journalism organization commits an unprofessional action (e.g., takes a bribe), he should be disciplined by the professional organization.	3.95	3.97
A journalist should be certified by his professional organization as to qualifications, training, and competence.	5.04	5.09

‡ Indicates items for which the prediction was for the Professionals to have a higher score (lower agreement); for all other items, the prediction was for the Professionals to have a lower score (greater agreement).

Differences between the Professional and Semi-Professional groups are tested by the Mann-Whitney U test (1-tailed).

* = significant at .05 level

† = significant at .001 level

ences. Differences in group means for all 13 items are in the predicted direction; however, with the exception of two items (the Pros more strongly opposing the "5-W" lead and more strongly favoring a mandatory college education) the differences are not large. When all 13 items were combined in a single index, the difference between the Pros and Semi-Pros is more impressive. This marked difference (Mann-Whitney test, $p < .001$)¹² suggests that the Pros more strongly desire some kind of professional implementation, but that they are not entirely sure what form such implementation should take. They are rather evenly divided, as are the Semi-Pros, on the wisdom of forming a professional organization with disciplinary powers.

Results—Criticism

Our final hypothesis predicted that a professional orientation would be associated with a more critical attitude toward the two newspapers. This hypothesis was tested by two separate measures. The first involves the extent to which each group differentiates between IDEAL NEWSPAPER and the specific newspaper concepts. The Professional newsman should see areas where his own paper could be improved, while the more security-oriented Semi-Pro should be more satisfied with his paper as it exists. The ideal-real difference was tested by comparing the scale-by-scale profiles of mean judgments of each pair of groups to see in which group the paper came closer to the ideal. Our results showed that, as predicted, the Professionals were significantly more critical than were the Semi-Pros (Wilcoxon test, $p < .01$) and each of the employee groups (all $p < .001$). The Semi-Pros appeared to be more critical than the non-editorial employees, but this difference was not significant.

The second index of critical appraisal was derived from listing 11 areas of newspaper content and asking each respondent to indicate for each area

whether his paper had enough, needed less or needed more. The non-editorial employees did this for both papers. The number of areas needing more or needing less coverage was then summated for each respondent. Our hypothesis was then tested by comparing the number of areas needing change according to each group. As predicted, the Professionals of both papers suggested more areas of change than did any of the three employee groups (Mann-Whitney test, $p < .01$). The *Journal* Professionals were significantly more critical than the *Journal* Semi-Professionals ($p < .02$), but no significant difference was found between the *Sentinel* Pros and Semi-Pros, although the tendency was in the predicted direction. Our results, then, give us at least partial support for the hypothesis of tougher critical evaluation by Professionals.

Summary and Discussion

To summarize, we have presented a way of indexing Professional Orientation among journalists. Those rated as Professionals on this index, as contrasted to the lower-scoring Semi-Pros, were more distinct from the non-editorial Employees in terms of the dimensions used to judge various newspaper concepts. More important differences, however, were shown between both editorial groups and the non-editorial people. The editorial staffers tended to tie general evaluation to responsibility and objectivity, while the non-editorial employees mixed excitement into their evaluative judgments. In their specific judgments, the Pros were shown to be closest to the Semi-Pros, but further from the non-editorial employees than were the Semi-Pros. The Pros also showed greater homogeneity within their group.

On specific attitudes, the Pros showed a general tendency to want implementation of professional values and tended to hold a more critical attitude toward their paper than did the other groups. The criticism of the Pros is at least partly a function of setting higher as-

¹² Stegel, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-27.

pirations for their IDEAL NEWSPAPER.

It does seem useful to speak of a "professional orientation" among journalists, then, in that those having such an outlook tend to exhibit distinctive patterns of cognitive judgment and differing specific attitudes. We would like eventually to be able to test whether this orientation extends to differences in actual encoding behavior.

Before regarding the distinctive cognitive orientations of the Professionals as an unmixed blessing, we should hasten to add that in accepting a professional outlook, the journalist is actually moving *away from* the public in his judgments. On nine of our 18 Semantic Differential scales, we had comparable measures on the public's judgment of the same three basic newspaper concepts taken from a Mass Communications Research Center survey conducted two years ago in Milwaukee.¹³ Of all newspaper groups, the Pros were actually the furthest away from the public in their judgments. Closest to the public was the Clerical group, who most resemble a cross-section of the public in terms of their educational background. If communication is at all adversely affected by decreasing the similarity in outlook, then growing professionalization might actually create special problems in communicating with the public. Efficiency might be restored in such a case by trying to induce the public to perceive newspaper institutions in a more "professional" way.

The public enters the picture in another manner. The literature of the emerging professions tells us that the self-definition of the person in the occupation is only part of the story—the public must also accept the profession as a profession and place its trust accordingly. Some index of public acceptance is to be found in the amount of "prestige" the American public accords the journalist relative to other occupations. Prestige is important, for it has been shown that two "professional" cri-

teria play an important part in the public's ratings of prestige: their perception of an occupation as requiring highly specialized training and as having responsibility for the public welfare. In a survey done a few years ago, it was shown that a cross-section of the American public gave the "newspaper reporter" prestige equal to that given the occupation of "undertaker."¹⁴ That's not as high as physician, lawyer or even college professor, but it is higher than the prestige accorded "store manager," "insurance agent" and "automobile dealer."

The inclusion of the non-editorial employees represents a departure from other "communicator" studies. Not only did they provide us with a needed set of bench-marks for control purposes, but they raise the question of the need for a shared outlook at various places in the organization if the newspaper is to function optimally. Studies of other types of organizations have shown that some similarity of outlook between various departments on issues of importance is necessary if communication is to be efficient and the organization is to be effective.

An additional word of caution should be advanced here. We chose to investigate two newspapers which should be relatively high on any scale of professional orientation. As it turned out, the two staffs were almost equally "professional." Smaller or less substantial papers, however, might have produced fewer professionally oriented people, but hopefully the relationships obtained would hold for other newspapers as well. We should also mention that we were unsuccessful in finding educational or other antecedents related to having a stronger or weaker professional orientation. (Please turn to page 577)

¹³ Percy Tannenbaum and Bradley Greenberg, *Newspaper Image Study* (duplicated), (Madison: Mass Communications Research Center, 1961), pp. 38-53.

¹⁴ Paul Hatt and C. C. North, "Prestige Ranking of Occupations," in Sigmund Nosow and William Form (eds.), *Man, Work and Society: A Reader in the Sociology of Occupations* (New York: Basic Books, 1962), pp. 277-83.

mass media into the villages in China also contributes to the transformation of rural authority structure. Now that the landlords have been wiped out and the Party cadres have taken over, the cadres control the media and the media, in turn, confer status and prestige on the cadres. The cadres are young men and women whose concerns include achievement and fulfillment of norms set by the state. In a land where age used to be venerated and where public responsibility used to be overshadowed by family loyalty and welfare, the coming of radios and other media starts a revolution in values and authority structure. The desired end-product is attitudes of "civic love" and "secular aspirations" which were traditionally depreciated in China.

The effectiveness of the radio broadcasting and other mass media to perform these functions in Communist China is greatly enhanced since the media are reinforced by the local Party organization activities and the present social and political system is actually operated according to these new values

and norms, transmitted through the loudspeakers and other media.

Conclusion

The burst of growth of wired radio in 1958 seems to have come to an end along with the general failure of the Great Leap Forward. The regime's industry has suffered a major setback since 1960. We can no longer obtain any substantial information on the growth of loudspeakers or of any other media since then. Indeed, the one recent figure that has come out, a 1963 figure, indicates that "there are more than 4.5 million loudspeakers in the nation's rural and pastoral area" which, in comparison with the 1959 figure, points to a very slight increase.¹⁴ If in the future, we again witness a phenomenon like the rapid growth of the wired broadcasting facilities that took place in 1955 or 1958, we may expect that it will be associated with the momentum of another attempt at a leap forward in industrialization and modernization by the Communist government in China.

¹⁴ *New China News Agency*, news release (English), Aug. 7, 1963.

Professionalization Among Newmen

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tion. Part of this is no doubt due to there being little variation in the amount of education in our sample. About the only thing we did find was a tendency for the "late deciders"—those who did not decide until college to go into journalism—to be more professionally oriented. We need more precise measures of educational background before we can say what produces a professional outlook.

We have also been able to say very little about the absolute strength of the journalists' professional orientation—we have been using relative measures with only a limited number of groups for comparison. We can at least be hopeful in saying, however, that there are encouraging signs. Although our sample of journalists divided on such matters as the wisdom of a strong professional or-

ganization, some 88% of our editorial respondents felt that performing "an essential service to the community" was "quite important" or "extremely important" to them. This is a prerequisite to the professionalization of journalism, for, as Sidney Head has said:

The newsman is a newsman insofar as he conceives of himself as employed by the public to serve the public. To the extent that this conception is impossible, to that extent he is not a newsman but an apologist or a public relations man . . . there is no situation in which he does not have some degree of freedom to develop this point of view, and the more he develops it the more likely he is to win further degrees of freedom to achieve true professional status.¹⁵

¹⁵ Sidney Head, "Can a Journalist Be a 'Professional' in a Developing Country?," *JOURNALISM QUARTERLY*, 40:594-98 (1963).