"ACCURATE AS OF THE TIMESTAMP:" NEWSPAPER JOURNALISM ETHICS IN A TIME OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

Michele Kathleen Jones

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Approved by:

Lois Boynton

Penny Abernathy

Anne Johnston

Paul Jones

Steve May

ABSTRACT

MICHELE JONES: "Accurate as of the Timestamp":
Newspaper Journalism Ethics in a Time of Economic and Technological Change
(Under the direction of Lois Boynton)

In the first decade of the 21st century, American newspaper organizations faced significant economic challenges and underwent great change as communication technology advanced. The purpose of this study was to examine the views of newspaper journalists regarding their professional ethical values, practices, and the changes their work environment has undergone. Using a Web survey and follow-up interviews, this research found that newspaper journalists adhere to ethical norms that align with a libertarian/social responsibility tradition. Journalists at smaller, community newspapers, however, incorporate elements of communitarian ethics in their views of the role of the newspaper organization in society. Results also identified several types of challenges that journalists faced in their work. Analysis revealed that the journalists employ several techniques in the ways they view these challenges that allow them to cope with and contextualize change while maintaining their existing ideas of ethical journalism. Theoretical and professional implications are discussed and directions for future research are identified.

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Several truisms circulated among the graduate students in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication while I was privileged to be there. Among them was one that I thought of often as I worked on this dissertation: Graduate school is about jumping through a series of hoops; the closer you get to the end, the hoops get smaller and then people start lighting them on fire. The submission of this document is the final flaming hoop, and I would like to express my gratitude to those who helped me through the fires and nursed my burns at points along the way.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

In early 2009, the *Los Angeles Times* ran a front-page advertorial for NBC's new prime-time series Southland. The piece was labeled as an advertisement, but included a narrative similar to a newspaper story as if a reporter had gone on a ride-along with one of the police officer characters (Pompilio, 2009). Front-page advertisements, which were rarely found in daily newspapers during most of the 20th Century, became more common in the last decade (Shaw, 2007). While critics argue that front-page ads signal a creeping of commercial interests into an area that had been reserved for news content (Morton, 2009), professional organizations indicate that a front-page ad is no less ethical than an ad in any other part of the newspaper (Pompilio, 2009; Schotz, 2009; Steele, 2009). Similarly, advertisements that resemble editorial content have been common in daily newspapers since the 1980s (Cameron & Ju-Pak, 2000). However, the Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics (1996) calls for publications to "Distinguish news from advertising and shun hybrids that blur the lines between the two." The *Times* ad was labeled and offset with a thick border, but over 100 of the newspaper's journalists signed a petition that said, "Placing a fake news article on A-1 makes a mockery of our integrity and our journalistic standards" (Kafka, 2009). The compounded effect of a front-page ad and an advertorial crossed the journalists' ethical line and sparked criticism from around the profession (Schotz, 2009; Steele, 2009). The paper's publisher defended the move, citing difficult economic times and noting the premium rate for which the ad was sold.

The *Times* is owned by the Tribune Company, which had filed for bankruptcy several months before.

Also in 2009, the *Washington Post* stirred up controversy with an attempt to bring in revenue by holding dinners that were underwritten or sponsored by corporations, focused on particular topics, and attended by business leaders, political officials, and newsroom journalists (Kurtz, 2009). Leaked promotional materials painted a picture of paid access to journalists who cover issues relevant to the companies that sponsored the dinners. The *Post* scrapped its plans for the dinners after critics said that the dinners crossed the line between business interests and newsroom independence by creating a situation in which corporations could essentially purchase the opportunity for off-the-record conversations with journalists. Writing in *American Journalism Review*, journalist John Morton said that the dinners amounted to "selling the soul of the newspaper" (2009).

The incidents at the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Washington Post* illustrate ways in which some financially-strapped newspaper companies are attempting to find new ways of making money. In doing so, they run afoul of long-standing ethical standards of newsroom journalists by blurring the lines between the business activities of the organization and the newsroom. The lines between those two parts of a newspaper exist in an effort to maintain the independence of the journalists so that they may cover the news without influence from advertisers and maintain credibility and trust with readers.

At the same time newspapers are attempting to find new sources of revenue, organizations are also dealing with the ethical implications of using Internet-based, digital technologies. Motivated by instances of employees posting too much information

on social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter, several news organizations, including the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, the Associated Press, and the *Roanoke Times*, crafted guidelines for the use of such sites (Podger, 2009). Among the guidelines are warnings about mixing personal and professional comments, discussing politics and religion, and identifying oneself as a journalist. News organizations also wrestle with differences between ethical standards of print and those online when tackling questions such as anonymity in community discussions on newspaper Web sites. A *Cleveland Plain Dealer* columnist lamented the tendency of anonymous posting to devolve into name calling and vitriol and said that anonymity "…breaks every rule newspapers have enforced for decades in letters to the editor, which require not only a name and a city of residence, but contact information to confirm authorship" (Schultz, 2009).

While these selected examples alone cannot prove a trend or pattern, the common theme in each is that the newspaper industry is changing and new challenges are emerging in the realm of ethics and professional practices. This theme raises questions regarding the state of American newspaper journalism in the post-Internet era. Changes in the journalism industry fueled by the rapid growth of digital technologies and recent economic upheaval have cast newspaper organizations and journalists into uncertain circumstances as they navigate a new era of communication. The Internet and related digital technologies, such as mobile devices like smart phones, e-readers, and tablets, have led to myriad adjustments both in the way news is produced from the newsroom and the ways in which newspaper companies make money. Amidst these changes, research has been conducted to examine many aspects of the changing media landscape. However, further research is needed to examine how the technological and economic changes are

working together in the newspaper industry and potentially influencing shifts in professional ethical norms and practices. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to bring together existing theories and research in these areas and examine the views of newspaper journalists regarding their professional ethical values, practices, and the changes their work environment has undergone. This information will help build a foundation for research into ethical norms and practices in 21st century newspaper newsrooms.

This study adopts a conceptualization of journalistic ethical norms, standards, and practices as overlapping realms within journalism's professional culture. This culture is rooted in the normative traditions of communication which broadly describe the ideal roles of the press in society. Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng, and White (2009) organized normative issues as a hierarchy in which the communication values of a culture and the philosophical organization of these values into theory exist at the top, serving as an analytic umbrella over the other dimensions of a normative system. The schematic includes six levels (p. 68), but the authors note that it is open to other dimensions:

1. The public philosophy of communication, in which the public or the audience is the actor
2. The social and normative theories of communication, in which the academic, philosophical community is the actor
3. The policies of communication, in which legislators or policy-makers are actors
4. The social responsibility of media organizations

5. Professional codes of ethics and professional ethos
6. Personal ideals

A natural relationship exists among all levels of the hierarchy and the values and principles held at one level will help shape or influence those above and below. For example, the personal ideals of journalists in newspaper newsrooms are shaped through the socialization process of work and the organizational mission of the broader news industry. Research in the area of newsroom sociology showed how journalists go about their daily work and create routines (Bleske,1991; Breed, 1955; Sigelman, 1979; Snider, 1967; Tuchman, 1972; White, 1950). White's study of a newspaper editor illustrated that newspaper journalists served as gatekeepers by determining what news was important enough to put before the public. This study, as well as replications and follow-ups (Bleske, 1991; Snider, 1967), clearly illustrated the public service role that editors had internalized when selecting stories for inclusion in the newspaper. Stories were dismissed as being too sensational or included if the editor deemed them of particular importance to the public. The personal decisions of individual journalists at the bottom of the normative hierarchy reflected the social purpose of newspaper organizations and the journalism profession. Similarly, Sigelman (1975), Breed (1955), and Tuchman (1979) found that journalists form ethical standards in order to establish routines that streamline work and protect against accusations of malpractice from the public or employers. Similarly, Ward's rhetorical theory of value change (2004) posits that journalists use assertions about ethics as part of persuasive rhetoric meant to defend their practices. This rhetoric is part of the relationship between journalists and the public and helps shape journalism's norms in an era. Therefore, the professional ethos that formed is based in part on the

prevailing public view of how communication should operate in society – the philosophy described by normative theory at the top of the hierarchy.

Within this framework, questions of journalism ethics may occur at any level, from the individual values of a journalist to the overarching normative theory that "expresses the moral demands" of the public (Christians, et. al., 2009, p. 71). This article discusses journalism ethics at the level of professional codes and professional ethos which establish guidelines for professional practice. Understanding journalism ethics requires examining the ways in which journalists do their work and the presumptions they bring to their routines and decision-making process (Ward, 2004). Core values are shaped by normative theory and held by journalists across media, but codes of ethics and ideas about ethical practices vary somewhat among television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and online publications. For example, dedication to truth and accuracy are values common to all news media and television journalists formed practices and standards regarding the editing of audio and video to ensure that stories are truthful and accurate. Until recent years, newspaper journalists did not need to consider such issues. Similarly, independence is a shared value and all journalists are called upon to resist influence - or even the appearance of it - from advertisers, but the norms or practices that express the concept of independence are different for radio than for magazines. Digital technology has led to some convergence and crossover of practices, but organizational cultures that formed around the older media remain distinct. Therefore, it is useful to approach a discussion of ethical norms within only one medium in order to look at the ways in which digital technologies may be contributing to shifts or changes. Moreover, this study incorporated considerations of economic change which vary at the industry

level and across national borders. For these reasons, this research examined newspaper journalism in the United States. That said, many of the ideas examined here may be useful and relevant to other media and other democratic societies. Future research could explore ethical norms and practices in television journalism or online-only newsrooms.

This chapter established the purpose and broad framework for the rest of the dissertation. Chapter 2 is a review of literature about the theories of the press that helped shape those norms, two economic theories that help explain the financial upheaval that the newspaper industry has undergone in the past decade, and some characteristics of digital culture. Chapter 2 also includes a discussion of the ways in which the theories and concepts can work together to provide a foundation for research into ethical norms and change in newspaper journalism. This review of literature leads to three research questions about newspaper journalism ethics and journalists' perceptions of the economic and technological changes occurring in their industry. Chapter 3 details the methods and procedures for research conducted to answer those questions. This was a mixed-methods study involving a quantitative survey and qualitative interviews. Chapter 4 details the results of the survey of newspaper journalists and Chapter 5 discusses the findings of follow-up interviews conducted with 11 of the survey respondents. Following these chapters, Chapter 6 discusses the implications of those results and concludes the dissertation.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Newspaper journalism is undergoing significant change as it faces economic and technological challenges that stem from the journalistic use of Internet-based technologies. Within the newspaper industry, this change has caused some conflict, possibly because three areas – newspaper journalism, media business, and digital culture - do not function with the same philosophical, ethical, and practical values, as this chapter will show. Changes in the newspaper industry fueled by the financial impact of Internet competition and a significant economic recession recently added to the intensity of these debates as the industry faces drastic drops in revenue and is fighting to survive while maintaining ethical standards and quality journalism. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the three areas' values and relevant characteristics, as well as examine recent research in these areas.

To address these three areas, this chapter first discusses the prevailing normative theories of the press in the United States that helped shape the ethical norms and practices of journalism. This section also reviews literature related to the refining and updating of those theories, as well as proposed alternative ethical theories. The second section will provide information about the economic system in which the newspaper industry operates and the impact of the recent recession. This includes a discussion of creative destruction, an economic theory that helps explain economic change in the newspaper industry. The

third section describes aspects of the history and culture of Internet communities and reviews literature related to the incorporation of online community technologies, such as blogs and message boards, into newspapers' online news products. The fourth section of this chapter will suggest ways in which these areas may in conflict within and around the newspaper industry, and the last section proposes research questions to guide this study.

Normative Theories of the Press

To understand the ethical values of American journalism and the practices that express those values, it is necessary to examine the normative theories that describe the ways in which society believes the press should function. Discussions of press theories begin with the original four theories articulated by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm (1956), but include updates and refinements to their ideas. In the United States, three of the original theories are relevant, with an emphasis on two: the libertarian and social responsibility theories. The American press tradition began in England before the American Revolution. Many of the ideas that fueled the United States' emphasis on freedom of the press emerged during the colonial period as a response to the British authoritarian concept of the press. The authoritarian theory, according to Siebert, et al., describes a press system that is controlled by a government, either directly, by owning the press and banning independent press outlets, or indirectly, by a system of permits or licenses to those who wish to publish. This type of system is based on the belief that society needs to be protected from ideas and information that does not further the goals of the state or promote the public good. Although the British authoritarian press system, which utilized the practice of granting or denying permits, gave way to a more-

democratic system, authoritarian systems continue in many nations around the world, ranging from loose supervision by the state to full control by a government.

The post-colonial American press system came from the libertarian view that was born primarily of the Enlightenment period, but extends past that era and draws from the ideas and writings of several philosophers and statesmen. John Milton's (1644/1999) ideas of freedom of expression were built upon by Thomas Jefferson (1771-1826/1999) and John Stuart Mill (1869/2001), among others, and an evolving concept of an open marketplace of ideas which regulates itself when people are given the freedom to speak within it emerged (Siebert, et al, 1956). This marketplace of ideas is analogous to economist and philosopher Adam Smith's (1799) ideas of a free economic market in which a balance of supply and demand of necessary goods is achieved by natural self-regulation. Under the libertarian theory of the press, communication should be unrestrained or minimally influenced by the state while serving as a check on government actions. In short, all people should have the opportunity, if not the means and method, of communicating, without regard to the truthfulness or value of the communication. Based on a view of individuals as rational thinkers, the marketplace of ideas is supposed to allow the truth or the best ideas to rise to the surface as people assess the validity of the communications they receive.

The primary difficulty in the libertarian theory is rooted in what its advocates likely see as its primary advantage: the press should be minimally constrained by the government, and individuals should be able to determine what information is valid. The flaw arises in the question of what and how much constraint is allowable. The libertarian view concedes the need for regulation against certain abuses by the press, such as libel,

but libertarians are reluctant to afford the state the power to control or limit the press. The libertarian tradition positions the press as a watchdog of the government, reporting about policy and any abuses of power by officials, to insure that does not grow too powerful or authoritarian (Siebert, et.al., 1956). The key point of libertarian theory is the emphasis on the natural rights of the individual. This emphasis was directly related to the free market of ideas and the free economic market discussed by Adam Smith. Smith (1790) wrote that individuals should act in their own self-interest and when each person does so, society is guided by an "invisible hand" (p. 466) that ultimately rights the distribution of resources and maintains social order. In the analogous market of ideas, rather than concentrate knowledge and control of communication in the hands of the elite or the government, no single group of people is said to own the truth, and individuals have the right to obtain and share knowledge (Christians, et. al., 2009).

The social responsibility theory of the press grew out of the libertarian school of thought in the early 20th century as a response to a growing dissatisfaction with certain flaws in the practice of a libertarian press system, namely that the good of society sometimes failed to be served in the open market. Scholars, officials, and the public found that the truth and the best ideas didn't always emerge from the marketplace of ideas or did not rise to the public's awareness quickly. People did not assess the value of communications rationally or did not do so in a timely fashion, and sensationalism, propaganda, and libel remained in the marketplace of ideas at the expense of truthful and verified information (Siebert, et al., 1956). Wuliger (1991) cites several famous news stories that are examples of "falsehood triumphing over truth" (p. 157) in the short-term, even after the call for social responsibility. These stories included Joseph McCarthy's

accusations in the 1950s and the Iran-Contra scandal in the 1980s. Yellow journalism of the late 19th century and controversies surrounding sensationalism by the press rendered the public and the government weary from perceived abuses by those who held the most control over the channels of public communication. What emerged as a response is a tradition based in the libertarian view of freedom of expression, but which demanded that those who control the press use it for the public good.

Partially in response to criticism of sensational news coverage, an emphasis within journalism on professionalization and establishing codes of ethics emerged by the 1920s (Rogers, 2007; Siebert, et al., 1956). These codes included some indications of the developing social responsibility movement. The Canons of Journalism, adopted by the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1923, was the first national association code of ethics (Pratte, 1995) and included as its first tenet an acknowledgement of the press's responsibility to the general public in promoting social well-being. The Canons preamble stated, "The primary function of newspapers is to communicate to the human race what its members do, feel and think. Journalism, therefore, demands of its practitioners the widest range of intelligence of knowledge and of experience, as well as natural and trained powers of observation and reasoning. To its opportunities as a chronicle are indissoluble linked its obligations as teacher and interpreter" (p. 205). This statement illustrates a foundation in the libertarian tradition, even referencing the need for use of natural reasoning abilities. Indications of the rising social responsibility movement are also apparent in the preamble's recognition of "obligations as teacher and interpreter" for society. Even before the Canons, journalists discussed in trade publications such as Editor & Publisher issues of ethics and professionalism that indicated a growing

movement within the industry to serve the public good and avoid sensationalism (Rogers, 2007).

Despite attempts by journalism associations to outline the profession's values in codes of ethics, a gap formed between what the press gave the public and what press critics said the public needed and wanted. Siebert, et al. (1956) synthesized the criticism that the press as a whole:

1. Used its power for its own benefit and put forth opinions of its publishers while excluding other viewpoints;
2. Was beholden to businesses and allowed advertisers to influence editorial decision;
3. Was resistant to social change efforts;
4. Sensationalized coverage and ignored more serious stories;
5. "Endangered public morals" (p. 78);
6. Violated people's privacy without legitimate reasons;
7. Was controlled by the business class and left little opportunity for others to own or publish a newspaper.

Publishers argued that freedom of the press meant freedom from government restraint and considered economic and labor regulations a violation of the First Amendment, while critics claimed that publishers worked only in their own economic interests without regard to responsible reporting (Blanchard, 1977). Critics suggested that newspaper publishers, as well as those producing films and broadcast programming, were faced with the possibility of government regulation to control the abuses and misuses of communications channels unless they took responsibility and made changes themselves.

As this tension continued, newspapers owners found themselves more often dragged into court where the definition of freedom of the press under the First Amendment was being revised from the press's idea of freedom from government restraint to a new concept of the right of the public to receive vital information (Blanchard, 1977). Additionally, the authors of the Four Theories (Siebert, et al.,1956) suggested that a new theory of the press emerged because of a shift in the prevailing philosophies of the age. Enlightenment-era philosophies were criticized when viewed through lenses influenced by scientific and technological advances and the ideas of men like Einstein and Darwin (1871). The 20th century, in short, brought an age in which the public and its leaders were less confident in people's ability to behave rationally, thus throwing the Enlightenment's concept of a self-righting marketplace of ideas into question. The authors of the Four Theories of the Press suggested that social responsibility advocates viewed people as "not so much irrational as lethargic" and guilty of "mental sloth" (Siebert, et al, 1956, p. 100). In short, people could make rational decisions, but they are lazy and opt out. Libertarian theory of the press was no longer in alignment with intellectual or public opinion, and the authors stated, "A theory of the press which diverges fundamentally from the mentality of its age, then may well be modified or scrapped altogether" (p. 81).

The social responsibility movement culminated in the report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press (1947), better known as the Hutchins Commission after Robert M. Hutchins, the chairman of the group and chancellor of the University of Chicago. The Commission, which was suggested to Hutchins by Henry R. Luce of Time, Inc., was a group of scholars who gathered in 1944 to hear testimony and conduct interviews with

individuals "concerned with the press" (p. iv). The report suggested that the freedom of the press was in danger because the importance of the press to society had increased at a time when fewer opportunities existed for citizens to participate in the press system (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947). Further acknowledging the rise in literacy rates, population, urbanization, and technological advancements, the Commission ushered in what they hoped would be a new paradigm in the American press. The report lists five "requirements" of a free, responsible press.

1. "A truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of day's events in a context that gives them meaning" (Commission, 1947, p. 21). This requirement stipulates that journalists should not lie, should separate fact from opinion, verify, and weigh the authority of a source, and utilize information gathered in first-hand observation. The Commission also included in this requirement the need for reporters to not only report the facts of a situation; they must also report "the truth about the fact" (p. 22). The latter stipulation deviates from the objectivity norm that emerged in the early 20th century which resulted in news reports that included only facts attributed to people, documents, or direct observation and omitted any opinion or interpretation by the reporter (Ward, 2009). The Commission encouraged a more interpretive reporting style. (Siebert, et.al., 1956)
2. "A forum for the exchange of comment and criticism" (Commission, 1947, p. 23). The Commission cited the editorial and letters the editor pages of newspapers as vehicles for giving voice to myriad opinions and

ideas. The reason for this requirement is that fewer people by 1944 had the ability to publish their views and needed the mass media in order to make their voices heard. The Commission added the requirement that the identity of those voicing opinions and viewpoints should be known, and anonymous letters and columns discouraged.

3. "A projection of a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society" (Commission, 1947, p. 26). This requirement reflects a progressive tone in the Commission's report, suggesting that the press has a large role in the public's formation of stereotypes and should be responsible for portraying social groups accurately, so as to encourage respect and understanding of "the inner truth of the life of a particular group" (p. 27).
4. Furthering this progressive tone, the Commission (1947) listed the requirement that the press should be responsible for "the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society" (p. 27). Here, the report is brief and not explicit, but suggests that the press should educate the public and help focus the goals toward which society should work. Unfortunately, the Commission members were not clear on what types of goals they meant, but offered the example of a public opinion poll in which one-third of the American public stated that the press should not be allowed to criticize the government. The Commission seemed to suggest this was an indication that the press had failed to properly articulate the importance of its watchdog role.

5. "Full access to the day's intelligence" (Commission, 1947, p. 28). Again, the Commission was vague in its meaning of this requirement, but Siebert, et al. (1956) assert that this requirement is a statement about the public's right to know the information and goings-on of its government, which was still a relatively new concept in the 1940s. The libertarian theory allowed for freedom of the press and of expression, but did not imply a right of the people to have access to public records or an obligation of officials to release such information. Therefore, the Commission's requirement that the press give the public "full access" placed journalists in the position of championing open government policies on behalf of the people.

The essential differences between the libertarian and social responsibility theories are found in the different concepts of the right to freedom of the press. Libertarians view this right to free expression as a natural right, something people are born with and governments must not restrain. Proponents of the social responsibility theory, including members of the Hutchins Commission, call freedom of expression a moral right that people are required by conscience to exercise. This moral right is coupled with a responsibility to respect the right of others to speak and to realize that the right of free speech is not an entitlement to be heard (Siebert, et al., 1956). Under the libertarian tradition, the press is free from control of the government, while social responsibility theory posits that the press is free for public service (Christians, Ferre, & Fackler, 1993).

Libertarian and social responsibility traditions further differ in their concepts of human nature and a person's moral duty. Libertarian theory roots in a worldview that humans are basically rational. People have the right to be ill-informed, but there is a

human need for truth and understanding that will not allow that to happen. Advocates of social responsibility were not so optimistic about a natural need for the truth. Instead, they suggested that people are easily manipulated and tend to settle on ideas that are readily available, rather than search for truth. This latter view is more in line with Darwin (1871) in that it is based on the belief that humans are basically searching to meet their needs and desires and stop when those needs are met. Social responsibility theory further suggests the people need help and guidance finding the truth by a responsible press system.

In the decades since the publication of the Hutchins report, scholars, media critics, and journalism professionals have dissected and critiqued social responsibility theories in order to better understand the continuously evolving American press system. Udick (1993) argued that several of the requirements for a free press outlined by the Commission contradict its stated belief in the need for value-free, objective reporting. Lloyd (1991) suggests social responsibility theory might be "a single step from authoritarianism" (p. 200) and argued that social responsibility theory is fundamentally at odds with individualistic American social values.

Many newspaper editors and publishers balked at findings of the Hutchins Commission, though the industry primarily took issue with the methods and make-up of the Commission and less so with the actual recommendations (Blanchard, 1977). A few journalists went further and compared the Hutchins recommendations to policies of authoritarian regimes or suggested that the critique would only serve to undermine the efforts of a free press by reducing both the public's confidence in it and the government's

respect for its role in society. Other editors suggested the press would be wise to recognize the validity of the Commission's primary ideas.

Libertarian and social responsibility theories are schools of thought with a shared base in the belief that the press should operate independently of the state. It is important to note that there was neither a clear moment in history marking a turning point between the two, nor a smooth transition in society's prevailing thoughts about the press. The social responsibility movement did not replace libertarian ideas; rather, it emerged as an ill-fitting layer on and alongside it: building on parts, standing on its own in others, and fitting awkwardly so that gaps for debate appeared. Practical expressions of these ideals in journalism ethics is equally imperfect; there are some conflicts between the two traditions, including the call for journalists to be independent of the government, but still accountable to the public interest (Christians, et. al., 2009).

In the latter half of the 20th century, alternatives to the social responsibility tradition emerged that sought to correct what was seen as some flaws in both the conception of social responsibility and in journalist's practice of the values derived from it. Critics said the journalism of social responsibility was "trustee" journalism (Christians, et. al., 2009). The positioning of the press as trustees of the public's right to freedom of speech, obligated to serve the people the information necessary for functioning in democracy was seen as an elitist, paternalistic position. Coupled with the move away from family ownership of newspapers to corporate owners that bought, sold, and consolidated newspaper companies, the result was a nation of newspapers that left large segments of the population underserved and underrepresented (McChesney, 1999).

A related call grew for journalism that worked with the public or was created by the public. Civic or public journalism (Merritt, 1998; Rosen, 1999) advocates engagement with a community. Journalists should see themselves as part of the community, not detached observers who "cover" an area or region. Public journalism calls for increased dialogue with the public and argues that the press should serve as a forum for exchange of ideas and recognize parts of the community who are not served by traditional press practices. Public journalism found some support among publishers and editors who thought that increasing engagement with the public would help heal some of disconnect between the newspapers and their readers and result in an enhanced position in the community (Meyer, 2009) Meyer suggested that the attempt to implement civic journalism from the top-down led some journalists to view it as a gimmick for increasing readership and revenue and thus a break in the metaphorical wall between the newsroom and the business interests of a newspaper. The debate around public journalism also hinged somewhat on the sticky question of the objectivity norm. Journalists who supported traditional objectivity questioned whether increased engagement with the community was an invitation for conflicts of interest.

Amidst criticism of corporate-owned media and the debate over public journalism within that media, a model of communitarian ethics emerged (Christians, Ferre & Fackler, 1993). A communitarian ethical theory of journalism calls for a respect for individualism, but an emphasis on the interconnected nature and social center of human existence. In short, a communitarian focus is not a call for collectivism or socialism, but focuses on the social interactions of individuals. Within this framework, the press should aim for civic transformation and must reorganize its internal structure to reduce the

emphasis on profits and encourage involvement from all who work in a news organization.

Theories of the Press in Professional Codes

Generally, few journalists think of professional ethics in terms of the philosophical or political theories that helped shape the specific norms with which they live (Plaisance & Deppa, 2009). Newspaper journalists' professional ethos, codes of ethics, and practices, however, exemplify components of both the normative traditions. The code of ethics of the American Society of News Editors states: "The First Amendment, protecting freedom of expression from abridgment by any law, guarantees to the people through their press a constitutional right, and thereby places on newspaper people a particular responsibility. Thus journalism demands of its practitioners not only industry and knowledge but also the pursuit of a standard of integrity proportionate to the journalist's singular obligation." (ASNE, 1975, ¶2). This strong statement of the social responsibility mission of newspapers suggests that the press is a steward of the American people with a responsibility to the public set forth by the United States Constitution. The current statement contrasts somewhat with the ASNE's 1922 Canons of Journalism discussed earlier. The difference between the two reflects the way journalism evolved over half a century from a newly organized collection of newspaper editors to a profession with a "singular obligation."

At the top of the list of values in the current ASNE code is responsibility. The primary purpose of journalism is said to be service to the public to enable people to make informed decisions. Other tenets include "freedom of the press," a call to defend journalism from attempts to limit its freedom or conduct public business out of the open,

and “independence,” the requirement that journalists avoid conflicts of interest or the appearance of such. These two tenets reflect the libertarian tradition of the press by calling on journalists to preserve a free market of ideas and serve as a watchdog of the public’s business. The tenets of “truth and accuracy” and the call for “impartiality” are related to the much- debated concept of objectivity in reporting, which both preceded the call for social responsibility and was incorporated into some interpretations of it. The final tenet is “fair play,” which is used as a general heading to include several values and standards of practice, including respect for “common standards of decency” and accountability for news reports’ quality with regard to the fairness and accuracy goals of objectivity. This tenet also covers journalists’ obligation to honor promises of confidentiality of sources, but to give such promises sparingly and only when there is a specific need.

The ASNE code was last updated in 1975, but the Society of Professional Journalists, which counts among its membership journalists from all media as well as journalism educators, revised its codes in 1996 and may be more widely referenced by today's newspapers. The SPJ code identifies four tenets: seek truth and report it, minimize harm, act independently, and be accountable. The details of these tenets express the libertarian and social responsibility foundation of journalism, but also incorporate some elements that reflect the public journalism movement. For example, seeking truth and reporting it includes the call to give voice to the voiceless and recognize that both official and unofficial sources can be valid. Similarly, journalists are encouraged to tell stories of the diversity of human experience and avoid cultural stereotyping. The accountability tenet implores journalists to encourage dialog with their audiences.

The first section of this chapter examined the prevailing normative theories of the press in the United States and evidence of their influence on the stated values of professional newspaper journalism. In the latter half of the 20th century, voices emerged from academia and journalism calling for reform or replacement of the libertarian/social responsibility form of journalism ethics and practice. The next section of this chapter explores the economic realm of the newspaper industry and the related changes in the industry.

The Economics of Newspapers

In *The Vanishing Newspaper*, Philip Meyer (2009) wrote, "The glory of the newspaper business used to be its ability to match its success as a business with self-conscious attention to its social service mission. Both functions are threatened today" (p. 9). This section addresses the circumstances that led Meyer to that statement by examining the economic framework in which the newspaper industry operates and the ways in which the economic hardships it has faced in the past decade differ from previous difficulties that were caused by normal, cyclical downturns in the national and world economies. The economic theory of creative destruction helps contextualize a discussion of economic change in the newspaper industry.

The Financial Health of Newspapers

Since the emergence of the popular press in the 19th century, newspapers have earned the majority of revenue from advertising. That dependence on advertising increased in the second half of the 20th century. In 2002, newspapers earned 82% of their revenue from advertising and 18% from subscriptions, a change from 50 years earlier when newspapers earned 71% from advertising (Picard, 2002). The percentage of that

advertising revenue that came from classified ads increased drastically, from 18% in 1950 to 40% in 2000. The success that newspapers companies enjoyed was significant, as newspapers that operated in single-newspaper towns could expect to have a 20%-40% profit margin, compared to the margins for most retail products at 6% or 7% (Meyer, 2004).

By the end of the 20th century, however, there appeared some cracks in the advertising foundation of the newspaper industry. Bogart (1995) discussed the problems that newspapers faced when community department stores, which had been major advertisers, suffered bankruptcies and competition from big box stores like Wal-Mart. With those changes came shifts in the ways retailers advertised. Despite these adjustments, at the turn of the 21st century, newspapers were still lucrative and reliable businesses and relied heavily on advertising to keep that so. However, within 10 years, the newspaper industry found itself in a state of financial crisis. There are several causes and factors involved in the upheaval that developed, but all trace their roots to one essential modern technology: the Internet. This technology that some call revolutionary, combined with the fall-out of a deep economic recession, put the newspaper industry in a position that led to drastic layoffs of workers, the closure of some major properties, the sale of others, and bankruptcy for at least one major legacy company, the Tribune Co (Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2010).

The advent of Internet technology in the early 1990s caused a stir among the more technology-savvy members of the newspaper industry, and newspapers were at the forefront of developing information portals and sites on the World Wide Web (Scott, 2005). The Internet was a place to experiment, and newspapers invested in it as part of

the future of the industry. Because they could not predict exactly how it would affect their legacy business, newspapers lost money on their Web sites throughout the 1990s (Paczkowski, 2004). At that point, the Internet was more than a novelty, but less than a revolution. Newspapers did not make long-term strategic plans for profiting from their online presence. In the 1990s, the daily printed newspaper was still a financially sound business.

When Internet technologies grew in popularity and reach in the early 2000s, newspapers faced competition for advertising dollars. Print advertising revenues eroded when non-newspaper Web sites emerged as real competition for classified advertising. Online advertising and sales sites such as Craigslist and eBay and Internet job search engines like Monster.com cut into print's classified revenues. Some industry observers dispute the impact of sites like Craigslist (Fine, 2005), but these sites held an advantage over print because they allowed sellers or employers to post ads for free or for significantly less-expensive rates than newspapers. Recent evidence suggests that real estate advertising has migrated from print newspapers to online ads and social networking strategies (Miley, 2009). These sites were able to undercut newspapers because they had lower operating costs and less overhead. Given decades of newspaper success, the newspaper companies may have underestimated these companies and not seen a need to compete with them. Newspapers sold advertising on their Web sites, but the money earned was not enough to make up for lost print revenue.

By the middle of the first decade of the 21st century, the newspaper industry found itself in a worrisome position. When including Web site traffic in measurements, newspaper readership was up, but newspapers had not found a way to convert that

increased readership into dollars. The entire newspaper industry suffered losses in advertising revenue and decreases in circulation. This descent became a plummet in late 2007 when the United States economy, led by a collapse of the housing market, entered a deep recession. That plummet continued through 2008 and 2009. Real estate and retail advertising decreased as the economy sank, which cut further into newspapers' profits. According to the Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism's State of the Media report (2010), in 2006, total industry advertising was $46.6 billion, but sank to about $24.8 billion in 2009 – a decline of 47%. Within the overall decline, classified advertising was hit hardest. Classified volume shrank from $19.6 billion in 2000 to about $6 billion in 2009. Newspaper stocks, which lost 42% of their value from the start of 2005 to the end of 2007, lost 83% of their remaining value during 2008. Drastic cost-cutting in 2009 enabled newspaper companies to stabilize and stock prices rallied somewhat, but remained far below their pre-plunge values. Of the top 25 newspapers, ranked by circulation, only the Wall Street Journal grew in 2009 – by 0.6% (Top 25 papers, 2009). Certainly, some of the decline in revenue during this time period was attributable to the global economic downturn. Before the recession, however, media economist Picard (2008) determined from a longitudinal analysis that newspaper advertising would continue a descent in the future, placing newspapers in increasingly difficult circumstances.

Newspapers' economic woes might not have been a crisis, at least not as soon as it was, but for a tendency by newspaper companies to take on large amounts of debt in order to invest in more properties (Morton, 2008). Companies were essentially betting on their ability to maintain high profit margins in order to pay off this debt in the future. For

example, the McClatchy Company purchased the entire Knight-Ridder chain in 2004, incurring $2 billion in debt. Shortly after, newspaper revenues began to decline, leaving McClatchy with far less return on its investment and in a precarious financial situation as the company struggled to meet its debt obligations, despite its newspapers remaining profitable. Similar situations occurred at Lee Enterprises, Tribune Co., and even New York Times Co. Picard (2006) attributed the recent decline of the newspaper industry to investing without "long-term vision" (p. 11) and with limited movements toward innovation and development of new products. In order to stay afloat, maintain profitability, and make payments on debt and interest, newspaper companies undertook drastic cost-cutting measures in the second half of the decade. McClatchy reduced its staff by more than 30% over the course of a year. Gannett and Media General also laid off employees and several companies imposed employment-related cost-cutting measures such as unpaid furloughs and wage cuts (Strupp, 2009). Many newspapers reduced their news coverage and the size of the daily newspaper (Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2010).

Creative Destruction and Disruptive Technology

To better understand the change that the newspaper industry has undergone, it is useful to view it through the lens of the economic theory of creative destruction. This theory suggests that the belief that corporations can exist and succeed over many decades with patient investors who receive a large return over time is a myth (Backhaus, 2003; Foster & Kaplan, 2001; Schumpeter, 1942). Creative destruction posits that a company's longevity actually breeds stagnation, and even companies that survive cannot expect great success as they grow older and larger. Instead, the economic markets follow shorter

cycles of creation and destruction in which companies emerge, grow, profit, and are ultimately driven out by one or more new innovating companies, which in turn follow the same cycle. The idea of creative destruction was originally suggested by German economist Joseph Schumpeter in 1942, but not generally regarded until the 1980s and 1990s when it was found to be more relevant to the examination of emerging technologies during economic downturns (Foster & Kaplan, 2001). The cycle of creative destruction follows four steps:

1. Foundation, in which companies are small start-ups with little organizational structure. Success occurs or the company folds or sells itself before it gets far off the ground.
2. Growth, in which initial success leads to rapid expansion, including larger staffs and more formal organization. At this stage, more analysis of why the company is succeeding and how it may continue that success will take place.
3. Dominate, in which the matured company is a leader in its field and an established success. At this point, the company may not notice threats from competition from new start-ups in stage one.
4. Cultural lock-in, in which the established company is threatened by emerging stage one companies and must take defensive strategies to survive. At this point, it can be difficult to innovate and revitalize a company because managers make decisions based on past successes that occurred in previous stages.

At the cultural lock-in stage, companies must overcome bloated organizational structures and old habits by innovating in one or more of three ways: incremental innovation, which allows small changes over time; substantial innovation, which necessitates some structural changes in the company, like cost-cutting and layoffs in order to reorganize; or transformational innovation, in which the company essentially recreates itself (Foster & Kaplan, 2001). Not all companies that reach cultural lock-in fail. Some downsize or declare bankruptcy and then restructure and emerge from that process with a smaller presence in the market. For example, Sears department stores were once a dominant retail force, but were undermined by big box stores such as Walmart and Target. Sears still exists, but has reshaped its business, closed some stores, and ended its famous catalog. A similar store, Montgomery Ward, faced the same threats as Sears, but did not survive, though the brand name was purchased and is used by an online retailer.

A second theory that couples logically with creative destruction is that of disruptive innovation (Christensen, 1997), which describes the tendency of long-standing, successful industries and businesses to fail or decline when a new innovation unexpectedly emerges to undermines existing technology. These innovations can emerge in one of two forms. A low-end disruptive innovation is often inferior but less expensive and appeals to customers who are over-served by existing products. For example, a netbook is a small, lightweight notebook computer that has less processing speed, hard drive space, and general functionality than a desktop computer. However, netbooks are priced below desktop and regular notebook computers. While the impact of netbooks on desktop and notebook sales remains to be seen, netbooks have the potential to be disruptive innovations. A new-market disruptive innovation emerges when the needs of

customers are not being met by existing technology or can be met and exceeded. Mobile phones might be an example, as they initially met the needs of those who wanted to be able to make calls anywhere, but grew to be a better option than a land-line telephone for many customers and have all but ended the need for pay telephones.

Applying the theories of creative destruction and disruptive innovations to the newspaper industry, it is easy to see that newspaper companies are in the difficult position of cultural lock-in, and disruptive innovations like blogs, social networking sites, mobile devices, and news aggregators are challenging print newspapers. The modern newspaper industry, including many newspapers still in operation today, emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Kaniss, 1997). While newspaper penetration -- circulation compared to the number of households in America -- peaked in the early 1920s, profitability and influence of newspapers was strong through the end of the 20th century (Meyer, 2009). The longevity of the operations led the companies to a position in which they were easily attacked by start-up companies that better utilized Internet technologies and produced new products that customers wanted. While newspapers held on to their legacy product, the printed daily paper, they have undergone incremental innovation by phasing out old production systems and bringing in new or launching niche publications. Recently, newspapers have undertaken substantial innovation by moving more of their resources to news online, reducing staff sizes, and reorganizing remaining employees. To this point, however, it does not appear that these innovations are sufficient, and some newspaper companies may falter, even as newspapers in general continue in some form.

Digital Communities and Open-Source Culture

Economic change is only one of the major challenges that digital technology poses to newspapers. A philosophical perspective that accompanies digital technologies sometimes contrasts with the perspective from which journalism ethical norms are formed. While the Internet has had a profound disruptive impact on newspaper companies and their advertising revenue, digital technologies are both competing with newspapers and being adopted by them for the production and distribution of news. These technologies also are changing the way newspapers interact with audiences. With the tools of digital communication come a distinct culture that has not always meshed well with the long-standing culture of newspaper newsrooms and business. To better understand this area's relevance to discussions of journalistic ethical standards in newspapers, this section explores the basic history and norms of the computing culture that gave rise to a segment of Internet users who advocate for access to technology and information, minimally regulated by the both the government and the companies that produce it.

Shortly after the Internet started to grip mainstream America, author and technology advocate Stewart Brand (1995) penned an essay for *Time* titled "We owe it all to the hippies," in which he argued that the roots of the online revolution grew from the "hippie communalism and libertarian politics" (p. 54) of the 1960s and libertarian outlook of the science-fiction novels, comic books, and movies of which computer scientists and workers were fans.[1] Personal computing began as a mission by a few computer scientists who believed in granting access to computers to average people and

[1] In fact, Rheingold (1993) pointed out that in the early days of the Department of Defense's ARPANET, the precursor to the Internet, the largest email listserv centered on discussions of science fiction.

making computers that performed tasks that were useful for the masses, not just government and corporate agencies (Markoff, 2005; Rheingold, 1993). This idea is somewhat analogous to the movement of the power of publication from authoritarian control to the general population under the libertarian ideas of free expression.

Levy (1984) described the basic tenets of what he called a hacker ethic.[2] The hacker ethic was a general philosophy or attitude about access to computers that evolved from the computer science labs at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the 1960s and 1970s. Levy articulated the philosophy as:

1. Access to computers and related equipment in order to debug or correct problems should be available and absolute. Denying access to a system that does not function correctly is ridiculous and breaking into something to improve it should never be illegal.
2. All information should be free. As a corollary to the first tenet, the information needed to work on a program should be readily accessible and available.
3. Promote decentralized power and be wary of authority. Hackers opposed governmental, corporate or academic bureaucracies that stood in the way of open access to computers and information and, by extension, impeded the development of technology.
4. Hackers should be judged on their skills, not their credentials, age, race, or

[2] Prior to the 1990s, the terms "hacker" or "hacking" did not carry a connotation of illegal access to computer networks. At the time of Levy's book, a "hacker" was a computer programmer or a computer hobbyist who was interested in the inner-workings of programming and computing. Within programming and digital communities, that positive connotation of the word is still applicable.

position.[3]

5. Computer programs could be beautiful and elegant, like art.
6. Computers and programming could change individuals' lives for the better.
7. Computer programs could be made to do humans' bidding and the world would be better for it.

The first three tenets detail *how* hackers should work - free from authority and regulation. The last four provide information about *why* hackers believed society should accept computer programming as a means of self and societal improvement. Both reflect the ideas that remain the libertarian basis of open-source philosophy today – that innovation and progress is achieved when people are allowed to work creatively and without restraint, improve upon the work of others, and are rewarded or respected for their skills and achievements.

Brand's (1995) essay identified leaders of the computer culture who emerged from the counter-culture era of the 1960s, including Apple's Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak, and suggested that such entrepreneurs rejected both academia's liberal disdain for business and the conservative corporate business structures by adopting a trend of forming small computer-based start-up companies. Brand suggested that this entrepreneurial spirit, coupled with the open-access libertarian philosophies, gave birth to early programs that were free or inexpensive and could be adapted by users who knew how to program. Rheingold (1993) said, "[I]t was neither national defense nor the profit motive but the desire to make a tool for changing the world that motivated the young entrepreneurs who built the PC industry" (p. 63). As the technology moved forward and

[3] Curiously, gender was not included in the list of things hackers should not be judged on.

personal computers began to appear in more and more households, the power-to-the-people theme continued by technology advocates such as Brand who saw computers as a means of connecting people and allowing them to exercise the power of computing by communicating more easily with each other (Hafner, 2001).

These themes of entrepreneurship and placing the power of computing in the hands of the people are seen in current companies and applications such as Google, Facebook, and Twitter, which reject many traditional corporate business practices and promote the ability of independent programmers and developers to create applications and new uses for their products. This type of software or Internet program is referred to as open-source, or includes elements of open-source programming, and runs much of the Internet (Cromie & Ewing, 2008). Open-source describes any software for which the backbone or source code is available to the user to explore and manipulate. The term has also come to describe the process by which an online community creates or participates in the development of software or a general philosophy of unregulated software development that is free from the constraints of intellectual property. Cromie and Ewing describe open source software as antithetical to proprietary software companies, such as Microsoft.

In tandem with this open-source software community that emerged from the hippies and libertarian hacker ethic of the early computing era, there is a realm of open-source information and knowledge-sharing that exists on the Internet. These communities formed around message boards and listservs and now add social media sites like Twitter, MySpace, Facebook, Wikipedia, and multiple-author blogs to the repertoire of places where Internet users with shared interests can discuss, debate, and develop ideas.

Research in the past decade has examined several sites to determine the nature and norms of different communities. Farrell and Schwartzberg (2008) looked at Wikipedia, a user-edited encyclopedia, and the Daily Kos, a liberal blogging community, and determined that the sites are far more open and community-regulated than off-line communities, but still functioned with accepted sets of formalized rules, community norms, and regulatory functions inherent in the software that allows the sites to function. Still, the authors conclude that these norms are likely to be different for each community and depend on the focus and purpose of a site. Silva, Goel, and Mousavidin (2008) also found openness to be a defining characteristic of the community blog MetaFilter. The site welcomes new members, encourages informality in community practices, and fosters community moderation of posts and comments.

Internet Technology and Two-Way Communication

The defining characteristics of Internet communications are its open-ended, ongoing nature and its ability to connect audiences with information producers in two-way communication, as opposed to the one-way model of traditional media. In this way, the line is often blurred between producers and audiences, with audiences becoming participants in the process. This type of communication is exhibited in the previously discussed sites Wikipedia, Daily Kos, and MetaFilter. Anyone with the knowledge and ability to do so can post, comment, or edit information, and there is rarely a final product. Rheingold (1993) called the Internet a "citizen-to-citizen network" and a "citizen thinking tool" (p. 106). This free or minimally regulated ability to consume and produce information reflects the open-source philosophy that promotes audience access and collaboration.

As the Internet quickly proliferated in the late 1990s and early 2000s, another defining characteristic emerged. The Internet became the central hub of media convergence, which is a term that is often discussed and can take on many meanings. Jenkins (2006) conceptualizes convergence as "the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behavior of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want" (p. 2). Jenkins primarily discusses entertainment content, but he also expands the concept of convergence to describe a cultural change in which media consumers seek and use information from myriad sources and connect those experiences. A simple example is the creation of Internet communities and fan blogs about television, movies, and books. Convergence media frequently involve user participation and active audiences.

This type of convergence extends to the world of news and journalism and brings with it elements of the open-source culture of participation. Several voices emerged in the early 2000s advocating converged news production, transparency in the newsgathering and production process, and greater participation by audiences. Dan Gillmor (2004) called it "grassroots journalism," "personal journalism," and "citizen journalism." He draws connections between the role of bloggers and that of pamphleteers during the colonial and revolutionary periods in American history. Gillmor argued that the walls between journalists and their audiences were coming down and that the Internet enabled people to communicate news directly, bypassing mainstream media outlets, and reducing or eliminating the need for journalists to serve as gatekeepers of information. Gillmor encouraged journalists to tap into the knowledge of their audiences and recognize ways in

which citizen journalism can improve mainstream news outlets' reporting and commentary.

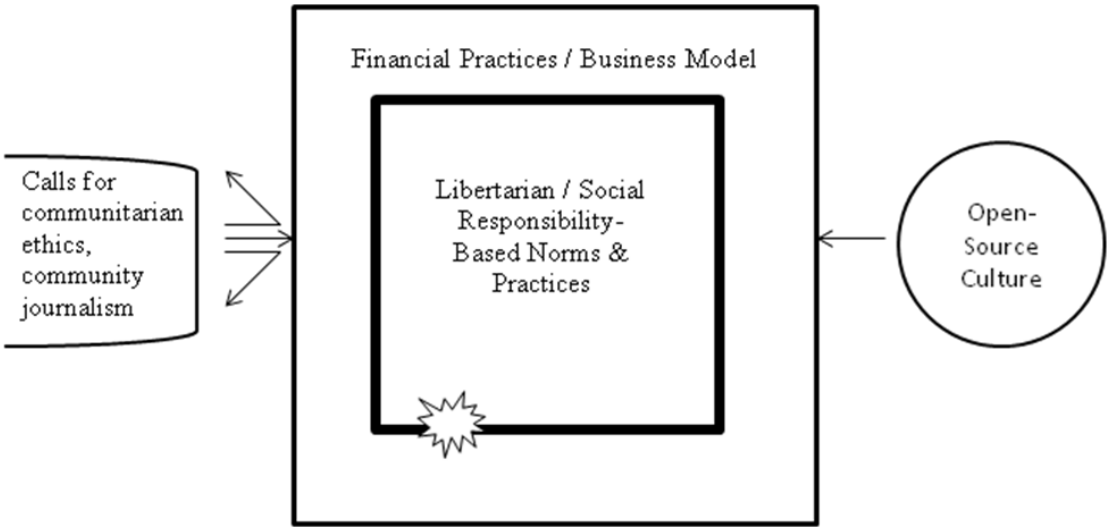
New York University professor and media critic, Jay Rosen, and City University of New York professor, Jeff Jarvis, have been among the most-vocal advocates of citizen journalism. Both blog, publish in the popular press, and use Twitter extensively. In a 2006 blog post, Rosen wrote a mini-manifesto on behalf of the "people formerly known as the audience" (¶1) in which he says that the people have taken back the press in the form of blogging and podcasting and have decentralized media by forming citizen-to-citizen networks of horizontal media that are equally as important as traditional mainstream media. Rosen's post carries the tone of an empowering speech to an uprising of revolutionaries. Rosen's colleague at NYU, Clay Shirky (2008), echoes the views of Rosen and Gillmor in promoting "mass amateurization" (p. 61) of journalism and the breaking down of barriers between professionals and citizens. Shirky extends his views to the power of using the Internet for political and social change in which citizens can organize without the use of formal organizations.

While the Internet is far too disparate and large to suggest that it has a single, unified culture, much of the history, research, and professional discussion paints a picture of overlapping communities within communities, many of which advocate openness, transparency, decentralized power, and the unrestrained flow of ideas, information, and innovation. Drawing from libertarian ideals and the anti-authoritarian movement of the early computer age of the 1960s, open-source culture contrasts with the institutionalized professionalism of newspaper journalism, as well as with the corporate structure of the newspaper companies.

Conceptualizing Change in the Newspaper Industry

Based on the reviewed literature, this dissertation proposes the following summary conceptualization of the newspaper industry before and after the rise of the Internet between the mid 1990s and mid-2000s. Before this growth of digital communications technologies, the three areas examined here – journalism ethical norms, newspaper economics, and open-source culture - operated in states of semi-independence, with some necessary interaction. The relationship between the business interests of newspapers and the libertarian/social responsibility mission of the newsroom occasionally conflicted, but largely supported each other. This symbiotic relationship allowed newspapers to deflect many calls for change that came from critics who argued that newspapers were failing their mission and not serving their communities. Some of the calls for public journalism were heard and small alterations made but, while financially healthy, there was no motivation to make significant changes. Prior to the late 1990s when the Internet grew at rapid pace, open-source culture was a small segment of society. Newspapers used many tools the computer culture produced and experimented with digital opportunities, but continued with their organizational culture and ethical norms mostly unchanged. Figure 1 illustrates these relationships.

Figure 1: The newspaper industry, pre-Internet.

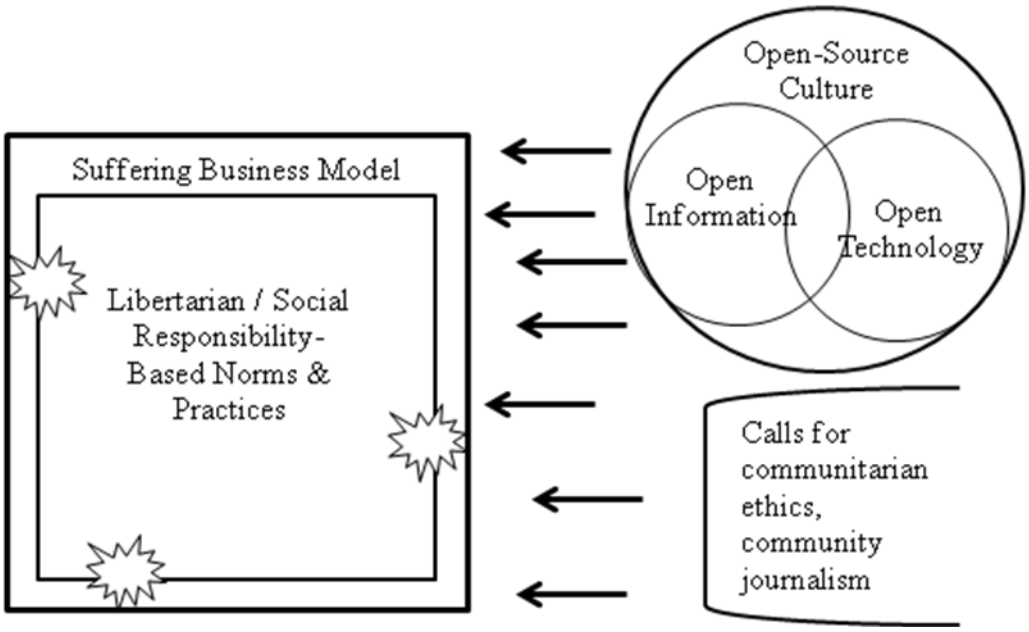


Prior to the emergence of the Internet in the mid 1990's and the spread of its use over the following 10 years, a newspaper's core mission was protected by a healthy financial status, with a strong division between the business operations and the newsroom. Occasionally, there were breaches of that division. Calls for changes in newspaper's norms and practices were heard, but not fully accepted. Influence from open-source culture was small.

As the growth of the Internet accelerated and began to undermine the newspaper business model, a significant recession contributed to difficulties in the newspaper industry, and open-source culture grew. The weakening of the industry and strengthening of an alternative view of public communication leaves newspaper journalism's ethical norms in a vulnerable position. That situation is not a suggestion that individual journalists are now becoming less ethical, but rather a suggestion that the professional values of newspaper journalism that are rooted in the libertarian and social responsibility traditions may not be in line with the transitioning values of society. The current state of newspaper journalism finds itself under attack from a strong cultural force (Figure 2). This raises many interesting questions about the landscape of newspaper journalism's

ethical norms. How are newspaper journalists thinking about their professional and ethical values and the way they do their jobs? As they increasingly adopt the tools of digital communication, are newspaper journalists adopting the norms that are associated with them? Has open-source culture catalyzed existing calls for communitarian ethics in journalism? Where are holes forming in the divide between the newsroom and the business side? Are breaches that are considered unacceptable to journalists who operate under the traditional norms found to be acceptable within the ethos of digital culture? At this point, there is some research about these topics that provides early direction as well as plenty of professional discussion and anecdotal evidence to shed light on the issues.

Figure 2: The newspaper industry, post-Internet.



As Internet use became more widespread in the early and mid-2000's, the open-source movement grew and the protective layer formed by a healthy business model has shrunk. The line between the newsroom and the business operations thins and is more likely to have holes. Arrows illustrate the still-to-be-determined influence of open-source culture and calls for citizen or community journalism.

Business – Newsroom Relationship

Traditionally, newspaper journalists have touted the existence of a metaphorical (and sometimes literal) wall between the editorial function of the newsroom and business operations, but as the financial circumstances of the newspaper industry changes, the effect is felt in the newsroom (An & Bergen, 2007; Ghanem & Selber, 2009; Pompilio, 2009). When advertising becomes more difficult to sell, newspapers may take actions from the business side of the newspaper that compromise journalists' independence. The cases of the *Los Angeles Times* front-page advertorial and the *Washington Post*'s paid dinners discussed in Chapter 1 provide anecdotal support for this prediction. Advertisers and newspaper executives have sought new ways to increase revenue as print advertising numbers shrunk. Research into the relationship between the business side of the newspaper industry and the newsroom further illuminates the tensions that have long existed and the conflict that is growing since the emergence of the Internet. An and Bergen (2007) found that many advertising directors, particularly those at corporate-owned newspapers, were willing to attempt to influence news content in an effort to please advertisers. This recent study illustrated newspapers' current state, but the research was not designed to show whether the willingness to compromise journalistic integrity had increased over time.

Approaching newspapers as products in and of themselves to be sold to readers and advertisers also raises concerns about the ability of journalists to maintain their social responsibility mission. Scholars have argued that the commodification of news devalues the product to a point that it becomes advertising and entertainment instead of the public information (Hove, 2009). Commodification is turning an object or service into a product

that can be bought and sold, or more simply, commodification is attaching a price to something (Jackson, 2009). This criticism is not new, but journalists have been able to invoke the wall metaphor to argue that economic concerns did not enter into journalistic decision-making. As the media landscape changed, however, newspapers were repositioned and became more competitive with television and the Internet. Jackson argued that the commodification of journalism and the economic factors involved in producing news content in order to turn profits are fundamentally at odds with the journalistic motivation to inform the public of information necessary to function in society.

Open-Source Culture and the Business of Journalism

Just as journalists have found conflict with the business interests of newspapers, digital culture often clashes with corporate business interests and practices. The difference here is that, as shown in the previous section, the open-source Internet culture is heavily based in libertarian ideas, and those ideas are not out of sync with an interest in turning profit. The conflict arises between open-source advocates and companies when those companies take hard lines on issues involving intellectual property and maintain the sometimes secretive nature of the top-down power structure of corporations. Advocates of open-source software and information take great exception to the modern legal standards of copyright law, arguing that the court's interpretations of the law and changes by Congress increasingly favor large corporations (Gillmor, 2004). Open-source advocates believe that the legal concept of "fair use" (p. 214), which allows the public to use portions of a copyrighted work (such as in quotations or adaptation), is being eroded,

and corporations trying to protect their ability to profit off intellectual property are inhibiting innovation and creativity.

The conflict between the open-source community and companies that want to keep their information and technology proprietary exists within the world of technology businesses as well as between the Internet innovators and the executives in the traditional business world. Microsoft has long been considered a foe on the opposite side of the proverbial line in the sand between open-source and proprietary software (Markoff, 2005), and the company's founder, Bill Gates, inspired a derisive identification by Levy (1984) as the "cocky wizard, Harvard dropout who wrote Altair BASIC, and complained when hackers copied it" (p. 6). While open-source advocates view proprietary companies as stifling and selfish, such companies view the open-source community as a significant threat to their financial interests (Cromie & Ewing, 2008).

Similarly, there is mounting evidence that traditional, corporate-owned news organizations view bloggers and citizen journalists as threats to companies' power over information and the profits they derive from producing that information. A recent controversy in this arena centers on the Associated Press and its attempts toward reclaiming some of the control it may have lost over its content online. The AP announced plans to digitally track its articles in order to make sure they are not being published without a paid license (Perez-Pena, 2009). The AP is a nonprofit corporation, but announced its plan to protect its intellectual property as a first step for the newspaper industry as a whole. Citizen journalism proponent Jay Rosen (2009) linked to an article about the AP's announcement on Twitter and invoked a war metaphor by saying, "AP sends some its tanks closer to the border. Troop movements confirmed…."

Beyond copyright discussions, the debate over openness in company's business models has given rise to a near-religious belief in mass collaboration and unlimited access to information content from news organizations. This belief is pitted against those in the newspaper industry who favor experimenting with paid online subscriptions or payments for individual stories on Web sites as a means of replacing some of the revenue lost in print advertising. Van Dijck and Nieborg (2009) deconstructed the rhetoric of "Web 2.0 business manifestos" (p. 855), books that promote democratized, collaborative online business models. They found that these books use plural pronouns, claims of universal truths, and a tone of inspiring revolution to persuade readers toward the belief that the decentralizing power of the Internet will transform business and information for the greater good of society. Additionally, they propose business models that suggest that all consumers are equally creative and engaged online and that the roles of consumer and producer can blend into a seamless culture. In short, the authors suggested that these manifestos blend individual-focused capitalism with the rhetoric of grassroots, counter-cultural activism that is based on communal work and benefits.

Just as this rhetoric and the ideas that motivate it are emerging and reshaping the capitalistic culture of businesses, including newspaper companies, the open-source and Web 2.0 culture is challenging the established practices of newspaper journalists. Newspapers began using the Internet and creating Web sites early in the Internet era after commercially available browsers such as Netscape and access portals like America Online made using the Internet simple for average computer users. At that time, newspapers simply reproduced the printed newspaper content in Web site format (Scott, 2005). This approach was referred to as "shovelware" (p. 93) because newspapers

essentially shoveled their content onto a site each day and did not update it until the next print edition's content was finalized. As the Internet moved away from its beginning as a text-based distributor of static information, self-publishing tools became more popular, interactivity grew, and newspapers began to compete with aggregators, blogs, and social media sites as sources of information.

The competition appears to extend beyond the need to vie for advertising dollars and site traffic to a competition for the "correct" way of communicating online. Thomas Hove (2009) asserted that the conflict between independent bloggers and traditional or mainstream journalists stems from a fight for journalistic authority. Hove suggested there are a limited number of journalists or journalism organizations that the public can consider to be trusted, authoritative sources of information. In the market for status goods, journalists point to their experience and training as a means of claiming authority and suggesting that they report the news in a proper fashion, while bloggers are less-reliable amateurs. Bloggers attack this claim as elitism in order to suggest that being backed by a professional news organization does not make a person more qualified to report the news. Bloggers often criticize legacy media journalists for perceived bias, errors, and professional failures in order to assert their own authority. In tearing each other down, bloggers and professionals are competing for journalistic authority.

At the same time newspaper journalists deride bloggers as non-journalists or lesser journalists, newspapers frequently co-opt the practices of citizen journalism or blogging by incorporating such features on their own sites. When newspapers utilize the tools of the Internet to increase audience participation and incorporate some of the two-way communication characteristics of Internet culture, the increased transparency in the

news production process does not undermine journalistic authority, as theories suggested (Lowrey & Anderson, 2005). Younger audience members and those who actively engage with participatory features online do have a broader definition of journalism, however, which Lowrey and Anderson suggested could undermine the authority of mainstream journalism in the future. Singer and Ashman (2009) found that journalists at the British newspaper *The Guardian* struggled with the incorporation of user-generated content on their site as they sought to balance the increased opportunities for conversation with the audience and the desire to maintain their journalistic standards and credibility. Those standards, they believed, may be threatened by allowing the kind of open dialog and amateur contributions found on blogs and other participatory Web sites. In short, newspaper journalists are wary of adopting the open-source practices that are common on other parts of the Internet because they fear an erosion of their professional standards.

Singer (2006) also explored a conflict between the accountability value of social responsibility and the libertarian value of autonomy of journalists who are independent and responsible for their actions, but not responsible to society as a whole. Singer suggested that the Internet inspires more autonomy for its users by enabling publication of just about anything, sometimes anonymously and with few consequences, and more accountability because two-way communication capabilities of the Internet mean authors often must respond to criticism that readers easily levy. Singer suggested that mainstream media journalists use the Internet to claim responsibility in order to prove their work credible to the audience and distinguish themselves from other information sources online. Meanwhile, independent bloggers enjoy their independence while holding mainstream journalists to standards of accountability by fact-checking their reports and

forcing into the agenda stories that were previously ignored. Singer asserted that the only thing that established a journalism profession in the Internet age is a commitment to ethical norms and responsibility.

Research Questions

The previous section proposed a conceptual model for describing recent changes in and around the newspaper industry and discussed research and ideas that have explored one or more aspects of the model. A useful framework for examining these changes is the extension of the economic theory of creative destruction to apply to cultural change in journalism, in addition to economic change. The Internet has proven to be a disruptive technology in the newspaper industry, siphoning away newspapers' advertising revenue and forcing companies into attempts at innovation to maintain relevance in the market. Innovation has been difficult because decades of success and large corporate structures have led the newspaper industry into a state of cultural lock-in where they are hesitant to make radical changes. What distinguishes this process of creative destruction in newspapers from the same process in other industries is that newspapers have always maintained dual purposes. While most other companies exist primarily to make money for investors or owners, under the libertarian/social responsibility tradition, newspapers are also supposed to serve the public good and promote a healthy democracy by providing vital information to the public so that they may make informed choices in society. Profit is supposed to be a separate, parallel purpose that supported the public service mission. Moreover, newspapers' product is journalism and any innovation in that product must take place in the newsroom rather

than the boardroom. Given this unique structure, creative destruction is a useful lens through which researchers can view change in ethical norms and practices at newspapers.

To apply creative destruction to the ethical norms of newspaper journalism, the illustration of pre-Internet journalism in Figure 1 is analogous the third stage of creative destruction. Within a healthy economic structure, newspaper journalism norms that were rooted in the libertarian and social responsibility traditions were in the "dominance" stage of creative destruction. Creative destruction suggests that in this stage, attacks frequently go unnoticed or are easily dismissed. Just as a large company can dismiss, ignore, or simply not see a start-up company that moves in to compete, the newspaper journalism profession did not feel the need to substantially respond to calls for communitarian ethics or increased engagement with audiences. Subtle changes occurred, but the core of the mission and the norms that upheld that mission remained intact. After the Internet emerged and became a significant force in both commerce and communication, the newspaper industry found itself in a state of cultural lock-in: large, entrenched, and fiercely loyal to a set of norms and values that are increasingly criticized, misunderstood, or flatly rejected by new media competitors.

To explore this proposed extension of creative destruction, research is needed to describe how journalists are thinking about their professional ethical norms and the ways that the changing economic and technological environment in which journalists work might be leading to changes in their practices and ethical values. This research will provide the insight into the evolving normative tradition of the American press. The framework of the libertarian and social responsibility theories of the press serve as a guide for the primary research question regarding the role of the press in society and

journalistic ethical norms. The normative theories of the press were formed based on assumptions about the press's relationship to the state and society. Therefore, an overarching inquiry about newspaper journalists' perceptions about the purpose and role of journalism in American society leads to the first research question.

RQ1: How do journalists' ethical norms and values relate to their perceptions of their profession's role in society?

The theory of creative destruction and the concept of disruptive technology help frame the next two questions about the changing nature of the newspaper industry and possible changes in journalistic norms and practices.

RQ2: How do newspaper journalists perceive the relationship between the journalism function of the newsroom and the business goals of their organizations?

This question incorporates journalists' perceptions about the ways in which they interact with the business operations of their specific newspapers as well as their views of the corporate parent company or private owners of their newspapers and their perceptions about the future of the newspaper industry. These first two questions may also reveal evidence of creative destruction at work in the newspaper industry. Finally, to explore the role of disruptive technology in newspaper journalism, the third research question explores the impact of changing technologies on journalism practices.

RQ3: What do newspaper journalists perceive to be the ethical implications of the adoption of Internet media for gathering and producing news?

This question incorporates journalists' views about their own organizations, the newspaper industry, other journalists and amateur media producers to further explore

newspaper journalists' ideas regarding possible shifts in ethical norms and practices and their relationship to the role of newspaper journalism in society.

This chapter reviewed both theoretical and professional literature that led to a proposed model of change in the newspaper industry. Three research questions were posed to explore the ways in which current newspaper journalists view their job roles and the relationship of the newsroom to the business operations of the newspaper and how economic and technological changes in the industry may be affecting journalism ethical norms and practices. The next chapter details the procedure for conducting research that addressed these three questions.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

To address the research questions, data were gathered using both a Web survey of newspaper journalists at daily newspapers and qualitative interviews with a sample of the journalists who responded to the survey. This dual-method approach allowed for results that broadly describe the views of these journalists and also provided a deeper understanding of the perceptions and feelings of journalists who work in newspaper newsrooms during a time of great change.

This mixed-method design reflects a pragmatist worldview and approach to research (Cresswell, 2007) that is concerned with utilizing methods that best answer a research question without committing to a particular philosophy or conception of truth or reality, such as positivism or post-positivism. Adherence to such theoretical views requires researchers to make judgments about the nature of the world and whether truth can be known and documented or if it is subjective and dependent on the perception and experiences of those who conduct research or are researched. Pragmatism acknowledges this conflict, but allows for a worldview that moves beyond the discussion to focus on the results of research. Pragmatists see the world as a mixture of objective fact and perception that occur within contexts. Such researchers choose methods that will result in the best answers for specific questions. Thus, multiple methods, both quantitative and qualitative, are often appropriate in order to examine questions from several angles and find the most-complete answer available. The pragmatist worldview that leads to mixed-

methods research can also be described as “mixing mental models” (Greene, 2007, p. 13), in which different perspectives of the world, theoretical assumptions, and methodologies are incorporated into one area of inquiry. Rather than viewing the presence of multiple models as sources of conflict or inconsistency, Greene likens this research approach to a roundtable discussion in which a group of people with different backgrounds and opinions come together for a respectful dialogue that generates deeper understanding.

In this study, the use of a quantitative survey with qualitative interviews allowed for what McCracken (1988, p. 9) called a “binocular” view that is a more-complete understanding of a topic than the “monocular” view of a single method. McCracken advocated the use of long interviews as a means of placing quantitative data into social and cultural context and a way of getting “into the minds and lives” (p. 10) of respondents. This “binocular” approach and the mixing of mental models was well-suited to this study for several reasons. First, the study was exploratory in nature, as opposed to one that tested theory or specific hypotheses. Thus, a purely quantitative study would provide statistical information that raises more questions about the research. The interviews allowed the researcher to address some of these questions. Likewise, a study that exclusively used qualitative interviews would provide information about a small group of journalists while leaving open the question of whether or not the themes identified in the interviews are common in a larger sample. The dual-method approach provided a broad sketch of the views and values of many newspaper journalists, while the interviews, informed by the survey data, allowed for deeper understanding of the meaning of journalists' experiences and perceptions. Further, this study involved research questions about journalists’ personal values and their perceptions of their work and

industry. This type of information is inherently a mixture of fact, opinion, and perception. As such, the mixture of mental models and of methods is necessary to gather the most complete data.

The data for this study was collected, as described below, using procedures approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Survey respondents gave informed consent to participate in the research before taking the survey and those who were interviewed gave further consent to be interviewed and have the conversations recorded and transcribed for analysis. IRB approval and copies of the consent forms are included in Appendix A.

Quantitative Survey

Designing a survey of newspaper journalists with a random sample is challenging for several reasons. First, one must define the population by determining who is a journalist. Reporters, editors, copy editors, page designers, Web site producers, and numerous other job roles are similar, but not standardized, in all newsrooms. Second, collecting contact information for and distributing the survey to journalists in a manner that will provide a diverse sample is difficult due to the number and varying circulation sizes of newspapers, the variation in frequency of publication of the newspapers, changes within staffs, and access to employee names and job titles. To overcome or minimize these issues, a broad operationalization of the term *journalist* was adopted and a multistage, nonrandom sample of daily newspapers to distribute the Web survey via email was utilized.

Sampling

There are 1,456 daily newspapers in the United States listed in the 2009 *Editor and Publisher Yearbook*. A simple random sample of newspapers from which to gather responses would not result in a representative sample of newspaper journalists, because problems arise when considering the percentage of journalists who work at large and small circulation newspapers compared to the number of newspapers within circulation categories. Data from the *Editor and Publisher Yearbook* showed that almost 72% of daily newspapers had circulations of 50,000 or less. Only twelve newspapers had circulations above 500,000 – a mere 0.8% of all newspapers nationwide. Because larger newspapers have larger staffs, however, the majority of journalists work at higher circulation papers. The American Society of News Editors annual newsroom employment census (2009) estimated that 46,670 journalists worked at newspapers in the United States. Of those, the ASNE numbers indicate that only about 39% were employed by newspapers with circulations of 50,000 or less and almost 11% were employed by newspapers with circulations above 500,000.

Drawing a sample of newspapers from the full population would likely result in an over-representation of smaller newspapers. The smaller staff sizes of these newspapers might cause the number of responses received from these papers compared to larger newspapers to be slightly closer to an accurate sample, but the sample would still be skewed and likely not result in a representative sample. Therefore, as many studies that involved surveys of newspaper journalists have done (see Gade, 2008; Keith, 2005; Weaver, et al, 2007) this study used a multistage, nonrandom sampling procedure and 10% of the newspapers from each circulation category were selected. This procedure was

used by Weaver, et al. in a survey of journalists and is most useful for a study that targets news workers in various job roles, as opposed to specific positions, such as copy editors or reporters. Because this study focused on issues and questions concerning the impact of technology and economic conditions on journalists at daily general-interest newspapers, non-English language publications and specialty publications, such as business journals or those focused on a specific racial or ethnic community, were excluded. Due to this study's focus on the impact of Internet-based technologies on newspaper journalism, newspapers that did not have a Web site listed in the *Editor and Publisher Yearbook* were also excluded. Such newspapers were few and found exclusively among the lower circulation groups.

Using the search function of the online *Editor and Publisher Yearbook*, a list of 1,418 newspapers was formed. Using the random number generator at Random.org, 142 newspapers were selected. From these newspapers, staff lists were gathered by accessing information on the newspapers' Web sites. Difficulties arose when gathering information from newspapers with smaller circulations because many of those newspapers are staffed by few full-time journalists and rely heavily on freelance reporters. Also, many small newspapers are owned and operated by larger regional or metropolitan newspaper organizations, rendering many of them essentially sections of the larger newspaper. For these reasons, newspapers from the under-5,000 circulation category were removed from the selection. Thus, a total of 100 newspapers were selected, distributed across circulation categories as shown in Table 1.

Using Weaver, et al.'s (2007) definition of *journalist* as "those who had responsibility for the preparation or transmission of news stories or other timely

information," (p. 256) the lists included most newsroom employees, but excluded administrative support staff, research librarians, computer programmers, and systems administrators or support. Using spreadsheet functions that allowed for the sorting, searching, and reformatting of information, email addresses were pulled from staff lists found on the newspapers' Web sites. All journalists from the selected newspapers were included which resulted in a total of 3,525 email addresses that were pulled. Emails with a link to the online survey were sent to each of these potential respondents. When the emails were sent, 169 email addresses were shown to be invalid. Thus, the survey was sent to 3,356 email addresses, distributed across circulation categories as shown in Table 1. (See Appendix A for text of contact emails.) In total, the survey was accessed between February 1 and March 21, 2010 from 393 emails, and 263 surveys were completed, for a "click rate" of 11.7% and a final response rate of 7.8%.

Table 1
Distribution and Response of Web Survey

Circulation Category	Newspapers	Emails Sent	Surveys Completed
500,001+	1	410	25
250,001 – 500,000	2	398	37
100,001 – 250,000	7	880	66
50,001 – 100,000	9	480	45
25,001 – 50,000	18	641	47
10,001 – 25,000	29	374	28
5,001 – 10,000	34	173	15
	100	3356	263

Response rates for Web surveys vary and are influenced by many factors, including the type of population surveyed. For studies that surveyed professionals about their work, as this study did, response rates in recent years have ranged from 6.5% in a survey of information technology entrepreneurs (Ozgen & Baron, 2007) to 14% in a survey of

public relations practitioners (Porter, Trammel, Chung, & Kim, 2007). Cassidy (2007) obtained a 23% response rate from newspaper and online journalists in a survey conducted in 2003 that utilized a pre-contact email, and email that included the survey link, and three reminder emails.

The lower response rate for the present survey could be attributed to several issues. First, the survey was long and required respondents to commit about 20 minutes to complete. A few potential participants actually responded to the contact email address to state that the survey was too long and they did not have time to spare. Two respondents mentioned that they had received several surveys in the same time frame in which this one was distributed. These types of responses raise speculation that current newspaper journalists are overworked, short on available time, and also seeing an increase in requests to provide information to researchers. Other factors that might contribute to the response rate include the lack of an incentive offered to respondents and the fact that the initial contact email was followed by one reminder email, as opposed to multiple follow-ups in more than one mode (i.e., postal mail or telephone calls) that might encourage greater response. It is also possible that some of the contact emails were caught in recipients spam filters or that recipients regarded them as spam or junk email because they were unsolicited and sent in bulk.

Despite these issues, a sample of 263 was sufficient to find patterns among a diverse group of newspaper journalists. The results of the survey are not generalizable to the broad population of newspaper journalists; however, interesting information was found about the values and perceptions of news workers from a variety of subsections of newspaper journalists. These subsections include various size newspapers, job roles,

gender, geographic region, and type of community and are described in detail in the next chapter.

Survey Instrument

The email survey was constructed using Qualtrics online survey software, which is available to faculty and students at UNC-Chapel Hill through the Odum Institute for Research in Social Science. The questionnaire was informally pretested using a convenience sample of current and former newspaper journalists to identify and resolve problems concerning word choice and sequence of questions. The final questionnaire consisted of five sections, one that requested demographic information, one that asked questions about the specific newspaper at which the respondent works, and three that included measures related directly to the research questions. One question also asked whether respondents were willing to be contacted for and participate in a follow-up interview and requested name and contact information for those who indicated they were interested. (See Appendix B for survey questions.)

The first of the survey sections was intended to measure respondents' views regarding journalism's purpose in society and important ethical values in the practice of journalism. This addressed RQ1 which asked, "How do journalists' ethical norms, practices, and values relate to their profession's role in society?" The quantitative measurements were adapted from those used by Plaisance (2002). Respondents were presented with a list of 24 functions of journalism (i.e., "Getting information to the public quickly," and "Providing entertainment and relaxation") and asked to indicate how important they believe each function is to society. The first 14 functions of journalism came from the Plaisance study directly or were altered slightly for clarity of wording. The

remaining functions are original to this study and were developed from the discussions of the functions of journalism found in the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. Respondents were then presented with a list of values with a brief definition of each (i.e., "balance: giving equal space to multiple perspectives," and "advocacy: championing an issue, cause, or perspective") and asked to indicate how important they believe each value to be in the practice of journalism. They were then asked to select up to five of the values they believe to be the most important and up to five they believe to be the least important. This section ended with open-ended questions that asked, "What do you consider to be the purpose of journalism in society?" and "Briefly describe a professional ethical dilemma you have encountered." The list of 20 ethical values was drawn from Siebert, et al. (1956), media ethics textbooks (Patterson & Wilkins, 2008; Plaisance, 2009), *The Elements of Journalism* (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001), Anderson's (1977) delineation of the components of social responsibility theory, and Kuhn's (2007) discussion of blogging ethics.

The second of the sections was designed to measure respondents' views regarding the relationship between journalism and business in the newspaper industry. Respondents were presented 16 statements about the industry, such as "The newspaper industry will recover from its recent financial difficulties," "Newspapers should charge users for online content," and "Newspapers should be not-for-profit." Respondents ranked on a five-point scale the degree to which they agreed with these statements. The third section was meant to gauge respondents' views of the use of Internet technologies in journalism and was formatted the same as the previous section, but respondents ranked 12 statements, such as "Online journalism is inferior in quality to newspaper journalism," "News should be

broken online even as information is developing," and "Journalists should seek input from readers or audience members when producing stories." The fourth section asked for opinions and information about the respondent's specific newspaper and respondents ranked 12 statements that included "I have little interaction with the business side of the newspaper," "My work is impacted by the financial health of my newspaper," and "My newspaper makes appropriate efforts to innovate and stay up-to-date." Taken together, these sections address RQ2 which asked, "How do newspaper journalists perceive the relationship between the journalism function of the newsroom and the business goals of their organizations?" and RQ3, which asked, "What do newspaper journalists perceive to be the ethical implications of the adoption of Internet media for gathering and producing news?" These sections included the open-ended question, "What do you think the future of journalism looks like?" and also left an open-ended response space in which respondents were prompted to add any additional information they wanted to share.

The data gathered by the survey questionnaire were analyzed with the aid of SPSS 18 statistical analysis software. In addition to calculating descriptive statistics to summarize the results of the survey, inferential statistical tests were run to analyze the relationships between and among variables. The results of the statistical analysis and the analysis of the open-ended survey questions are detailed in chapter 4.

Qualitative Interviews

The second part of this research was a series of interviews with some of the journalists who participated in the survey. Names and contact information of survey respondents who indicated they were willing to be interviewed was compiled. In total, 76 survey respondents indicated that they were willing to participate in interviews. While it

is impossible to say how many interviews were needed to provide data necessary for the study, based on previous studies using similar interview methods, a target of 10 – 15 interviews was set (see Boynton, 2001; Plaisance, 2002) and 11 interviews were completed between February 11 and March 24, 2010. The goal of the qualitative interviews was to provide depth of understanding of the information gathered by the quantitative study and to find patterns in the experiences and views of the journalists interviewed. Therefore, interview participants were selected based on the likelihood that a person could provide insight into the issues that were the focus of this research. For example, respondents who work at newspapers that experienced downsizing or that have placed a large emphasis on changing work practices to fit new forms of publishing or constant news cycles were sought from within the list of volunteers. The group of respondents was also selected in order to hear from journalists in various job roles, from newspapers in several of the circulation categories, and to include multiple geographic regions. The group included five men and six women who ranged in age from mid-20s to early-60s.

The interviews were conducted via telephone. Calls were placed to the journalists through the Skype voice-over-Internet-protocol service in order to facilitate audio recording of the conversations. An interview guide provided a framework for the interviews and allowed for follow-up questions based on responses (See Appendix C for interview guide). Following a structure that was similar to the quantitative survey, the interview guide addressed the three main areas posed in the research questions. After introductory, rapport-building questions, the interviews covered participants' views of journalism ethics and values, followed by perspectives on economic issues in the

newspaper industry, and ended with questions regarding the impact of Internet technologies on journalism.

A transcription service was hired to transcribe interviews from audio recordings. The recordings ranged from 20 minutes to just under an hour each and transcriptions ranged from six to 14 single-spaced pages of text. The text was read by the researcher while listening to the audio recordings of the interviews in order to correct any mistakes in the transcriptions and to begin the process of analysis. The corrected transcriptions were then analyzed with the assistance of Atlas.ti software. The process of analysis was guided by Miles and Huberman's (1994) approaches to data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. Data reduction involved the formation of codes and categories as well as writing memos and determining early themes within and among the interviews. Data display involved taking the reduced data and further organizing them to present themes and connections in the form of charts or tables. From the process of data reduction and display, conclusions about broader meanings and interpretations of the data were drawn. This three-part process occurs in what Creswell (2007) describes as a "data analysis spiral" (p. 150). As this spiral metaphor suggests, analysis did not occur in a linear, step-by-step fashion, but involved analysis during and after the period in which data were gathered and required many readings of the transcripts in order to visit and revisit themes, categories, and interpretations, and to draw connections among the multiple interviews. The process of analysis and results of the interviews are detailed further in chapter 5.

Integrated Analysis

Greene (2007) called mixed-methods research "a practice of active engagement with difference" (p. 14). To actively engage the similarities and differences between the quantitative and qualitative portions of this research, some of the results of the survey were integrated into the analysis of the interviews. This approach is one form of data importation in which methods are mixed at the correlation and comparison stage of analysis. This data importation can take several forms, depending on the research design of a study. Using the codes and categories formed from qualitative data to inform the construction of a quantitative questionnaire is a common example. This research was designed such that the quantitative survey was created and data were gathered prior to and during the time when the qualitative interviews were conducted. Therefore, it is natural that the results of the survey informed some of the questions in the interviews and the analysis of the interview data. At all three points of qualitative analysis (data reduction, display, and conclusion), the knowledge gained from the survey was connected and compared to the data gathered in the interviews. Unlike quantitative analysis, qualitative data analysis does not have a clear end-point or decisive result. Results are presented in chapter 5 and 6 in the form of an account of the conclusions drawn after exhaustive analysis of the data.

Study Limitations

Qualitative researchers have long acknowledged the role of the researcher in influencing data collection and interpretations. In such studies, the researcher acknowledges and discloses her biases and uses those biases as a useful lens through which data may be more effectively analyzed and understood, through the process known

as reflexivity. Quantitative research is typically void of any mention of the researcher's personal experience and the ways in which those experiences might affect the construction and execution of a study. A quantitative researcher generally adheres to the positivist paradigm of objective knowledge and uses many techniques to reduce or eliminate the influence of researcher bias on data and analysis (Dominick & Wimmer, 2006; Greene, 2007). Constructing survey instruments that include previously used scales, pretesting measures to refine language and sequence, and using theory to guide the creation of new questions help researchers conduct more-objective studies. It is important to note, however, that objectivity in quantitative research is a goal that researchers may come close to, but will never fully achieve. In qualitative research, the researcher is a participant in the social setting or phenomena studied, even if she makes every effort to reduce her impact (Greene, 2007). Therefore, her biases are readily accessible throughout the process. In a mixed-methods study, it is necessary to acknowledge possible influences from the researcher and detail how those influences may affect the various parts of the study.

In this study, the researcher is a former journalist who spent about six years working in media, beginning with newspapers and including broadcast television and radio stations. The bulk of her journalism career was as a Web site producer, which required that she work with journalists in various job roles to adapt or create content for news organizations' Web sites. In these positions, she witnessed several incidences of "culture clashes" between journalists from different professional backgrounds that appeared to have roots in different concepts of journalism ethics. Additionally, the researcher worked with emerging technologies and encountered varying levels of

acceptance of these new modes of communication among newsroom employees. These experiences affected her views of journalism ethics and change in the journalism profession.

In the construction of the quantitative survey instrument, these experiences may have influenced the choice and design of measures that are original to this study. Every effort was made to refine these measures to be as objective as possible by adapting them from previous research and verifying their validity through pretests. In the qualitative research and the analysis that incorporates both qualitative and quantitative data, the researcher's experience helped inform her understanding of journalists' experiences and allowed her to identify subtleties in respondents' accounts. However, the researcher's biases could also have caused preconceived ideas about the data and affected her analysis.

Self-selection of participants is another limitation of this study. While contact emails for potential participants were pulled in a systematic way, the decision to participate in the survey and the decision to volunteer for an interview belonged to the individual journalists. For this reason, the findings of this study are particular to newspaper journalists who felt a strong enough interest in the topic or some aspect of the research to be compelled to participate. It is possible that the perspectives of such respondents will be different than those who were not compelled and opted to not respond. Such self-selection is unavoidable in any research.

Other limitations of this study included restrictions that are common to dissertation research with regards to budget and time, both the researcher's and the respondents'. Given the broad focus of this study, many measures could have been

included in the quantitative survey to probe details and nuances within the research questions. It was necessary, however, to keep the survey short enough that respondents would be willing to complete it and enable thorough analysis that can be completed in the time available. Therefore, necessary choices were made to limit the questions to a reasonable number. With regards to the qualitative portion of the study, ideal circumstances would have the researcher conducting each interview in-person. As this study included respondents from across the United States and time and travel funds were limited, interviews were conducted by telephone.

This chapter detailed the approach to collecting data that addressed the research questions. The mixed-methods study involved a quantitative survey of daily newspaper journalists and qualitative interviews with some of the survey respondents. A stratified sampling strategy provided a sample of 263 journalists who answered survey questions about the purpose of journalism in society, ethical values, opinions about the newspaper business, and views on the emerging role of online journalism. Follow-up interviews addressed these topics with 11 participants using an open interview guide. This mixed-methods approach allowed for a statistical summary of the values and views of these journalists and depth of understanding regarding the perceptions and experiences of daily journalists and the role of economic and technological changes in their industry. The following chapter presents the results of the survey.

CHAPTER 4

SURVEY FINDINGS

This chapter details the results of the Web survey completed by 263 newspaper journalists. The first section of this chapter describes the demographic breakdown of the sample and information provided about their work environments. The chapter is then organized according to the three research questions and details the quantitative and qualitative results relevant to each question. The chapter concludes with a summary of the findings.

The purpose of the survey data is to provide a snapshot of the views of a diverse group of newspaper journalists about the current state of their profession and industry and to inform analysis of the qualitative data. Therefore, the quantitative results are not meant to be generalizable to the larger population of newspaper journalists and descriptive statistics and correlations were deemed most appropriate for these data. In order to gain insight into the views of the different groups of respondents, results were analyzed to determine if relationships existed between responses and age category, job role, and the size of the newspapers at which the respondents work. These relationships are meant to reveal points of interest in the data and serve as one part of the research puzzle.

Initial examination of the quantitative survey data revealed the need to "clean" the data by combining categories or filling in information that respondents did not know about their newspapers. First, only two respondents identified themselves as page designers or graphic artists. Those two cases were placed in the "other" category of the

job role variable and the designer/artist category was eliminated. Similarly, only two respondents said they worked at newspapers with circulations of 5,000 or less. Those two cases were placed in the next larger category, which was changed from "5,001 – 10,000" to "10,000 or less." Third, only four journalists in the survey were 65 years old or older, so their responses were placed in the next younger category, which was changed from "55-64 years old" to "55+ years old." Finally, most of the respondents named their newspapers, which allowed the researcher to better scrutinize their responses to the questions about circulation size. That examination revealed inconsistencies among journalists at the same newspapers, suggesting that many journalists are unclear about their newspapers' circulations. Using the *Editor & Publisher Yearbook* classifications and information from the newspapers' Web sites or owners' Web sites, this information was corrected.

The initial analysis of the quantitative data also showed that the circulation category variable and the ownership structure variable were closely related. Smaller newspapers tended to be privately owned and larger newspapers tended to be publicly owned. Therefore, correlations between responses and circulation size often mirrored correlations with ownerships structure, which raised the question of which of the two variables was truly related to the differences in responses. Existing literature (Reader, 2006) indicated that a known relationship exists between the size of a newspaper and the ethical values of journalists. Furthermore, many of the respondents were unable to accurately identify the ownership structure of their newspaper or indicated recent changes in ownership. Therefore, it was determined that circulation size was the more relevant variable and ownership structure correlations are not reported.

Respondents and Newspapers

Of the 256 respondents who answered the question of gender, 58.2% were men and 41.8% were women. Most respondents were over age 45 and there were more reporters in the sample than any other type of journalist. Of the non-reporters, most were mid- or high-level editors. Few respondents worked specifically as Web site producers or editors. All of the respondents had at least attended college and most held degrees. Few of the journalists surveyed earned more than $100,000 per year and most drew salaries between $25,000 and $75,000 per year. Table 2 presents a profile of the respondents.

Most of the respondents had worked as journalists in newspaper organizations only, although 55 people, or 20.8%, indicated that they had worked in other news media (N=264). Respondents were able to select more than one option to identify the other media in which they had worked. Twenty people indicated they had worked for magazines, 17 in radio, 15 in television, nine in online-only operations, and two for a wire service. Ten respondents selected "other" and individually indicated that they has worked in media such as documentary film, niche publications, book publishing, public relations, newsletters, and alternative news weeklies.

More than 80% of the journalists in this sample had 10 or more years of experience working at newspapers. Most of the respondents had been at their current newspaper for fewer than 15 years and in their current position for fewer than 10 years. About 40% of the respondents had been in their current position for fewer than 5 years. Table 3 presents a summary of the journalists' professional tenure.

To gauge respondents' attitudes toward their current work, the journalists were asked to indicate on a seven-point scale how satisfied they are with their jobs, where 1

was “very satisfied” and 7 was “very dissatisfied” (M=2.79, sd=1.06, N=261). They were also asked on a seven-point scale the weight of their workloads, where 1 was “too heavy” and 7 was “too light” (M=2.51, sd=1.45, N=260). Thus, respondents generally said they were satisfied with their jobs, but had heavy workloads.

Table 2
Profile of Journalists Responding to Survey

		n	%
Age	20 to 24	7	2.7
(N=261)	25 to 34	51	19.6
	35 to 44	56	21.5
	45 to 54	80	30.8
	55+	66	25.4
		n	%
Job Role	Editor: Executive/Managing/Senior	28	10.7
(N=262)	Editor: Desk/Department/Team/Chief	53	20.2
	Copy Editor	18	6.9
	Reporter	104	39.7
	Web Producer/Editor	9	3.4
	Photojournalist	17	6.5
	Editorial Writer/Columnist	12	4.6
	Other	21	8.0
		n	%
Education	Less than a high school diploma	0	0
(N=264)	High school diploma/GED	0	0
	Some college	20	7.6
	2-year degree	5	1.9
	4-year degree	190	72
	Master’s degree	49	18.6
		n	%
Salary	$0 - $25,000	13	5.0
(N=258)	$25,001 - $50,000	99	38.4
	$50,001 - $75,000	74	28.7
	$75,001 - $100,000	36	14.0
	$100,001 - $125,000	15	5.8
	$125,001 or more	3	1.2
	I prefer to not answer	18	7.0

Table 3
Journalists' Professional Tenure

		n	%
Years in newspaper industry (N=261)	Less than 1	1	.4
	1-4	17	6.5
	5-9	29	11.1
	10-14	30	11.5
	15-19	32	12.3
	20-24	39	14.9
	25-29	41	15.7
	30 or more	72	27.6
		n	%
Years with current newspaper (N=262)	Less than 1	9	3.4
	1-4	50	19.1
	5-9	50	19.1
	10-14	56	21.4
	15-19	23	8.8
	20-24	31	11.8
	25-29	24	9.2
	30 or more	19	7.3
		n	%
Years in current position (N=262)	Less than 1	29	11.1
	1-4	78	29.8
	5-9	62	23.7
	10-14	34	13.0
	15-19	18	6.9
	20-24	17	6.5
	25-29	13	5.0
	30 or more	11	4.2

To gain an indication of the impact of recent economic changes in the newspaper industry on newsroom personnel, questions were asked about buyouts (offers of severance pay for voluntary resignation), layoffs, mandatory unpaid leave, and pay cuts. Layoffs were the most-common cost-cutting measures at respondents' organizations, with 82.4% (N=261) saying that their newspaper had lain off journalists in the preceding two years. Out of 264 respondents, 68.6% said that their newspaper had issued buyouts to journalists. Fewer journalists experienced required unpaid leaves (36.6%, N=265) and wage or salary cuts (35.5%, N=265). Out of 265 journalists, the largest number worked for privately held corporations (37%), with slightly fewer who worked those owned by

private individuals, groups or families (35.8%), and the remaining worked for newspapers owned by publicly traded corporations (27.2%).

Research Question 1: Purpose and Values

The first research question for this study asked, "How do journalists' ethical norms and values relate to their perceptions of their profession's role in society?" To provide information relevant to this question, respondents rated 24 functions of journalism on a five-point scale where 1 was "very important" and 5 was "very unimportant." An open-ended question then asked, "What do you consider to be the purpose of journalism in society?" Next, respondents rated 20 journalistic values on a five-point scale where 1 was "very important" and 5 was "very unimportant." Of those 20 values, respondents selected up to five that they considered to be most important. A second open-ended question prompted respondents to tell about a professional ethical dilemma he or she had encountered. The results of the purpose questions are presented first, followed by the results of the ethical values and dilemma questions. The two sections are then discussed in conjunction with each other to provide insight into the relationship between journalists' ideas about the purpose of journalism and of ethics in the profession.

Purpose of Journalism in Society: Quantitative

The 24 functions of journalism were ordered from smallest mean (1 = "very important") to largest. Journalists surveyed in this study rated the investigation of government practices and statements by the government as the two most-important functions of journalism in society. Other important functions included providing analysis of complex events and helping voters to make informed choices. Among the less-

important functions were providing entertainment and relaxation, setting the public agenda, influencing public opinion, and motivating citizens to enact social change. The overall results of this section are shown in Table 4.

Table 4
Journalists' Views On Functions Of Journalism In Society

	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Investigating government practices	303	1	4	1.14	.382
Investigating statements made by the government	303	1	3	1.18	.429
Providing analysis of complex problems	303	1	3	1.24	.445
Providing information to help citizens make choices in elections	300	1	3	1.27	.475
Getting information to the public quickly	303	1	2	1.33	.470
Telling compelling stories	299	1	3	1.34	.495
Reporting information without making judgments	299	1	5	1.41	.656
Discussing public policy while it is being developed	302	1	5	1.48	.608
Investigating practices of businesses and corporations	302	1	4	1.49	.603
Providing interpretation of current events	301	1	5	1.51	.691
Fostering public debate	299	1	4	1.54	.646
Investigating claims of businesses and corporations	302	1	5	1.64	.710
Giving voice to underrepresented people	300	1	5	1.64	.730
Providing opportunities for citizens to express their views	300	1	4	1.67	.696
Providing useful consumer information	300	1	3	1.68	.592
Reflecting the cultural make-up of the community	300	1	5	1.77	.724
Building a sense of community	302	1	5	1.83	.757
Being an uninvolved observer of events	297	1	5	1.86	.869
Giving audiences information they want	302	1	5	1.94	.792
Honoring or recognizing extraordinary people	299	1	5	2.00	.801
Providing entertainment and relaxation	302	1	5	2.22	.751
Motivating citizens to enact social change.	298	1	5	2.39	.915
Setting the public agenda	300	1	5	2.50	.934
Influencing public opinion	302	1	5	2.83	1.023

Correlations between respondents' ratings of the 24 functions and their ages, job roles, and newspaper size provided more information about the journalists' views. Table 5 presents these correlations. With regards to age, older journalists in this sample tended to rate the functions "Providing opportunities for citizens to express their views," "Providing entertainment and relaxation," "Providing interpretation of current events," and "Influencing public opinion" as more important than their younger counterparts, but

rated “Being an uninvolved observer of events” as less important than those who were younger. With regards to circulation categories, journalists who worked at smaller newspapers tended to rate the functions “Building a sense of community,” “Providing opportunities for citizens to express their views,” and “Reporting information without making judgments” as more important than those at larger newspapers. Journalists at smaller newspapers also rated “Influencing public opinion” and “Investigating practices of businesses and corporations” as less important than the respondents from larger publications.

Because ownership type and job roles were both categorical variables, not continuous, they were broken out into dummy variables for each category. Thus, correlations were run for each job role and each ownership type separately. With regards to ownership type, there were few relationships to be found. Newspaper ownership by a public corporation was associated with those that rated “Building a sense of community” to be more important than the other two groups. “Providing opportunities for citizens to express their views” was rated as less important by those journalists who worked for private corporations. These same functions, however, were correlated with circulation size. Further scrutiny of the data suggested that more small newspapers in this sample were owned by public corporations, while larger newspapers tended to be owned by private companies. Therefore, it cannot be determined from these correlations where the true relationship exists.

With regards to job role, reporters tended to rate “providing entertainment and relaxation” as less important than other journalists, while mid-level editors rated it more important than those in other job roles. “Setting the public agenda” was rated as more

important to high-level editors and less important to photojournalists. “Influencing public opinion” was also less important to photojournalists than others in the survey. On three functions of journalism, reporters and high-level editors seemed to move in opposite directions. “Building a sense of community,” “giving audiences information they want,” and “providing opportunities for citizens to express their views” were all rated as more important to high-level editors, but less important to reporters.

High-level editors also tended to rate “reflecting the cultural make-up of the community,” “providing information to help citizens make choices in elections,” and “fostering public debate” as more important than those in other groups. Reporters were more inclined to find “being an uninvolved observer of events” important, but valued “motivating citizens to enact social change.” By looking at the functions that reporters and high-level editors valued more and less than the rest of the sample, it appears that the editors are more inclined to value those functions that involve being responsive to the audience or in some way serving the public, while reporters value those same functions less and may be more focused on the craft of journalism.

Table 5
Correlations for Functions of Journalism

		Reporter	Exec Editor	Mid Editor	Copy-editor	Eddy Page	Web	Photo	Other	Age	Circulation category
Getting information to the public quickly	r	.104	-.002	-.065	-.092	.082	.004	-.083	.006	-.046	.014
	r^2	.011	.000	.004	.008	.007	.000	.007	.000	.002	.000
	Sig.	.092	.972	.296	.140	.185	.954	.179	.928	.460	.824
	N	262	262	262	262	262	262	262	262	260	265
Providing analysis of complex problems	r	.083	-.056	-.049	.082	-.082	-.012	.025	-.040	-.069	.081
	r^2	.007	.003	.002	.007	.007	.000	.001	.002	.005	.007
	Sig.	.181	.365	.425	.183	.187	.842	.691	.517	.266	.191
	N	262	262	262	262	262	262	262	262	260	265
Providing interpretation of current events	r	.008	-.013	-.005	-.053	-.087	.008	.089	.039	**-.153[a]**	.089
	r^2	.000	.000	.000	.003	.008	.000	.008	.002	.023	.008
	Sig.	.896	.831	.930	.390	.164	.902	.151	.533	**.014**	.149
	N	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	**258**	263
Providing entertainment and relaxation	r	**.230[b]**	-.099	**-.132[a]**	-.038	-.111	-.026	.006	.027	**-.226[b]**	**.207[b]**
	r^2	.053	.010	.017	.001	.012	.001	.000	.001	.051	.043
	Sig.	**.000**	.109	**.033**	.539	.073	.670	.921	.669	**.000**	**.001**
	N	**262**	262	**262**	262	262	262	262	262	**260**	**265**
Investigating statements made by the government	r	.073	-.033	-.083	.061	-.052	.116	-.077	.005	-.100	.031
	r^2	.001	.007	.004	.003	.013	.006	.000	.010	.001	.001
	Sig.	.242	.596	.180	.329	.406	.061	.213	.935	.108	.620
	N	262	262	262	262	262	262	262	262	260	265
Investigating government practices	r	.032	-.021	-.074	.068	.121	-.010	-.051	-.028	-.120	.055
	r^2	.005	.001	.007	.004	.003	.013	.006	.000	.010	.001
	Sig.	.608	.732	.231	.272	.050	.878	.414	.656	.054	.369
	N	262	262	262	262	262	262	262	262	260	265
Building a sense of community	r	**.144[a]**	**-.136[a]**	-.053	-.040	.023	-.014	.016	-.010	.030	**-.157[a]**
	r^2	.021	.018	.003	.002	.001	.000	.000	.000	.001	.025
	Sig.	**.020**	**.028**	.391	.517	.706	.819	.793	.873	.630	**.011**
	N	**261**	**261**	261	261	261	261	261	261	259	**264**
Setting the public agenda	r	.032	**-.125[a]**	.014	-.022	.034	.051	**.214[b]**	**-.173[b]**	-.066	.051
	r^2	.001	.016	.000	.000	.001	.003	.046	.030	.004	.003
	Sig.	.612	**.045**	.826	.725	.591	.414	**.001**	**.005**	.295	.413
	N	259	**259**	259	259	259	259	**259**	**259**	257	262
Discussing public policy while it is being developed	r	-.025	-.109	.044	.011	.039	-.010	-.002	.071	.018	-.020
	r^2	.001	.012	.002	.000	.002	.000	.000	.005	.000	.000
	Sig.	.686	.079	.474	.857	.527	.877	.975	.256	.773	.746
	N	261	261	261	261	261	261	261	261	259	264
Influencing public opinion	r	.088	-.073	-.088	-.007	-.041	.026	**.187[b]**	-.096	**-.222[b]**	**.228[b]**
	r^2	.008	.005	.008	.000	.002	.001	.035	.009	.049	.052
	Sig.	.154	.242	.157	.916	.510	.675	**.002**	.121	**.000**	**.000**
	N	261	261	261	261	261	261	**261**	261	**259**	**264**
Giving audiences information they want	r	**.164[b]**	**-.154[a]**	-.032	-.071	.016	-.011	.113	-.114	-.107	-.025
	r^2	.024	.024	.001	.005	.000	.000	.013	.013	.011	.001
	Sig.	**.008**	**.013**	.611	.252	.794	.855	.068	.066	.084	.688
	N	**261**	**261**	261	261	261	261	261	261	259	264
Investigating practices of businesses .	r	.071	-.063	**-.124[a]**	.017	.108	-.006	.110	-.066	-.042	**.191[b]**
	r^2	.005	.004	.015	.000	.012	.000	.012	.004	.002	.005
	Sig.	.256	.309	**.046**	.785	.082	.921	.077	.288	.505	**.002**
	N	261	261	**261**	261	261	261	261	261	259	**264**

Table 5 (continued)
Correlations between functions of journalism and job role, age, circulation category

		Reporter	Exec Editor	Mid Editor	Copy-editor	Eddy Page	Web	Photo	Other	Age	Circ-ulation category
Giving voice to under-represented people	r	-.026	-.008	-.068	.080	.115	-.048	.052	-.022	.018	.106
	r^2	.001	.000	.005	.006	.013	.002	.003	.000	.000	.001
	Sig.	.682	.892	.274	.200	.063	.443	.405	.724	.769	.087
	N	261	261	261	261	261	261	261	261	259	264
Providing opportunities for citizens to express views	r	**.148**[a]	**-.278**[b]	-.074	-.059	.062	.037	**.135**[a]	.024	**-.147**[a]	**-.149**[a]
	r^2	.022	.077	.005	.003	.004	.001	.018	.001	.022	.022
	Sig.	**.018**	**.000**	.238	.346	.322	.548	**.029**	.704	**.019**	**.016**
	N	**259**	**259**	259	259	259	259	**259**	259	**257**	**262**
Providing information to help citizens with voting	r	-.035	**-.190**[b]	.054	.015	.078	-.013	.024	.113	.042	-.080
	r^2	.001	.036	.003	.000	.006	.000	.001	.013	.002	.001
	Sig.	.575	**.002**	.387	.813	.208	.840	.704	.069	.498	.194
	N	261	**261**	261	261	261	261	261	261	259	264
Reporting information without judgments	r	-.058	-.077	.087	-.003	.091	.110	**-.130**[a]	.036	.068	**-.123**[a]
	r^2	.006	.008	.000	.008	.012	.017	.001	.005	.015	.006
	Sig.	.356	.214	.161	.961	.145	.077	**.036**	.562	.276	**.046**
	N	260	260	260	260	260	260	**260**	260	258	**263**
Telling compelling stories	r	.028	-.064	-.003	-.035	.070	**.123**[a]	-.112	.023	-.020	.054
	r^2	.004	.000	.001	.005	.015	.013	.001	.000	.003	.004
	Sig.	.659	.301	.965	.571	.263	**.047**	.072	.712	.753	.379
	N	260	260	260	260	260	**260**	260	260	258	263
Honoring or recognizing extraordinary people	r	.090	-.111	-.052	-.003	.043	.050	-.062	.032	-.011	-.115
	r^2	.008	.012	.003	.000	.002	.003	.004	.001	.000	.013
	Sig.	.150	.075	.403	.967	.487	.420	.321	.606	.864	.064
	N	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	258	263
Providing useful consumer information	r	.094	-.002	-.116	-.007	.025	-.112	.057	.016	-.005	.047
	r^2	.009	.000	.013	.000	.001	.013	.003	.000	.000	.009
	Sig.	.130	.974	.062	.909	.684	.071	.362	.794	.934	.447
	N	261	261	261	261	261	261	261	261	259	264
Reflecting the cultural make-up of the community	r	.068	**-.196**[b]	.005	.004	.096	-.055	.038	.018	-.030	.089
	r^2	.005	.038	.000	.000	.009	.003	.001	.000	.001	.005
	Sig.	.272	**.001**	.935	.945	.121	.376	.537	.776	.636	.149
	N	261	**261**	261	261	261	261	261	261	259	264
Giving voice to under-represented people	r	-.023	-.097	.055	-.030	**.182**[b]	.008	.061	-.102	.041	.019
	r^2	.001	.009	.003	.001	.033	.000	.004	.010	.002	.001
	Sig.	.715	.117	.373	.634	**.003**	.900	.326	.100	.509	.754
	N	261	261	261	261	**261**	261	261	261	259	264
Fostering public debate	r	.054	**-.189**[b]	-.012	.013	.078	.108	.015	-.023	-.014	-.021
	r^2	.003	.036	.000	.000	.006	.012	.000	.001	.000	.003
	Sig.	.382	**.002**	.843	.833	.210	.080	.808	.715	.819	.736
	N	261	**261**	261	261	261	261	261	261	259	264
Being an uninvolved observer of events	r	**-.179**[b]	.120	.037	-.037	**.145**[a]	.034	-.045	.070	**.203**[b]	.023
	r^2	.032	.014	.001	.001	.021	.001	.002	.005	.041	.032
	Sig.	**.004**	.054	.553	.550	**.020**	.583	.469	.263	**.001**	.706
	N	**259**	259	259	259	**259**	259	259	259	**257**	261
Motivating citizens to enact social change.	r	**.146**[a]	-.121	-.027	-.077	.057	.027	.020	-.092	-.017	.045
	r^2	.008	.021	.015	.001	.006	.003	.001	.000	.008	.000
	Sig.	**.019**	.052	.661	.215	.357	.671	.744	.141	.780	.468
	N	**260**	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	258	262

[a] Significant at p<.05
[b] Significant at p<.01

Purpose of Journalism in Society: Qualitative

The first open-ended response question on the survey followed the section that asked respondents to rate the functions of journalism and asked "What do you consider to be the purpose of journalism in society?" The question received 225 responses. It should be noted that, because of the placement of the open-ended question, respondents were likely primed with the information contained in the survey. Some of the respondents answered the open-ended question by writing, "All of the above," referring to the list of functions they had just rated. Still, the results of this question yielded interesting results by having respondents use their own words to describe what they believe to be the primary purpose of journalism in society. The responses to this question were analyzed and coded for both the purposes of journalism articulated by the respondents, and the ethical values that they used to describe or elaborate on the purposes. Codes were reduced, combined and organized until three themes emerged. Journalists generally viewed the purposes of journalism as (1) a skilled profession, (2) a high-minded mission, and/or (3) a simple practice. One code, *inform*, fell into all three themes, as journalism's purpose to inform was described differently in each, and *provide* was used with two connotations and separated into two of the themes. Table 6 summarizes these codes and categories.

The most prevalent theme that emerged from the responses was that of journalism as a skilled profession. Within this theme, journalists described the need to inform audiences of factual information within context in order to educate the public and aid people in making decisions in life. For example, one respondent wrote that the purpose of

journalism is, "To inform society in a manner that encourages it to be better and enlightens with knowledge that fosters informed decision-making," and another said, "In all cases, it is a tool to build awareness so that people feel empowered to make their own decisions and consider their next actions."

Within the professional theme, journalists also cited the need for making sense of the overload of information now available in society and cited their role as those who serve the public. For example, one respondent said the purpose of journalism is, "…to be a thoughtful and critical instrument of analysis in society, in a timely, but not rushed fashion. More than ever, we need practiced professional journalists to ferret out the truth and accuracy in a world of information overload," and other said, "The purpose is to be an objective observer, informer and truth-squader to sift through the noise of spin so that the public can acquire a clearer view of events and policies that impact them."

Journalists' answers within this theme also included their purpose to tell stories, serve as a catalyst for discussion, and help define and build community. These purposes were included in one quote that emphasized many of the functions of journalism:

> "To inform the public so they can make informed decisions about the various aspects of their lives from voting to shopping to having fun. Sometimes that's through investigative journalism, sometimes through fostering debate, sometimes through simply reporting current events and sometimes through telling good stories about people in their community."

Frequently, journalists identified their purposes as that of the "watchdog," primarily over government, but also over business. In this role, journalists use specialized skills and expertise to synthesize information and make it available for use by the audience. One journalist wrote,

> "Journalism serves the average person by being an independent check on power. Journalists sit at meetings, dig through records, talk to hundreds of people,

> connect the dots and help people sort through the news to know what's important and what's impacting their lives. Journalism, however, is a presentation of the facts, as accurately as possible, and people are responsible for making their own decisions at the end of the day."

This quote illustrates another aspect of the skilled profession theme: that journalists work hard to produce useful, thorough information, but the public must make decisions and be responsible for those choices. In short, journalism serves as a source of information for the people, but is not above them making decisions about how the public should view events.

The second theme moves a step beyond that of skilled profession and describes responses that characterize journalism as a high-minded mission, more akin to a vocation or a calling. Respondents described journalism's purpose in society in terms of providing information to the public, but with a more-heroic connotation. This role is one of duty and goodwill, and journalists often wrote of "giving voice to the voiceless" or otherwise representing the people because they cannot easily speak for themselves. One journalist wrote of the need to *"*Be the voice of the people, a watchdog over government and business, an advocate for fairness and justice." Another respondent said the purpose of journalism is, "To be the eyes and ears of the average citizen, making sure that injustices are corrected, and shining light on all processes that should be open to everyone."

The high-minded mission theme was also illustrated in a century-old quote that about a dozen of the respondents wrote verbatim. These journalists said that the purpose of journalism is to "comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable." The phrase originated just before the turn of the 20th century by journalist and humorist Finley Peter Dunne (Kovach, Rosenstiel, & Kohut, 2001) and has come to describe the watchdog role

of the press, but with a slightly Robin Hood-esque connotation in which the press is the defender of the little people against the powerful.

Within the simples practice theme, journalists described the purpose of journalism plainly and briefly and implied that the process of journalism is one of information production. For example, one respondent wrote, “To be a vital and compelling source of information about human events.” Responses that fit under this theme included mention of journalism as a business and of the need to convey information that consumers want, including entertainment. For example, one person wrote that journalism is, “The place to turn to find out about all those things you're curious about, or didn't know you need to know -- with a nice sized dollop of entertainment.” Journalists also cited the function of journalism to simply document events, such as the journalist who wrote, “The purpose of journalism in our society is to inform the readers it serves with information about the community they live in. Journalism also acts as a recorder keeper documenting the events of the community it serves.”

None of the responses fell exclusively under the simple practice theme. Most often, journalists acknowledged the multifaceted nature of journalism and layered responses with several purposes, suggesting that newspaper journalism exists to serve many groups simultaneously and, in order to fulfill one purpose, journalism must fulfill others. For example, one journalist wrote,

> “Journalism is a market-based service; that is, its customers ultimately determine what is very important, important and so on that it provides. In some senses, it's all entertainment. But if that first standard is met -- our information being willingly consumed -- then journalism at its best summarizes and contextualizes the world around us, from our neighborhoods to our place in the world. At its best, it is interactive, so that consumers help drive and steer the coverage. At its best, it is like a conversation with a friend, one who is intelligent, curious, at times provocative, and always engaged with society.”

The first two sentences of this response imply that journalism must simply disseminate information that can be sold and consumed by customers. But the respondent went on to say that this description is essentially a broad generalization and that if the consumers are satisfied and the business successful, then journalism can serve purposes of greater depth. A similar response stated that the purpose of journalism is to "make money – in order to…" and then argued for journalism's function in educating the public, regardless of whether or not the public likes the messages.

Additionally, though respondents were not specifically asked to identify the ethical values that served the purposes of journalism, several mentioned values to describe how the purposes were fulfilled. The most-common allusions to ethical values can be characterized as accuracy, balance, objectivity *or* lack of bias, fairness, *and* independence. One response was:

> "To inform via an objective mechanism that does not favor either side of a story. It is simply to let people know what's going on in their country, state, county and community. Forming public opinion is not our role. Our job is to arm readers/viewers/listeners with sufficient information so that they can form their own opinions and push for change on their own, not because we pushed them."

Often these values described journalistic purposes within the skilled profession theme.

Table 6
Purpose Codes and Themes

Theme	Purpose codes
Simples practice	Be a business
	Document history/be a record
	Entertain
	Inform (facts)
	Satisfy curiosity
Skilled profession	Make sense/interpret
	Raise awareness
	Provide (to make available)
	Build/define community
	Serve as forum/discussion
	Be a decision-making aid
	Educate
	Inform (context/knowledge)
	Investigate
	Public service
	Signal to noise
	Storytelling
	Truthtelling
	Watchdog of government
	Watchdog of business/corporations
High-minded mission	Agenda setting
	"Comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable"
	Do good
	Engage
	Fuel democracy
	Improve society
	Inform (enlightenment)
	Provide (to bestow)
	Represent the people/ "voice to the voiceless"
	Serve justice

Ethical Values and Dilemmas

Respondents used the same 7-point scale to rate the importance of 20 ethical values. When ordered from smallest mean (1= very important) to largest, *veracity*, *accuracy*, and *independence* were the top three values. *Thoroughness*, *diversity*, and *sufficiency* were also important to the journalists in this survey, while *service*, *advocacy*, and *loyalty* ranked at the bottom of the list. All the values except loyalty had means below 3, however, indicating that all the values are important to journalists, but to varying degrees. Table 7 presents these results.

Table 7
Journalists' Views About Importance Of Values

	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Veracity: Duty to tell the truth	275	1	3	1.07	.268
Accuracy: Using correct facts and precise language in reporting stories	275	1	3	1.07	.274
Independence Avoiding personal, professional or financial involvement with people or organizations you cover	276	1	4	1.37	.597
Thoroughness: Exhausting sources and resources in reporting a story	276	1	4	1.52	.618
Diversity: Covering all segments of the audience fairly and accurately	276	1	5	1.58	.669
Sufficiency: Allocating adequate resources to important issues	275	1	3	1.59	.587
Responsibility: Being accountable for consequences or outcomes of news coverage	276	1	5	1.67	.819
Balance: Giving equal space to multiple perspectives	274	1	5	1.69	.823
Neutrality: Avoiding taking positions on issues	275	1	5	1.78	.890
Transparency: Disclosing to audience reporting & editing process	276	1	4	1.82	.798
Autonomy Being free to think and act on one's own behalf	273	1	5	1.82	.874
Justice: Seeking to right wrongs	274	1	5	1.82	.851
Community: Considering yourself or your organization to be citizens of your coverage area	276	1	5	1.96	.848
Compassion: Considering feelings and lives of subjects and sources when making choices	275	1	5	1.97	.837
Dignity: Leaving subjects and sources with as much self-respect as possible	276	1	5	2.03	.848
Decency: Considering community values and sensitivities	276	1	5	2.11	.861
Engagement: Establishing a connection between you and stories or subjects	275	1	5	2.17	.915
Service: Working for others before self	273	1	5	2.29	.933
Advocacy: Championing an issue, cause or perspective	274	1	5	2.80	1.088
Loyalty: Remaining faithful to those with whom you have a mutually beneficial relationship	274	1	5	3.12	1.097

Table 8
Journalists' Choices Of Most Important Values

Value	n	Value	n
Accuracy	253	Diversity	40
Thoroughness	150	Compassion	33
Balance	147	Engagement	30
Independence	129	Service	23
Veracity	110	Autonomy	20
Neutrality	105	Advocacy	10
Responsibility	86	Decency	10
Transparency	71	Sufficiency	9
Community	54	Dignity	2
Justice	49	Loyalty	0

N=277

When journalists chose five values they believed to be most important, however, results were somewhat out of line with the rankings drawn from the first measure. The top five were *accuracy*, *thoroughness*, *balance*, *independence*, and *veracity*. The bottom five were *advocacy*, *decency*, *sufficiency*, *dignity*, and *loyalty*. Loyalty was the only value that was not selected by any of the respondents. Given the tendency of the journalists to rate almost all the values as either "very important" or "important," the lack of perfect alignment between the two sections is unsurprising, and most values were consistent, the biggest exception being *sufficiency*. Table 8 presents these results.

As with the functions of journalism measures, correlations were used to find points of interest in the data. Only one correlation regarding age was statistically significant. Older journalists tended to rate *neutrality* as less important than their younger counterparts. With regards to circulation category, there were more significant relationships. The larger the newspaper a journalist worked for, the more likely the journalist was to find the values *transparency* and *independence* slightly more important. Journalists at smaller newspapers valued *balance*, *community*, *autonomy*, and *loyalty* more than those at larger papers. Table 9 presents these correlations.

There were also a few relationships between ownership type and the values that journalists rated as important. Those who worked for publicly traded corporations tended to value independence less and community more than others, but these correlations mirrored those of circulation category, again clouding whether or not this relationship is valid. The larger number of small newspapers in the public corporation category may have skewed the results.

With regards to job role, the tendency of high-level editors and reporters to diverge continued with the *community* and *decency* values. The editors rated these values as more important than those in the other job categories and reporters rated them as less important than non-reporters. Additionally, reporters rated engagement, advocacy, and responsibility as less important than those in the other job role categories. Other relationships included copyeditors' tendency to rate *transparency* as less important the rest of the respondents and photojournalists' ratings of *dignity* as more important than the rest of their colleagues indicated.

Table 9

Correlations For Ethical Values

		Reporter	Exec Editor	Mid Editor	Copyeditor	Eddy Page	Web	Photo	Other	Age	Circulation category
Neutrality	r	-.065	.005	.051	-.049	.056	.024	.075	-.060	**.157**[a]	-.116
	r^2	.004	.000	.003	.002	.003	.001	.006	.004	.025	.013
	Sig.	.299	.937	.409	.430	.372	.695	.229	.335	**.012**	.061
	N	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	**258**	263
Transparency	r	.088	-.072	-.106	**.123**[a]	.030	-.087	.018	-.019	-.029	**.138**[a]
	r^2	.008	.005	.011	.015	.001	.008	.000	.000	.001	.019
	Sig.	.156	.244	.087	**.047**	.630	.163	.770	.762	.644	**.025**
	N	261	261	261	**261**	261	261	261	261	259	**264**
Independence	r	.049	-.016	-.104	.044	.025	.066	.040	-.070	-.029	**.151**[a]
	r^2	.002	.000	.011	.002	.001	.004	.002	.005	.001	.023
	Sig.	.426	.797	.093	.478	.685	.287	.520	.262	.637	**.014**
	N	261	261	261	261	261	261	261	261	259	**264**
Balance	r	.025	-.105	-.014	-.022	-.003	.023	.031	.081	.012	**-.134**[a]
	r^2	.001	.011	.000	.000	.000	.001	.001	.007	.000	.018
	Sig.	.690	.090	.821	.725	.965	.709	.622	.191	.853	**.030**
	N	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	257	**262**
Thoroughness	r	.086	.054	-.035	.069	.025	-.056	**-.158**[a]	-.059	-.028	-.006
	r^2	.007	.003	.001	.005	.001	.003	.025	.003	.001	.000
	Sig.	.168	.387	.575	.266	.683	.365	**.010**	.346	.657	.917
	N	261	261	261	261	261	261	**261**	261	259	264
Accuracy	r	.082	.049	-.095	-.014	-.057	.030	-.021	-.006	-.058	.004
	r^2	.007	.002	.009	.000	.003	.001	.000	.000	.003	.000
	Sig.	.188	.431	.127	.824	.362	.636	.740	.918	.355	.943
	N	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	258	263
Compassion	r	.032	-.050	.048	.008	.094	.031	-.111	-.070	.022	.031
	r^2	.001	.003	.002	.000	.009	.001	.012	.005	.000	.001
	Sig.	.608	.422	.436	.903	.130	.624	.075	.262	.725	.620
	N	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	258	263
Dignity	r	.084	-.089	.034	.023	.098	.016	-.097	**-.125**[a]	-.018	-.007
	r^2	.007	.008	.001	.001	.010	.000	.009	.016	.000	.000
	Sig.	.178	.151	.590	.706	.112	.793	.118	**.043**	.772	.914
	N	261	261	261	261	261	261	261	**261**	259	264
Sufficiency	r	-.045	-.080	.046	-.098	.118	-.050	.057	.092	.032	-.037
	r^2	.002	.006	.002	.010	.014	.003	.003	.008	.001	.001
	Sig.	.467	.199	.464	.116	.057	.422	.356	.138	.614	.549
	N	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	258	263
Community	r	**.235**[b]	**-.223**[b]	-.072	-.044	.030	.007	-.073	.028	.002	**-.140**[a]
	r^2	.055	.050	.005	.002	.001	.000	.005	.001	.000	.020
	Sig.	**.000**	**.000**	.244	.478	.632	.912	.239	.648	.981	**.023**
	N	**261**	**261**	261	261	261	261	261	261	259	**264**
Diversity	r	.031	-.101	.010	-.036	.106	-.041	-.029	.061	.002	-.025
	r^2	.001	.010	.000	.001	.011	.002	.001	.004	.000	.001
	Sig.	.623	.103	.869	.560	.087	.512	.641	.330	.980	.681
	N	261	261	261	261	261	261	261	261	259	264
Engagement	r	**.142**[a]	-.113	-.051	.044	.015	-.016	-.046	-.053	-.002	.034
	r^2	.020	.013	.003	.002	.000	.000	.002	.003	.000	.001
	Sig.	**.022**	.068	.414	.484	.811	.795	.460	.393	.978	.580
	N	**260**	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	258	263

Table 9 (continued)
Correlations for Ethical Values

	Reporter	Exec Editor	Mid Editor	Copyeditor	Eddy Page	Web	Photo	Other	Age	Circulation category	
Veracity	r	.024	-.043	-.059	.099	-.056	.030	-.024	.053	-.007	-.003
	r^2	.001	.002	.003	.010	.003	.001	.001	.003	.000	.000
	Sig.	.698	.489	.344	.110	.364	.633	.705	.390	.905	.966
	N	261	261	261	261	261	261	261	261	259	263
Advocacy	r	**.281**[b]	-.114	-.039	-.094	-.048	-.007	-.081	-.120	-.072	.039
	r^2	.079	.013	.002	.009	.002	.000	.007	.014	.005	.002
	Sig.	**.000**	.067	.529	.129	.446	.917	.196	.053	.247	.528
	N	**259**	259	259	259	259	259	259	259	257	262
Justice	r	.040	-.090	.033	-.017	.086	.037	-.106	.013	.012	.108
	r^2	.002	.008	.001	.000	.007	.001	.011	.000	.000	.012
	Sig.	.525	.148	.593	.790	.167	.549	.090	.831	.845	.080
	N	259	259	259	259	259	259	259	259	257	262
Decency	r	**.189**[b]	**-.186**[b]	-.052	-.034	.057	-.048	-.004	-.032	-.021	-.089
	r^2	.036	.035	.003	.001	.003	.002	.000	.001	.000	.008
	Sig.	**.002**	**.003**	.406	.587	.356	.442	.947	.610	.738	.150
	N	**261**	**261**	261	261	261	261	261	261	259	264
Responsibility	r	**.174**[b]	-.072	-.099	-.057	.066	.025	-.087	-.014	-.090	.036
	r^2	.030	.005	.010	.003	.004	.001	.008	.000	.008	.001
	Sig.	**.005**	.246	.110	.363	.289	.691	.160	.820	.147	.564
	N	**261**	261	261	261	261	261	261	261	259	264
Loyalty	r	.065	.020	.034	-.099	.027	-.058	-.121	.046	.072	**-.189**[b]
	r^2	.004	.000	.001	.010	.001	.003	.015	.002	.005	.036
	Sig.	.298	.751	.591	.113	.667	.351	.052	.463	.247	**.002**
	N	259	259	259	259	259	259	259	259	257	**262**
Service	r	.069	-.044	-.049	-.084	.116	-.015	-.019	.021	.049	-.057
	r^2	.005	.002	.002	.007	.013	.000	.000	.000	.002	.003
	Sig.	.268	.479	.434	.179	.062	.806	.761	.739	.431	.361
	N	258	258	258	258	258	258	258	258	256	261
Autonomy	r	-.040	.023	.033	.001	-.003	-.011	.009	-.005	-.054	**-.145**[a]
	r^2	.002	.001	.001	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.003	.021
	Sig.	.524	.713	.597	.985	.966	.859	.881	.937	.389	**.019**
	N	258	258	258	258	258	258	258	258	256	**261**

[a] Significant at p<.05
[b] Significant at p<.01

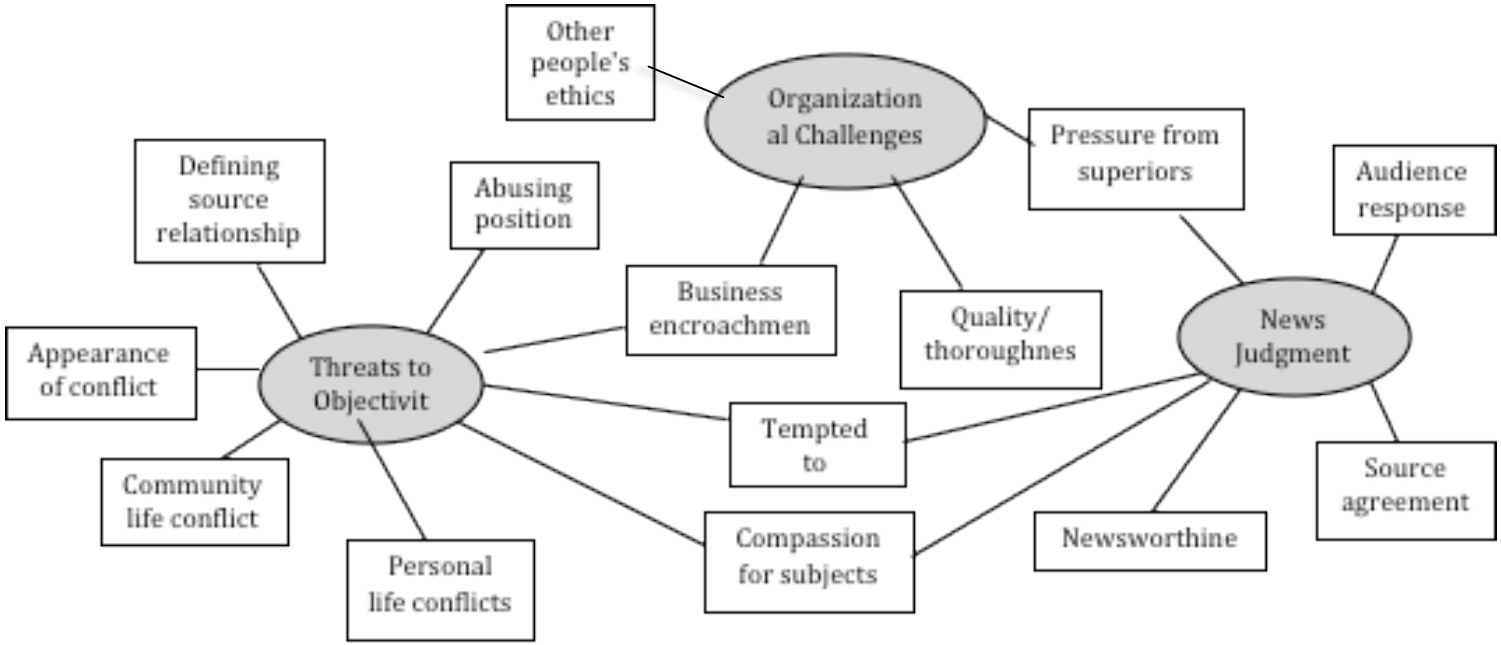
Ethics: Qualitative Findings

The second open-ended question asked respondents to describe ethical dilemmas they had encountered. This prompt followed the section in which respondents rated the importance of 20 values and chose five that they believed to be most important. The

prompt received 138 responses. The questions did not ask for the most-significant dilemmas that respondents had encountered or the most recent, instead leaving it to the journalists to determine what dilemma or dilemmas they chose. The object of leaving the question vague was to elicit responses that told of situations most salient in the minds of the journalists.

The responses were analyzed and coded to determine what values journalists saw challenged in their work and to find patterns in the circumstances that raised ethical dilemmas. Initial coding produced a lengthy list of concepts describing particular dilemmas and values. The concepts were then used to construct a more-concise coding scheme for a second round of coding. Codes were organized into categories. Codes frequently fell into more than one category because subtle differences among the dilemmas meant that multiple values were often challenged in the same situation. Ethical dilemmas are, by their nature, complex and unique. A general descriptive model of the ethical dilemmas that these journalists encountered, however, emerged to add to the relevant information to address RQ1. The four categories are *threats to objectivity*, o*rganizational challenges*, and *news judgment*.

Figure 3
Ethical Dilemma Codes and



The ethical challenges that fall into the *threats to objectivity* category were situations in which journalists felt their independence was in jeopardy or felt pressures to slant coverage as a favor to a source or someone in the journalist's personal life. These journalists frequently described situations in which friends or acquaintances faced legal trouble and asked the journalists to keep the story out of the news. Journalists told about removing themselves from covering a story about friends and incurring anger or resentment of those friends for not stepping in and changing the coverage. Other times, journalists described personal temptations toward altering the tone of a story or withholding information when they felt compassion or sympathy for a subject or subject's family. One journalist described the following situation:

> "When writing about a local ministry that had begun asking for a suggested donation from the poor they served, I knew the owners through other stories. I knew they worked hard, but they also had many complaints against them. I was faced with how to balance the story so it didn't demonize them but showed the problem while trying to be true to the work they were doing in the community. In the end, I decided that balance was the best option to let the readers decide."

In that situation, the journalist said he dealt with an internal struggle to find the truth among the facts of the story while acknowledging a compassion for subjects who were not easily categorized as "good" or "bad."

Sometimes the threats to journalists' objectivity were described as factors that did not actually compel or tempt them to change coverage, but rather created an appearance of a conflict. These situations often included personal associations, involvements in politics, or decisions made by others in the journalists' organizations. Journalists wrote about the difficulties of having to choose carefully which charities they donated to and

often found sticky situations that involved spouses work or civic involvement. The most-common situations cited were those that concerned reporters' relationships with sources. Respondents wrote about balancing the need to have a good rapport with a source and the need to clearly define the relationship so as to not lead the source to believe they had a stronger relationship that might influence coverage. To do this, reporters turned down social invitations, refused gifts and free food, and attempted to keep sources at arm's length. Still, some acknowledged the influence of feeling some loyalty to a source, such as the journalists who wrote about covering a story about a high school football coach's resignation that changed when accusation that the coach had grabbed a student by the neck arose and changed the focus of the story. The journalist said,

> "I had known the coach for at least six years and had a strong working relationship with him. I found it difficult to separate my generally positive opinion of him and some sense of loyalty to him and report the facts of what he had been accused of. In the end, I wrote about the incident with the student. But I called the coach and explained why it was my duty as a journalist to do that and why my editor demanded it. The coach was upset but he also respected me for being up front about everything."

Across the responses, challenges to independence and autonomy were the most-common dilemmas described. At the root of these dilemmas is the journalistic norm of remaining neutral and objective in order to report the truth.

The *organizational challenges* category encompasses situations in which journalists found dilemmas within their own newsrooms or stemming from pressures or events in other parts of the company. This category includes situations in which journalists felt pressure or were instructed by their bosses or other members of the newspaper's power structure to do things the journalists did not believe to be right. Other situations dealt with handling personnel issues when someone else had violated ethical

norms, or feeling influences from the advertising department. Some types of conflicts of interest overlapped with organizational challenges, particularly when journalists thought that the business operations of the newspaper were influencing the news. Journalists reported being asked by their marketing departments to cover stories related to advertisers. A features reporter called this a "gradual eroding of independence" and told the following story:

> Two years ago, an editor asked for a Black Friday story about things to do away from the mall. It was a quick story -- I spoke with the founder of Buy Nothing Day, then wrote a short story with suggestions for family events, outdoor events etc. The plethora of shopping stories we had in the features, news and business sections seemed like plenty of balance. A higher-level editor sent the story back to my editor and said, 'We can't tell people not to shop on Black Friday.' The story ran, but it was cut back. In a snap, my view of my job changed dramatically.

A more-severe example was from a journalist who wanted to write about an elderly man who had been wronged by a local car dealership. Editors killed the story and the reporter believed the decision was based on the fact that the dealership was a big advertiser at the newspaper.

Other organizational challenges related to recent cost-cutting measures and an increased need to make newspaper Web sites profitable. Several journalists noted that diminished resources and reduced staffing placed them in positions that challenged their ethical standards. One journalist wrote, "My main work challenges have more to do with … the diminishing news space and budget problems, which leave me overworked and unable to continue covering all the issues that we once could cover well." In this context, concerns about thoroughness of reporting lead to issues of quality and veracity when journalists are stretched too thin. One reporter cited pressure to stop following a particular story in order to produce more articles. The reporter did not elaborate further,

but his or her response implies that the story that was abandoned was one the reporter thought was important and to ignore it went against his or her conscience. Similarly, another respondent thought that diminishing resources was leading to an increase in what he or she called "bad news bias." Lacking the resources to cover all stories in the political process, this journalist believed the newspaper was focusing only on bad news and not giving proper attention to other stories that help reflect a fuller truth.

Other respondents commented about feeling pressures to post online stories or photos they did not believe to be important or complete in order to increase Web traffic. Page views on the newspaper Web site are used to determine advertising rates. For example, a respondent wrote,

> "Because of audience interest, our paper puts a high premium on posting police actions to the Web as soon as we know of them. But often the information we receive from law enforcement is thin. Balancing when to post incomplete information to update later and when to wait until we have all the details we'd ask for to publish it in the paper is a constant effort."

Another journalist wrote about the pressure to post more content to the Web site, even if the stories were not particularly important or the photos not of high quality. The respondent wrote,

> "At our organization it is widely known that impressions or hits to our web site mean dollars. Unfortunately this has created a number of issues. Each day the staff is required to post x number of stories to the site. Often this leads to posts titled 'Cat run over at 18th and State Streets.' Photographers at our site have been told to create 'large' photo galleries and in the process publish images in these galleries that are below standard. This 'post anything that moves' mentality is killing our credibility."

These responses are interesting because they described circumstances that do not appear to be dilemmas, which usually involve an individual's choice between at least two conflicting courses of action. In these instances, the respondents did not describe options,

although perhaps options up to and including resigning in protest were implied. The respondents instead described organizational settings in which they believed that decisions made above their heads made the organization less ethical by producing lower quality news.

Some organizational challenges and threats to objectivity also fell into the category called *news judgment*, which includes situations in which journalists faced difficult decisions regarding story selection and approach. "News judgment" is a somewhat nebulous term in journalism that describes decisions of news coverage, including what stories to report, at what depth stories should be investigated, where to place the stories in the newspaper or on the Web site, how long a story should be, and what types of follow-ups are necessary. In these dilemmas, journalists dealt with questions of whether a story or piece of information was important enough to convey to the audience and how it should be conveyed. Ethical dilemmas that dealt with news judgment were situations in which journalists had to decide whether or not to withhold information that was important or run information that the journalists found to be sensationalistic or irrelevant.

Challenges to news judgment described by the survey respondents included some of the pressures discussed in the previous two categories, but also involved factors such as making and keeping promises to sources. A few journalists cited situations in which they had received information from sources wishing to remain anonymous or had gotten relevant facts they could not report because it had been received "off the record," meaning there was an agreement with the source that the reporter would not report the information. These types of agreements occasionally are made in order to maintain a

working relationship between journalists and sources, but are used rarely, usually when information is particularly sensitive and not obtainable from another source. To violate an agreement with a source is to "burn" the source, which can result in the journalist not having access to information from that person anymore. Additionally, these are agreements that the journalist enters into willingly, has a loyalty to uphold, and violating it could have negative ramifications for the source.

One respondent detailed a situation in which the newspaper was reporting about charges made against four public officials. Three of the four gave off-the-record information that gave their side of the story, but they did not want the information made public because they thought it might make their circumstances worse in any upcoming proceedings. The journalist said,

> "As a result, the stories were tilted toward government without a sufficient defense for the three managers. We chose to name only the highest level manager who had been a mayoral appointee, believing that it was the best approach to avoid tarnishing the lower-level officials' reputations without sufficient evidence of wrongdoing from government."

In this and similar situations, the journalists believe they must balance their obligation to tell the truth against a duty to be fair while honoring a promise.

Other issues of news judgment were reported by respondents and related to considering the views of audiences that were not in alignment with journalists' judgments. Two respondents wrote about similar situations, but the journalists' newspapers handled the stories differently. In one, a newspaper reported about a female college student who had gone missing and was found to have been killed after flipping her car off a bridge and landing where it was not visible from the road. The story of the

missing woman and subsequent stories about her death generated a lot of Web traffic and calls to the newsroom. The respondent wrote,

> "Most of the time something like that would only get a couple of paragraphs, but we covered it with several full stories. But we completely glossed over the fact she had been drinking and spent most of the last night of her life alone in the bedroom with a man who was not her boyfriend. We didn't mention any of it at all. In my opinion, if you're going to go overboard covering a 'dead white girl' story, then you should go ahead and report everything you get, not make her out to be some saint like we did. Younger kids get killed in crappy night clubs in areas where poor folks live (and don't read the paper or Web site), and we practically ignore them."

The journalist disagreed with his newspaper's approach for several reasons. He believed that the coverage was disproportional to the importance, or "newsworthiness" of the story, based on the way similar stories had been covered in the past, and implied that coverage was fueled by audience response, not news judgment. Second, the journalist believed the newspaper withheld relevant information, did not tell a truthful account of the accident, and further argued that the treatment of the story was rooted in a bias toward more-affluent parts of the community that read the newspaper and Web site.

This situation contrasts with another respondent's story about a car accident that killed three people, including the 16-year-old driver who was a popular football player at his high school. The reporter interviewed the family of the driver and said she felt emotionally involved with the story, but had to report that, under the state's licensing laws, the teenager was not supposed to have been driving. The investigation revealed that the teen also had been drinking. This newspaper's audience responded negatively, calling the editors and cancelling subscriptions. The reporter and the editors stood by their decisions. Although the circumstances of these two stories undoubtedly differed in several details, the similarities illustrate the many factors that these journalists considered

in making coverage decisions and the ways in which audience reaction may factor into journalists' decisions.

This section detailed information from the Web survey about journalists' opinions about the purpose and functions of journalism in society and their ethical values. This quantitative and qualitative data about the ways in which journalists believe their profession should work will be complemented by the results of the interviews, which are presented in Chapter 5. The next section of this chapter focuses on journalists views of their newsrooms' relationship with the business side of their newspaper organizations.

Research Question 2: The Business of Journalism

The second research question for this study asked, "How do newspaper journalists perceive the relationship between the journalism function of the newsroom and the business goals of their organizations and the broader newspaper industry?" To address this question, respondents were asked to rate on a five-point scale the degree to which they agreed with two series of statements. The first series of 16 statements referred to the newspaper industry as a whole and the second series of 12 statements referred to individuals' own newspapers. In both sections, 1 was "strongly agree" and 5 was "strongly disagree." Tables 10 and 11 present these results. Respondents were also asked to rate on a 5- point scale how knowledgeable they consider themselves and their coworkers to be about the newspaper industry's economic situation. Where 1 was "very knowledgeable" and 5 was "unaware," the mean for personal knowledge was 1.77 (sd=.688, N=272) and the mean for coworkers' knowledge was 2.04 (sd=.712, N=268). Four respondents selected the option "I don't know about my coworkers' knowledge."

The statements that had the lowest mean, or averaged as the most agreed with, were "economic difficulties have led to lower quality newspapers," "there should be minimal interaction between the newsroom and the business operations of the newspapers," and "newspapers should charge users for online content." The statements that received the least agreement were "the newspaper industry is dying," "newspapers should be not-for-profit," and "it is difficult for a journalist to be ethical at a newspaper that is owned by a corporation."

Among the relationships found in this section, journalists at smaller newspapers tended to agree less that newspapers should be not-for-profit businesses and more that they should be for-profit. Additionally, the smaller a newspaper that a journalists worked for, the less likely he or she was to strongly agree with the statement that newspapers' difficulties were due to poor decisions made by owners. There were two relationships between age and the variables in this section. Journalists tended to agree less with the statement that the decline of newspapers was due to a reduction in advertising dollars and agree more with the idea of charging online users for content if they were older.

Table 10
Journalists' Views On The Newspaper Industry

	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Economic difficulties have led to lower quality newspapers.	271	1	5	1.83	.973
The financial difficulties in the newspaper industry are caused by decreases in advertising income.	269	1	5	2.02	.796
There should be minimal interaction between the newsroom and the business operations of newspapers.	269	1	5	2.13	1.114
Newspapers should charge users for online content.	266	1	5	2.17	.973
The financial difficulties in the newspaper industry are caused by poor decisions made by owners.	264	1	5	2.40	.982
Newspapers should be for-profit businesses.	261	1	5	2.48	.884
The financial difficulties in the newspaper industry are caused by readers going to the Internet for news.	268	1	5	2.50	.966
I am optimistic about the future of newspapers.	267	1	5	2.72	1.051
Newspapers should be privately owned.	264	1	5	2.73	.659
The newspaper industry will recover from its recent financial difficulties.	250	1	5	2.76	.970
Newspapers should be owned by members of their communities.	266	1	5	3.06	.843
Newspapers should be employee-owned.	256	1	5	3.12	.723
Newspapers benefit from being owned by a corporation.	260	2	5	3.13	.660
The newspaper industry is dying.	263	1	5	3.37	1.096
Newspapers should be not-for-profit.	259	1	5	3.47	1.024
It is difficult for a journalist to be ethical at a newspaper that is owned by a corporation.	264	1	5	3.88	1.103

Table 11
Correlations for Journalists' Views on the Newspaper Industry

		Reporter	Exec Editor	Mid Editor	Copyeditor	Eddy Page	Web	Photo	Other	Age	Circulation category
The newspaper industry will recover from financial difficulties.	r	.062	-.114	-.091	.085	.035	**.143**[a]	-.036	-.013	-.015	.019
	r^2	.004	.013	.008	.007	.001	**.020**	.001	.000	.000	.000
	Sig.	.335	.079	.159	.190	.590	**.027**	.584	.845	.812	.762
	N	240	240	240	240	240	**240**	240	240	238	244
Newspapers should be not-for-profit.	r	-.011	**.177**[b]	-.047	-.039	.014	**-.151**[a]	.069	-.051	.040	**.135**[a]
	r^2	.000	.031	.002	.002	.000	.023	.005	.003	.002	.018
	Sig.	.864	**.005**	.463	.537	.824	**.017**	.275	.421	.528	**.032**
	N	249	**249**	249	249	249	**249**	249	249	246	**251**
Newspapers should be for-profit businesses.	r	.051	**-.198**[b]	.077	.029	-.047	**.136**[a]	-.082	.012	-.046	**-.144**[a]
	r^2	.003	.039	.006	.001	.002	.018	.007	.000	.002	.021
	Sig.	.418	**.002**	.226	.649	.464	**.031**	.196	.850	.473	**.022**
	N	250	**250**	250	250	250	**250**	250	250	248	**253**
Economic difficulties have led to lower quality newspapers.	r	-.111	**.180**[a]	-.016	-.107	.019	.035	-.036	.113	-.013	.057
	r^2	.012	.032	.000	.011	.000	.001	.001	.013	.000	.003
	Sig.	.075	**.004**	.797	.085	.764	.577	.563	.069	.833	.360
	N	260	**260**	260	260	260	260	260	260	258	263
It is difficult for a journalist to be ethical at a paper owned by a corp.	r	-.003	**.193**[b]	.030	-.102	.005	-.039	-.019	**-.126**[a]	.096	-.054
	r^2	.000	.037	.001	.010	.000	.002	.000	.016	.009	.003
	Sig.	.966	**.002**	.630	.104	.942	.533	.763	**.045**	.130	.393
	N	254	**254**	254	254	254	254	254	**254**	252	256
Newspapers should be employee-owned.	r	-.043	.084	**.134**[a]	-.089	.065	.005	**-.156**[a]	-.049	.107	-.030
	r^2	.002	.007	.018	.008	.004	.000	.024	.002	.011	.001
	Sig.	.503	.190	**.035**	.164	.306	.938	**.014**	.441	.095	.638
	N	247	247	**247**	247	247	247	**247**	247	245	250
There should be minimal interaction between newsroom and business ops.	r	**-.157**[a]	**.285**[b]	.011	-.045	-.042	.092	**-.145**[a]	.081	.047	.015
	r^2	.025	.081	.000	.002	.002	.008	.021	.007	.002	.000
	Sig.	**.011**	**.000**	.860	.471	.503	.138	**.019**	.194	.451	.811
	N	**260**	**260**	260	260	260	260	**260**	260	258	262
Newspapers benefit from being owned by a corporation.	r	.110	-.090	-.054	.088	-.044	-.038	-.027	-.010	.055	-.013
	r^2	.012	.008	.003	.008	.002	.001	.001	.000	.003	.000
	Sig.	.084	.158	.394	.168	.486	.549	.677	.872	.391	.843
	N	249	249	249	249	249	249	249	249	247	252
Newspapers should be privately owned.	r	-.016	-.080	.064	-.023	.065	.016	-.097	.073	-.027	-.057
	r^2	.000	.006	.004	.001	.004	.000	.009	.005	.001	.003
	Sig.	.798	.203	.308	.710	.306	.804	.126	.246	.669	.360
	N	253	253	253	253	253	253	253	253	251	256

[a] Significant at p<.05
[b] Significant at p<.01

Table 11 (continued)
Correlations for Journalists' Views on the Newspaper Industry

		Reporter	Exec Editor	Mid Editor	Copyeditor	Eddy Page	Web	Photo	Other	Age	Circulation category
Industry financial difficulties are caused by decreases in advertising.	r	-.024	.037	.047	-.008	.040	-.006	-.089	-.009	**.131**[a]	-.024
	r^2	.001	.001	.002	.000	.002	.000	.008	.000	.017	.001
	Sig.	.702	.555	.454	.898	.523	.929	.155	.889	**.036**	.697
	N	258	258	258	258	258	258	258	258	**256**	261
Newspapers should be owned by members of the communities.	r	.036	-.074	.061	-.041	.003	-.095	**.131**[a]	-.092	-.104	-.044
	r^2	.001	.005	.004	.002	.000	.009	.017	.008	.011	.002
	Sig.	.565	.241	.328	.516	.957	.131	**.036**	.141	.099	.485
	N	256	256	256	256	256	256	**256**	256	254	259
Newspapers should charge users for online content.	r	-.034	.057	.006	-.063	-.036	**.170**[b]	-.095	.056	**-.188**[b]	.108
	r^2	.001	.003	.000	.004	.001	.029	.009	.003	.035	.012
	Sig	.587	.364	.923	.317	.564	**.006**	.132	.373	**.003**	.082
	N	255	255	255	255	255	**255**	255	255	**253**	258
Financial difficulties in the industry are caused by owners' poor decisions.	r	.024	.036	-.074	-.034	.099	.009	-.039	.009	-.081	**.135**[a]
	r^2	.001	.001	.005	.001	.010	.000	.002	.000	.007	.018
	Sig.	.707	.567	.243	.588	.118	.889	.533	.887	.203	**.031**
	N	253	253	253	253	253	253	253	253	251	**256**
The newspaper industry is dying.	r	**-.130**[a]	**.214**[b]	.015	-.005	-.004	**-.139**[a]	.087	-.005	.014	.005
	r^2	.017	.046	.000	.000	.000	.019	.008	.000	.000	.000
	Sig.	**.040**	**.001**	.808	.937	.949	**.027**	.171	.932	.822	.936
	N	**252**	**252**	252	252	252	**252**	252	252	250	255
I am optimistic about the future of newspapers.	r	**.138**[a]	**-.222**[b]	-.026	-.005	.019	**.147**[a]	-.065	-.008	.069	-.015
	r^2	.019	.049	.001	.000	.000	.022	.004	.000	.005	.000
	Sig.	**.027**	**.000**	.675	.934	.761	**.019**	.301	.900	.273	.811
	N	**256**	**256**	256	256	256	**256**	256	256	254	259
Financial difficulties in the industry are caused by readers going to the Internet for news.	r	-.109	**.129**[a]	.065	-.016	-.039	**.164**[b]	-.084	-.037	.019	-.014
	r^2	.012	.017	.004	.000	.002	.027	.007	.001	.000	.000
	Sig.	.081	**.039**	.300	.794	.536	**.008**	.179	.550	.761	.819
	N	257	**257**	257	257	257	**257**	257	257	255	260

[a] Significant at p<.05
[b] Significant at p<.01

With regards to job role, the correlations indicated that reporters and high-level editors diverge on some of these issues, continuing that pattern from the earlier sections. Reporters tended to agree more strongly that there should be minimal interaction between the newsroom and the business operations of newspapers and that the newspaper industry is dying. High-level editors tended to disagree more with these ideas than the rest of the sample. For the statement, "I am optimistic about the future of newspaper journalism,"

reporters tended to disagree more than others and high-level editors agreed more often. High-level editors also deviated from the rest of the group on several other statements. They tended to agree more that newspapers should be for-profit businesses and were less inclined to agree with not-for-profit newspapers. They also agreed less than the other journalists that economic difficulties had led to lower quality newspapers or that it is difficult for a journalist to be ethical at a newspaper that is owned by a corporation. High-level editors were also more likely to agree that newspapers' economic troubles are caused by readers turning to the Internet for news. Among the other correlations in this section, Web editors tended to agree with greater strength that newspaper should be not-for-profit and agreed more than the rest of the sample that the newspaper industry is dying. These editors also tended to not agree as much as the rest that newspapers should charge users for online content.

In the statements referring to journalists' own newspapers, the most statements with which journalists most agreed were "The journalists at my newspaper are skilled and well-trained," "my work is impacted by the financial health of my newspaper," and "morale among the journalists at my newspaper is low." The statements that received the weakest agreement related to confidence in the newspapers' owners, job security, and the closeness of a relationship with the business side of the newspapers' operations.

In this section, there were no significant correlations regarding circulation category and only two regarding age. The older a journalist was, the less he or she agreed with the statements "I believe my job is secure" or "those who work on the business side do not understand journalism." Journalists' whose newspapers were owned by private individuals, groups, or families indicated more agreement with the statements that they

had much interaction with the ownership of their newspapers and the idea that the owners supported the newspapers' efforts.

In this group of statements, the job category that stood out the most was again that of the high-level editors. There was a significant relationship between this category and agreement about the quality of newspapers in recent years, the morale of the newsroom employees, beliefs about the decisions of the ownership, and relationships with the business operations. The sum of these relationships is that the high-level editors are more confident in the health of their newspapers than those in the other categories and also have more interaction with the business side of the newspaper.

Table 12
Journalists' Views About Their Own Newspapers

	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
The journalists at my newspaper are skilled and well-trained.	267	1	5	1.90	.800
My work is impacted by the financial health of my newspaper.	265	1	5	2.19	.993
Morale among the journalists at my newspaper is low.	267	1	5	2.31	.951
The owner or corporate parent company of my newspaper supports my newspaper's efforts	261	1	5	2.31	.916
My newspaper makes appropriate efforts to innovate and stay up-to-date	265	1	5	2.38	1.081
The quality of my newspaper has decreased in recent years.	263	1	5	2.41	1.138
I have little interaction with the business side of the newspaper.	267	1	5	2.45	1.141
I have a positive outlook on the future of my newspaper.	258	1	5	2.62	1.034
Those who work on the business side do not understand journalism	258	1	5	2.74	.986
I believe my job is secure.	251	1	5	3.04	1.048
The owners of my newspaper make sound financial decisions.	250	1	5	3.05	1.017
I have a lot of interaction with the owner or corporate parent company of my newspaper	265	1	5	3.80	1.075

Table 13

Correlations for Journalists' Views About Their Own Newspapers

		Reporter	Exec Editor	Mid Editor	Copyeditor	Eddy Page	Web	Photo	Other	Age	Circulation category
The journalists at my newspaper are skilled and well-trained.	r	.103	-.030	-.025	.000	-.038	.026	-.022	-.083	-.109	**.168**[b]
	r^2	.011	.001	.001	.000	.001	.001	.000	.007	.012	.028
	Sig.	.096	.634	.681	.998	.536	.672	.726	.182	.080	**.006**
	N	262	262	262	262	262	262	262	262	260	**265**
The quality of my newspaper has decreased in recent years.	r	-.094	**.204**[b]	-.037	-.006	-.030	.007	-.034	.044	-.010	.068
	r^2	.009	.042	.001	.000	.001	.000	.001	.002	.000	.005
	Sig.	.133	**.001**	.557	.919	.636	.912	.581	.483	.870	.272
	N	258	**258**	258	258	258	258	258	258	256	261
I believe my job is secure.	r	.028	-.079	.061	-.073	.062	-.031	-.012	.000	**.204**[b]	-.114
	r^2	.001	.006	.004	.005	.004	.001	.000	.000	.042	.013
	Sig.	.664	.214	.342	.254	.334	.633	.847	.996	**.001**	.071
	N	246	246	246	246	246	246	246	246	**244**	249
I have a positive outlook on the future of my newspaper.	r	.112	**-.174**[b]	-.042	-.035	.043	.089	-.011	.010	.040	.006
	r^2	.013	.030	.002	.001	.002	.008	.000	.000	.002	.000
	Sig.	.075	**.006**	.503	.576	.494	.160	.857	.875	.531	.923
	N	253	**253**	253	253	253	253	253	253	251	256
Morale among the journalists at my newspaper is low.	r	-.075	**.251**[b]	-.004	-.009	.025	-.083	-.053	-.052	.105	.051
	r^2	.006	.063	.000	.000	.001	.007	.003	.003	.011	.003
	Sig.	.227	**.000**	.951	.885	.690	.180	.393	.406	.092	.404
	N	262	**262**	262	262	262	262	262	262	260	265
The owners of my newspaper make sound financial decisions.	r	**.136**[a]	**-.136**[a]	-.090	.029	-.032	.010	.085	-.033	.081	-.034
	r^2	.018	.018	.008	.001	.001	.000	.007	.001	.007	.001
	Sig.	**.033**	**.034**	.158	.648	.614	.881	.183	.612	.211	.599
	N	**245**	**245**	245	245	245	245	245	245	243	248
My work is impacted by the financial health of my newspaper.	r	.024	.060	-.104	.013	.014	-.077	-.002	.073	-.090	.065
	r^2	.001	.004	.011	.000	.000	.006	.000	.005	.008	.004
	Sig.	.705	.333	.096	.829	.816	.213	.972	.243	.150	.294
	N	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	258	263
I have little interaction with the business side of the newspaper.	r	**-.323**[b]	**.356**[b]	**.227**[b]	-.058	-.057	.015	-.107	.027	.090	.019
	r^2	.104	.127	.052	.003	.003	.000	.011	.001	.008	.000
	Sig.	**.000**	**.000**	**.000**	.352	.356	.811	.083	.660	.149	.761
	N	**262**	**262**	**262**	262	262	262	262	262	260	265

[a] Significant at p<.05

[b] Significant at p<.01

Table 13 (continued)
Correlations for Journalists' Views About Their Own Newspapers

		Reporter	Exec Editor	Mid Editor	Copyeditor	Eddy Page	Web	Photo	Other	Age	ation category
Those who work on the business side do not understand journalism	r	-.069	**.181**[b]	-.023	-.037	.039	-.045	-.010	-.009	**.143**[a]	-.114
	r^2	.005	.033	.001	.001	.002	.002	.000	.000	.020	.013
	Sig.	.276	**.004**	.710	.558	.534	.481	.873	.889	**.024**	.068
	N	253	**253**	253	253	253	253	253	253	**251**	256
The owner of my paper supports my paper's efforts	r	.101	**-.218**[b]	-.025	.061	.023	-.020	-.008	.051	-.013	.056
	r^2	.010	.048	.001	.004	.001	.000	.000	.003	.000	.003
	Sig.	.105	**.000**	.692	.333	.711	.745	.904	.419	.833	.373
	N	256	**256**	256	256	256	256	256	256	254	259
I have a lot of interaction with the owner of my newspaper	r	**.192**[b]	**-.387**[b]	-.068	.035	.023	-.024	.091	.080	-.098	-.069
	r^2	.037	.150	.005	.001	.001	.001	.008	.006	.010	.005
	Sig.	**.002**	**.000**	.275	.569	.713	.696	.142	.197	.115	.265
	N	**261**	**261**	261	261	261	261	261	261	258	263
My paper makes efforts to innovate and stay up-to-date	r	.082	-.111	.000	-.025	-.009	-.008	.052	-.034	-.046	.082
	r^2	.007	.012	.000	.001	.000	.000	.003	.001	.002	.007
	Sig.	.188	.075	.997	.686	.886	.902	.403	.583	.460	.187
	N	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	258	263

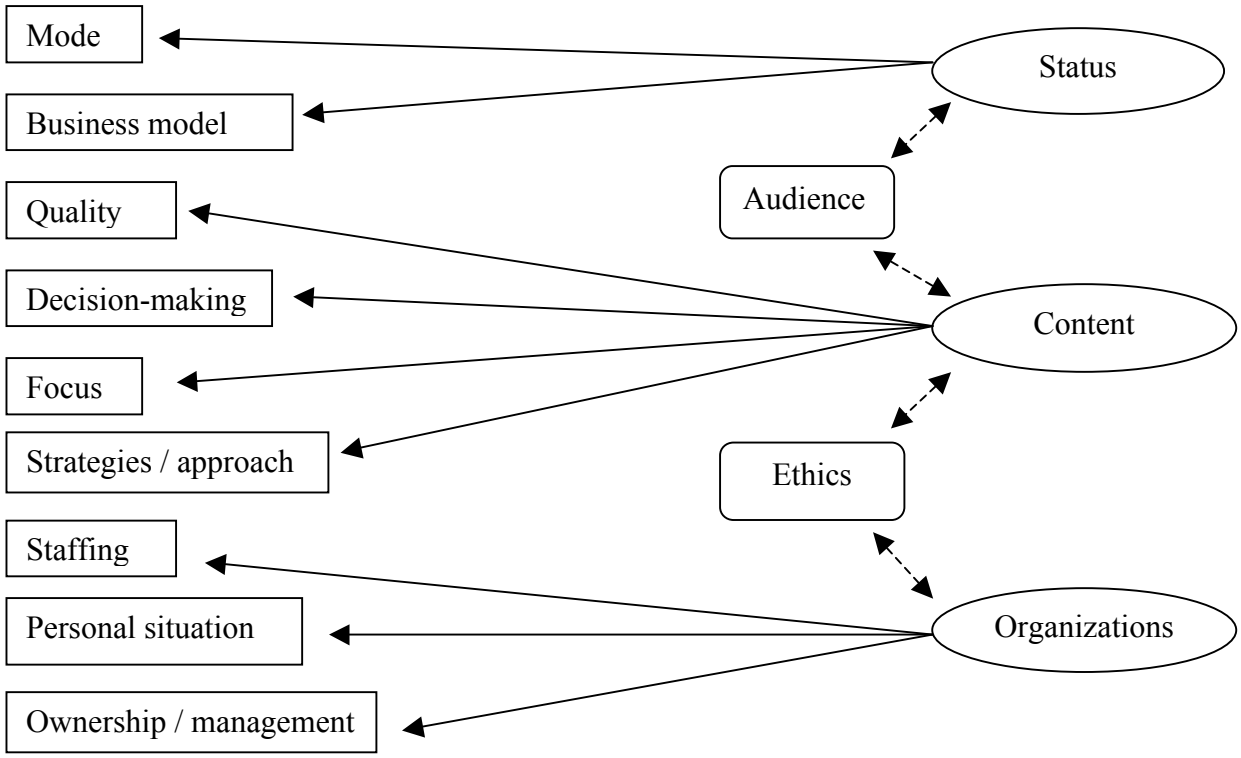
[a] Significant at p<.05
[b] Significant at p<.01

Following these sections, a third open-ended question asked "What do you think the future of journalism looks like?" In total, 185 respondents answered this question. Initial reading of the responses revealed that many respondents wrote with strong tones of optimism or pessimism. This assessment indicated that many emotions permeated these journalists' ideas about the future of their profession and industry. Therefore, responses were analyzed and coded for both the content of the response and the tone in which it was written.

Respondents' answers fell into three themes and two smaller topic areas related to those themes. The themes were *status of journalism*, *organizational topics*, and the *nature of content*. The two related topic areas were *ethics* and *the audience*. The tone of responses fell simply into three categories: *positive*, *negative*, and *matter-of-fact*. As with

previous questions, respondents' answers often included ideas that fit into multiple categories, although it was not uncommon for a response to be straightforward and address only one or two ideas. In general, the content of the responses to this question were less complex than the previous open-ended response questions, but the tone of some revealed deeper meanings.

Figure 4: Future of Journalism Categories



The *status of journalism* category included responses that described the ways in which journalists thought that news will be distributed or the types of business models that will support journalism. Responses in this category tended to be simple and there was not much variety. Respondents often stated that the future of journalism included a hybrid of print and digital sources. A common response resembled this view that

newspapers' Web sites would be used for breaking news and the print edition of the newspaper would be a vehicle for longer-form journalism:

> "Newspapers aren't dying, but they sure are changing. We have to do more online, but we also have to figure out a way to make the print product more relevant. If I had to guess, I think the future will look something like this -- the web will be the place that newspapers break news and the print product will be a place for more analytical, more in-depth, magazine-like content. Both kinds of content are important, and newspapers can provide both, though the vehicle of delivery will be different."

Another journalist said, "I think future newspapers will be weekly-type newspapers with more features and in-depth articles. I think hard news will be on the Web."

Some journalists said they thought print journalism would be eliminated completely or referred vaguely to journalism existing in a format other than print, including the journalist who said, "It will continue to exist but in a different form and at a lower wage." One respondent gave a timetable for print's demise when he or she said,

> "I think printed newspapers will still be here for a long time, but sometime in the future all newspapers will be online only. I'm thinking when I hit retirement age, in about 20 years, print will be out. Printed newspapers may go away but journalism will not."

More respondents, however, said that they did not believe print would "go away" or that newspapers are dying. One journalist wrote, "I think people like holding a newspaper. Who wants their laptop in the bathroom?" Another respondent said, "Printed newspapers will still exist, but online and mobile presentations will become more common and diverse."

Several journalists wrote about the rise of mobile devices for news distribution, but there were two different ways in which the respondents discussed these devices. One group seemed to think that mobile devices were simply another means of disseminating

the news and did not elaborate much on how the news would look on such devices. For example, one journalist wrote,

> "My belief is that we are already entering the next phase of change which involves mobile devices. I see more and more people using, communicating and accessing information from mobile devices, and I think this will continue to develop. Mobile content delivery and use is much different from the online sites most of us have now."

Another respondent expressed excitement about the possibilities that mobile devices offered journalism:

> "Everything is going mobile. People want news where they are, about where they are and it needs to be relevant and come in many different forms. There will always be people who prefer the print product. But I think the mobile platform has the most possibilities for advertising revenue because advertisers can grab you exactly when they want you -- when you're nearby their place of business, when you're hungry or about to grab the train...whatever is relevant to what they're selling. News can also be aggregated according to location."

The second group of respondents who wrote about mobile devices expressed the belief that they will revive traditional newspapers, but in a digital format. For example, one respondent wrote,

> "Technology coming to the rescue with products like the iPad giving a new platform for the print version of the newspaper. Rather than being on paper, it will be electronic, but it will still be laid out like a newspaper. The online model for stories is flawed because it allows readers to choose content, rather than editors."

Another journalist said, "The development of the next generations of Kindle-like appliances will provide computer-like usefulness and newspaper-like portability which will more nearly resemble paper newspapers than current online computers. That will make future newspapers much like traditional newspapers."

The difference between these two groups is interesting because it illustrates two ways of thinking about the future of journalism. One group saw mobile devices as another means of distributing the news or an extension of the movement away from print

newspapers, while the other group views devices like the iPad and the Kindle as being possible saviors of the traditional print product.

The other significant component of the *status of journalism* category was the business model code. Respondents speculated on what they thought would be or should be the financial answers to newspaper journalism's current difficulties. Of those who wrote about business models, most advocated paid subscriptions for online news or alluded to a need to charge online users in some way. For example, one journalist wrote, "I think we need to stop giving readers everything on the Web for free but instead use it as a teaser to get them to read our paper. Alternatively, we should offer Internet subscriptions to full copies of the newspaper online." Another respondent said that the future of journalism involved, "Some type of on-line format that gracefully incorporates print, sound and video, with some type of annual fee attached. " A few of these journalists who called for the end to free content online alluded to the need of newspapers across the country to agree to start charging for access in order to be successful. One respondent wrote,

> "I believe that Congress should provide a waiver from anti-trust laws so newspaper publishers from across North America can set a unilateral pay-for-view scale for on-line editions. They need that waiver in order to then go to that pay-for-view scale, such as through PayPal, on a specific date all at once."

Another respondent suggested a similar course of action when he or she said,

> "If we could go back 15 years and realize what online journalism was to be, and decide to charge people to read our local content from the get-go, chances are the industry wouldn't be in the mess it is today. I say shut down all Internet Web sites NOW. Bring them back up the next day, and charge a nominal monthly fee for access. We need to realize that our local content has VALUE."

While those few journalists advocated cooperation among newspaper organizations to implement a pay model, others predicted increasing fragmentation. They

saw many different business models that could be successful, but that success will be dependent on the specific audience and content type. Several of these respondents mentioned their beliefs that nonprofit organizations would emerge as the main source of in-depth, investigative news. For example, one said,

> "The democratization of news will continue. There will be great non-profit organizations producing journalism. Bloggers will continue to emerge [as] leading thinkers. Corporations will continue owning many news outlets, of course, but people will continue to find news they trust in non-traditional places."

In addition to these ideas about the business model of journalism, a few journalists wrote about their expectations for print. A common prediction was that newspapers would continue to be printed, but only two or three times a week, including this response: "Metropolitan papers like ours will probably publish once a week or maybe even just once a month, but will probably look different." Two respondents advocated a return to afternoon publications. One such respondent wrote, "One crazy idea I have is that evening papers should return. No one had the time in the morning to read the newspaper, nor is it up-to-the-minute. So, publish in the evening with a more feature, analytical and investigative approach."

The second category of responses focused on what journalists believed content would be like as the journalism industry moves forward. Within this category, most of the responses discussed the focus of content, either in terms of topic or type. For example, one journalist foresaw "poor quality quick hit stories with no detail on line." Another person anticipated "Breaking news and spot news, as well as meeting reports or routine governmental coverage will be heavily weighted to the online world. Longer-form investigative reports and narrative journalism will stay on the printed page, along with associated Web content." Another common idea was that newspaper content would still

focus on general interest topics, but would provide more analysis, investigative reporting and long-form storytelling.

A frequently used term in this category was “niche,” which respondents used to describe publications that would focus on particular topic areas or with a specific audience in mind, rather than the old model of newspapers that included a mix of content meant to appeal to a general audience. One respondent predicted “a heavily-fractured marketplace of niche coverage in which it'll be tough to tell what is paid advertising and what is legitimate news,” while another expected “more news coming from non-profit investigative journalism centers, the decline of "general interest" newspapers and the rise of more niche publications that can sustain their business model.”

Others predicted a refocused effort on local news, arguing that such a focus is one way in which newspaper organizations can remain relevant to their audiences and compete less with national or general interest news sources. Some journalists lamented a decrease in the quality of news coverage due to the immediacy of news online and the rise of partisan blogs and entertainment news sites. A handful of respondents described the possibility of a continuation of lower quality, sensationalistic news followed by a back-lash that leads to a resurgence of traditional, objective journalism. For example, one journalist wrote that the current situation is one of information overload caused by a cacophony of opinions and the ability of everyone to publish online. He said,

> “Eventually, someone will wake up and say ‘Hey… there's too much unfiltered crap out here that we can't tell what's the truth anymore... there ought to be a person who sifts through all the facts, boils it down and packages it into a story, and distributes it for readers free of bias.’ Guess what - that person already exists! He's called a journalist!”

Others were more confident that the traditional, accepted standards of journalism and the need of the audience to receive truthful, verified information are still intact and will continue in the future.

Two respondents predicted an abandonment of the "just the facts" articles in favor of a range of styles that gives the writers more freedom in choosing the way they approach stories. One of those two journalists said,

> "Old-school journalism is dying, but there is hope for forward-thinking editors who can think outside of the Journalism 101 box. Journalism should focus more on the writer than the reporter. Anyone can be trained to cover meetings or events, but the success is in how the story is told. Reporters should have more freedom in how they tell the story. Some editors get it, and some don't. The old chop shop AP style of omitting the details to give a brief will doom newspapers. Good writing and storytelling is much more important now."

Journalists also addressed concerns about quality of news coverage and content. Some respondents believed journalism would become increasingly focused on entertainment and gossip, appealing to the lowest-common denominator of audience interest in order to increase traffic on Web sites. Within this group, there was lamentation of a current shift to a decision-making process that involves responding to what the audience appears to prefer. This included some dissatisfaction with relying on Web traffic and its related advertising dollars to determine content. For example, this journalist predicted that the future of journalism will be, "A race to the bottom. Trashy celebrity news drives Web traffic. Web traffic drives online advertising. Thus readers can expect more trashy celebrity news." Another respondent harshly criticized newspaper managers for their decisions over the past three decades and offered his advice: "Get back to news judgment. Eliminate all focus groups."

In another category, journalists wrote about their thoughts on how their audiences will factor into the future of journalism. As discussed earlier, some of the respondents

disliked the idea of directly responding to audience influence with regards to news judgment, but two respondents disagreed and wrote about journalists' relationships with the audience as needing to move beyond an era of disconnect. They advocated adopting a change in perspective in terms of the ways journalists think about their audiences. One wrote that he believed that the industry could not survive with journalists who would not deal directly with the community they cover. Another respondent wrote a long response that included calling for a completely new approach to the way journalists regard their audiences. She wrote,

> "Too many people are rooted in industrial age views of the economics of the business. They have failed to identify and act on opportunities, focusing instead on preserving the past. The current economic situation has nothing to do with monetizing the internet, which is what the Old Guard parrot because they just discovered that Eisenhower is no longer president. The future of journalism depends on a completely different view of journalism and an appreciation for customers."

This journalist argued that journalism is not a mass product, but rather a community relationship. She predicted a need for more journalists to engage with their readers and to be more transparent in order to earn the audiences' trust. She ended by writing, "We really do have to care about our communities once again… Because the model of the past 40 years -- one of self-absorption and journalists run amuck -- has failed miserably and damaged our franchises to the core."

More often, however, journalists expressed negative perceptions of the audience, including the belief that the public will not seek out truthful information, but prefers to find opinionated sources that reinforce their own beliefs. Others believe that the people are simply apathetic or unaware and are therefore doomed to be a "less-informed citizenry." Several respondents seemed to have particularly low opinions of younger generations' media consumption habits. For example, one person wrote, "There still is

time to avoid [the demise of newspapers], but it won't happen unless the vast, carefully washed masses of young people begin paying attention to what's going on around them instead of relying on entertainment and opinion media."

Other comments about audiences focused less on content and were more matter-of-fact thoughts about the way the public prefers to access the news. These remarks included some of the previously mentioned ideas about methods of dissemination or business models, but were framed in terms of audience behavior. These responses also had allusions to the "younger generation" and their habits and uses of technology.

The third category of responses is *organizational concerns*. This category includes comments about staffing, newspaper ownership and management, and the journalists' personal employment situations. A few indicated their intentions to get out of journalism and into other careers. Several criticized the financial decisions of managers and corporate owners or speculated that larger newspaper companies will buy up or put out of business those that are smaller. One journalist wrote, "More newspapers will fold before top executives realize cost cutting measures have declined the product beyond easy repair."

Within this category, responses were largely negative and included several that were essentially sarcastic jokes. In response to the question of the future of journalism, one respondent wrote, "Hahaha… That's a good one," while another simply said, "unemployment." A few complained about their increased workloads that resulted from reduced staff numbers. These comments included the journalist who wrote, "I am too busy doing three people's jobs to think very much about it [the future of journalism]."

The final topic category that is related to both organizational concerns and content is *ethics*. In responses that addressed those two areas, there were also allusions to standards and values of journalism and beliefs about how those will be maintained or destroyed. Those who addressed the ethics of journalism did so with optimism or hope for the future of the industry. They acknowledged the challenges of the future, but were either confident that newspaper organizations could maintain standards or argued that sustaining journalism was dependent upon those standards remaining intact. This point is exemplified by the statement of one respondent: "Journalism itself will not change too much. The values and traditions that drive journalist to report a story will remain the same. The only thing that will change is the way that it is delivered to its readers. As the readership changes so will the way that the product is delivered."

This section detailed the results of the Web survey that are relevant to RQ2. The views of the journalists who responded to the survey about the relationship between the business side and the news side of newspaper organizations will work with the results of the interviews to fully address the research question. The next section of this chapter presents the survey results that are relevant to a question about the ethical implications of digital media.

Research Question 3: Ethical Implications of Digital Media

The third research question for this study asked, "What do newspaper journalists perceive to be the ethical implications of the adoption of digital media for gathering and producing news?" To address this question, respondents used the same five-point scale (1= "strongly agree" and 5= "strongly disagree") to rate a series of 12 statements about

journalism online (See Table 14). Additionally, information from the sections of the survey already described are relevant to this question. Combined with information gathered from the in-depth interviews, this question will be fully addressed in the discussion chapter of this dissertation.

Of the 12 statements about journalism online, the respondents most agreed with the ideas that newspaper journalism ethical standards should apply to online journalism, that news should be broken online even as information is developing, and that the immediacy of online journalism results in more errors. They agreed least with the statements that online journalism is inferior in quality to newspaper journalism, that the Internet is the reason for newspapers' problems, and that printed newspapers are irrelevant to readers. Of those three statements ranked at the bottom of the list, only the assertion that printed newspapers are irrelevant to readers had a mean below 3, where 5= "strongly disagree."

Table 14
Journalists' Views About Online Journalism

	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Newspaper journalism ethical standards should apply to online journalism.	266	1	5	1.26	.573
News should be broken online even as information is developing.	268	1	5	1.93	.775
The immediacy of online journalism results in more errors.	266	1	5	2.13	.864
Newspapers need to devote more financial resources to online journalism efforts.	265	1	5	2.19	.836
Newspapers should focus more attention toward online journalism efforts.	268	1	5	2.20	.837
News aggregators like Google News or Yahoo! steal newspapers' content.	261	1	6	2.26	1.056
Independent political bloggers are not journalists.	269	1	5	2.37	1.055
It is important for journalists to use social networking sites such as Twitter and Facebook.	263	1	5	2.48	.932
Journalists should seek input from readers or audience members when producing stories.	267	1	5	2.86	1.005
Online journalism is inferior in quality to newspaper journalism.	269	1	5	3.03	1.134
The Internet is the reason for newspapers' problems.	265	1	5	3.04	1.058
Printed newspapers are irrelevant to readers.	269	1	5	4.31	.776

The Pearson's correlations indicated that journalists at smaller newspapers agreed more with the statements that independent bloggers are not journalists and that it is important for journalists to use social networking tools. Older journalists tended to agree more with the assertion that online journalism is inferior in quality to newspaper journalism, while younger journalists agreed more that social networking was important and that newspapers should devote more attention and financial resources to online journalism.

With regard to job roles, reporters tended to agree more with the assertions that online journalism is inferior to newspaper journalism and that breaking news online tends to result in more errors. Executive editors did not agree as strongly as the rest of the journalists that bloggers are not journalists, but agreed more that journalists should use social networking tools and should seek input from audiences. Copyeditors agreed less than the others in the sample that journalists should seek input from audiences and that print is irrelevant. Editorial page editors and writers tended to agree less than their peers that journalists should use social networking tools, and Web site editors agreed less that online journalism is inferior, wanted to devote more resources and efforts to online journalism, and also agreed more with seeking input from the audience.

Table 15
Correlations for Journalists' Views About Online Journalism

		Reporter	Exec Editor	Mid Editor	Copyeditor	Eddy Page	Web	Photo	Other	Age	Circulation category
Online journalism is inferior to newspaper journalism.	r	**-.133[a]**	.111	.003	-.074	-.006	**.181[b]**	.021	.042	**-.196[b]**	.093
	r^2	.018	.012	.000	.005	.000	.033	.000	.002	.038	.009
	Sig.	**.031**	.073	.960	.231	.923	**.003**	.732	.501	**.002**	.134
	N	**260**	260	260	260	260	**260**	260	260	**258**	263
Independent political bloggers are not journalists.	r	-.060	**.126[a]**	.004	.005	-.025	.113	-.090	-.023	-.014	**-.180[b]**
	r^2	.004	.016	.000	.000	.001	.013	.008	.001	.000	.032
	Sig.	.336	**.043**	.950	.935	.689	.068	.149	.706	.827	**.003**
	N	260	**260**	260	260	260	260	260	260	258	**263**
It is important for journalists to use networking such as Twitter and Facebook.	r	.056	**-.127[a]**	-.010	.065	**.124[a]**	-.069	.075	-.119	**.131[a]**	.027
	r^2	.003	.016	.000	.004	.015	.005	.006	.014	.017	.001
	Sig.	.375	**.043**	.871	.304	**.048**	.276	.234	.058	**.037**	.671
	N	254	**254**	254	254	**254**	254	254	254	**252**	257
Journalists should seek input from audience when producing stories.	r	.058	**-.175[b]**	.042	**.144[a]**	.012	**-.163[b]**	.036	-.032	.050	**-.178[b]**
	r^2	.003	.031	.002	.021	.000	.027	.001	.001	.003	.032
	Sig.	.355	**.005**	.503	**.020**	.844	**.008**	.568	.607	.429	**.004**
	N	259	**259**	259	**259**	259	**259**	259	259	257	**262**
The Internet is the reason for newspapers' problems.	r	-.084	.084	.087	-.051	-.094	.114	.008	-.036	-.070	.021
	r^2	.007	.007	.008	.003	.009	.013	.000	.001	.005	.000
	Sig.	.179	.180	.166	.413	.135	.068	.904	.566	.263	.732
	N	256	256	256	256	256	256	256	256	254	259
The immediacy of online journalism results in more errors.	r	**-.199[b]**	.094	.027	-.004	-.053	.120	.079	.105	-.049	.061
	r^2	.040	.009	.001	.000	.003	.014	.006	.011	.002	.004
	Sig.	**.001**	.131	.666	.948	.396	.055	.203	.092	.431	.324
	N	**258**	258	258	258	258	258	258	258	256	261
Newspapers should focus more attention toward online journalism.	r	.072	.036	.051	-.048	-.098	**-.174[b]**	.074	-.072	**.140[a]**	-.006
	r^2	.005	.001	.003	.002	.010	.030	.005	.005	.020	.000
	Sig.	.247	.565	.417	.440	.114	**.005**	.237	.245	**.025**	.926
	N	259	259	259	259	259	**259**	259	259	**257**	262
Newspapers need to devote more financial resources to online journalism.	r	.010	.042	.038	.012	-.073	**-.173[b]**	.020	.022	**.151[a]**	-.046
	r^2	.000	.002	.001	.000	.005	.030	.000	.000	.023	.002
	Sig.	.869	.505	.541	.853	.244	**.006**	.755	.725	**.016**	.458
	N	256	256	256	256	256	**256**	256	256	**254**	259
Newspaper ethical standards should apply to online journalism.	r	-.025	.064	.044	-.069	-.001	-.040	.065	-.058	.049	-.090
	r^2	.001	.004	.002	.005	.000	.002	.004	.003	.002	.008
	Sig.	.687	.304	.482	.273	.985	.519	.302	.355	.436	.149
	N	257	257	257	257	257	257	257	257	255	260
Printed newspapers are irrelevant to readers.	r	-.070	.100	-.106	**.125[a]**	.029	-.051	.083	-.011	-.015	.005
	r^2	.005	.010	.011	.016	.001	.003	.007	.000	.000	.000
	Sig.	.262	.107	.089	**.044**	.640	.417	.184	.854	.811	.933
	N	260	260	260	**260**	260	260	260	260	258	263

[a] Significant at p<.05
[b] Significant at p<.01

This chapter presented the results of the Web survey, which was the first of two methods of collecting data in this study. Quantitative and qualitative data from the survey provided information about how journalists believe their profession should function and what they believe to be the implications of economic and technological changes in their industry. To address these issues, respondents answered closed-ended questions about the functions of journalism, their ethical values, the business of journalism, and digital media. Several open-ended questions provided information about the multi-purposed nature of journalism, common ethical dilemmas experienced by journalists, and what journalists believe the future of journalism looks like. This data helped to inform the direction of the interview portion of the study. The results of interviews with 11 of the journalists who responded to the Web survey are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

INTERVIEW FINDINGS

In addition to the open-ended response questions on the Web survey, qualitative data in this study came from interviews conducted with 11 survey respondents. These journalists were selected from among the 76 survey respondents who volunteered to be contacted for a follow-up interview. Due to promises of confidentiality, interview participants are given pseudonyms and described generally with regard to age, employer, and job role. The group included:

1. Mary, a features blogger for a large newspaper who is between 25 and 34 years old. She began her career as a metro and features reporter before transitioning to become a full-time blogger.
2. Leah, a reporter for a mid-sized newspaper who is between 45 and 54 years old. She works as a reporter and sometimes as a fill-in editor.
3. Claire, a Web site producer for a large newspaper who is between 45 and 54 years old. She started at her present newspaper as a copy editor and later became a Web site producer for news content.
4. Sam, an editorial page editor for a group of three small newspapers who is between 45 and 54 years old. He was previously the editor of one of the papers in the group before taking over the editorial pages of all three newspapers.

5. John, a graphic artist for a large newspaper who is between 45 and 54 years old. He has always worked as a graphic artist, first in advertising and then in the newsroom.
6. Donald, a reporter at a large newspaper who is between 25 and 34 years old. He graduated from college two years prior to this study and works as a breaking news reporter, covering crime stories and other daily news.
7. Beth, a reporter for a small newspaper who is between 35 and 44 years old. She got into reporting a few years before this study after a career in criminal justice and counseling.
8. Alice, an executive editor for a small newspaper who is between 45 and 54 years old. She began her career as a section editor and worked as an editor at several newspapers, at levels with increasing responsibility.
9. Gary, a food reporter for a large newspaper who is between 45 and 54 years old. He worked as a news reporter for smaller newspapers before transitioning to write food and wine features and reviews.
10. Frank, a photo and multimedia editor for a mid-sized newspaper who is between 45 and 54 years old. He has worked for the same paper for over two decades and worked his way up from staff photographer to manager.
11. Erica, a copy editor for a small newspaper who is between 35 and 44 years old. She has worked at the same paper since completing her master's degree in journalism and her work now involves editing for print and Web site production.

More details about the interview participants are shared in the chapter when they are relevant in the context of the excerpts and quotes that are shared.

The interview transcripts were analyzed and coded in the course of multiple readings. Codes were combined until several dozen separate concepts remained that described the content of most of the interviews. These codes were organized into subject groups. Creation of these groups was aided by comparing data to the results of the Web survey to find relevant similarities and differences. The groups included subjects like ethics, purposes of journalism, technology and others. Table 16 presents the full list of subject groups within a description of the analysis process.

The groups provided a useful way of organizing quotes and codes for the next step of analysis. In that step, each research question was addressed by examining related categories and revisiting quotes within the context of the original interviews to ensure that the respondents' true meanings were maintained. At this step, connections among the categories were evident, and themes emerged to form a picture of how the interview data helped answer each research question. This chapter first describes the themes and then discusses the themes' relevance to each of the three research questions.

Table 16
Interview analysis steps and results

First round of analysis			
1. **Coding**: Each interview was read and each utterance, statement, or cohesive quote was coded individually. These were concepts or pre-codes that were very brief, unique summaries of each quote.	**2. Code merging:** Similar concepts were merged and/or renamed to form a list of 93 codes.	**3. Sorting:** Codes were sorted and organized into 11 subject categories.	**4. Resulting categories:** Purposes of journalism Ethics Challenges and dilemmas Organizational Business Economic difficulties Audience Technology Change Future of journalism
Second round of analysis			
1. **Category deconstruction:** The data were read again, one category at a time, with the purpose of addressing the three research questions. Similarities and differences between quotes within categories were noted.	**2. Themes discovered:** Themes emerged within some categories and between or among multiple categories.	**3. Resulting Themes:** Watchdog & Providing for the Public "Mirror" vs. "Window" "Unethical to traffic in misinformation" Comparing newspapers to other types Considering that " we were wrong all along" about objectivity "Not a completely cold-hearted sort of ethical consideration" Detangling ethics and practice Journalism as a business Business influences in the newsroom Not like "Back in the lots of money days" "It could be a lot worse" "We're back in the black for now" "People at the top" The Future of the Business Accurate as of the time stamp "Clicks are everything" Audience interaction Citizen journalism	

Themes

The themes that emerged from the interviews allowed a deeper understanding of some of the information collected in the survey data. Using the interview guide, most interviews began with questions about the purposes and ethics of journalism. In a few cases, however, rapport-building questions or small talk at the beginning of the interviews led naturally into other questions or conversations that were relevant to the study. Respondents were encouraged to speak freely and were allowed to continue on tangents without being pulled back to the interview guide questions quickly. The result of these conversations was a collection of themes that weave together topics of journalistic practice, ethics, economics, organizational structures, ideals, and frustrations. Analysis allowed the researcher to disentangle the conversations and discover themes. This section describes each theme separately and the next section shows how they work together to help answer the research questions.

Watchdog and Providing for the Public

Consistent with most journalists who responded to the open-ended survey question about the purpose of journalism, the interview participants all said that they believed the purpose of journalism is to inform the public. Beyond that basic purpose, however, the journalists generally described their obligation to inform in two ways. First, they believed that journalists acted as representatives of the people and had an obligation to report back their findings. Responses took on the tone of the "watchdog" role that many respondents cited in the open-ended survey question. For example, Sam, the editorial page editor for the group of three small newspapers, said, "Well, it is not

everybody can go to the council meeting, not everybody can go to the school board meeting, not everybody can sit around and develop the sources. …We're telling the stories of good and bad and merely informational about the city in important ways."

Beth, the courts reporter for a small newspaper, echoed that idea when she said, "A lot of the things that I write about are funded, the taxpayer money or with grant money that comes from taxes, that kind of thing. So I think people have a right to know how that money's being spent and how effectively is it being used." She expanded the idea of the watchdog role beyond that of overseeing the government's actions to a concept of being the public's eyes and ears within the community at large. She said, "Sometimes I see things happen in the courts like if a man who's 28 years old meeting 13-year-old girls over the Internet. And, of course, we see that all the time on television and whatever, but when it happens right there in your own community, it's something that you want to tell, 'Hey parents, beware of this.'"

The other component of serving the public that interviewees described was that journalism functioned to provide knowledge and enrich lives. In this way, journalism worked as a decision-making aid and a means of educating and entertaining the public. Donald, the young, breaking news reporter said,

> "I think that the purpose is to provide people all kinds of information, the kinds that they need, and the kinds that they want, even though those aren't always the same thing, obviously. …Because people need the traffic update, like before they leave work. That's something that a lot of people do need, especially if they're trying to make it to a place by a certain time. That's more than just want… You can get everything from traffic to a critical look at the expenditure of taxpayer money."

Similarly, Erica, the copyeditor and Web producer, emphasized the need to provide useful information. She said,

> "Journalists are there to provide the information people need for a free society to work. If people don't know what their government is doing, they can't really vote for the right people. If they don't know what companies are doing, they can't give their money to the company if they want to."

Those two quotes describe news organizations' functions in providing useful and practical information but did not address why newspapers should be the sources for such information. Leah, a reporter and sometimes-editor with a particular interest in investigative reporting, broached this topic when she said,

> "We're providing the information that people need to live their lives in a democracy and we do something because our vested interest is in getting out information and the truth, and a lot of institutions, including the government, their vested interest is getting a version of what they would like to be true. Sometimes they are telling the truth but there's just no other institution in our country that is tasked with collecting information for the public and presenting it to them in a fair manner to allow them to make their own decisions about important issues of the day. There's just nobody else doing that. The government isn't going to do that because in the end they have their own agenda which might be to have this program or make sure this person gets re-elected. Businesses, of course, have a bottom line agenda. Not always but often. Other institutions have their own institutional goals and that colors the way they present things so I mean it's just a very unique role that we have in our society that is crucial for democracy I think."

Leah's emphasis on journalism's dedication to providing truthful accounts is fully tied to the values of fairness and neutrality. In order to serve the purpose of journalism, she asserted that reporting must be fair and without a persuasive agenda.

Several of respondents acknowledged journalism's purpose in enriching lives beyond its role of providing useful information. They talked about also giving the public information that they want or balancing civic and political news with entertainment or human interest stories. Beth, the courts reporter, said,

> "So, some of it is community service, I suppose, and then a lot of it I think is information, and then some of it is entertainment. And I think people are fascinated by murder trials and those kinds of things, even if it is the car wreck

> thing, but, I mean, just the way that a trial moves along I think is very interesting and I don't think most people understand it."

Beth's mention of "the car wreck thing" was a reference to the public's curiosity about the morbid or sensational, but she seems to find a mix of useful information, entertainment, educational value in stories on her beat that she believes serves the public by both engaging and enlightening them.

The journalists who cover features or lifestyle topics also emphasized the importance of providing information that is beneficial to the public. Gary, who writes about food and wine, said,

> "I think knowledge is vital. And I think you have to pass it on. I mean maybe you don't care how to make a pressed duck with blood gravy, but somebody else might really want to know that. I'm a food and wine writer, and I understand where that goes. I mean, I'm not writing about breaking news or earthquakes or wars or stuff like that. But there are still people who want what I'm doing, and they want to read about it. And I think newspapers need to get it out there."

Donald described the need for both watchdog types of journalism and less-serious information as the difference between high-minded ideals of the profession and the day-to-day realities of an industry. He said, "Well I think that the ivory-tower purposes are real, and still there, and still served by the reality purpose, which is just to provide information of all kinds to the public." In this way, the various types of information work together to serve the broader goals of serving a community.

"Mirror" or "Window"

John, the graphic designer, and Alice, the executive editor of a small newspaper, gave the simplest explanations of the purpose of journalism, but juxtaposing their responses provides a deeper understanding of their meanings and illustrates the way these

journalists gave answers that were superficially similar, but differed upon elaboration. John said, "Pretty much it's a voice, really. It's like a log. You're giving people a window to what's happening in their communities, what's happening statewide, worldwide. It's your job to pretty much report the news and I guess kind of like a historical log almost." Alice said, "I think that we first and foremost are the mirror for a community. You can't really see yourself until you see it in a reflection. And if a town loses its newspaper, there's no gathering place for opinion."

The window and mirror metaphors that John and Alice used provide an interesting contrast to describe the role of a newspaper in a community. John's window description and calling the newspaper a "historical log" suggests a mostly fact-based, neutral accounting of events or a place where people can get a clear view of their world. Alice describes a purpose that involves providing more depth and context for a community. She mentions the need for a vehicle through which a community can share opinion and reflect on itself.

"Unethical to traffic in misinformation"

The purpose of journalism to inform the public was consistently linked by the interviewees to several ethical values and practices. The participants automatically equated journalism's purpose to inform with that of informing truthfully, and all of them discussed the primary ethical values of journalism as those that serve their duty to the truth. Leah summed up this connection when she said, "I think it's unethical to traffic in misinformation. If you can avoid it, you do." Issues of accuracy, fairness, and neutrality were cited most often, but the journalists approached these concepts differently.

The concepts of fairness and neutrality were often connected and described journalists' need to not favor a particular person or viewpoint. In short, these were the two main tools for producing unbiased journalism. Beth, a reporter, defined fair reporting when she said, "It means offering them every opportunity to tell their side. And not leaving out information that might be important to the understanding of a situation." She recognized that being fair and neutral is challenging. She said,

> "I mean, there are some people who do things and it makes them very easy to dislike and you have to make sure that you treat them fairly. And I think that's difficult. I see, too, you know, I'm 43, I'm a little older than some of my colleagues, and I see some real differences in maturity and educational level. And we have a wide variety. I think for the most part I think the editors at our paper are very, very ethical. I do see a few people, though, who I believe take a side or another on an issue and allow that to affect their writing. And I try to be very cognizant of that and not do that."

Leah talked about fair reporting similarly, but added a caveat that a reporter can use a critical approach when determining what sources need to be treated equally. She said,

> "You try to seek out viewpoints and take special care to seek out ones that are different from your own especially. Allowing people who have a legitimate viewpoint; I'm saying it that way because there are people who have viewpoints that are somewhat illegitimate. These would be people who favor discrimination or have hate groups. They don't have legitimate opinions that I think need to be routinely offered up as part of your coverage, but you seek out the landscape of what exists out there when you're talking about a topic."

These two reporters talk about fairness in slightly different terms. Beth advocated not taking a side at all, while Leah began with the assumption that reporters have their own opinions about an issue and must compensate for that by seeking out sources whose views differ from their own. She further adds that the reporter may exercise discretion in determining what are and are not "legitimate" viewpoints.

Claire, a Web site producer, connected fairness to accuracy. She said that it is

important, “to report something from not just one direction, but to talk to people and present varied viewpoints in an unbiased way. And, of course, being accurate; making sure that the information we have is the best information we can get and asking the proper questions to determine the credibility of our sources.” By connecting the two concepts, Claire is describing both the need for verification of information and the balancing of opinion in order to paint a fair representation of the truth.

One journalist focused primarily on the perception of fairness by the audience. Alice summed up the rules of journalism ethics as, “Don't lie. Don't cheat. Don't steal,” but commented, “That’s harder than it seems.” Her elaborations about journalism ethics primarily related to issues of independence, transparency, and perceptions of bias by the audience. For example, she said that in past jobs she had to end the practice of reporters taking gifts or tickets from sources. She then said that she believes that journalism ethics are generally misunderstood by the public. When asked for an explanation, she said, “A breach of ethics like soliciting a ticket to a game you're not going to cover. I don't know exactly what that would be the equivalent of in some other business, but for us that's a career-ending move. If you make something up and put it in the paper, you're going to get fired. I don't think they understand our zero tolerance. … [The public thinks] we are bought by one side or the other or by our own beliefs.”

Each of these journalists talked about the need to present truthful information to the public, but their words reveal the myriad values and conceptions of truth in journalism. What they share, however, is the underlying belief or assumption that truthful information involves neutral reporting, the avoidance of bias or the appearance of bias, and the fair evaluation of the information available.

Similarly, Claire disliked the tone of many comments on her newspaper's Web site, but she found justification for allowing it to continue. She noted,

> "I was working online when we first started having blogs with comments and we used to actually edit their comments. And then we, even to make words spelled right, and then we realized this is not what we want to be doing. This is for them to post, and they're responsible for their own spelling, and punctuation and what they say… The nature of blog commenting, you're anonymous, and so there's a lot of vitriol on there, and I just sometimes feel like it is good to give the public their say. Let them say what their response is, but the anonymous nature of it has led to some real nastiness. I mean, the nastiness has increased. I don't know the answer to that though."

The question of offensive comments on stories is a dilemma that is new to post-Internet era journalism and, as indicated by these journalists' opinions of them, poses an ethical problem that involves weighing a concern for decency against a belief in accurately representing the views of the readers and not controlling their voice in the community.

Not all opinions about increased audience interaction were negative. Mary talked about a good discussion that occurred on her blog about an upcoming circus and issues surrounding the treatment of animals in circuses. She said,

> "People were really into the discussion. And the poll was really interesting too because…It was really almost really split down the middle between people who said, yes, elephants are a key reason I go to a circus and, no, I would never go see a circus with elephants. So I'm glad that I put up the post because I think a lot of times we kind of cover this and we shy away from it because it's so messy, and people are so passionate about it, but in this situation…we finally got to have a discussion about this, and people could talk directly to each other. I think it really worked."

As she talked about this issue, Mary seemed mildly surprised and rather pleased that the discussion was so civil. She said that she had been afraid of what kinds of comments she would get, but that her readers stayed on topic and had reasonable points about the issue.

One anecdote about reader comments raised a unique situation that Alice had never anticipated. An argument between commenters on a blog post about cutting money from a social service agency led to a commenter who wanted to donate money to reinstate the program rather than have tax money fund it. Alice told the story:

> "And then he said, 'I'll match the first $50 donation. [The reporter] will hold the money.' And [the reporter] was like, 'I never -- I don't want to be part of this story, but I don't want to tell him, 'Hey, we're not going to collect money for charity.'' So I talked to our finance department, and the finance department's going to do it, and they've collected $100 so far, and probably that's all they're ever going to collect. But it was something that was kind of new."

The situation at Alice's newspaper raises challenges to the objectivity standards by not just placing the reporter in a situation where he might appear to take sides, but also by elevating the conversation to action in which the reporter and the editors have to decide whether or not to allow or participate in.

Comparing Newspaper Journalism to Other Types

One of the ways that the journalists in this study defined their values and standards was by comparing newspaper-style journalism to other media and news sources. Sometimes these comparisons involved criticism of independent or non-mainstream bloggers in order to juxtapose those bloggers with what the newspaper journalists believed to be more ethical. Leah was particularly critical of bloggers when she said,

> "So unlike let's say bloggers or whatever, we do really care about everything we put up being accurate and we do that to the best of our ability. We don't knowingly put up anything we think we're going to have correct later. So we are striving for accuracy and also striving to get the news up as fast as we can.
>
> Q: And is your perception - do I hear in that statement of bloggers - that they're going to put up something with the expectation of correcting it?

> A: Or they just don't care if it is right because they have an agenda. You know? A lot of bloggers, not all bloggers, but a lot of bloggers have an agenda whatever it is pro this, anti that, Republican, Democratic, Tea Party, whatever…. They actually don't necessarily care that something is true or not. It just fits their agenda and so they'll put it up."

Leah's dislike of these opinionated bloggers was clear, and she mentioned them at other points in the interview. Her comparison suggested that she not only believed objective journalism to be more ethical, but she also said later on that she believed opinionated blogs to be of lower quality. She believed that infusing opinion into reporting resulted in less thorough information.

Alice was also critical of bloggers, but she included television news in her comparison:

> "On its finest level there's some great TV journalism that's being done. But a lot of TV journalism is based on what they can steal from newspapers and always has been. And so I'm not real pleased with them. But I don't have anything against them. Independent bloggers, if they are truly independent and they're making a living at it and they're not -- if they're not just promoting their own viewpoint I would consider them journalists. I think that the structure, though, of a newspaper company that pays you is probably -- or a media company that pays you -- is probably the only way to avoid just having people who have an opinion about something or who are paid by people to promote their service or good."

Like Leah, Alice thought little of opinionated bloggers, but went further by suggesting that they are not even journalists and are pushing an agenda in exchange for direct payment from those who have an interest in an issue.

Unlike Leah and Alice, Frank used comparisons between media to show that new technologies are not less ethical than old ones. He compared questions of ethics in digital video editing with descriptive writing to poke holes in arguments that certain types of changes are fundamentally unethical:

> "In some cases, mediums that are established mediums, that we may not be as experienced in, such as radio, or they're completely new mediums, and the narrative tradition of it isn't well established yet…. For instance, there's an argument about whether or not newspapers doing videos should add music dubs to video editing. And there are some people who say straight up that it's unethical because it alters the mood of the piece. And, once again, going back to the writing tradition… we don't have a list of banned adjectives."

Whereas Alice and Leah compared newspaper-style journalism to new media to depict objective journalism as more ethical, Frank used the same approach to defend a particular technology by drawing an analogy between it and traditional journalism. In both types of comparisons, the implication is that newspaper-style print journalism is the benchmark for ethical standards.

Considering that "we were wrong all along" about objectivity

The deeply-rooted adherence to neutrality and fairness was rarely described as "objectivity," however, a couple of the journalists expressed thoughts about the objectivity norm in journalism and the growing practice of infusing newspaper blog posts with more-opinionated writing than typical newspaper stories. Sam said, "Our sports bloggers are putting up things that definitely have opinions in them. Our news side people aren't putting up things with opinions in them that much, but more so on their blogs than ever before they're sort of like reporters notebooks." When asked if he believes this is unethical, he replied,

> "I think they're just different, and I think they're probably more in line with what people think journalists are in the terms of, you know, people with at least something like an agenda. And maybe we were wrong all along during that middle period ever since the change from yellow journalism to objective journalism to imagine that we could be as objective as we either pretended to be or were. So I think that's the change that blogging has brought."

Sam was very matter-of-fact about the changes involving opinionated reporters. Having previously worked as a reporter and editor before becoming an opinion writer, perhaps the transition from straight news to opinion online is less of a difficult change for him.

Mary, however, said she was uncomfortable when she wrote a post that included her opinion. The post that led to the conversation about elephants at the circus that was discussed above included Mary's view on the issue. She said that the style of her blog and the topic almost dictated that she include her opinion. She said, "People want to know what I think about it. And the fact is that I'm a vegetarian who's really not okay with it in my personal heart of hearts." She explained that she had already posted a more objective piece about it, but news stories about protests raised the issue again, so she did another post about it:

> "I put up a poll. I talked about my personal experience with the issue; the fact that elephants I have come into prior contact with in life or in stories are all either dead or have been taken to refuge type facilities rather than being kept in zoos. And so, I found a lot of joy in the circus when I was a kid, but as an adult I really don't find joy in this anymore. And it was really very awkward to write because I'm still not used to giving my opinion about things and so used to that not being my role, but I didn't feel like it was right either in a first-person forum to pretend like I'm just the facilitator of conversation on that topic. So, I didn't come out and say --I didn't really and offer a big, angry solution. I just said 'Here's where I'm at. Where are you guys at?'"

The end result was the aforementioned conversation among her readers, but none of them mentioned the fact that Mary herself had become involved in the discussion. Mary seemed pleased with the outcome of her foray into opinionated blogging.

These two discussions emphasizes that the idea of neutral reporting and writing is ingrained in the fabric of journalism ethics. Mary found it very difficult to break from her training and practice as an unbiased reporter and Sam noted the presence of opinions in

blogs as a departure from the norm. Sam's comment about what the audience expects also reinforced Alice's earlier statement about the ethics of journalism being misunderstood by the audience.

"Not a completely cold-hearted sort of ethical consideration"

Two of the interviewees identified another area of ethical obligations, in addition to an adherence to truth above all else. Erica, and Frank identified the need to be sensitive to sources and subjects, but either connected that obligation to the duty to the truth or said that such sensitivity had to be secondary. Erica made that distinction when she said,

> "It's more of a 'get the information out there and let the chips fall where they may', but not completely. Because we obviously give some consideration to children and identities of other crime victims and things like that. So it's not a completely cold-hearted sort of ethical consideration, as far as valuing the truth, but it really does take precedence."

Frank incorporated an obligation to individuals into his view of the requirement to be truthful. He said,

> "You also have the added obligation to the story itself, to the people in the story, to the sources, to all those other things. We have as much of an obligation to them as we do to our audience, which is a little unique in the story telling because we're, in essence, taking their story, and being their translator, and we have to be honest and faithful to them too."

By considering an obligation to sources as part of the obligation to the truth, Frank saw this ethical requirement as being in alignment with journalism's primary mission. Erica, however, believed that sensitivity to sources was a separate issue to be considered, but one that should be set behind truthfulness.

Detangling Ethics

Discussions of the ethics of journalism and their connections to journalists

included many topics of journalistic practice. Journalists cited issues concerning anonymous sources, becoming too close to sources, digital manipulation of photos, injecting opinion into stories, separating news work from the creation of advertising copy, the challenges of revealing too much information on social networking sites, and many others. These myriad topics led to a question of the differences between ethical issues and issues of work habits. As the need to clarify this distinction became apparent in the course of the early interviews, the researcher began posing the question to some of the later participants.

Frank, the photo and multimedia editor, said he was often annoyed by discussions of ethics that he believed to be less about ethics and more about changes in industry practices. He cited the example of a professional organization that debated whether or not it was ethical to use certain iPhone applications to edit photos taken with the phone to create some kind of effect. He said,

> "I don't feel it's an ethical question. I feel that it's a technical question because they're not lying by putting an app on it when it's really apparent that it looks different. They're not changing content. They're not misrepresenting or anything. … [I]t happens that sometimes logic is placed selectively. So if you're going to say, well, using your camera phone and then placing an app on it that maybe makes it more saturated and it's unethical, then why isn't a black-and-white photograph, which is sort of the core of photojournalism history, why isn't that unethical? Because with the exception of a small percentage of the population, we don't use black and white. And those photos were black and white, not because of any kind of ethical or artistic [decision], it was a practical decision saying that it was costly and prohibitive to make photographs color all the time."

In this example, Frank was expressing frustration with conversations that he believed to be held under the guise of ethical issues of new technology that were really rooted in a resistance to change in workflow and lacking in perspective about the reasons for

journalistic decisions and practices.

Claire, the Web site producer, and Erica, the copyeditor, made fewer distinctions between ethics and other considerations in journalism. When Claire talked about finding typos and style problems in stories posted in online, she was asked if those were issues related to ethics or quality, or if she considered those two things to be the same. She replied,

> "Well, you know, that's a good point. Probably it's quality, but it sort of fudges over into ethics, I think. I mean, there's an element of ethics there. If you are not as concerned about accuracy, it seems that you are more likely to present incorrect information, and you're not taking the care that you should. So, to me, there is something of an ethical part to that issue."

A similar question was posed to Erica when she discussed inaccuracies and a lack of thoroughness in online stories. In this context, the question was about the difference between ethics and news values or news judgment. She said,

> "I definitely think they're kind of joined at the waist, but I think sometimes it is definitely an ethical consideration. When you say someone, you know, the police are on their way somewhere to, because something is going down, and then later you find out that's not what was going down at all, the people who were involved in that are definitely affected and that's sort of an ethical concern, so it definitely concerns ethics. But I also think it's a news judgment sort of, news-value issue as well."

Despite the fact that the question was posed to these two journalists after discussions of similar issues, their responses differ slightly. Both connect ethics to other journalistic practices, but for different reasons. Claire considers accuracy a matter of taking care with one's work, which is similar to a work ethic, while Erica considers it an ethical consideration because of the ways in which misinformation could adversely affect the subjects of the stories.

Journalism as a Business

Although all the journalists who were interviewed were asked about or discussed the relationship between the newsroom and the business operations of their organizations, two participants talked about the business of journalism in conjunction with their ideas about the purposes and ethics of journalism. Donald, the breaking news reporter, and Frank, the photo and multimedia editor, differed from the rest of the group in that regard.

Donald talked about journalism as a business in terms of its purpose. As illustrated in his quote above, Donald referred to "ivory tower journalism" and used that phrase to describe the purposes and ethics of journalism that he learned about in school. He compared that to his assessment of the reality of working in the industry and talked about what he thought to be right and wrong in terms of both "ivory tower journalism" and "reality." In short, he made separate judgments, depending on what type of journalism he was talking about. For example, Donald was the reporter who wrote in his survey response the story that was discussed in the last chapter about the young woman who flipped her car off a bridge when she drove drunk. His newspaper withheld some of the less flattering information about the accident and, in his opinion, focused too much attention on the story altogether. When elaborating on this situation in the interview, Donald again said that he believed the newspaper should have reported all the information if they were going to cover it, but he preferred they had just not blown the story up to such proportions. He said, however, that when thinking of journalism as a business, he was less outraged:

> "I think that if you work for whatever the traditional media news company is now, that it's a no-brainer ethically as a business, honestly. I mean, you have to cover those stories. Everybody else is. First of all, your competition across all

> platforms and, second of all, what is news? It is what people want to read on a basic level. A buzz word in our newsroom and others is that you're providing information, and access to information, and that's the kind of information people are interested in, and people are going to be interested in. In ivory-tower journalism, though, I don't believe in it. I don't think that we should cover it that way, but there's a reason they call it ivory tower. It's not reality. So in ethics grounded in reality, I have no problem with it."

Donald's thoughts about that situation indicated that he considers his newspaper to serve two missions: that of the socially responsible press and of a revenue-driven business. He appears to have established standards for each of the two, but has not reconciled them. In his "ivory tower journalism," Donald believed in covering the story accurately and in proportion to similar events that had occurred in the community. In "reality," he did not find it unethical to sensationalize or over-cover the story, though he still disapproved of withholding information.

Frank approached the discussion of journalism as a business differently. He viewed ethics as key component in serving the business interests of the organization. He said,

> "What you're selling in journalism is a reliability, and a dependability, and a trust, and the information that you're putting out there, and by having an ethics standard, they can quantify that, and can make it something not a variable…. That's really sort of the core of what ethics is about it. It validates the worth of the product that we're putting out, not to sound so much like a marketer, and once again, 10 years, 20 years ago we wouldn't be using that kind of terminology if we were in the newsroom because we didn't think so much about fulfilling our goal, but I think that's a big part of it."

Frank viewed the fact that journalism is a business not as an impediment to achieving the stated purposes of journalism, but rather as one component of a broader purpose. Like Donald, he included the need to be responsive to what the audience wants, but did not see that as contradictory to serving the public. He said, "I think it's good that we have better

connections to the business side sometimes now because I think we all need to understand that we are in a business, and that your work is valued against, the business word would be a customer base, but the readers, and I think that's important."

Business Influences in the Newsroom

Interview participants were asked about the relationship between the newsroom and the business side of their organizations. One of the most-common topics discussed in response to this question was the ways in which the business interests of the newspapers might influence news coverage. Some respondents answered about their own interactions, while others spoke generally about the tendency of the advertising departments or high-level managers to exert influence in the newsroom. Although most of the journalists stated or implied that they saw such influence negatively, a few commented on positive, functional relationships that help their work.

Gary, the food and wine reporter, maintains a higher profile than many journalists. He is active on social networking sites and his photo runs with his byline. Therefore, Gary is something of a local celebrity on his beat. He talked about his relationship with the business interests of the newspaper in terms of their influence on his own work. He said,

> "They ask me sometimes to make appearances, to raise money for a big group of advertisers, and I go out and I get to sit with the bosses, and I talk about wine, and sip wine and chat with them. So they bring me in, and it's like a little celebrity to talk about wine or food, things like that. And I always do, and I do thank them, if they do advertise, I do thank them for their support. But not that it's going to sway what I do for my job. And you know, every now and then somebody will actually say to me, "Oh, well we advertise with you." And I'm like, "Well I'm very glad you do, but that's nothing to do with me whatsoever."

Gary is conscious of attempts to influence his work and also of people's perceptions that

he is swayed. He talked about being accused by one restaurant owner of favoring a competing restaurant. He pointed out to the accuser that he had never written about that restaurant. In this discussion, Gary emphasized his personal choices in his reporting and his ability to explain his processes to sources and advertisers. He did not voice concerns about any appearances of conflicts of interest.

In contrast to Gary's matter-of-fact discussion of attempts to influence his work, Mary, the features blogger, said she felt a lot of concern about what she perceived to be a growing number of attempts by her newspaper's marketing and public relations department to compel her to cover certain events or topics. When asked how much she thought business considerations find their way into editorial decisions, Mary said,

> "More than I ever thought they would. I will say that this has been really my first experience being aware of that, and maybe this [was] happening everywhere I've worked, and it happens all the time, but I didn't see it. But now I feel like I do see it a lot or what I consider to be a lot because I thought it never happened before. …But I can say that when I was doing purely print, it came up less. And when I was doing purely features and now that I'm doing this kind of entertainment blog type stuff, I get a lot of phone calls from our marketing department saying 'We're a sponsor of such-and-such event…' Just like, throwing that out there at me."

Mary explained that she sometimes included information about these events on her blog, but only if she thought it would be of interest to her readers. She expressed reservations about being asked to write about an event that the newspaper had already covered extensively, simply because they were sponsors.

Another online-focused journalist expressed the belief that the division between business and newsroom was less distinct when working more closely with the online component of the newspaper. Claire, a Web site producer, said, "When I moved over to online, I felt less of a partition between advertising and the news people online than was

true of the print folks and advertising." When probed for an example, she said,

> "Well, the things that I would point to would be, okay, our online newspaper started a 'pets' channel. And the reason they started a pets channel was because advertisers loved it. I mean, that's my guess. That's not new. That's why you have an auto section in the newspaper, because car dealers want to sell cars, so that's understandable, but nothing was too trite to put out there. We also focused, or rather a section was created called something like - Oh, what was it called? – 'Active Adults.' And this was a section that was to be a place for real estate ads and other ads that were targeted to older people. But the language of that section sounded like advertising as opposed to… just the term active adults is more like a marketing term. Some of the language just sounded like it was marketing language as opposed to newspaper style."

Claire's reservations about these sections were related to their placement and presentation online. While the content for these sections was written by people outside the newsroom, Claire seemed to believe they were content sections that too closely resembled advertising.

Newspaper event sponsorship and the division between business departments and the newsroom were also issues in a situation described by Donald, the breaking news reporter, though he seemed to waffle about how much the situation bothered him. His newspaper created a special, feature section about a newspaper-sponsored event in the community. Newsroom employees were asked or assigned to write stories for the section and marketing department employees at the newspaper were sources for the stories. Donald said,

> "I thought that it was kind of wrong that we did a huge section, a special section on it that we wouldn't normally otherwise do. And our main point, our main PR contact for that to find us other people to talk to, was a marketing person in our own building, and I just thought that was kind of weak. So, was it wrong that we did that? Yeah. But, at the same time, I'm also realistic because nobody except the sponsors gives a crap about special sections like [this]. Nobody reads it, nobody buys ads in it, and nobody cares. So I didn't really think it was that big of a deal. But, at the same time, it was off putting. I had to do stories on that and they said this guy from the marketing department is going to come up and talk to

> you about it. They didn't read the stories first or anything, but I just thought that was wrong. At the same time, if that's my biggest complaint, I don't really think that's a huge one. That's an isolated incident anyway."

Donald identified this situation as both a problem and not "that big of a deal." However, he brought this anecdote up in response to a question about whether or not he had ever seen his newspaper do something that he firmly believed to be wrong.

Unlike these journalists, who felt concern about the business side's involvement in news, one interview participant said she believed that the division between business and newsroom worked very well at her newspaper. Alice, an executive editor at a community daily, said that she had not had any experiences in which business interests became an issue or consideration in the newsroom. She said,

> "As a matter of fact, we have two major grocery chains in town, and one of them in one of their stores [inaudible on recording] the newsroom because the deli had been shut down. And the stories were pretty wild, that there had been a rat fried, all this kind of stuff. It turned out they had some sort of leak or something and the health department shut them down for a day, and we ran a brief about it. The president of the company says he won't advertise with the [newspaper] until I and the reporter are fired, and it's been a year now. He pulled his advertising. He's just now starting to do a little bit with us. But I didn't even know that until six months ago. Advertising department didn't even tell me. And we were talking about something else one time and it came up and that's how I learned about it. But the people I work with, my colleagues in the advertising department, and the publishers and those kind of people, have a really strong understanding of why we do this. And advertising is a great way to connect your business to our readers, but it doesn't have anything to do with what we report in the newspaper."

Alice's assessment of the situation is that those in the business departments are her "colleagues." They work together in the interest of the newspaper and there is no conflict between the business interests and the newsroom interests.

Not Like "Back in the Lots of Money Days"

Another theme that dominated conversations about the business of newspapers was the effect of the industry's financial difficulties on the work of journalists. The most common result of newspapers' problems was reduced staff and the interview respondents talked about sacrifices that were made. This included both personal workloads and general assessments of the newspapers' quality and coverage.

For example, Gary, the food and wine writer, said that he felt an expectation to be out at restaurants often, even when he wasn't specifically covering or reviewing them. He believed this expectation came from his readers, but he was unwilling to pay for extensive dining out from his own pocket. He said, "[It] seems to be the unwritten assumption that you'll go out there, cause you just love it so much, and you're going to buy it and you're going to eat it, and you're going to cough it up and you're going to pay for it. And my viewpoint is - I'm a professional. If you want me to go eat something, you pay for it, [newspaper name.]" Gary knew, however, that given the current economic climate, it was not an option to get his newspaper to cover more expenses.

Erica, a copyeditor, talked about the effect of downsizing on her individual work. She said, "Oh, workload has definitely increased. I think on the desk at least I would say we're doing at least twice as much, and some of us are doing three times as much as what we were doing say five years ago. As far number of pages we put out or the stuff like the web stuff in addition to the pages we put out." After this statement, she qualified her view somewhat by pointing out that she could only speak for the work in her own department, but she was firm about how much more work the copy desk was tackling in recent years.

Some of the respondents seemed to draw a "then vs. now" comparison when talking about their work since the economic downturn that began around 2007. For example, Erica qualified her opinion of newspapers' effectiveness when asked how well she believed that newspapers are serving their purpose of informing the public. She said, "I mean, I think we do a pretty good job of it. Obviously, you can't be everywhere at all times, I mean, like back in the lots-of-money days, but I think they do a good job of telling people what they need to know for the most part." In this example, Erica seems to accept the new limitations and adjust her expectations accordingly.

Frank, the photo and multimedia editor, also commented on his newspaper's reduced capacity to cover the community, but was more troubled by it and connected the tough coverage choices he and other editors had to make to values and ethics. He said,

> "I think when you have a smaller staff, what you end up with is you have to really make priority choices in ways that we didn't have to do before. So, if I had a situation where we used to have 24-25 photographers on staff here, we have eight now. So we have to decide what we're going to cover and what we don't cover, and sometimes how many people we put on it, and sometimes that is a value call… And it does get down to sometimes an ethics kind of thing. So if you have three, we have a pretty diverse community here too. So let's see. We have three festivals on Saturday, and you had one that is Puerto Rican Pride Day, and then perhaps you have one that is tied to a community center and African-American section of town, and then there's Chinese New Year. I mean, those things don't always happen in one weekend, obviously, but you do find yourself [asking yourself] which to cover because covering it gives it a certain level of importance. All of a sudden, we're ignoring somebody else, and are we going for the easiest thing right now because we haven't had time to sit down and really think about it other than going for something else. Should we cover it because it's more important or should we cover it because we're going to have more people follow it on pages?"

The dilemma Frank describes may have been one that arose before downsizing occurred, but he sees it more often when attempting to manage a smaller staff. He connects this

concern to the ethical obligation of newspapers to represent their communities fairly and feels that financial necessity has made coverage choices more difficult.

Several of the journalists lamented the lack of depth to the news and the fact that reducing resources involved cutting investigative journalism in favor of quicker stories or frequent updates. Alice, the executive editor, said,

> "I wish we had more time right now for the investigative kind of stuff. I think that has sort of been the first thing off of everybody's… we used to spend a lot of time looking for stuff, and a lot of it didn't pan out, and it was okay, because we had the resources to deal with that. These days it's all about 'what have you done for me lately,' and that's a lot of breaking news coverage and that kind of thing."

Leah commented on her husband's decision to leave the newspaper they both worked at and focus on teaching. She said, "He had been primarily an investigative reporter for many years and as our staff got smaller and smaller, they just said well we really can't have somebody who just does investigative reporting. We're going to put you on the education beat and he was kind of like,' that doesn't interest me that much.'

"It could be a lot worse"

Despite the journalists' discussions of the impact of staff reductions and dwindling resources, it was common to hear them compare their newspapers' circumstances to other organizations and suggest that they are not as bad off as others. Leah summed up this attitude when she said, "From what we understand, our particular paper locally is doing fine….So there is uneasiness with people but I think there's a level of acceptance as well because we see what's going on around the industry and that it could be a lot worse."

Often, this comparison came from journalists at smaller newspapers that are owned by corporations. These journalists looked at the larger newspapers in their company and saw more difficult situations there. Leah talked about her company's flagship newspaper in another state and said, ""Well the feeling in the news room is uncertainty although what we hear is; we're part of the [newspaper company] chain, which includes some papers that are having real trouble like the [newspaper name.] They're going through some real hard times right now. They're having union negotiations and I mean it's just getting really ugly."

The comparison between smaller newspapers was used to suggest that "it could be worse," but often these conversations included opinions about the way the corporate ownership was affecting otherwise healthy newspapers. For example, Beth, whose newspaper had not had to layoff news workers said,

> "Well, the paper that I work for is actually owned by a much larger company…. And I know that our paper is doing fine. We are operating at a profit, but we have other papers in our company that are not. And I think that the largest one is out of [city name], and it's a national paper and I think it's siphoning off of the smaller papers. I don't know how healthy it's going to be in the future. They have told us that we have a wage and hiring freeze for the last three years. Of course, they have hired people when they've absolutely needed to, but like I haven't had a raise in three years and it's really becoming difficult, because everything else is increasing, my taxes, gasoline, you name it and everything has gone up except my salary."

In conversations like this, the journalists seemed to describe a type of contagious uneasiness about the financial health of the newspaper industry. Journalists at these smaller papers felt confident about the health of their own newspapers, but expressed concern about the effect of other newspapers' troubles on them.

"We're back in the black for now"

Journalists at larger newspapers tended to talk about their newspapers' difficulties in terms of suggesting that their situations were improving or by suggesting that their newspapers were strong, just in a difficult economic period. Claire, the Web producer for a large daily, said,

> "Well, I think there was a period where the newspaper people were in a panic. I mean, people who were in charge of the newspaper in a panic because they were losing money, and had to make some changes, and I understand that. I think that the newspaper is now not losing money. It didn't lose money in November, it didn't lose money in December, and it didn't lose money in January, and which surprised them. So like some other newspapers …we're back in the black for now, so it doesn't seem quite as urgent that we make major shifts, you know, questionable shifts. It doesn't seem as urgent in our survival as a newspaper. Of course, there are still loads of changes out there in the world of the Internet, so it's still up in the air about what the financial future, but this newspaper is better off than a lot of them. "

Similarly, Gary talked about his newspaper turning a corner when he said, "Well, certainly we've had quite a bit of trimming. Staff trimming, I think people do more now. Fewer people doing more…. The paper itself is in the black, and leadership is growing. It's the corporate structure that's having problems." These discussions indicate hopefulness among the journalists or perhaps a resettling period after a few years of upheaval.

"People at the top"

In addition to references to the financial health of their newspapers' companies, the journalists in this study also talked about their opinions about the ownership and management in terms of how well high-level executives or editors understood the work of the newsroom. When posed the question of the relationship between the business

interests of the newspaper and the newsroom, Frank answered the question from the perspective of organizational relationship. He talked about his interactions when he said,

> "Well, I mean, I had more than maybe some newsroom people do, in part because since I work in the photography department and I'm a manager, we have certain things just from just equipment. I mean, I'm pretty much the only manager in the newsroom who has to write the paperwork to ask for funds for equipment, those kinds of things. So I deal more with our business-side folks, perhaps, sometimes, than other people do. And I think it's good that we have better connections to the business side sometimes now because I think we all need to understand that we are in a business, and that your work is valued against, the business word would be a customer base, but the readers, and I think that's important. I do have frank and deep concerns about especially the higher up the food chain it goes within our industry, the true understanding of our business side of what it is we do. We get a lot of lip service on what innovation should be, and all that other stuff, and it is very obvious that it's coming from somebody who isn't connected to modern media."

Frank is heavily involved in the multimedia and online efforts of his newspaper, but felt that those who were in positions of power did not have the understanding of technology necessary to support his efforts and effectively lead the newspaper in useful innovation.

In contrast to Frank's view of his newspaper's corporate ownership, Donald, who works closely with online efforts as a breaking news reporter, was confident about the future of his newspaper because the private owners of his newspaper have no corporate debt and had invested a lot of money in innovation before the economic downturn. He said,

> "We started spending millions on video and multimedia. And even though some of it is quality and some of it is not, our quantity is massive compared to any newspaper based organization anywhere. I mean, seriously. I put our quantity, and also in quality in terms of the technical skill. I'm not saying, like I'm talking about a quality in terms of like the news impact, or news value, or whatever, of all the videos, but in terms of the technical quality, and the infrastructure that we have, it's second to none."

Frank and Donald's differences in their opinions of their corporate owners are an interesting contrast; however, it is important to note that Frank's low opinion related to his perception of how well the executives in his company understood the technical innovations of digital news. Donald's high opinion primarily related to the financial health of his company and their investment in video production.

A common theme that emerged from journalists' references to management and corporate ownership was that of viewing the managers or owners as faceless, unknown decision-makers. For those at higher levels in the newspaper, these references were usually to corporate executives, while journalists at lower levels might describe the high-level editors this way, as well. These references included a mix of positive and negative views.

As the executive editor of a small newspaper, Alice talked about the benefits of being part of a larger company, but the limited interaction she had with it when she said,

> "I've never had any contact with anybody about anything, other than having resources available to me, such as the lawyer, that I could request help from…. I think it's good to have… you have more communication with the editors in your -- unlike a lot of businesses where there are three or four of you in town that do the same thing, and you maybe don't compete just directly, so you can kind of chat about your business, that kind of thing, there's probably only one newspaper and editor in a town anymore, and it's helpful to have colleagues that you can reach out and talk with about stuff."

Alice spoke from the perspective of a manager of a small newspaper and someone who has worked in newspapers for many years. As such, she likely feels more autonomy than other journalists in this study.

Mary, the features blogger, and Donald, the breaking news reporter, are both under age 30 and work in positions with no management responsibilities. In contrast to

Alice's references to corporate ownership, Mary and Donald's comments about those who are in positions of power reflect a lack of control that they have over many decisions at their newspapers. Their references to management included comments that grouped the decision-makers together and separated them from the lower-level workers. For example, when criticizing his newspaper for removing a story from the Web site about a prominent businessman, Donald referred to managers at his newspaper as "the glass offices, we call it, you know, the people with offices."

Similarly, Mary told a story about creating a title image for her blog that included her photo. There was some discussion about the fact that she had an eyebrow ring and she was asked to remove it. When she refused, she said, "It was somebody along the chain of command came down and asked if we could Photoshop it out." Throughout the conversation about this incident, Mary was never able to identify who exactly objected to the piercing, but twice referred to "somebody along the chain."

The references to managers as a type of "other" occurred in several types of conversations. When discussing the increasing number of errors and lack of thoroughness in reporting breaking news, Erica was asked if she believed the "incompleteness" was a conscious decision to stop pursuing a story. She said,

> "I don't think they're conscious on an everyday level, but I think they're conscious when the system is set up, and they decide that certain things are important, and certain things aren't, and they decide that breaking news is what's important, and so the follow up is what's going to have to suffer. So I don't think necessarily that the people on the ground floor are necessarily, but I think that the people at the top, the management is, they're smart people; they've been doing this a long time. And I think they must know what the choices that they're making to a certain extent at least. So, I mean, I think it's more of a systemic issue than an everyday, playing it out sort of thing."

Erica's final comment in that quote might identify the root of the younger journalists' tendency to identify managers as "people at the top" or those in the "glass offices." As workers at the bottom of the organizational hierarchy, these journalists feel a lack of control with regards to these "systemic issues" and identify those at upper levels of the hierarchy as the ones who set up the system.

The Future of the Business

Interview participants were asked about their views on the future of the newspaper industry. This question led to discussions their perceptions of the business models or organizational changes that might emerge in coming years. Often, these discussions incorporated critiques of recent decisions and debates within the industry.

Almost all of the journalists in this study implied, and two explicitly stated, that they no longer made much distinction between the print and online aspects of their organizations. For example, Frank, said, "If someone comes in and says 'You work for the print or you work for the web site?' It's like, 'I work for the news org.' I mean, I don't think between the two." Alice mirrored that sentiment when she said,

> "I don't think 'newspapers' is the word I describe my profession with anymore. So if I've said anything there about newspapers, I was hopefully meaning the profession. Because, do I think everybody's going to deliver ink on paper in a rainy climate for the rest of our lives? No. If I was building a way to deliver information right now I would not put it out on the doorsteps first thing in the morning."

Only one journalist said that her newspaper does very little with their digital platform. Beth, the courts reporter for a small daily, said that her newspaper posts the same content online that they print in the newspaper and rarely breaks news online during the day.

The journalists mostly expressed optimism about the future of journalism, but also voiced uncertainty about how long the printed newspaper would continue and the ways in which newspaper organizations might make their online presence profitable. For example, Alice said, "I'm very upbeat about the future of journalism. I think we have a new platform. We have the potential for a new audience. We're expanding our audience…. We still need to figure out the business model to make it pay. But overall, people haven't stopped wanting to hear stories." Frank was also not concerned about the demise of journalism. He said,

> "I don't think journalism is dying right now. Truthfully, it's a phrase I heard my entire career. And I've been in meetings where they talk about, well, 'we don't get young readers. They're never going to read the newspaper.' And I heard that exact meeting when I first came into the business when I was the young reader, and I've heard it within the last year when I'm the middle-aged reader that's supposedly reading the newspaper, and that the young people will never read the newspaper, and it's like, well, 'Aren't the middle-aged people who are reading the newspaper today the young readers who, 20 years ago, would never read the newspaper?'"

Having the perspective of several decades in newspapers, Alice and Frank see the recent changes as significant, but not devastating to the industry.

Other interview respondents were more concerned about the future of the industry. Erica, who has been a full time journalist for about 10 years, said,

> "Working on newspapers is already a lot different than it used to be and I think it's going to be more so. I don't really know exactly how everyone is going to handle the fact that, I mean, I don't think we'll ever have the money and resources that newspapers did at one time to hire enough reporters to do what they want to do and I'm not sure exactly how everyone is going to respond to that. I think we'll be better off. I think we'll figure out a little bit more how to make money with what we're doing online. Better advertisers might be more willing to give us money once they figure out that they can better target people or whatever. But I think we'll always be doing more with less and I think a lot of it will be online. "

Similarly, Mary expressed doubt that print will continue, though she believed it is viable for now. She said "…just as a business concern I don't expect print to be the default anymore. I think that at this point print is still, for many operations, the cash cow. And as soon as that starts to fade away, I expect that to go away. "

Mary said that she believed now is a good time to be experimenting, but that many of the experiments with online or digital news would prove to be "not sustainable." Frank also discussed the future of newspaper organizations as slowly moving away from the print product and using new platforms, as they do now, but he emphasized the need to focus on content more than devices. He said,

> "Well what I think that the reality is going to be is that a community will have a professional news and information organization of some kind. And those reporting resources then will be distributed however it's going to get the people, whether there's an ink-on-paper version of it, whether it's through the iPod, or your phone, or your TV…. So I do think ink on paper is going to be an option for a long, long time, but I think if you're focusing on the delivery platform rather than what you're delivering, then you're sort of missing the point of what's going on."

Predictions about when print would die or fade significantly from the news organizations' business models were vague. None of the journalists gave specifics about how long they believed print would remain a significant news product.

Two of the journalists in this study addressed the issue of charging for news online. Beth said,

> "I think we should stop giving away our content on the web. I think people should have to pay for it in some way and I know people are like, 'oh they won't pay for it.' Well they will if that's your only source of local news or your only good source of local news and I think it could become just a little where you'd sign up and everyday you click in there and maybe it costs a quarter and you get a bill at the end of the year kind of thing or every month or some kind of thing."

Frank voiced a similar opinion, but with more attention to the difficulty of charging users for that which they are accustomed to receiving for free. He said,

> "There's a fairly well known model talking about the concept of a fan base, and so you're an individual, and you make something; it's photography, it's writing, it's whatever it is. And rather than trying to get a million pages views… you just want a thousand fans, and this model defines a fan as somebody who is so into your stuff that they will spend money on it, and each one of these people spend $100 a year on your stuff, whether it's your books, or your tee shirts, or your albums, or whatever it is. So if you get 1,000 people, and they spend a $100, that's $100,000 a year, and I could do okay on that. Most people could. And you've got a business model for one person. But you're also giving away some stuff free which, as an industry, we haven't figured out where we're comfortable with on that. We're wanting to shut down the web site, and make people pay for everything on the web site, and people aren't going to do it. But I do think that there's a level where they will pay, and we've got to figure out what it is that the true fans of what we do will pay for, and we're not even really looking at those kinds of business models right now."

Both Beth and Frank seemed frustrated by the lack of solutions to the problem of finding a sustainable business model for digital news, but they indicated two levels of thought regarding the problem.

"Accurate as of the Time Stamp"

Conversations about the ethical implications newer media ranged over many topics. The most dominant theme that emerged was that of accuracy, quality, timeliness, and thoroughness in news online. Most of the journalists spoke extensively about the fact that errors that would not be tolerated in print often make their way into stories online. Several interview respondents, however, reasoned that these errors are manageable or not egregious mistakes because of the nature of breaking news online, the expectations of the audience, and even the fact that the process is similar to that of the print product, just in an accelerated fashion. Claire, who works as a Web site producer, talked about the

implementation of a new system at her organization in which breaking stories were often posted directly to the Web site by reporters, without editorial oversight. She said,

> "Now not all of them and that's not true of the print paper, but that's true of certain stories online; the stories that are considered breaking and we need to get out there fast. And then sometimes they will get a read after they're published, but sometimes they won't…. A lot of it is problems just with language, you know, copy editing issues. Sometimes it's like sloppiness; time elements left out, just stuff like that. And sometimes it's the significance of the story is odd. It hasn't been sort of digested in order to understand what lead really makes sense for that story, in my opinion."

Sam, the editorial page editor, said that such mistakes in online publishing were difficult for him to get used to after several decades of working in print journalism:

> "We would never let a story go without being seen by, you know, five editors. So, but nowadays, of course, reporters are encouraged to post things and breaking news to the web with typos that make me cringe and the stylistic things, and sometimes we have to pull a story back that we've been so eager to get out there that we never… it would've been edited to within an inch of its life in the whole rest of the history of my time in newspapers and now at least that first version isn't. But so it - that's completely different, but we have to keep up with the times and we are."

What Sam describes as the need to "keep up with the times," may be the process of adapting to the immediacy of a 24-hour news cycle in an industry that previously had one publication deadline per day.

The journalists in this study had two primary ways of describing their views about the errors online that indicate ways in which they were adapting to this breaking news cycle. First, the journalists described factual errors as not inaccuracies in the reports, but bad information from sources gathered when stories are developing and still uncertain. For example, Alice said,

> "I think the timing of the Internet makes us more vulnerable, and we've had to learn to be a little bit more forthcoming about the process…you know, it's like sausage, you don't want to see it made. We'll come back on a story, and if it's

> breaking news, we'll report what we know, but we'll come back and change it. And then we get story comment crap about, 'Well, it used to be this. Why'd you change it? Were you wrong?' No, we weren't wrong. Just nobody knew what was happening yet. The first police call goes out with shots fired. Well, it turned out the guy got stabbed. Well, we weren't being wrong. It was just that the scanner chatter said, 'Shots fired.'

Similarly, Donald said, "…it just depends on what an error is. I mean, that's like a Clintonian kind of a quote there, but when the police tell you somebody is 15, and then later you find they're 16, you reported an error, but it wasn't a mistake that you made. I think that the number of mistakes that are made, just like human error on the reporting side, I think that it might be up slightly because you're putting things out there more quickly."

Journalists find that the constant updating of information may lead to more errors, but it is also the process that allows for quick correction of those errors. Leah said, "The great thing about the web though is if you put out something that's inaccurate, you can correct it within a minute or thirty seconds. So that's the good thing is that that thing, that misinformation you might have put out briefly can quickly be erased at least from your site." She continued, "When something first happens there's a lot of confusion surrounding it and you try to wade through the details the best you can and we do."

Mary explained the process of updating and correcting information on her blog and said that she tries to communicate that process to her readers. She said,

> "I mean, the understanding on my blog is completely that is this is what is true at the moment. I feel like I'm never putting down the definitive word because two seconds from now it could be different. And every so often I'll get someone on the blog saying…, 'Oh, I can't believe that you printed that. Here's the information.' And usually it's something that was new within the last two hours and I've been working on a different post. And so, we have to have the discussion again, which I tend to bring up frequently as a safety device in a lot of ways --

> information is accurate as to the time stamp that is on the post. Beyond that, I can take no responsibility."

This approach to updating and correcting information while conveying to the audience that information is developing is one way that the journalists argue that posting inaccurate or mistaken information is not unethical, but an unavoidable byproduct of the technology.

The second way that the journalists talked about the tendency to make more errors when posting news online was to compare it to print practices and find similarities. A common suggestion was that the error rate was not necessarily higher, but that errors made their way to the audience more frequently. For example, Donald argued,

> "It just kind of depends on how you look at it. [I]f you had a name spelling at 9 a.m. 15 years ago, that if you found out it was different at 6 p.m., it was never published incorrectly. But if you got the error wrong, if you got it wrong on your own end when you published it, obviously that can still happen, and I think that still happens at kind of the same rate that it used to."

Donald's view is that the increase in published errors is not due to sloppiness or failure to verify information, but rather a situation in which errors that always occurred now get through to the audience more often.

Mary had an element of this type of reasoning in her discussion of errors posted online. She said that the immediacy of online news removes the distance that people have between the time the journalist gathered the information and the time they read the information. She said,

> "Because I know the inner workings of a newspaper, I know that that information was true up to a point. I know that that was what was true at 1:00 a.m. when they printed that paper. Most people don't even think about that though, so it kind of removes that distance of people not having to think about whether that is something that is going to be true for a while or if it's something that was only true up to 7:28 p.m. when that post was published."

In this way, Mary is arguing that newspapers have always published information that "was true up to a point," but that the difference now is found in the perception by the audience of how new and solid that information may be.

Erica connected what she called "incompleteness" to both the immediacy of online news and the reduction of the newsroom staff. She too suggested that this was just a continuation of an old problem that newspapers have always had when journalists had to decide how much follow-up was necessary or reasonable for each story. She said,

> "There's also always been that problem where, how much do you follow up on things? You say someone was arrested and then do you see if they were convicted, that sort of thing? And even more of that follow up, I think, has fallen by the wayside as we feel that the fact that we don't have enough people or enough money to do what we want to do. So those are the main things I see, not so much a big ethical thing, but a lot of little pieces that come together."

By connecting the newer trend of posting more inaccurate information or unedited stories on their newspapers' Web sites to the older practices associated with print journalism, the journalists in this study were able to talk about problems that concerned them in a way that made those problems less severe or removed them from the realm of ethical dilemmas.

One respondent, in particular, however, did not explain this practice in such a way. Claire said, "It's the idea of the editor, and the folks around her that this is the way the web is, and it's okay. To me, we are still a news organization, and accuracy, and fairness, and news judgment is still, in my opinion, a very important thing." As a Web site producer, Claire is heavily involved in the online news cycle, but resists the idea that mistakes and inaccuracies are a necessary part of working with digital tools for publishing news.

"Clicks Are Everything"

In addition to concerns about accuracy in breaking news online, some of the interview respondents echoed the concerns of those who wrote in the survey about the use of Web traffic to inform editorial decisions. Claire, the Web site producer, and Donald, a breaking news reporter, in particular expressed negative opinions about some of the stories that their newspapers chose to cover or place on their Web sites. They thought that this practice led to sensationalism and a portrayal of the world that is more crime-ridden than it is in reality. Claire said this about her newspaper: "I'd like them to respect their readers a little bit more because they equate clicks with what readers want. Clicks are everything for us, so we'll put out all kinds of sensational stuff and I think we should think twice about that."

The issue of posting what she believed to be sensational stories was very significant to Claire and she revisited the topic several times in the course of the interview. She talked about noticing that "…out of our ten news headlines above the scroll, five of them are about death in some gruesome manner." Claire acknowledged that posting fewer sensational stories might decrease Web traffic and said, "I mean, you might suffer some. You won't put up a flesh-eating lizard story. That was one of the stories that was on my mind. But the traffic might be a little less, but you're still going to have your credibility, too, and I think we lose that with the kind of stories we put up."

In the same vein, Donald talked about covering a news story that he believed to be less newsworthy than the attention it received. He said that he

> "…wrote a story just to generate page views today about a woman who was attacked, and not seriously hurt by a couple of kids, and one of the kids got it on video. That's one of those stories where people are like - it wasn't even like a big

> attack either. It was just a guy that punched her, but it was a huge page view story, and it's one of those stories that people are like, 'oh gosh, society is horrible. Oh, look. It's deteriorating.' But violent crime is down and it's been down for a long time but… anyway, people read those stories."

As was common in the interview with Donald, he tempered his criticism of this type of story with a view that journalism is a business and said that he understood why he was called on to write the story.

Audience Interaction

In the course of the journalists' interviews, issues related to audience interaction using digital technologies often came up or were asked about. This was not a topic that journalists seemed to feel particularly strong about and most of their comments were matter-of-fact. A few people identified problems and concerns related to user comments posted on stories or the pitfalls of using social networking sites, but others were positive about the opportunities for increased interaction with the audience. For example, Gary said,

> "I think being able to be on Twitter and Facebook and all these different things gets you more direct contact with folks than before. I mean you might get an occasional - we do get comments up on the stories online, and… people tend to send comments if they want to get really abusive, or I think some of them may be having some issues, mentally… But with Facebook and Twitter you can do much more of a dialogue."

While Gary saw Facebook and Twitter as beneficial to his work, Alice talked about those social networking sites as a way that reporters often find themselves exposing too much information to the public:

> "I think the Internet has created a few things, mostly things for journalists to be wary of. We had a young reporter who was a very early blogger. I mean, and we're just talking about Facebook blogging here. And in his mind he was just talking to his friends. And he said something on his blog about how, 'Yeah, I

> really got the mayor today.' In a newsroom you'll talk about a get. You caught somebody lying, whatever. 'Yeah, I got him on that today. I've been trying to get him on the record for months. I finally got him.' Well, the mayor and the mayor's campaign people saw that online, came back and said, 'See, obvious bias against us. He got us.' So we've had to be even more careful online."

While Gary saw social networking as a way to connect with his readers, Alice focused on experiences that set the newspaper up for criticism and believed that reports needed to be careful about disclosing information that could be used against them.

Alice and Gary did agree about the tone of comments posted on stories online. Alice found many comments to be racist and offensive, and said, "They're vile and mean and vulgar. But there's really no way to require people to be truthful. If you can make a Google account you can have an email that you can make up a name." Alice used the same technique for explaining the offensive comments as the journalists who explained inaccuracies in breaking news online: She connected it to offline practices and argued that this type of discourse has always existed. She said, "And, in truth, the nasty things people say on the board are the same nasty things they say at the coffee shop. There was racism in this community before we put the boards up. I have to hope that by exposing it people who maybe didn't hear it and thought it was over with will know it's out there."

Citizen Journalism

Much like issues of audience interaction, most of the journalists did not feel strongly about ethical implications of citizen journalism or audience participation in collecting and reporting information, however, they identified some concerns and voiced opinions about it when asked. Erica said,

> "I think it's really unfortunate that we aren't able to really vet some of this stuff as far as, you know, someone sends us a thing that their kid got Eagle Scout, well,

> we just run it. No one checks. I mean, not that that's going to change the world if the kid didn't actually get Eagle Scout or that anyone would bother telling us they did if they didn't but… I can imagine that if we started publishing more stuff from people that we didn't check, which we very well could, because we certainly aren't going to have the resources to check it all if we start running more. But that would be a concern."

Frank talked about user-submitted photos and some caution he felt about making sure the photos were not staged. He said,

> "But we do run into, you know, we get a lot more possibility for user generated content that the… when you have people who maybe haven't been taught. For instance, I know we still adhere to our approaches in terms of how our photographers influence a situation. We don't fabricate and create situations for photography for the newspaper."

These potential problems were mentioned by the journalists, but none identified any instances in which they believed such content actually caused ethical issues in their newsrooms.

Just as journalists in this study had done with regards to other digital media issues, Frank connected the practice of user-submitted content to a standard newspaper reporting practice. He compared it to simply taking quotes from eye witnesses when he said,

> "Most of the time it's a one-hit kind of thing, and it's not like they're taking away advertising from us, or any of those other kinds of things, and we still end up being a curator of information, and if the information is from the user, it's like it's often a visual version of getting quotes from the eyewitness. So we've done this for decades of walking up to somebody and saying, 'What did you see? Well I saw the wave come in.' And now it's like, 'Well, I've got a picture too.' It's like, 'Oh great! We've got a picture too.' So it's just an expansion of, in essence, reporting technique that we used for centuries."

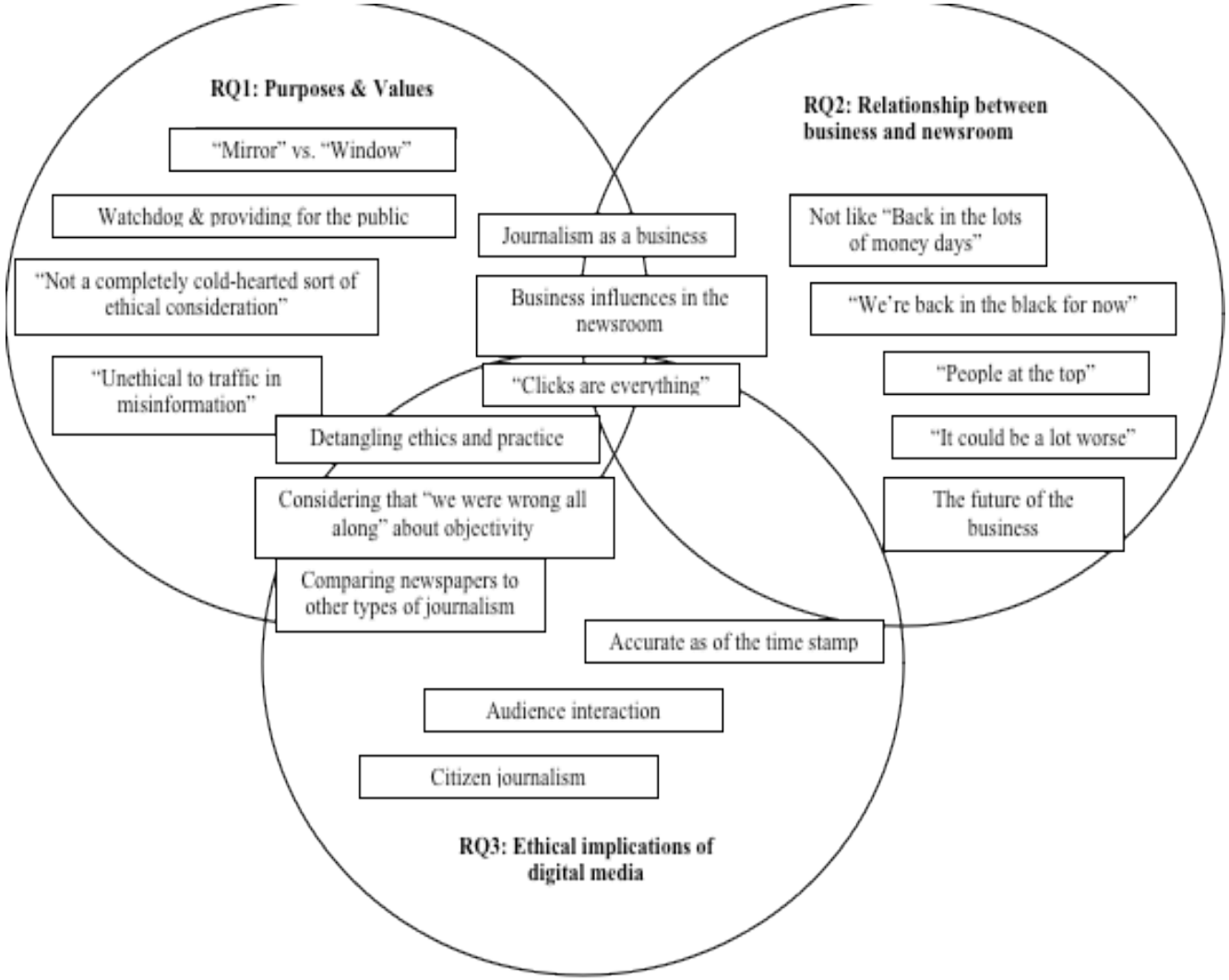
In general, the journalists in this study did not see citizen journalism or user-contributed content as a serious point of ethical concern.

Research Questions: Putting Themes Together

The previous section detailed 18 separate themes that emerged from the interview data. Each of the themes provides information that addresses one or more of the three research questions. Figure 5 illustrates the connections between themes and the questions and this section discusses those connections.

The first research question for this study asked, "How do journalists' ethical norms and values relate to their perceptions of their profession's role in society?" This question asked about the journalists' ideals with regard to the purposes and ethics of their profession; how the journalists believed that journalism *should* function. The second research question for this study asked, "How do newspaper journalists perceive the relationship between the journalism function of the newsroom and the business goals of their organizations and the broader newspaper industry?" The third research question for this study asked, "What do newspaper journalists perceive to be the ethical implications of the adoption of digital media for gathering and producing news?" While RQ1 addressed journalists' ideals about the purposes and ethics of journalism, RQ2 and RQ3 address journalists' perceptions and feelings about the current realities of their work and organizations.

Figure 5: Relationship of themes to research questions



Four of the themes related exclusively to RQ1:

- *Watchdog and providing for the public*, in which journalists described their duties to inform the public,
- *Mirror vs. window*, in which two journalists used metaphors to explain the ways journalism provides a view of a community,
- *Unethical to traffic in misinformation,* in which the respondents described the ways in which they believed journalists are obligated to conduct themselves and present information in order to provide truthful accounts, and
- *Not a completely cold-hearted sort of ethical consideration,* in which two journalists deviated from the rest of the group by discussing an ethical obligation to the subjects of the stories they cover.

The journalists primarily viewed the purpose of journalism as one of public service and informing the people with truthful accounts. They believed that to properly serve the public, they had an ethical obligation to be independent of those they cover and resist any type of bias or favoritism.

The basic purpose of informing the public and the primary ethical duties to truth and fairness were described in ways that ranged from one person's example of accurate bar charts to another journalist's description of deciding which are the "legitimate" viewpoints and which are not. This range of descriptions illustrated that, while the words "inform," "truth," "accurate," and "fair" may be universally acknowledged by these professionals to be part of the journalistic ethos, each journalist talked about their purpose

and ethics in terms of their individual job and newspaper. Therefore, they attach different meanings to these words.

Two themes related to both RQ1 and R2: j*ournalism as a business* and *business interests in the newsroom.* These two themes are closely related, but differ because *journalism as a business* relates to respondents' ideas about the purpose of journalism and *business interests in the newsroom* relates to their views about their ethical values. In the first theme, journalists acknowledge that one of the functions of journalism in society is to make money for a company. This acknowledgment, though simple, deviated from most of the interview respondents who focused exclusively on the non-business functions of the newspaper when describing the purposes of journalism. This exception is interesting because it illustrates the lack of thought or consideration that the rest of the journalists give to the business side of the industry. The second theme, *business interests in the newsroom*, describes a collection of concerns that the journalists' feel when they believe that the business side is influencing the news products or the reporting and editing process. These concerns illustrate a firm belief among these journalists that the business side of a newspaper and the newsroom should remain clearly divided.

Five themes related primarily to RQ2:

- *The future of the business*, in which journalists expressed both optimism and concern about the future of the newspaper industry,
- "*People at the top,*" which described the ways in which the journalists viewed the owners and managers of their newspapers,

- *"Not like back in the lots of money days,"* in which journalists lamented the difficulties of reduced resources and shrinking staffs,
- *"It could be a lot worse,"* and *"We're back in the black for now,"* which were two ways in which journalists' reconciled the economic difficulties of the newspaper industry with their need to keep working and believing in that industry.

These themes provided more information about the ways these journalists think about the business operations of their newspapers. In short, they are critical of the owners and managers, particularly when they are able to distance themselves from the "people at the top." They have also felt the brunt of downsizing and reduced resources in the newsroom, but tend to rally themselves to believe that the industry will remain viable and recover in the future.

Three themes related primarily to RQ3: "*Accurate as of the time stamp*," *audience interaction,* and *citizen journalism*. These themes all describe particular areas of ethical concern with regard to newspaper journalists' use of newer media. Of these three, only the first topic was repeatedly mentioned by the journalists without being specifically asked about it. This theme related to issues of accuracy and speed in publishing online. The journalists were troubled by the number of mistakes that ended up in hastily reported news updates, but also found ways to think and talk about this problem that seemed to mitigate its severity.

Three themes related to both RQ1 and RQ3 by addressing the journalists' views about general ethical values of journalism and some of the technological changes that have occurred in recent years. The three themes were:

- *Detangling ethics and practice,* in which respondents talked about what rules of journalistic practice are actually ethical concerns,
- *Considering that "we were wrong all along" about objectivity*, in which respondents discussed changes that led them to question part of the ethical norms of their profession or work outside of those norms, and
- *Comparing newspapers to other types of journalism*, in which respondents further defined what they believed to be the correct and ethical way to present information by drawing distinctions between newspaper-style and newer media.

In these themes, the journalists gave information about purposes of journalism and ethical values indirectly when they talked about the challenges that newer media brought about. Those challenges included the need to define ethical norms for a new the digital era, to reconsider some of what they had assumed about their professional ethics, and to set their medium apart by comparing it to blogs and television.

Finally, one theme related to all three research questions. *"Clicks are everything"* described the concerns of two journalists about the use of Web site traffic statistics to influence editorial judgment. These concerns incorporated the belief that, because site traffic is connected to advertising, the influence of these statistics on editorial decision-making brought the business side of the newspaper closer to the newsroom. This theme also related to the question of the purpose of journalism because the two journalists'

expressed beliefs that seemed to suggest that they did not feel they were upholding the true purpose of journalism to inform the public of important information. Instead, the journalists were compelled to post or cover more sensational news that had less importance to society.

This chapter described the findings of the qualitative interviews conducted with 11 newspaper journalists. The results included 18 themes that related to the three research questions for this study. These results will be discussed in conjunction with the results of the Web survey in the next and final chapter.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The three research questions for this study are parts of a single, larger inquiry: What do journalists currently believe the purpose and ethics of journalism *should* be and how do they see those purposes and ethics in the *reality* of their work since recent business and technological changes that have taken place? Therefore, RQ1 asked about their ideals, and RQ2 and RQ3 asked about the challenges and issues that may get in the way of achieving their ideals. To synthesize the results of this study and address the theoretical and professional implications of the findings, this chapter begins with a summary and discussion of the information gathered, organized by each research question. The second section discusses the meaning of these results as they relate to the model proposed at the end of chapter 2 and the theories that informed that model. Finally, this chapter includes recommendations for professional practice and suggestions for future research in this area, with acknowledgement of some of the limitations of this research.

Synthesizing the Findings - Research Question 1: Purpose and Values

The first research question for this study asked, "How do journalists' ethical norms and values relate to their perceptions of their profession's role in society?" Results from the closed-ended questions on the Web survey indicated that the journalists in this

study most value their profession's role in investigating government practices and statements, providing analysis of complex events, and helping voters to make informed choices. The values that were most important to these journalists were accuracy, thoroughness, balance, independence, and veracity. The least-important values were advocacy, decency, sufficiency, dignity, and loyalty.

Results from the open-ended questions on the Web survey indicated that journalists primarily view the purposes of journalism as those of a profession that serves the public. These purposes included helping people make sense of the information they receive and providing truthful accounts and stories. The journalists also saw the purpose of journalism as educating the public and providing information that helps people make decisions. Most importantly, however, the journalists valued their role as watchdogs over the government. In addition to these functions, some journalists acknowledge the business interests of the newspaper industry and journalism's ability to entertain. Others viewed journalism as more analogous to a mission in which journalists' duties are to serve justice and be a "voice of the voiceless." The results of this part of the survey were in line with the results of the closed-ended questions about the functions of journalism. They illustrated, however, the multi-layered nature of journalism's purpose and showed that journalists at newspaper organizations value their social responsibility to serve the public above other purposes. Journalists viewed their obligation to report useful information truthfully as more important than supporting the business of the newspaper or providing entertainment.

Analysis of the interviews with 11 of the surveyed journalists did not result in any themes that were out of line with the survey results with regard to beliefs about the

purposes of journalism, but provided very useful, interesting and nuanced information about the ways journalists consider the purposes of journalism in society. All of the interview participants believed that their primary purpose is to inform the public, but they each talked about this purpose in a slightly different way. Many talked about the role of journalism in serving as a watchdog of the government or others in power, but Beth, the courts reporter in a small community, was the only journalist interviewed who worked on a beat that exclusively fit this role. Others dealt with issues that might include reporting or commenting on the government, such as Sam, the editorial page writer, or Leah, the general assignment reporter, but most of the journalists in this group were slightly removed from that function of their organizations or only involved in it as one part of their jobs. Therefore, the more-prevalent theme from the interviews was that of serving the public by providing information that helps people in their daily lives. This theme ranged from information about recipes and wine to local events, such as the circus, to stories about local crime.

With regard to the ethical values of journalism, the ethical dilemmas described in the open-ended question on the Web survey most often related to four particular values. The primary value was independence. The most-common ethical dilemmas described involved situations in which journalists believed someone was trying to influence their reporting or in which there was an appearance of a conflict of interest. Closely related to the independence value is that of autonomy, although journalists ranked this value among the middle of the list on the closed-ended questions. One set of dilemmas invoked the value of autonomy and included instances in which organizational pressures prevented the journalists from doing what they believed to be right or were cases in which

journalists witnessed other peoples' unethical acts. In these situations, the journalists were conflicted about their roles as employees and their need to be able to make their own judgments about right and wrong and to have control over their own work.

Despite ranking loyalty among the least-important values for journalists, the survey respondents often described situations in which loyalty to sources was a factor. Issues included promises made to sources or feelings of sympathy toward sources or friends and family members who ended up in the news. It is likely that journalists saw "loyalty" on the closed-ended questions and made an automatic judgment that loyalty stands in opposition to independence and is, therefore, a threat to their more-important value. Also, in many of the ethical dilemmas described, the journalists saw loyalty not as a value, but a temptation. They were tempted to favor sources to whom they felt a sense of loyalty and struggled to remain impartial. In other situations, however, loyalty was a value that was placed above truth. For example, when honoring agreements about off-the-record or confidential information, journalists chose loyalty to their sources in order to maintain a mutually beneficial relationship.

The last group of dilemmas described in response to the open-ended survey question involved decisions about which stories to cover and how to cover them. These situations related to service because they involved journalists' ideas about providing information that was vital or useful to the public. Again, this value was not among the most highly ranked in the closed-ended questions. At the core of these and most of the other ethical dilemmas were journalists' beliefs that their jobs are to provide factual, unbiased information to the public and to act as a watchdog of those in power.

The interviews supported the findings about ethical values from the qualitative portion of the Web survey. The 11 journalists believed that their first duty is to the truth and that providing truthful information to the public requires independence, fairness, and neutrality. When pressed for details, however, the journalists often revealed conflicts or beliefs about secondary obligations. Despite the fact that the journalists who took the survey ranked values like loyalty and dignity far below those of veracity and accuracy, Erica and Sam both articulated the need to treat the subjects of stories with respect and concern. While asserting that fairness and independence are paramount, Beth also discussed the prerogative of the reporter to make judgments about which viewpoints are valid and which sources have legitimate voices. Although this judgment does not move completely into the realm of advocacy, it does illustrate the fact that the ideas of balance and neutrality, which are core values in the objectivity norm, are not always interpreted as absolute.

When considering the results of this study in terms of various segments of journalists, including the statistical correlations between journalists' responses, interesting insights into possible trends emerge. Older journalists in the survey tended to rate the functions "Providing opportunities for citizens to express their views," "Providing entertainment and relaxation," "Providing interpretation of current events," and "Influencing public opinion" as more important than their younger counterparts, but rated "Being an uninvolved observer of events" as less important than those who were younger. Older journalists tended to rate neutrality as less important than their younger counterparts. These findings could indicate that older journalists in this study are less strict in their beliefs about presenting hard news in an unbiased way and are more

accepting of interpretation and discourse with the audience. Certainly, Sam's suggestion that, perhaps journalists were wrong "to imagine that we could be as objective as we either pretended to be or were," supports that possibility, as he was one of the older journalists who was interviewed. Alice's assertion that the rules about accepting free gifts from sources have gotten stricter over the years also sheds light on this topic. She said that she believed younger journalists are more ethical because they have not been influenced by the era in which freebies were more common. It is possible that younger journalists who entered the profession when ethical standards about independence and objectivity were already solidified take a stricter view of neutrality and balance or are more accepting of stricter rules. Older journalists may have started at newspapers at a time when those standards were present, but not yet universal or as strict.

Another possible explanation for the differences between older and younger journalists' views could be experience and naiveté. The younger a journalist is, the more likely he or she could hold fast to the ideals of journalistic standards, while older journalists who have faced more challenges in their careers might find a greater need for a broader interpretation of those standards. Interviews with Mary, the features blogger, and Donald, the breaking news reporter, who were the two youngest journalists interviewed, support this possibility. Throughout his interview, Donald attempted to reconcile what he called "ivory-tower journalism" and the reality of his job. He saw influences from the business interests of his newspaper organization on editorial decisions and found those influences to conflict with what he had learned in journalism school. His ideals were frequently challenged by the realities of daily journalism. Mary described similar influences from the business side of her organization and said that the

first time she encountered it, she was shocked. At first, she suggested that encroachment by the business side was increasing in recent years, but then speculated that, perhaps, it had always existed and she had been unaware of it. If the naiveté vs. experience proposition is correct, these journalists might have been going through the challenges that older journalists had already seen that led them to loosen strict views about the purpose and ethics of journalism. That is not to suggest that older journalists are less ethical, but rather that they may see objectivity as allowing for more interaction with the audience and for more interpretation in reporting, while younger journalists may believe in a "just the facts" style that holds fast to the ideals of objectivity.

Newspaper size also was a relevant factor in journalists' attitudes about the purposes and ethics of journalism. Journalists at smaller newspapers rated "Building a sense of community," "Providing opportunities for citizens to express their views," and "Reporting information without making judgments" as more important and rated "Influencing public opinion" and "Investigating practices of businesses and corporations" as less important. The larger the newspaper a journalist worked for, the more likely the journalist was to find the values transparency and independence slightly more important. Journalists at smaller newspapers valued balance, community, autonomy, and loyalty more than those at larger papers. These results were consistent with previous research into the differences between ethical values among staff at large and small newspapers (Reader, 2006). Journalists at smaller, community newspapers considered their connection to the community when making decisions, while those at larger newspapers more often considered their newspapers' professional reputations of independence from the communities they cover.

Community journalists' tendency to consider their communities when making decisions provided an explanation about why the journalists in this study valued judgment-free reporting more than their counterparts at metropolitan newspapers. In short, these journalists face the people they cover and their readers in their personal lives. Having to defend themselves against charges of bias or other unethical choices would be more difficult when the journalists know their accuser. Journalists at larger newspapers could keep the audience at a greater distance. This explanation is supported by anecdotes from this study's interviews. For example, Sam talked about covering a story about a local politician whom he frequently met when out jogging in his community. He expressed the feeling that those meetings were awkward, but he was confident the story had been handled fairly. Similarly, Beth described how difficult it was when people she knew in the community were arrested and they called begging her to keep their names out of the news. While journalists at smaller newspaper valued building a sense of community, they may also use objectivity as a defense against appeals for favoritism or sympathy.

With regards to job role, the most differences in the attitudes of journalists were found between editors and reporters. High-level editors tended to rate "reflecting the cultural make-up of the community," "providing information to help citizens make choices in elections," and "fostering public debate" as more important than those in other groups. Reporters were more inclined to find "being an uninvolved observer of events" important, but also valued "motivating citizens to enact social change." These two groups also diverged on the community and decency values. The editors rated these values as more important than those in the other job categories and reporters rated them

as less important than non-reporters. Additionally, reporters rated engagement, advocacy, and responsibility as less important than those in the other job role categories.

Plaisance (2002) found some differences between reporters and editors ideas about job roles and values using similar measurements, including a significant difference about the function of providing information to help citizens make decisions. The results of this study, however, seem to indicate that high-level editors were more in-tune with the concerns and needs of the audience and community, while reporters were more detached. Several explanations could be proposed, including the possibility that high-level editors oversee more of the operations of the newsroom and are aware of the effect of news coverage on the community, while reporters usually are focused on a particular beat or topic area and in contact with sources more often than the audience. Or, there may simply have been skewed data in the survey that could account for these differences. More research is needed to address these differences and discover whether or not these differences are truly significant. No information readily emerged from the interviews that could clearly account for the divergence.

Synthesizing the Findings - Research Question 2: The Business of Journalism

The second research question for this study asked, "How do newspaper journalists perceive the relationship between the journalism function of the newsroom and the business goals of their organizations and the broader newspaper industry?" Two sections of closed-ended questions on the Web survey asked about journalists' opinions of the newspaper industry and their own newspaper organizations. Together with a closed-ended question and interview information, these data helped paint a picture of journalists'

views of their business and the ways their relationship with it may have changed in recent years.

The survey respondents agreed most strongly with the statements “economic difficulties have led to lower quality newspapers,” “there should be minimal interaction between the newsroom and the business operations of the newspapers,” and “newspapers should charge users for online content.” The statements that received the least agreement were “the newspaper industry is dying,” “newspapers should be not-for-profit,” and “it is difficult for a journalist to be ethical at a newspaper that is owned by a corporation.”

In the statements referring to journalists’ own newspapers, journalists most agreed with “journalists at my newspaper are skilled and well-trained,” “my work is impacted by the financial health of my newspaper,” and "morale among the journalists at my newspaper is low.” The statements that received the weakest agreement were “I believe my job is secure,” “the owners of my newspaper make sound financial decisions,” and “I have a lot of interaction with the owner or corporate parent company of my newspaper.”

The results of these two sections suggest that the journalists in this study were in a period of uncertainty, but believed that newspaper journalism would survive despite the challenges. Their agreement with the statements about separating the newsroom and the business side of operations, the for-profit structure of newspapers, and the ability of journalists to be ethical at corporate-owned newspapers also suggests that the journalists in this study remained committed to maintaining the existing business and organizational structures of their newspapers. Their agreement with charging for content online could also support this explanation because it indicated a desire to apply print industry practices

to newer media. Despite their support for this structure, they were critical of those who made financial decisions at their companies, thought their newspapers had suffered in quality as a result of their financial challenges, and were not confident in their own job security or the morale among their coworkers.

This idea that journalists support the structure of their industry while finding fault in the details and uncertainty in current circumstances was supported by data from the open-ended question and the interviews. In response to the survey question about the future of journalism, the journalists most often described structures that currently exist or lamented changes they believed to be detrimental to the industry. Only a few respondents deviated from their peers to predict or call for major changes in the newspaper industry. The future of journalism, according to the respondents, is the same as the present, with the addition of a few new gadgets, a reduction in the number of days newspapers are printed each week, and the possibility of a few experiments with charging for online news. In the opinion of those who were unhappy with the trajectory they foresaw, the future of journalism also included more entertainment news and fewer skilled journalists.

The interview participants contributed a great deal toward understanding the ways journalists think about the state of their industry. The interviews revealed that these journalists are adopting the "it's not that bad" perspective in order to reconcile the changes they see in their newsrooms. Despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of survey respondents' newspapers had had layoffs, by comparing their circumstances to other newspaper organizations that are suffering more, the journalists maintained their support of the existing structures of the newspaper industry. They feel concern when they see downsizing efforts or feel their workloads increase, but still report being satisfied

with their jobs. They also focused on evidence of improvement in their organizations' financial situation to remain optimistic about the future of the industry.

Technology Pokes Holes in the Proverbial Wall

In addition to revealing the coping mechanisms that the journalists used to deal with their shrinking staffs and dwindling resources, the interviews showed a greater depth to the journalists' concerns about the relationship between the newsroom and the business operations. Journalists like Mary, Claire, and Donald expressed frustration with what they believed to be breaks in the separating wall between the two parts of their organizations. Each of them explained these breaks differently, however. Mary thought that the influence of PR and advertising staff had increased over time, though she conceded that such influence may have always existed and she just did not notice it in her first years as a journalist. Donald described two journalisms: "ivory tower journalism" and that of the real world. He thought the firm division between news and business was an idealistic concept taught in journalism school, while the consideration of business interests in producing the news was simply the reality of modern journalism. Finally, Claire thought the fact that business concerns were more salient for her now was due to her move from working in print to working exclusively on her newspaper's Web site. She said that she felt less of a partition between advertising and online news that she felt between advertising and print.

What Mary, Claire, and Donald share in common is that their work is closely related to the digital efforts of their organizations. Mary is a blogger, Claire a Web site producer, and Donald a breaking news reporter who primarily writes news that is posted online throughout the day. That these three journalists all feel a significant breakdown of

the separation between news and business and all work so closely with the online products could support Claire's sense that there is less division between online staff and the business side. This proposition is somewhat weakened when considering that several other journalists in the interview group, including Gary and Erica, also work closely with online products and did not express particular concern about increasing influence from the business side. It is also important to note that Mary and Claire worked for the same organization, although Claire worked on the main newspaper Web site and Mary blogged for a related site that was produced by the newspaper. Therefore, it is possible that this single organization had more contact between journalists and business than do other newspaper organizations.

Although the assessment that business interests are generally influencing news coverage more as digital technology use increases is tenuous, one theme emerged from the open-ended survey question and the interviews that suggested a particular hole in the proverbial wall that may have grown. Journalists who worked closely with their organization's Web presence talked about the shift toward making editorial decisions based on Web traffic statistics. Unlike print circulation and readership figures, Web site traffic can be determined immediately, and for individual stories. Because traffic statistics are directly related to online advertising rates and the ability to sell advertising, considering this information in daily newsroom decisions could bring the business interests of the organization into the newsroom with greater intensity and frequency than before.

There are two opposing arguments to be made about the site traffic phenomenon. The view of many of the journalists in this study was that by replacing or supplementing

news judgment with unanalyzed statistical data, editorial decision-making is increasingly becoming reactive and driven by ad dollars rather than rooted in conversations about what stories are most relevant and important to the public. If this assessment is true, the use of traffic statistics to make news judgments might undermine journalists' social responsibility mission. That mission includes an expectation that journalists will report on issues of public affairs and provide a representative account of a community or of society in general (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947; Siebert, et.al., 1956). From this perspective, a focus on what the public wants to know at the expense of what the public needs to know amounts to an abdication of journalists' responsibility to society (Bezanson, 1998). The opposing viewpoint, however, is that site traffic accurately conveys the preferences of the audience, and using it to inform editorial decisions is simply a way to better serve the public and give the people what they want. From this perspective, site traffic-driven decisions may support the libertarian foundations (Siebert, et.al., 1956) of the American press system by promoting the viewpoints and topics based on the choices of the consumers. Most of the journalists who addressed this topic or the subject of being responsive to audience demands favored the first perspective.

Differences Among Job Roles

In general, the economic shake-up of the newspaper industry was viewed by these journalists as a series of unsettling or demoralizing tremors, but not a catastrophic earthquake that was changing the industry's landscape. Examining groups within the sample, however, suggested ways in which the business of newspaper journalism was viewed differently among the journalists. With regards to job role, reporters and high-level editors diverged on several issues. Reporters tended to agree more strongly that

there should be minimal interaction between the newsroom and the business operations, while high-level editors tended to agree less with that idea. Reporters were less optimistic about the future of newspapers and the editors more so. Even when reporters did not diverge from the rest of the sample, high-level editors stood apart by their agreement with statements about newspapers being better off as for-profit organizations and by agreeing less that economic difficulties led to lower quality newspapers. High-level editors were also more likely to blame the Internet for newspapers' economic troubles. In the group of statements about journalists' individual newspapers, the high-level editors again stood out with regards to beliefs about the morale of the newsroom employees, decisions of the ownership, and relationships with the business operations. The sum of these distinctions was that the high-level editors are more confident in the health of their newspapers than journalists in the other categories and also have more interaction with the business side of the newspaper.

The fact that these editors support the trajectory of their newspapers and the industry is not surprising. As senior members of the newsroom, these journalists have more say in or control over the decisions and strategies of their organizations. Therefore, it is reasonable that they were more likely to agree with the directions in which newspapers were going. Secondly, these editors are accustomed to representing the policies and decisions of their newspapers to their employees and their audiences. As leaders in their organizations, they may have been more likely to support the status quo of the industry because they had more buy-in or investment in that status, at least in terms of time and energy. Finally, in addition to high-level editors being more likely to support the status quo, those who support the status quo are more likely to become high-level editors.

Therefore, those in leadership positions in the newsroom are not likely to be journalists who rebel against the structures of the industry, but those who are willing to reinforce those structures.

Two of the journalists who were interviewed for this study had worked as high-level editors at their newspapers. Alice's viewpoints supported the above findings, but Sam did not fit into that mold. One significant difference between the two editors was career path. Alice had been in supervisory positions since six months after she graduated from college. She moved up within corporations, switching newspapers and taking positions with increasing levels of responsibility. Sam began his career as a reporter and eventually moved into editor positions at newspapers within the same community. Thus, Alice often took a perspective about the general newspaper industry and usually spoke as though she were representing her newspaper, while Sam frequently spoke about his personal experiences or those of colleagues whose beats he knew well. The differences between these two editors do not fully illustrate what sets high-level editors apart from other journalists. The distinctions found in the quantitative data, however, were numerous and strong enough to state, editors with the most responsibility and authority in this study support the for-profit, traditional structure of the newspapers with greater strength than do those in subordinate job roles.

Another interesting area in this section involved the opinions of the Web editors. These journalists tended to agree with greater strength that newspapers should be not-for-profit and agreed more than the rest of the sample that the newspaper industry is dying. These editors also tended to not agree as much as the rest that newspapers should charge users for online content. These results are particularly interesting because the views about

keeping online content free and supporting not-for-profit journalism lean toward the perspective of the open-source philosophy of digital media, which advocates openness, accessibility, and decentralized power (Cromie & Ewing, 2008; Levy, 1984.) The fact that Web site editors deviate from the rest of the sample on these subjects suggests that these digital workers might have either come to journalism with this viewpoint already or were journalists who developed these ideas when they worked more closely with digital culture. None of the journalists in the interview portion of this study addressed these issues; however, further analysis of the open-ended questions with consideration for job roles might shed more light on the issue in future research. Additional research designed to directly investigate these topics would also be useful.

Synthesizing the Findings - Research Question 3: Implications of Digital Media

The third research question for this study asked, "What do newspaper journalists perceive to be the ethical implications of the adoption of digital media for gathering and producing news?" The majority of the data relevant to this question came from the interviews; however, 12 closed-ended questions also provided interesting insights.

The survey respondents most agreed with applying the ethical standards of newspaper journalism to online journalism, breaking news online as information is developing, and also thought that the immediacy of online journalism resulted in more errors. They agreed least that online journalism is inferior in quality to newspaper journalism, that the Internet is the reason for newspapers' problems, and that printed newspapers are irrelevant to readers. The correlations indicate a lack of consensus on some of these issues when considering different job roles and age. Reporters and older

journalists tended to agree more that online journalism is inferior in quality to newspaper journalism. Acceptance of social networking tools for journalistic use and seeking input from audiences was also a point of disagreement, as copy editors were not as fond of audience input as Web editors and high-level editors, and editorial page editors disagreed with high-level editors about the value of social networking.

Given the scattered correlations in this section of the survey, it is clear that more focused research is needed to draw any strong conclusions from quantitative data. The descriptive statistics from the full sample, however, were interesting and supported some of the findings of the interviews. Several key topics and themes emerged regarding the primary ethical concerns that newspaper journalists have regarding digital technologies and the ways in which these journalists are dealing with the changes.

First, there is substantial concern among these journalists about the conflict between speed and accuracy in breaking news online. The survey respondents strongly agreed that newspaper journalism ethics should apply to online news. Those ethical standards involve an attention to quality and thoroughness. At the same time, these journalists advocated breaking news online, even as information is developing, and they acknowledged that the immediacy of online news resulted in more errors. Interviews revealed that these errors were both fact errors and mistakes such as typos and grammatical errors. These seemingly out-of-sync views were illuminated by the interview participants, who found the number of errors to be troublesome, but attempted to reconcile the need for speed with their commitment to accuracy and quality. By adopting the "accurate as of the time-stamp" explanation, they were able to think and talk about the errors without considering them to be lapses in their standards or ethics. This

way of addressing the problem was not adopted by all the interview participants, however. Claire, who worked as a Web site producer, expressed the belief that, as a news organization that is committed to accuracy and thoroughness, her newspaper should commit more energy toward preventing such mistakes.

Another issue that challenged the ethical values of the journalists in this survey was that of the rise of sensationalistic news stories online in order to garner more Web traffic. As was discussed in the last section, incorporating this information into decisions about which stories to cover or post tests the conflict between giving the public the news they need and giving them what they want. Often, this approach results in a conflict between the public service role of the press and the fact that the news is business. These journalists conceptualized this conflict in several ways. Some are not convinced that metrics accurately describe what the audience wants. They do not believe that the public really wants all the entertainment and crime stories. As indicated by some of the responses on open-ended questions in the survey, some journalists attribute this interest in sensational stories to a generational problem in which younger readers are disengaged from more-serious topics. Frank dismissed that perspective in his interview, however, when he said that newspapers have always wrestled with the problem of attracting younger readers.

A third significant area of challenges for traditional journalism ethics is found in relation to the objectivity norm and newspaper journalists' commitment to fairness and neutrality. Mary wrestled with adding her own voice and opinion to a blog post, saying that it felt very awkward after spending years writing in a less-personal voice. Several journalists talked about distinguishing journalism from the independent bloggers who

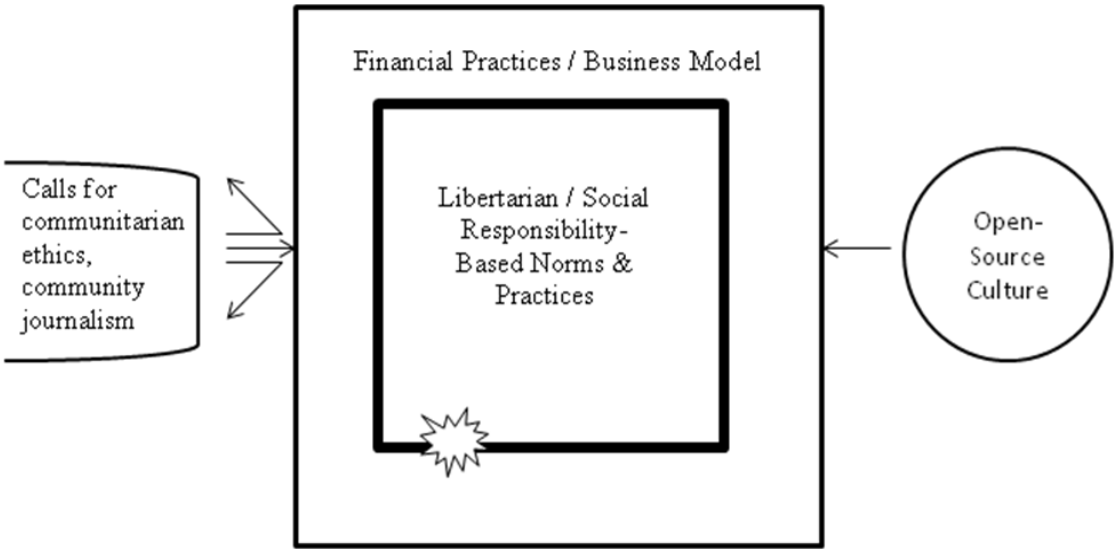
inject opinion and partisanship into the news. Although these journalists strongly endorsed neutral and fair reporting, many acknowledged that the audience does not usually understand or believe that they work to remain unbiased. They recognize a gap between what the journalists do and what the audience believes they do. Alice called the ethics of journalism "misunderstood," and Gary talked about the times he has been accused of favoritism or bias. Sam suggested that, perhaps, newspaper journalism's objectivity norm was misguided all along.

What ties these areas of ethical challenges together is the simple fact that none of them are actually new. Journalists have always struggled with being accurate and thorough in the face of tough deadlines and other challenges (Meyer, 2009). There has often been a tension between giving the audience information they need and information they want (Bezanson, 1998; Layton, 1999). Furthermore, the debate about the objectivity norms began almost as soon as objectivity emerged in the profession (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Schudson, 1978; Ward, 2004). The technology of digital journalism and the changes that newsrooms have undergone perhaps render these issues more salient than in the past and frame them with slightly different circumstances. Additionally, as publication platforms change and more methods of communication are added to the newspaper organization's toolbox, publishing the news is increasingly complicated. So, while these challenges are not new, they might appear more difficult or complex to today's journalist.

Disscussion: Theoretical Implications

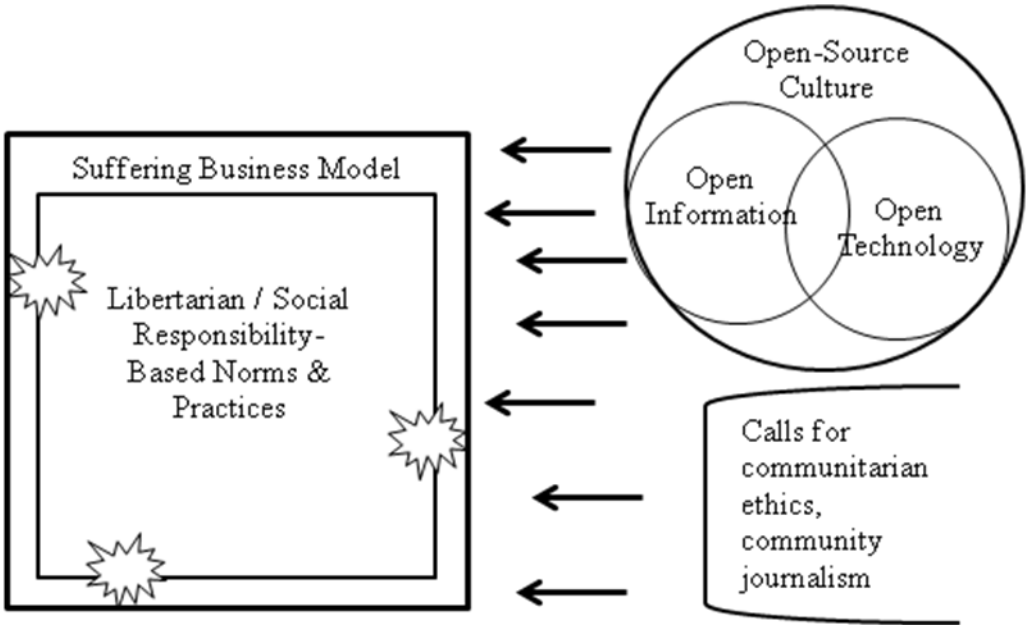
In Chapter 2, a model was proposed to describe the ways in which economic and technological changes might be at work in the newspaper industry as a form of normative creative destruction. The model described a pre-Internet state of the industry in which a healthy financial structure allowed newspaper organizations to deflect many calls for change in their ethical norms and practices. The model suggested that, since the rise of digital technologies and the weakening of that structure, newspaper organizations may be more likely to respond to these calls as they struggle to recreate some of their practices to adapt to shifts in the economic and technological realities of communication. Figures 6 and 7 illustrate that model.

Figure 6: Proposed model of the newspaper industry, pre-Internet



A newspaper's core mission was protected by a healthy financial status, with a strong division between the business operations and the newsroom. Occasionally, there were breaches of that division. Calls for changes in newspaper's norms and practices were heard, but not fully accepted. Influence from open-source culture was small.

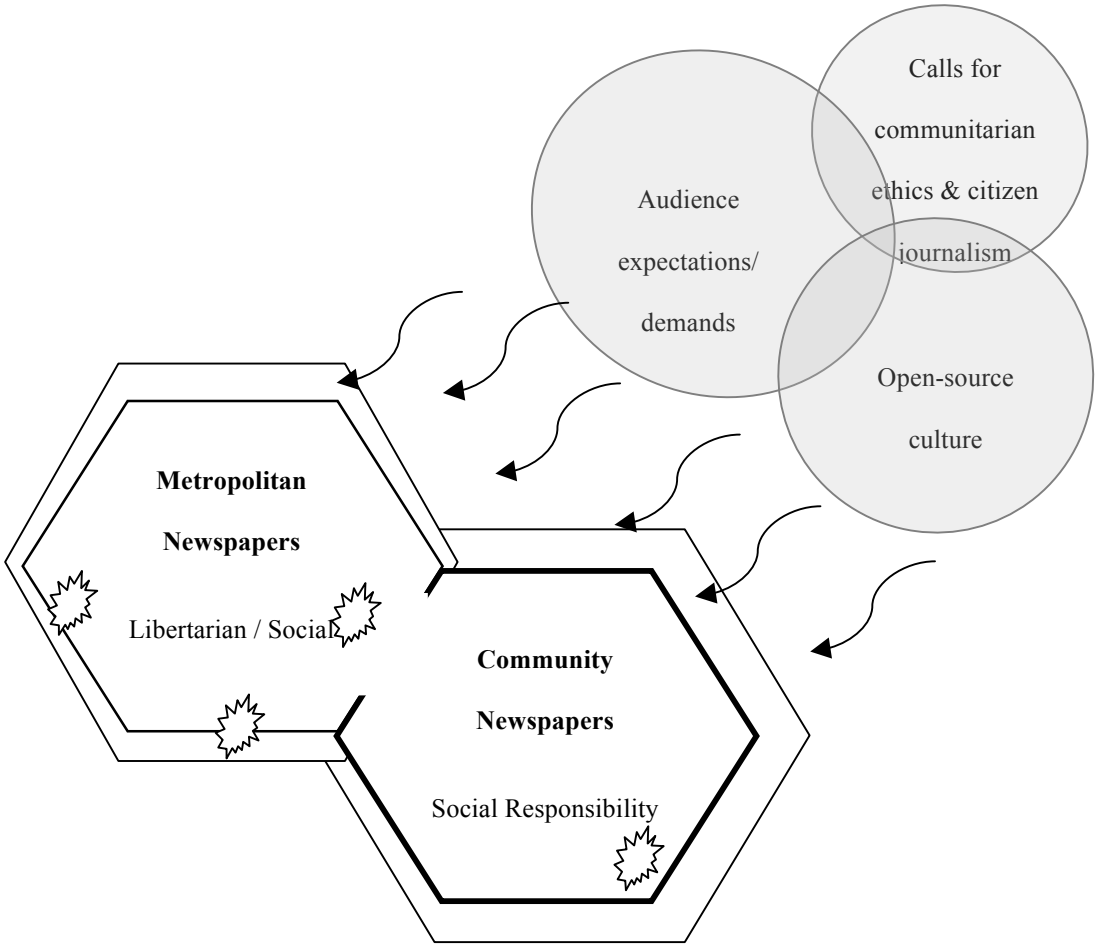
Figure 7: Proposed model of the newspaper industry, post-Internet



The open-source movement has grown and the protective layer formed by a healthy business model has shrunk. The line between the newsroom and the business operations is suggested to have thinned and is more likely to have holes. Arrows illustrate the potential influence of open-source culture and calls for citizen or community journalism.

Based on the findings of this research, a revised model of the norms that newspaper journalists work under and the challenges they face is proposed in Figure 8. This model suggests more fluidity in the way technological and economic influences are at work in the newspaper industry and acknowledges the differences between larger, metropolitan newspapers and smaller, community newspapers. Also, the change agents are depicted as overlapping social influences that seep into the norms and practices of the journalists, as opposed to separate outside forces that form a direct attack on the norms of the newspaper industry.

Figure 8: Revised model of the newspaper industry, post-Internet



The influence of open-source culture, audience feedback, and calls for community and citizen journalism seep into the newspaper industry. Journalists and organizations respond to these influences individually, with some acceptance and change. Pressures from a weakened economic model lead to a thinner wall between the newsroom and business interests. More holes and tears emerge in the ethical fabric of newspaper journalism.

This model of normative creative destruction suggests that a separation between the ethical norms and practices of larger newspapers and smaller newspapers had already occurred before the advent of Internet technologies. This separation is not a clear break and some newspapers maintain characteristics of both types of organizations (Reader,

2006); however, smaller newspapers have incorporated some elements of community journalism and communitarian ethics, while larger newspapers are more aligned with the libertarian/social responsibility norms. This study suggests that the larger newspapers are facing more challenges, as the economic difficulties hit them harder than the community newspapers. Therefore, this model shows a thinner business structure protecting the metropolitan newspapers, and more holes forming in the separation between the business interests of newspapers and the newsroom.

The holes that have formed or grown are the result of increased pressures on journalists coupled with a lack of clear direction about how to handle such pressures. Based on the results of this study, these pressures include dwindling resources that intensify journalists' workloads, increased emphasis on breaking news on a 24-hour cycle, and a shift toward more response to audience trends in the form of both direct interaction with the audience and reactions to Web site traffic statistics. The journalists in this study handled these pressures by comparing their situations to those who were doing worse or by comparing their current situations to where they were a few months prior. Doing so allowed them to remain committed to their work and be optimistic about the future of the newspaper industry. They also handled the pressures by comparing current issues in new media to old media situations. Doing this allowed the journalists to find a road map in the past that could serve as guidance for tackling dilemmas brought about by new practices and technologies.

These techniques for viewing the economic and technological changes in their organizations allow the journalists in this study to cope with the changes they see and contextualize them in ways that allow them to continue their work in accordance with the

ethical norms they have always known. This study did not reveal any strong shifts in the ways journalists think that they *should* conduct their work, but rather, showed some of changes in the ways they live their professional, ethical values amidst changes in their practices. The journalists in this study remain committed to the traditional journalism ethics that are rooted in the social responsibility and libertarian traditions. Therefore, the model does not depict radical change in the structure of newspaper journalistic norms, but illustrates the process by which the structure may be weakening. By recommitting to their existing professional norms while changing their practices and facing increasing pressures, these journalists run the risk of making more ethical mistakes. The metropolitan newspapers are deepening into the fourth stage of creative destruction – cultural lock-in (Foster & Kaplan, 2001). At this stage, the newspaper industry risks becoming irrelevant to much of its audience. Without a better understanding of the changing role of the newspaper organization in society, the industry risks further damage to the trust it holds with its customers and its continued economic viability. Smaller, community newspapers may be in a better position because they face fewer new media competitors and still provide news and services that are important to their communities. If they remain focused on the needs of their communities, these newspapers can adapt accordingly as technological changes progress.

Discussion: Professional Implications

The results of this study suggest a need for newspaper organizations to individually take a critical look at their ethical standards and procedural habits to determine whether or not the actions of the organizations align with their stated missions.

If journalists' predictions about increased audience fragmentation and the rise of more niche publications are correct, the industry is likely to see increased fragmentation of purposes, as well. Already, large and small newspapers have diverged somewhat in the ways their journalists view their purposes and values. As changes continue in the industry, those changes may include shifts in print publication cycles and more responsiveness to audience trends in consuming information online. Such changes would result in greater differentiation among newspaper organizations, as each organization works to satisfy the wants and needs of the community in which they operate.

Therefore, organizations would benefit from a blank-slate assessment to determine exactly what are the purposes and priorities of the organization. A blank-slate mindset would involve asking, "If there were no newspaper in our community today, what would be the purpose of starting a news organization? What are the needs of our audience?" Such an assessment would involve organization-wide discussions and research about what is and what should be the mission and values of the organization. As changes are implemented with increasing speed and greater regularity and newsroom staffs are downsized and/or reorganized along with changes in workflow and tasks, there is a vital need to ensure that the mission of the news organization is clear to both its audience and its employees. Without this clarity, organizations might function with managers and workers making assumptions about professional standards that may be incorrect or outdated. Such assumptions and the absence of communication about core values and purpose can lead to a lack of alignment between the mission of the organization and the actions of the employees. When mission and actions are not aligned, an environment in which ethical lapses are more easily made is created (May, 2006).

Newspaper organizations would also benefit from adopting a multi-tiered code of ethics based in stakeholder theory. Stakeholder theory (*see* Paine, 2003; Seeger, 1997; Werhane, 2000) asserts that companies are accountable to many groups of stakeholders who have interests in the activities of an organization. These groups may include employees, investors, management, customers, suppliers, the community, and others, depending on the type and nature of the organization. Proponents of the stakeholder model argue that organizations must prioritize the stakeholder groups to function effectively. News organizations must recognize that they serve multiple purposes and many different stakeholders. Each department or segment of the organization naturally interacts with and feels accountable to those stakeholders differently. For example, reporters must consider their relationships with sources, while advertising executives may feel a stronger loyalty to advertisers. Therefore, rather than focus exclusively on newsroom codes of ethics, newspaper organizations would do better to formulate a series of codes that define the values and mission of the organization and then provide guidance for individual departments within the organization. This guidance would include acknowledgment of the stakeholders that are most relevant to each department and clear articulation of priorities. Doing so would allow for more productive communication across departments and prevent inappropriate influence by business interests in the newsroom.

Limitations and Future Research

The purpose of this study was to provide a broad view of the newspaper industry and journalists' opinions about their roles in society, ethical values, and the changes that

may have taken place since the increased use of digital technologies for gathering and disseminating the news. As such, some interesting points were discovered that should be probed further. Perhaps the greatest finding of this study is the discovery of more questions that warrant more research.

First, further research, including more statistical analysis of the data from the Web survey conducted for this research, could answer questions about the differences in perceptions of journalism's role in society and the most-important ethical values. As this and other studies showed (Hardin, 2005; Reader, 2006) there are significant differences between journalists at large and small newspaper organizations. Studies that focus on this topic should consider the audiences that these newspapers serve, the ways these newspapers use digital technology, and how these organizations have been affected by economic changes in the industry. Other differences to explore include those found among generations of journalists and among job roles, particularly between reporters and editors.

Perhaps the most-significant finding of this study is the concern of the journalists that the speed of reporting breaking news directly affects the quality and accuracy of news reports. The need for speed is driven by intense competition with other news organizations and the desire to increase page views. In a closely related phenomenon, the ability to determine which stories garner more views has led some newspapers to focus more on crime and entertainment stories. While research has already been conducted and continues into the increase in errors that may be caused by a rush to post news online (Reinardy, 2010), research that specifically focuses on the use of Web site traffic statistics in journalistic decision-making is a largely untapped area for exploration. Such

research could be approached using comparative case studies and newsroom observations and interviews. These methods would allow the researcher to study the decision-making processes in multiple newsrooms and incorporate both the journalists' accounts of the processes, the researcher's observations, and any other relevant information, such as documents.

Finally, to explore the model suggested by this study in greater depth, it is now necessary to move from the general to the specific. This research approached the newspaper industry as a whole and focused on the newsroom journalists' views of ethics and change. This approach provided useful information toward the perpetual goal of refining and understanding theories of the press in the United States. Newspaper organizations, however, are one significant segment of the media and journalism ecosystem. Other segments include broadcast and cable-based organizations, independent/alternative publications, niche publications, online-only sources, social media networks, mobile devices and their applications, as well as the businesses of communication and the audiences. Therefore, another approach to this type of research would be to focus on one community or metropolitan area and determine what the values, expectations, and challenges are for news media in that area. Surveys of and interviews with journalists, audience members, and those who work on the business side of news organizations would enable researchers to better understand how journalists do their work and why, but more importantly, inform recommendations for how journalists *should* conduct their work in a new era of digital communication in order to be acting ethically and in the best interest of the public.

APPENDIX A

EMAILS TO RESPONDENTS

Initial contact email for Web survey:

Hello.

As you know well, the newspaper industry has undergone many changes in the past 15 years. New technologies change the way journalists do their work and economic shifts have caused the newspaper industry to move from a place of financial health into a new era of uncertainty.

As a journalism student and teacher and a former journalist, I want to learn how these industry changes might be affecting journalism ethics. I am writing to ask you to participate in a survey that will provide insight into daily newspaper journalists' opinions about professional ethical standards, as well as their views on the economic and technological changes happening at newspapers.

I know that time to spend on such surveys is scarce. This survey will take no more than 20 minutes to complete, and you can save your answers and return to the questionnaire if you are unable to complete it in one sitting.

Your participation in this study is confidential. You will not be asked to put any personal, identifying information on the survey unless you volunteer to be contacted for a follow-up interview. If you do volunteer to be interviewed, you will be asked to submit your name and contact information so that we can arrange the meeting or phone call. All information obtained in this study will be reported as group data and no individual can or will be identified in any reports. The results of this research will be part of the dissertation I write to complete my degree and may be published in an academic journal and presented at conferences in the future.

To begin the survey, click the link below and follow the instructions on the screen.

If you have any questions about this research, please contact me at michelej@unc.edu. This study is being conducted under the supervision of faculty and with approval from the Office of Human Research Ethics at the University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill.
Thank you very much for your time and participation.

Sincerely,

Michele Jones
PhD Candidate
School of Journalism & Mass Communication
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Follow-up/reminder contact email for Web survey:

Hello.

Recently, I wrote to invite you to participate in a survey about journalism ethics and economic and technological changes at newspapers. I apologize for cluttering up your inbox, but I wanted to send the survey again in case the first email did not reach you. (If you wish opt out of any more emails from me, please follow this link ${l://OptOutLink})

I know that time to spend on surveys is scarce. This survey will take no more than 20 minutes to complete, and you can save your answers and return to the questionnaire if you are unable to complete it in one sitting.

Your participation in this study is confidential. You will not be asked to put any personal, identifying information on the survey unless you volunteer to be contacted for a follow-up interview. If you do volunteer to be interviewed, you will be asked to submit your name and contact information so that we can arrange the meeting or phone call.

All information obtained in this survey will be reported as group data and no individual can or will be identified in any reports. Also, you will be able to leave any question unanswered if you prefer not to share certain information. The results of this research will be part of the dissertation I write to complete my degree and may be published in an academic journal and presented at conferences in the future.

To begin the survey, click the link below and follow the instructions on the screen.

If you have any questions about this research, please contact me at michelej@unc.edu. This study is being conducted under the supervision of faculty and with approval from the Office of Human Research Ethics at the University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill.

Thank you very much for your time and participation.

Sincerely,

Michele Jones
PhD Candidate
School of Journalism & Mass Communication
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

APPENDIX B

SURVEY QUESTIONS

Journalism serves many functions in American society and in individual communities. Some of these functions are listed below. Please indicate the extent to which you believe each function is important or unimportant. (7 point Likert scale: 1 = very unimportant; 2 = unimportant; 3 = somewhat unimportant; 4 = neither important nor unimportant; 5 = somewhat important; 6= important; 7 = very important)

Investigating government practices
Investigating statements made by the government
Providing analysis of complex problems
Providing information to help citizens make choices in elections
Getting information to the public quickly
Telling compelling stories
Reporting information without making judgments
Discussing public policy while it is being developed
Investigating practices of businesses and corporations
Providing interpretation of current events
Fostering public debate
Investigating claims of businesses and corporations
Giving voice to underrepresented people
Providing opportunities for citizens to express their views
Providing useful consumer information
Reflecting the cultural make-up of the community
Building a sense of community
Being an uninvolved observer of events
Giving audiences information they want
Honoring or recognizing extraordinary people
Providing entertainment and relaxation
Motivating citizens to enact social change.
Setting the public agenda
Influencing public opinion

Below are several values with a brief definition for each. Please indicate how important you believe each value is in the practice of journalism. (7 point Likert scale: 1 = very unimportant; 2 = unimportant; 3 = somewhat unimportant; 4 = neither important nor unimportant; 5 = somewhat important; 6= important; 7 = very important)

Veracity: Duty to tell the truth
Accuracy: Using correct facts and precise language in reporting stories
Independence Avoiding personal, professional or financial involvement with people or organizations you cover
Thoroughness: Exhausting sources and resources in reporting a story
Diversity: Covering all segments of the audience fairly and accurately
Sufficiency: Allocating adequate resources to important issues
Responsibility: Being accountable for consequences or outcomes of news coverage
Balance: Giving equal space to multiple perspectives
Neutrality: Avoiding taking positions on issues
Transparency: Disclosing to audience reporting & editing process
Autonomy: Being free to think and act on one's own behalf
Justice: Seeking to right wrongs
Community: Considering yourself or your organization to be citizens of your coverage area
Compassion: Considering feelings and lives of subjects and sources when making coverage choices
Dignity: Leaving subjects and sources with as much self-respect as possible
Decency: Considering community values and sensitivities
Engagement: Establishing a connection between you and stories or subjects
Service: Working for others before self
Advocacy: Championing an issue, cause or perspective
Loyalty: Remaining faithful to those with whom you have a mutually beneficial relationship

Of the values listed below, please select up to five that you believe to be <u>MOST</u> important in journalism. While you may believe that more than five are important or very important, please select the five you consider <u>MOST</u> vital in your profession. (same values listed above)

How knowledgeable do you consider yourself to be regarding the newspaper industry's economic situation?

Very knowledgeable
Knowledgeable
Somewhat knowledgeable
A little knowledgeable
Unaware

How knowledgeable do you consider your coworkers to be regarding the newspaper industry's economic situation?

Very knowledgeable
Knowledgeable
Somewhat knowledgeable
A little knowledgeable
Unaware

For the following statements about journalism and the newspaper industry in general, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree. (5 point Likert scale: 1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = neither agree nor disagree; 4 = disagree; 5 = strongly disagree)

Economic difficulties have led to lower quality newspapers.
The financial difficulties in the newspaper industry are caused by decreases in advertising income.
There should be minimal interaction between the newsroom and the business operations of newspapers.
Newspapers should charge users for online content.
The financial difficulties in the newspaper industry are caused by poor decisions made by owners.
Newspapers should be for-profit businesses.
The financial difficulties in the newspaper industry are caused by readers going to the Internet for news.
I am optimistic about the future of newspapers.
Newspapers should be privately owned.
The newspaper industry will recover from its recent financial difficulties.
Newspapers should be owned by members of their communities.
Newspapers should be employee-owned.
Newspapers benefit from being owned by a corporation.
The newspaper industry is dying.
Newspapers should be not-for-profit.
It is difficult for a journalist to be ethical at a newspaper that is owned by a corporation.

For each of the following statements about online journalism, in general, indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree. (5 point Likert scale: 1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = neither agree nor disagree; 4 = disagree; 5 = strongly disagree)

Newspaper journalism ethical standards should apply to online journalism.
News should be broken online even as information is developing.
The immediacy of online journalism results in more errors.
Newspapers need to devote more financial resources to online journalism efforts.
Newspapers should focus more attention toward online journalism efforts.
News aggregators like Google News or Yahoo! steal newspapers' content.
Independent political bloggers are not journalists.
It is important for journalists to use social networking sites such as Twitter and Facebook.
Journalists should seek input from readers or audience members when producing stories.
Online journalism is inferior in quality to newspaper journalism.
The Internet is the reason for newspapers' problems.
Printed newspapers are irrelevant to readers.

For the following statements about you and your specific newspaper, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree. (5 point Likert scale: 1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = neither agree nor disagree; 4 = disagree; 5 = strongly disagree)

The journalists at my newspaper are skilled and well-trained.
My work is impacted by the financial health of my newspaper.
Morale among the journalists at my newspaper is low.
The owner or corporate parent company of my newspaper supports my newspaper's efforts
My newspaper makes appropriate efforts to innovate and stay up-to-date
The quality of my newspaper has decreased in recent years.
I have little interaction with the business side of the newspaper.
I have a positive outlook on the future of my newspaper.
Those who work on the business side do not understand journalism
I believe my job is secure.
The owners of my newspaper make sound financial decisions.
I have a lot of interaction with the owner or corporate parent company of my newspaper

What is the average weekday circulation of your newspaper?

500,000 or more
250,001-500,000
100,001-250,000
50,001-100,000
25,001-50,000
10,001-25,000
5,001-10,000
5,000 or less

Which of the following best describes the ownership structure of your newspaper?

Publicly traded corporation
Privately held corporation
Private owner, group of owners or family ownership
Not-for-profit
Employee owned
Other

Does the company, organization or individual that owns your newspaper also own other media properties, such as television stations, cable companies, radio stations, Web sites, etc.?

No, just my newspaper
Yes, other newspapers
Yes, other newspapers and other media properties
Yes, my newspaper and other media properties, but no other newspapers

In the past two years, have any journalists at your newspaper been laid off?

Yes / No

In the past two years, have any journalists at your newspaper been offered buy-outs?

Yes / No

In the past two years, have any journalists at your newspaper been required to take unpaid leave (mandatory furlough)?

Yes / No

In the past two years, have any journalists at your newspaper had their wages or salaries cuts?

Yes / No

Which of the following best describes your job role?

Editor: Executive/Managing/Senior
Editor: Desk/Department/Team/Chief
Copy Editor
Reporter
Designer/Artist
Web Producer/Editor
Multimedia Producer
Photojournalist
Editorial Writer/Columnist
Other: _____

How long have you been in your present position?

Less than one year
1-4 years
5-9 years
10-14 years
15-19 years
20-24 years
25-29 years
30 years or more

In what capacity are you currently employed?

Full-Time Regular
Part-Time Regular
Freelance
Internship
Contract
Other

On average, how would you describe your workload?

Too heavy
Heavy
Somewhat heavy
About right
Somewhat light
Light
Too light

How satisfied are you with your current job?

Very Satisfied
Satisfied
Somewhat Satisfied
Neutral
Somewhat Dissatisfied
Dissatisfied
Very Dissatisfied

How long have you worked for or with your current newspaper?

Less than one year
1-4 years
5-9 years
10-14 years
15-19 years
20-24 years
25-29 years
30 years or more

How long have you been in the newspaper industry?

Less than one year
1-4 years
5-9 years
10-14 years
15-19 years
20-24 years
25-29 years
30 years or more

Have you worked as a journalist in another media industry?

No
Yes, magazines
Yes, television
Yes, radio
Yes, online
Yes, other: _____

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Less than High School
High School / GED
Some College
2-year College Degree
4-year College Degree
Master's Degree
Doctoral Degree
Professional Degree (JD, MD)

What is your gender?

Male
Female

What is your annual salary including bonuses or other compensation?

$0 - $25,000
$25,001 - $50,000
$50,001 - $75,000
$75,001 - $100,000
$100,001 - $125,000
$125,001 - $150,000
$150,001 - $175,000
$175,001 - $200,000
$200,001+

What is your current age?

Less than 16
16 to 19
20 to 24
25 to 34
35 to 44
45 to 54
55 to 64
65 years and over

Are you willing to participate in a follow-up interview?(Interviews will be conducted in person, by telephone or via online video conference, such as Skype or Google.)

Yes
No

APPENDIX C

QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Tell me about your career.
   Probes:
   a. Tell me about your job at the newspaper.
   b. How long have you been in the job?
   c. What was your major in college?
   d. Where did you go to college?
   e. What other jobs have you had in journalism or media?
2. How would you describe the ethics of journalism?
   Probes:
   a. What values or rules should journalists follow?
   b. When journalists do things that are not in line with the ethics of journalism, what do you think leads them to do what they do?
   c. What are some common ethical missteps you see?
3. What do you consider to be journalism's purpose in society?
   Probes:
   a. How well do you think newspapers serve that purpose?
   b. Do you think the ethical standards in newspaper journalism help newspapers serve their purpose in society or hinder it? Or both?
4. What is the relationship between the newsroom and the business side of your newspaper?
   Probes:
   a. What do you think that relationship should be like?
   b. What is the relationship between the newsroom and the corporate parent company or owner(s) of the newspaper?
   c. Do business interests ever become a consideration in the newsroom?
5. What do you think is the cause of newspapers' economic problems?
   Probes:
   a. How have economic issues in the industry impacted your newsroom? Your own work?
   b. What are your concerns about the state of the industry?
   c. How do the financial issues impact the quality of the journalism, if at all?
6. What do you think about journalism online?
   Probes:
   a. What do you think of your newspaper's online efforts?
   b. How much of your work is geared toward those efforts?
   c. What do you think about non-newspaper journalism online, like blogs or online-only publications?
   d. What are the benefits of producing news online?
   e. What are the drawbacks?
   f. Are there any aspects of journalism ethics that don't fit in online journalism or aspects of online journalism that don't follow journalism ethics, in general?

7. A lot has been written about the power of the Internet to allow anyone to publish. Terms like “citizen journalism” or “participatory journalism” or “crowdsourcing” get used. What do you think of this?
   Probes:
   a. Do you see any ethical problems with this?
   b. Does this impact your work at all?
8. Is there anything else about the topics we’ve talked about or any others that you’d like to add?

APPENDIX D

IRB APPROVAL

To: Michele Jones
Journalism/Mass Communication
CB:3365

From: Behavioral IRB

_____
Authorized signature on behalf of IRB

Approval Date: 1/04/2010
Expiration Date of Approval: 1/03/2011

RE: Notice of IRB Approval by Expedited Review (under 45 CFR 46.110)
Submission Type: Initial
Expedited Category: 7.Surveys/interviews/focus groups,6.Voice/image research recordings
Study #: 09-2362

Study Title: Ethics and Change in Journalism

This submission has been approved by the above IRB for the period indicated. It has been determined that the risk involved in this research is no more than minimal.

Study Description:

Purpose: To explore possible changes in ethical norms of journalists at daily newspapers since economic and technological changes have been taking place within newspaper industry.

Participants: Approximately 1,015 professional journalists employed by newspapers.

Procedures: An online survey of journalists will be conducted with a stratified, random sample of at least 1,000 respondents. The survey will be followed by in-depth interviews with 12-15 of the survey respondents.

Regulatory and other findings:

This research meets criteria for a waiver of written (signed) consent according to 45 CFR 46.117(c)(2) for the quantitative online survey.

Investigator's Responsibilities:

Federal regulations require that all research be reviewed at least annually. It is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to submit for renewal and obtain approval before the expiration date. You may not continue any research activity beyond the expiration date withoutIRB approval. Failure to receive approval for continuation before the expiration date will result in automatic termination of the approval for this study on the expiration date.

When applicable, enclosed are stamped copies of approved consent documents and other recruitment materials. You must copy the stamped consent forms for use with subjects unless

you have approval to do otherwise.

You are required to obtain IRB approval for any changes to any aspect of this study before they can be implemented (use the modification form at ohre.unc.edu/forms). Any unanticipated problem involving risks to subjects or others (including adverse events reportable under UNC-Chapel Hill policy) should be reported to the IRB using the web portal at https://irbis.unc.edu/irb.

Researchers are reminded that additional approvals may be needed from relevant "gatekeepers" to access subjects (e.g., principals, facility directors, healthcare system).

This study was reviewed in accordance with federal regulations governing human subjects research, including those found at 45 CFR 46 (Common Rule), 45 CFR 164 (HIPAA), 21 CFR 50 & 56 (FDA), and 40 CFR 26 (EPA), where applicable.

CC:Lois Boynton, Journalism/mass Communication

APPENDIX E

INFORMED CONSENT

University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
Consent to Participate in a Research Study
Adult Participants
Social Behavioral Form

IRB Study #_____IRB Study # 09-2362_____
Consent Form Version Date: _____12/29/09_____

Title of Study: Ethics and Change in Journalism
Principal Investigator: Michele K. Jones
UNC-Chapel Hill Department: Journalism and Mass Communication
UNC-Chapel Hill Phone number: (919) 265-9614
Email Address: michelej@unc.edu
Faculty Advisor: Lois Boynton
UNC-Chapel Hill Department: Journalism and Mass Communication
UNC-Chapel Hill Phone number: (919) 843-8342
Email Address: lboynton@email.unc.edu

Study Contact telephone number: (919) 265-9614
Study Contact email: michelej@unc.edu

What are some general things you should know about research studies?
You are being asked to take part in a research study. To join the study is voluntary. You may refuse to join, or you may withdraw your consent to be in the study, for any reason, without penalty.

Research studies are designed to obtain new knowledge. This new information may help people in the future. You may not receive any direct benefit from being in the research study. There also may be risks to being in research studies.

Details about this study are discussed below. It is important that you understand this information so that you can make an informed choice about being in this research study. You will be given a copy of this consent form. You should ask the researchers named above, or staff members who may assist them, any questions you have about this study at any time.

What is the purpose of this study?
The purpose of this research study is to learn about journalists' views about ethics and changes taking place in the journalism field.

How many people will take part in this study?
If you decide to be in this study, you will be one of approximately 15 people in this research study.

How long will your part in this study last?
Your participation in an interview for this study will take no more than 2 hours.

What will happen if you take part in the study?
You will be asked questions about your work as a journalist, your opinions about journalism ethics, and your views on economic and technological changes in the journalism industry. The interview will be audio recorded and transcribed.

What are the possible benefits from being in this study?
Research is designed to benefit society by gaining new knowledge. You may not benefit personally from being in this research study.

What are the possible risks or discomforts involved from being in this study?
There are no known risks involved in participating in this study. Depending on your personal temperament and/or work situation, you may feel slightly uncomfortable answering questions about your work and employer, but be assured that your answers will remain confidential and will not be reported to employers.

How will your privacy be protected?
Participants will not be identified in any report or publication about this study. Although every effort will be made to keep research records private, there may be times when federal or state law requires the disclosure of such records, including personal information. This is very unlikely, but if disclosure is ever required, UNC-Chapel Hill will take steps allowable by law to protect the privacy of personal information. In some cases, your information in this research study could be reviewed by representatives of the University, research sponsors, or government agencies for purposes such as quality control or safety.

With your permission (marked below), this interview will be recorded. The digital files from the recording will be stored on a password protected computer and not be made available to anyone but the researcher. The recording will be destroyed when the project is completed. At any time during the interview, you may request to turn off the recorder.

Check the line that best matches your choice:
_____ OK to record me during the study
_____ Not OK to record me during the study

Your name and identifying information will not be included in any publications or presentations that result from this project. However, it is possible that readers who know you or are familiar with your newspaper or region may deduce your identity from

information you discuss in this interview, such as news stories you cover, size and type of newspaper, etc. To reduce the likelihood of this identification, as many specifics as possible will be excluded from write-ups.

<u>What if you want to stop before your part in the study is complete?</u>
You can withdraw from this study at any time, without penalty. The investigators also have the right to stop your participation at any time.

<u>Will you receive anything for being in this study?</u>
You will not receive anything for taking part in this study.

<u>Will it cost you anything to be in this study?</u>
There will be no costs for being in the study.

<u>What if you have questions about this study?</u>
You have the right to ask, and have answered, any questions you may have about this research. If you have questions, complaints, or concerns, you should contact the researchers listed on the first page of this form.

<u>What if you have questions about your rights as a research participant?</u>
All research on human volunteers is reviewed by a committee that works to protect your rights and welfare. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject, or if you would like to obtain information or offer input, you may contact the Institutional Review Board at 919-966-3113 or by email to IRB_subjects@unc.edu.

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Title of Study: Ethics and Change in Journalism
Principal Investigator: Michele K. Jones

<u>Participant's Agreement:</u>
I have read the information provided above. I have asked all the questions I have at this time. I voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

____ __________________
Signature of Research Participant Date

____
Printed Name of Research Participant

____ __________________
Signature of Research Team Member Obtaining Consent Date

____
Printed Name of Research Team Member Obtaining Consent

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