

"A journalist still lingers in the twilight zone, along with the trained nurse, the embalmer, the reverend clergy and the great majority of engineers. . . . (he) remains, for all his freedom, a hired man . . . and the hired man is not a professional man."

--F. L. Mearns, author and journalist

JOURNALISM: CRAFT OR PROFESSION?

An Analysis of Criteria for Establishing Standards of Professionalism

"Journalism . . . and medicine have grown. It is now a full fledged profession."

--Stanston Williams, General Manager of The American Newspapers Publishers Ass'n.

"The realistic test is salary . . . only those making over \$500 a month should be called 'professionals.'"

--Sam Eubanks, Executive Vice-President of CIO-American Newspaper Guild

"Journalists' . . . are not professional employees."

--The National Labor Relations Board

" . . . journalism is a profession and a proud one."

--Wes Callender, General Manager of The Associated Press

"Newspaper reporting is not a profession, despite the complacent belief of a good many reporters who have achieved the upper brackets."

--The brothers Alsop, authors and journalists

Jeffrey H. Benedict
Washington & Lee University
April, 1980

"If any sort of agreement exists, it is probably that journalism is partly professionalized but lacks some ingredients of . . ."

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Hawley, social scientist

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Introduction --H. L. Mencken, author and journalist

Social Scientists

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Recently, this controversy has produced a substantial outpouring of articles, pamphlets, speeches and sociological studies. But many of these works have remained unnoticed by time, distance and lack of interest.

This paper was undertaken to summarize some of the important thoughts on journalism and professionalization and to assemble a list of reference materials which, hopefully, will prove helpful to anyone wishing to pursue the subject further. Some attempt is made in these pages to analyze the ideas and arguments summarized herein, although it is possible that opinions may crop in unseen. The purpose of this paper is not to make a value judgment based on the material presented here, but rather to provide sufficient information for the reader to judge for himself.

The material is presented in three sections: "Social Scientists," "The Government" and "Observers." Each group attacks the question from a different perspective and uses a different methodology.

But even within these groups there is little agreement.

The debate continues to rage. And barring unprecedented circum-

stantial intervention, it will probably continue to do so for a

long time.

That question started a debate which has continued at a fever pitch for almost fifty years. And the debate is still going on.

There is still no clear-cut answer. Indeed, one of the most aggravated areas of disagreement centers on what "professional" actually means.

Naturally, this controversy has produced a substantial outpouring of articles, pamphlets, speeches and sociological studies. But many of these works have remained scattered by time, distance and lack of interest.

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SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

Sociologists are scientists. And scientists like to use numbers. So in this section there are a lot of percentages, averages, mean scores and the like.

If that doesn't appeal to you, best with me anyway. Sociologists have given more attention to the question at hand than any other group. And their conclusions are often interesting. At any rate, they usually back up what they say with some sort of empirical data.

What follows is a summary of about a dozen sociological studies. Each one shows because it deals with the professionalization of journalists from a different angle. For instance, one study is concerned with journalists as a whole, another only with broadcast newsmen, another with travel writers. In some articles the emphasis is on a region, Canada, however, a developing nation.

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Nayman points out in his Introduction to the Communicator Analysis Series that "the term 'profession' does not lend itself to a clear-cut definition because it is related to occupational aspirations humans strive to achieve."

In occupational sociology "profession" refers to a set of

characteristics which one occupation shares with no other.² But it also refers to the attitudes of some members of an occupation which does not possess all characteristics of professionalism. This means it is possible to exhibit all the characteristics of professionalism without being in a profession.

Laymen tend to think of a "Profession" as an occupation which requires specialized training, the purpose of which is to provide a skilled service for a fee.³ It is interesting to note that for years only those practitioners who were self-employed were thought to be members of a true profession. However, changes in organizational and corporate structures have led to increases in the number of professionals who are employed by one organization and paid a fixed wage.⁴

Nayman says a profession, generally, has three characteristics: (1) a specialized technique backed by a store of knowledge; (2) support from an association of colleagues; and (3) recognition in the community.⁵ Furthermore, occupational sociologists recognize four characteristics essential for an occupation to develop into a profession:

- I. Expertise
 - (1) performance of a unique and essential service
 - (2) emphasis on intellectual technique
 - (3) specialized training over a long period to acquire a systematic body of knowledge based on research
- II. Autonomy
 - (4) freedom to exercise own judgment
 - (5) development of comprehensive self-governing organization
 - (6) ability to meet obligations or act without superior authority or guidance
- III. Commitment
 - (7) emphasis on altruistic aspects of the job rather than on private economic gain

IV. Responsibility (8) creation and application of a code of ethics⁶

The Communicator Analysis Studies, which Nayman helped pilot, is based on a 24-item professionalism index (see page 6) which includes operational definitions of these four criteria.

Within the 24-item index (reduced to 21 in this study) there are 11 professionally oriented items and 10 non-professionally oriented items. Each journalism sampled is asked to indicate how important each of the 21 characteristics is. Professionalism scores for each respondent are then computed by the application of this formula: $\Sigma P + (\Sigma P - NP) = \text{Professionalism score}$, where ΣP is the sum of the professional items and NP is the sum of the non-professional items.

It is assumed that journalists who are more professionally oriented will emphasize the importance of the professional aspects of a job more than its non-professional aspects. Therefore the 11 professionally oriented items show the degree of professional orientation of each respondent. The remaining 10 items are included in the 21 item scale as a control set.

Each respondent receives a professionalism score which is placed on a continuum ranging from least to most professionally oriented. Appropriate cutting marks are then decided upon and the respondents are divided into three categories: High Professionals (HP), Medium Professionals (MP) and Low Professionals (LP). Once this is done, the researcher can correlate other information about the respondent with his status as an HP, MP or LP. (For instance, he may find that HPs make more money, or are better educated.)

Professionalism Index⁷

Professional Items:

- Full use of abilities and training.
- Opportunity for originality and initiative.
- Opportunity to learn new skills and knowledge.
- Getting ahead in your professional career.
- Working with a well-known and respected news operation.
- Having a job that is valuable and essential to the community.
- Respect for ability and competence of co-workers.
- Opportunity to have influence on the public's thinking.
- Having a superior who appreciates the time you spend improving your capabilities.
- Freedom from continual, close supervision over your work.
- A job that makes the newspaper different in some ways because you work for it.
- Having an influence on important decisions.

Non-Professional Items

- Being able to enjoy doing the job.
- Availability of support: working with people who will stand behind you.
- Getting ahead in the organization you work for.
- Working with people rather than things.
- Security of the job in it being fairly permanent.
- Salary: earning enough money for a good living.
- Having a job with excitement and variety.
- Having a job with prestige in the community.
- Having a job my family is proud of.
- Having a job that does not disrupt my family life.
- Being with people who are congenial to work with.
- A job that brings me in contact with important people, e.g., community and provincial leaders, etc.

Mean Scores on Professional Implementation Items

ITEM	HPO Mean	LPO Mean	Difference
A journalist should not continue to work for a station if he disagrees with its editorial policy	4.56	4.81	-.26
The news staff should strive to be accurate in news content	1.07	1.03	.04
Significant news should receive more news play than sensational news	1.46	2.00	-.54
Newsmen should be willing to go to jail if necessary to protect their news sources	1.85	2.06	-.21
It is all right to take promotional or informational junkets sponsored by business organizations or government organizations if there are no strings attached	3.63	2.88	.55
In general, news work provides a satisfying life	1.78	2.12	-.36
It is the duty of the station to its stockholders to break even, even at the expense of cutting back the news service function	5.93	5.06	.87
The news staff has a legitimate claim to help broadcast content and news policies	1.33	1.88	-.55
Comprehensive or complete coverage of the day's events should be a station's goal	1.96	1.94	.02
Generally, journalism should be considered a profession rather than a craft	1.65	2.27	-.62
If a son or daughter shows an interest in journalism he or she should be encouraged to follow it as a career	2.07	2.54	-.47
Professions such as law and medicine have developed organizations to uphold professional standards. Journalists should form such an organization themselves	1.96	2.34	-.38
If a member of a professional journalism organization commits an unprofessional act (e.g., takes a bribe, falsifies facts in a story), he should be disciplined by the professional organization (e.g., extreme cases barred from the profession)	2.52	2.49	.03
A journalist should be certified by his professional organization as to qualifications, training and competence	3.93	3.52	.41

Mean Scores on On-The-Job Behavior Items

ITEM	HPO Mean	LPO Mean	Difference
If someone refuses to answer your query, do you let this influence you in your news treatment of the person?	2.59	2.75	+.17
As a broadcast newsman, do you use stories from newspapers without further queries or re-writing?	1.63	1.76	+.13
Do you treat lightly and avoid depth in a news story with which you disagree?	1.78	2.03	+.25
Do you give a person, institution, organization or government office opportunity to comment on an adverse story prior to release?	3.15	3.36	+.22
When dealing with an institutional or corporation story, do you accept information from employees without confirmation from a responsible official?	1.89	2.00	+.11
Are you given specific instructions by your supervisor on how to slant your story?	1.18	1.15	-.03
Do you reveal your personal opinions in your treatment of news stories?	2.18	1.88	+.94
Do you subtly resist instruction from your superiors with which you disagree?	2.78	2.33	-.44
Do you encourage your news sources to give you exclusive stories?	3.08	2.85	-.23
Do press passes or other gratuities favorably influence your news treatment?	1.41	1.85	+.44
Do you find yourself favorably influenced by junkets?	1.41	1.64	+.23
Do you keep news sources confidential if requested by the source (outside of a courtroom situation)?	3.78	3.88	+.10
Should a newsman's role include working for an improved society?	3.60	2.91	-.69
Does the requirement for a working relationship with supervisors or management ever require any altering of your beliefs or principles?	2.30	1.88	-.42

In addition to the professionalism index, the Communicator Analysis Study uses an instrument designed to measure how journalists feel about their jobs. Each respondent reviews a series of suggestions about his occupation and the material his paper covers.⁸ He is then asked how he feels about each suggestion, and to rate implementation of each on a seven-point scale from "Strongly Agree" (1) to Strongly disagree (7). See page 6 for some examples.

The table on page 11 comes from a study by Weinthal, Garrett and O'Keefe.⁹ In that study of broadcast journalists the authors began with this hypothesis: ". . . journalists with a higher professional orientation, as compared with lower, will (1) exhibit a stronger desire for implementation of professional values; (2) express more criticism of their respective stations; (3) be less willing to leave the field of journalism for better financial opportunities; (4) be more likely to belong to professional organizations; (5) be more highly educated; (6) differ in on-the-job behavior characteristics; and (7) differ in ranking terms synonymous with 'journalistic professionalism.'"¹⁰

The authors used a twenty item professionalism index similar to the McLeod-Hawley prototype and divided the respondents into two groups: those with high professional orientation (HPO) and those with a lower professional orientation (LPO). The factor which can most readily be deduced from the table on page 8 is that HPOs and LPOs in this study do not disagree overwhelmingly on the implementation of the various items. On only four items do the LPOs show their stripes.

The results of the authors' professionalism index led them

to conclude the professional attitudes of print journalists and broadcast journalists are similar.¹¹ The only significant differences were the broadcast newsman's much higher desire for "freedom from continual close supervision over work" among the professional items, and for the "excitement and variety the job provides" and "being with people who are congenial and easy to work with" among the non-professional items.

Weinthal, Garrett and O'Keefe also explored the differences in the on-the-job behavior of HPOs and LPOs. (See pages 7 & 8.) They found the HPO was more likely to resist instructions with which he disagreed, was less influenced by gratuities and junkets, accepted fewer amenities and was more concerned about accuracy in his presentation of the news. HPOs seemed, however, more inclined toward editorializing, were more often given instructions to slant the news (of course they said they resisted instructions with which they disagreed) and believed that journalists should work for an improved society.¹²

It is not necessarily true the "editorializing" in this case was a conscious process. It is possible the HPO newsmen were more aware of the near-impossibility of attaining "objectivity" and more willing to admit it. This finding has been reported in other surveys of both print and broadcast journalists.¹³

The results of this section of the study reveal something of the daily conduct of journalists. The newsmen said they "sometimes" allowed the subject of an adverse story to comment on it prior to release. They said they urged news sources to give them exclusive stories, but only "often" kept a source confidential

when requested by the source to do so.

A number of the journalists admitted that at least "rarely" they were: influenced by gifts and junkets, changed their beliefs to please the management, used stories lifted directly from newspapers, treated lightly stories with which they disagreed and revealed personal opinions in their coverage.

The table below shows the respondents' ranking of terms synonymous with "journalistic professionalism."¹⁴ A rank of 1 means the respondent found that word to be the most synonymous with "journalistic professionalism." A rank of 7 means he found it least synonymous with that term.

HPO	Mean	LPO	Mean
(1) objectivity	2.13	(1) objectivity	1.53
(2) investigation	2.52	(2) investigation	2.71
(3) analysis	3.09	(3) consistency	3.59
(4) consistency	3.65	(4) reflection of public	3.79
(5) opinion forming	5.09	(5) analysis	3.85
(6) reflection of public	5.20	(6) advocacy	5.92
(7) advocacy	5.86	(7) opinion forming	6.15

Both the HPOs and the LPOs ranked "objectivity" number one. But it is interesting to note that a greater percentage of LPOs made this choice. The gap between the respective rankings of "reflection of public" was the largest.

These results tend to bear out one of the authors'

hypotheses: there is a difference in the way HPOs and LPOs define "journalistic professionalism."

According to the results of another section of this study (specific data not shown here), education is not a relevant factor or a clear predictor of professional orientation. "No doubt," say the authors, "the developing newsman goes through a socialization process similar to those found in other occupations, where early education may lay a groundwork for competency in certain required skills, but professional values do not begin to crystallize until on-the-job experience begins."¹⁵

Finally, they conclude on a note which emphasizes the importance of measuring professionalism of journalism in terms of the journalist's self-perception.

"In describing characteristics of the journalistic occupation from the point of view of the newsman, we hopefully have avoided some of the obvious pitfalls evident in attempting to describe professional behavior. Ultimately, any decisions as to the nature of professional standards in this crucial occupation will rest in the hands of the journalists themselves."¹⁶

Amen.

One must understand that the sociological and empirical approaches to professionalism in journalism assume a Social Responsibility Theory of the press.¹⁷ The theory was first articulated in 1947 by the Hutchins Commission Report on a Free and Responsible Press.

The Social Responsibility Theory grew naturally from the Libertarian Theory, which says that if all the media are allowed to print or broadcast whatever they choose, then the truth will

emerge from this "marketplace of ideas." It is upon this truth, the theory continues, that the operation of any democracy depends.¹⁸

The Social Responsibility theory "requires" the media to do what the Libertarian Theory assumes they will do--provide a forum for all important viewpoints (not just those of the publisher or broadcaster) and thus create the "marketplace of ideas."¹⁹ In its report, the Hutchins Commission was even more specific. It proposed five "requirements" of the press. The press, it said, should: (1) provide a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context that gives them meaning, (2) provide a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism, (3) provide a representative picture of the constituent groups in society, (4) be responsible for the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of society, and (5) provide full access to the day's intelligence.²⁰

As one reads, one may notice that the operational definitions sociologists have linked to "journalistic professionalism" often closely resemble the Hutchins Commission's five proposals.

But there is disagreement over whether this is justified. Merrill, certainly, believes it is not.²¹ He says autonomy is the mark of a professional, and that autonomy and a "sense of service to a broader social good cannot coexist." According to Merrill, a professional journalist is an inner-directed "free and authentic person, not simply a cog in the impersonal wheel of journalism."

LeRoy, however, says/professional is socially responsible.²² He says, "the professional has a belief in public service. The

professional's purpose is to serve the public good. He is altruistic."

Windhal and Rosengren understate the situation when they say ". . . the operationalism of professionalism used by most researchers in the area (mass media) is not above discussion."²³ They go on to say the study of professionalism among journalists should be carried out within "a somewhat broader perspective than it has been."

Windhal and Rosengren propose two types of professionalization. The first, called "Collective," calls for entire occupations to move from being crafts toward the ideal of being "professions." They see "professions" as involving formal education, codes of conduct and societal license. This process, they say, takes decades.²⁴

The second is called "Individual Professionalization." The individual is socialized to a professional outlook through formal and informal procedures, including education, apprenticeships and on-the-job experience. The authors contend that a lot of individual professionalization occurs while the entire occupation is being collectively professionalized.²⁵

Windhal and Rosengren use a definition of professionalism presented by Blau and Scott in 1962.²⁶ It says: (1) The professional should be guided by universalistic norms. (2) Stress should be laid on expertise. (3) Relations to clients should be characterized by affective neutrality. (4) Professional status should be achieved, not ascribed. (5) The work of the professional should be carried out in the interest of the clients, not in the

interest of the professional.

Most of these elements are included in most studies of professionalism--including the McLeod-Hawley study discussed earlier.

Sindhal and Rosengren use a typology based on two dimensions, one of which is degree of professional orientation.²⁷ They determined the degree of professionalism through a professionalism index based on the McLeod-Hawley model.

They set up the typology like this:

Search For Security and Promotion

-	-	+
Degree of Professional Orientation	-	+
	1	3
	2	4
+		

and in cell one they place the percentage of respondents with low professional orientation (LPO) and low need for job security, in cell two those with a high professional orientation (HPO) and low need for security, in cell three those with LPO and high need for security and in cell four those with HPO and high need for security.

Thus, "search for security" becomes the controlling factor in a comparison of "degree of professional orientation" and three levels of education:

- (1) it must perform a unique and essential service,
- (2) it must emphasize intellectual techniques,
- (3) it must have a long period of specialized training to acquire a

SEARCH FOR SECURITY

		<u>Education</u>		
		<u>Low</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>High</u>
Degree of Professional Orientation	Low	47	60	66
	High	53	40	34
N(=100%)		49	78	59

Professionalism and education, according to this table, correlate negatively. But Windhal and Rosengren point out that without "search for security" as a controlling factor, the two factors correlate positively.²⁸

The point of this discussion is two-fold. First, it shows that the method used to measure something can determine the results of the measurement. And second, it indicates there are some factors so closely linked to professionalism they should be accounted for when an effort is made to correlate "degree of professional orientation" with any other factor.²⁹

The authors apparently did not decide whether professionalism related to education in general. But they did say "there was no relationship between professionalism and journalism college attendance "

This is at variance with the McLeod-Hawley definition of "profession," which says in order for an occupation to become a profession " . . . (1) it must perform a unique and essential service, (2) it must emphasize intellectual techniques, (3) it must have a long period of specialized training to acquire a

systematic body of knowledge based on research, (4) it must be given a broad range of autonomy, (5) its practitioners must accept broad personal responsibility for judgments and actions, (6) it must place greater emphasis on service than on private economic gain, (7) it must develop a comprehensive self-governing organization, and (8) it must have a code of ethics which has been clarified and interpreted by concrete uses."³⁰

Based on this definition, McLeod and Hawley say "if any agreement does exist, it is probably that journalism is partly professionalized but lacks some important ingredients of a true profession."

Wilbur Schramm says that journalists cannot be professionals because final authority rests not with the newsman, but with his employer.³¹ J. Edward Gerald says the key problem is that journalists lack an image of themselves as persons of importance.³²

That raises the question: "Does a journalist's impression of himself make a difference?" McLeod and Hawley answer in the affirmative.³³ The basis for all their research on the professionalization of journalists is the journalist's self-perception.

They believe professionally oriented persons should, desire a job that uses their professional skills and knowledge, that contributes an essential service, that has an effect on the client and the organization worked for, and that has competent co-workers and supervisors. On the other hand, they should give less emphasis to the monetary, security, prestige and human relations aspects of a job.³⁴

The authors predicted the attitudes of the more professionally oriented newsman would be more in favor of implementing professional values and would be more critical of the newspaper

for which they worked.³⁵

The results of the study showed that the more professionally oriented journalists did more strongly desire some type of implementation of professional values--but weren't sure what form the implementation should take.³⁶ They were divided, as were the less professionally oriented, on whether the formation of a professional organization with disciplinary powers was a good idea.³⁷

Generally, advertising, business-circulation and clerical employees were found to have a lower professional orientation. Persons on the editorial staff tended to critique their respective papers in terms of responsibility and objectivity. Non-editorial employees mixed "excitement" into their evaluations. This is partly a function of editorial staffers setting a higher standard for what the study called the "Ideal Newspaper."³⁸ The more professionally oriented journalists were shown to be more critical toward their papers than any other group.

(But self-perception is only part of the story. A profession must have public support and approval--in other words: "prestige." In a survey done a few years ago, Americans gave "newspaper reporter" a prestige ranking equal with that of "undertaker."³⁹ That's lower than "doctor," "lawyer," or even "college professor.")

Eighty-eight percent of the journalists surveyed said performing "an essential service to the community" was "quite important" or "extremely important" to them. A large majority of journalists, then, perceive themselves to be working for the community good--and McLeod and Hawley consider this a prerequisite for the professionalization of journalists.

Lattimore and Nayman conducted a study in which the respondents were asked not only how important professional items were, but how well their job fulfilled their desire for the items.⁴⁰ A small degree of job satisfaction toward the professional items indicated a high professional orientation (HPO). In the study, those persons with lower degrees of professional orientation (as determined by the professionalism index) had a higher degree of satisfaction with the extent to which they encountered the professional items in their jobs.

(Out of 181 respondents, 25% (46) were classified as high professionals (HP), 44% (79) were classified as medium professionals (MP), and 31% (56) as low professionals (LP).⁴¹ Perhaps it is only a question of semantics, but it seems odd there is no classification for non-professionals.)

Lattimore and Nayman note that most of the HPs are relatively young. In terms of organizational controls and professional improvements they say this:

On the one hand, a group of relatively young journalists (HPs) demonstrates certain ambitions to make inroads toward achievement within the organizational structure of their profession, but they are frustrated by the apparent lack of opportunities and support from their supervisors. On the other hand, LPs seem to be older in age (sic), and to a certain degree, maintain supervisory positions, are somewhat content with the achievement, security and prestige aspects of their jobs.⁴²

As Barber sees it, most of the time it is the elites of an emerging profession who take the lead in advancing professionalism and in clamoring for public recognition of its new status.⁴³

The newsmen surveyed in this study, regardless of their degree of professional orientation, generally agree on the need for improvement in journalism. They said training, ethics, professional responsibility and social responsibility were areas in need of improvement. Of these, the respondents said professional responsibility was in most need of repair. The HPs also indicated a strong desire for more comprehensive coverage of the local scene.⁴⁴

The study showed HPs were more reluctant to leave their jobs for other information-related jobs, such as public relations or advertising--even though they were paid less than the LPs, who said they were more willing to move on.⁴⁵

Lattimore and Nayman concluded young journalists have more "professional gusto" than older journalists and tend to be more concerned with things that indicate professional orientation. They caution their findings are only applicable within the small area of the study (Denver, Col.). However, they also say that if their findings are true for a larger area " . . . a generation of young newsmen are (sic) emerging in the journalistic occupation, and with their progressive attitudes, concern for a better performance, and love for the occupation, they are going to uplift the spirit as well as the quality of journalism."⁴⁶

Thomas Coldwell did a study to determine whether it is a valid assumption that personnel with a higher professional orientation perform differently or better than those with a lower professional orientation.⁴⁷ The study presumes no relationship between professionalization and performance. But it was reasoned that a

positive relationship between these two variables would support the notion that professionalism is beneficial to society.

Coldwell's study examined newspaper photographers. First, he rated the newspaper photography in each of his respondents' papers and assigned each paper to one of two groups: inferior and superior. A superior paper, photographically, had (1) photographs of high informative value, (2) good reproduction, (3) pictures printed large enough to be effective, (4) pictures integrated with words, and (5) good photo layouts.

He then surveyed the respondents with a professionalism index which placed heavy emphasis on service to the public, intellectual activity, autonomy and influence. The index placed less emphasis on the monetary, security, prestige and human relations aspects of the job.

It was found that professional orientation was higher among the photographers at the superior papers than those at the inferior ones. It was also found that the photographers in the superior group wanted and received a higher level of journalistic professionalism from their papers.⁴⁸ But the difference between the standards desired and those actually in possession was still greater than the corresponding difference among photographers in the inferior group. Dissatisfaction with the professional standards at a journalist's paper apparently correlates positively with a high professional orientation.⁴⁹ There was one thing however, with which the photographers at the superior papers were satisfied: "being with a newspaper respected by photographers nationwide." This seems to indicate that Coldwell's division of

the papers into the two groups was accurate.

More of the professionally oriented photographers said they adhered to a stricter ethical code concerning "staged news photography." When asked to evaluate hypothetical situations concerning staged news photographs, their descriptions were more negative and critical than those with lower professional orientation.⁵⁰

The HPs in the inferior group were the most critical of the photographic editorial policy at their papers, while the HPs at the superior papers were the least critical.⁵¹

Coldwell concludes on a note which leaves no doubt he believes there are professionals in journalism.

In short, hire professionals and give them the latitude to exert their professionalism. That may be a big order in view of a professional's appetite (according to the index used here) for independence and influence and in view of his criticism of company policies. Professionalism seems to be a two-edged sword.⁵²

Johnstone, Slawski and Bowman say the debate concerning professionalism in journalism revolves around "objectivity vs. subjectivity, detachment vs. advocacy, observer vs. watchdog."⁵³ This, in turn, is confused by conflicting assessments of the function of the news media, the relative importance of the news and the nature of the news itself.

The debate today within the field appears to put proponents of a professionalized, objective, restrained and technically efficient journalism against those advocating a socially responsible journalism inspired by some of the same norms which were the objects of earlier reforms.⁵⁴

In order to see what American journalists think the role of the press is, Johnstone, Slawski and Bowman conducted a survey in which they asked the respondents to place each of a series of possible media functions in one of four categories ranging from "extremely important," to "not really important at all." The following table reports the percentage of respondents who evaluated each activity "extremely important" and ranks them by the level of endorsement they received.⁵⁵

Media Functions	Percent (N=1,313)
1. Investigate claims and statements made by the government.	76.3
2. Provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems.	61.3
3. Get information to the public as quickly as possible.	56.4
4. Discuss national policy while it is still being developed.	55.9
5. Stay away from stories where factual content cannot be verified.	52.8
6. Concentrate on news which is of interest to the widest possible public.	39.1
7. Develop intellectual and cultural interests of the public.	30.5
8. Provide entertainment and relaxation.	16.7

The fact that so many of the journalists rated "investigate statements made by the government" and "provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems" as being "extremely important" led the authors to conclude the American press is an active, socially responsible press, not one which restricts itself to neutral reports of facts.⁵⁶

In another part of the study the authors divided all the journalists into two groups: those who tend toward the active,

socially responsible press, and those who lean toward a restrained, objective press. This was accomplished by analyzing the individual journalists' responses in the above table. They then correlated the "neutral" journalists and the "participant" ones with various other factors. See the table below.⁵⁷

Variables	Value Scales	
	Neutral	Participant
1. Type of education and training received		
(a) X years of formal schooling	-.234	.249
(b) "Quality" of college attended	-.154	.116
(c) Majored in journalism in college or in graduate school	.082	.010
2. Age and experience in the field		
(d) Age	.154	-.132
(e) Number of years in the news media	.108	-.089
3. Community and organization setting		
(f) Size of city	-.201	.170
(g) Size of news organization	-.084	.106
(h) Prestige of news organization	-.148	.137
(i) Print sector of media	.040	.095
4. Current level of responsibility		
(j) Level of organizational responsibility	.011	-.092
(k) Income	-.081	.083
5. Professional and community integration		
(l) Number of professional organizations belonged to	.003	-.034
(m) Number of community organizations belonged to	.109	-.128
(n) Percentage of people seen socially connected with journalism or the communications field	-.097	.161

(In this table a correlation coefficient greater than .060 ((or -.060)) can be interpreted as significantly different from zero with approximately 95 percent confidence.)

Education turns out to be the best predictor of both value scales. Participant press ideologies are clearly associated with

higher levels of formal education, while neutral values are associated with lower.⁵⁸

Older and more experienced journalists were more often grouped in the neutral press group than in the participant group. There are two possible reasons this was true. Journalists may adopt more conservative attitudes as they age. Or, if participant values are a product of education, this may only reflect a recent trend toward journalists being better educated.⁵⁹

Participant values are more likely to be held by journalists working in large cities, and neutral values by those in smaller cities and towns. Also, the size of the news organization and its prestige correlates positively with participant values and negatively with neutral values. Here again, however, any interpretation of the data must take into account that journalists with more education tend to work at larger papers, which, in turn, tend to be in larger cities.⁶⁰

Of these data, the authors point to education as being the primary line along which segmentation of journalists should take place. This agrees with the study by Windhal and Rosengren discussed earlier.⁶¹

Finally, the study concludes, although some differences among age groups were evident, the segmentation should probably not be interpreted primarily as a generational conflict.⁶² This disagrees completely with Lattimore and Nayman's assessment of the situation, which was that there was direct confrontation between young journalists and their older supervisors over the implementation of professional values and the genesis of a more socially

responsible press.⁶³

A study done on Canadian journalists, however, produced different results entirely.⁶⁴ In that study, HPs were found to be younger than MPs, but older than LPs.

It's possible the lack of training centers for Canadian journalists has resulted in a young workforce devoid of the ethics found in young newsmen in other countries. There are only four university-based journalism programs in Canada, and all of them are in a small area of Ontario.⁶⁵

The study found that of the Canadian journalists, 27.3% were HPs, 40.3% were MPs and 32.5% were LPs. It also found the HPs were very frustrated with the level of Canadian journalism. But interestingly, it was LPs who teamed up with the HPs to call for refresher courses at universities for working journalists.⁶⁶

As an employee becomes more professionally oriented, he seems to develop a desire to upgrade his occupation to the ethical levels of the more traditional professions. But a report by the Government of Canada Special Senate Committee on Mass Media reached these conclusions:

Physicians, lawyers, accountants, teachers and plumbers all insist, in varying degrees, on the right to set the standards under which they perform their work, and to decide who is and who is not qualified to join the occupational ranks. Journalists do not possess this status. They do not appear to have sought it, and their employers have assuredly not encouraged them to seek it.⁶⁷

The government report also says journalism has many of the characteristics of a profession, but lacks some important ingredients of the traditional professions such as medicine, law and theology. "And yet," the report continues, "journalists are

sometimes viewed as professionals, and as persons of high responsibility, because of public recognition of the importance of their work."⁶⁸

Wright's study of Canadian journalists, however, argues that because of its uniqueness, "journalism should not be examined as a profession or a non-profession, but that the question of whether or not journalism is a profession should be asked in terms of the individual and not the practice."⁶⁹

The study looks at journalists' self-perceptions on an individual basis, rather than the vocation of journalism in relation to the traditional professions. The consensus among social scientists involved in communicator analysis seems to be that it is the journalist's self-perception which is the most important factor in determining levels of professionalism.

The results of the study indicate abundant discontent among all levels of Canadian journalists. Even though they were found to be lacking in higher education and formal training, most journalists said vast improvement was needed for journalism in Canada. Desire for improvement and dissatisfaction with the competence of co-workers are included as "professional items" in almost all professional indexes. The obvious conclusion is that while journalism as a whole in Canada is not professionalized, there is a segment of the occupational community which is pushing for the high standards of the more traditional professions.

Wright concludes:

It was assumed, based on results reported by the (Senate Committee) report that most of Canada's journalists would be LPs. However, the majority (67.6%) were HPs and MPs. Since more than half

the journalists surveyed revealed some evidence of high professional orientation, the validity of the (Senate Committee) report's claim that Canadian journalists are low in professionalism is questioned.⁷⁰

A study conducted recently concluded the four attributes of professionalism were expertise, autonomy, commitment and responsibility.⁷¹ The study compared the levels of professionalism of journalists and public relations personnel. It found that persons in public relations place more emphasis on exerting influence on important decisions within their organizations than do journalists. It also found that journalists place more emphasis on responsibility to the public. This suggests that journalists have a more altruistic mission than P.R. men.

Nearly all the public relations personnel had been journalists at one time--and more than half the journalists said they would enter the public relations field if the monetary attraction was sufficient.⁷²

P.R. work, then, seems to be another choice for the journalist who gets tired of the longer hours, smaller wages and the uninterrupted stream of hard news. But if journalism is to be thought of as a profession, would it not follow that public relations is a profession, too? "No," says the study:

To a public relations person, communication within the organization is as important as the flow of communication from the organization to the public. This is where our data indicate that professional orientation of the two groups can be distinguished from each other.⁷³

Other choices for the journalist who has tired of the traditional news beats are sports, feature writing and travel writing. But if there are any reports on the level of professional

orientation among these three journalistic hybrids, they are well hidden. It is interesting, however, that the Society of American Travel Writers has at least one attribute in common with the traditional professions: very rigid entrance requirements.

In order to be admitted to the S.A.T.W. an applicant must submit writings for evaluation by a selection committee. The committee must then receive favorable recommendations from two unrelated members of the society. Then, if all has gone well, the entire society reviews the applicant's qualifications. If there are no objections, the applicant is admitted. But in addition, all members must continue to produce copy. And each member is reviewed annually.⁷⁴ Not even Sigma Delta Chi expects this, and it calls itself "The Society of Professional Journalists!"

But then, it is not completely certain whether all the members of a professional society are professionals. More than one study has concluded that the individual members of these societies may not embrace the views of their spokesmen and organizations.⁷⁵

* * * * *

To sum up, sociologists, neither as a group nor in individual studies, seem to have a clear-cut answer to the question of whether journalists are professionals. They are willing to say one journalist is more "professionally oriented" than another, but are not willing to say whether he is sufficiently professionally oriented to receive the label "professional."

⁷⁴ Peter N. Bachman, "The Values of Professional Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly*, Winter, 1978, p. 775.

⁷⁵ Peter N. Bachman, "The Values of Professional Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly*, Winter, 1978, p. 775.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 769.

Endnotes

¹Oguz B. Nayman, "Professional Orientations of Journalists: An Introduction to Communicator Analysis Studies," Gazette 19:4 (Winter, 1973), p. 205.

²Ibid., p. 206.

³Ibid., p. 206.

⁴A. M. Carr-Saunders, "Professionalization in Historical Perspective," in Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills (eds.) Professionalization (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1960), pp. 3-4.

⁵Nayman, p. 207.

⁶Ibid., p. 208.

⁷As presented in Donald K. Wright, "An Analysis of the Level of Professionalization Among Canadian Journalists," Gazette 20:3 (Autumn 1974), p. 136.

⁸Almost universally, "paper" or "newspaper" will refer herein to all news media, including broadcast stations, magazines, press associations, etc.

⁹Donald S. Weinthal and Garrett J. O'Keefe, "Professionalization of Broadcast Newsmen in an Urban Area," Journal of Broadcasting (Spring, 1974), p. 199.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 195.

¹¹Ibid., p. 204.

¹²Ibid., p. 205.

¹³J. Johnstone, E. Slawski and W. Bowman, "The Professional Values of American Newsmen," Public Opinion Quarterly 36:520-540 (1972).

¹⁴Weinthal and O'Keefe, p. 203.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 207.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 209.

¹⁷Stuart H. Schwartz, "Inner-Directed and Other-Directed Values of Professional Journalists," Journalism Quarterly (Winter, 1978), p. 725.

¹⁸Peter M. Sandman, David M. Rubin and David B. Sachsman, Media (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), p. 168.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 168

²⁰Fred S. Seibert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm, Four Theories of the Press (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), pp. 87-92.

²¹John C. Merrill, The Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy (New York: Hastings House, 1974), p. 3.

²²David J. LeRoy, "Journalism as a Profession," in D. J. LeRoy and C. H. Sterling, (eds.) Mass News Practices--Controversies and Alternatives (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 253.

²³Swen Windhal and Karl Erik Rosengren, "Newsmen's Professionalization: Some Methodological Problems," Journalism Quarterly (Autumn, 1978), p. 466.

²⁴Ibid., p. 466.

²⁵Ibid., p. 469.

²⁶Blau and Scott, Formal Organizations (San Francisco: Chandler, 1962).

²⁷Windhal and Rosengren, p. 469.

²⁸Ibid., p. 471.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 471-2.

³⁰Jack McLeod and Searle E. Hawley, "Professionalization Among Newsmen," Journalism Quarterly (Autumn, 1964), p. 530.

³¹Wilbur Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communications (New York: Harper, 1957), p. 344.

³²J. Edward Gerald, The Social Responsibility of the Press (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1963), p. 168.

³³McLeod and Hawley, p. 531.

³⁴Ibid., p. 531.

³⁵Ibid., p. 531.

³⁶Ibid., pl 536.

³⁷Ibid., p. 537.

³⁸Ibid., pl 537.

³⁹Paul Hatt and C. C. North, "Prestige Ranking of Occupations," in Sigmund Nosow and William Form (eds.) Man, Work and Society: A Reader in the Sociology of Professions (New York: Basic Books, 1962), pp. 277-83.

⁴⁰Daniel L. Lattimore and Oguz B. Nayman, "Professionalism of Colorado Daily Newsmen: A Communicator Analysis," Gazette (1974), pp. 1-10.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 3.

⁴²Ibid., p. 5.

⁴³Bernard Barber, "Some Problems in the Sociology of Professions," in Kenneth S. Lynn and editors of Daedalus, The Professions in America (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), pp. 15-34.

⁴⁴Lattimore and Nayman, pp. 6-8.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁷Thomas Coldwell, "Professionalization and Performance Among Newspaper Photographers," Gazette (1974), pp. 73-81.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 77.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 78.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 79.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 79-80.

⁵²Ibid., p. 81.

⁵³Johnstone, Slawski and Bowman, p. 522.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 522.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 526-27.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 530.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 531.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 531.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 532-33.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 532.

⁶¹Windhal and Rosengren, p. 472.

⁶²Johnstone, Sawski and Bowman, p. 54.

⁶³Lattimore and Nayman, p. 10.

⁶⁴Wright, op. cit.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 135.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 135.

⁶⁷Senator Keith Davey, Chairman, "Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media" (Ottawa: Queen's Printers, 1970), p. 121.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 121.

⁶⁹Wright, p. 134.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 144.

⁷¹Oguz B. Nayman, Blaine K. McKee and Daniel L. Lattimore, "P. R. Personnel and Print Journalists: A Comparison of Professionalism," Journalism Quarterly (Autumn, 1978), p. 492.

⁷²Ibid., p. 493.

⁷³Ibid., p. 497.

⁷⁴Larry Wood, "Is Travel Writing a Growing Profession?" Journalism Quarterly (Winter, 1977), p. 761.

⁷⁵Windhal and Rosengren, op. cit.

II

GOVERNMENT

Of the many persons and organizations that have tried to decide whether journalists are professionals, the U.S. government is one of the few that has one, unwavering answer. That answer is no.

The cases examined in this section were decided by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The litigants in each case were generally a newspaper, and one of a few unions.

One would assume, then, that the union was crusading in hopes journalists would be thought of as professionals and thus treated with more respect. But that was not the case. Odd as it may seem at first glance, it is the newspaper that wants the newsman to be classified as a "professional" under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA).

Why? Because "professionals" don't necessarily have to organize with the unions at their respective papers. That means the "professionals" (which would be all editorial employees) could organize separately and thus undermine the power base of the original union.

So to turn from examining how sociologists deal with the question, to how the government deals with it, is to turn from the altruistic to the pragmatic. No impassioned defenses of journalistic ethics, no "levels of professional orientation," no implementation of professional standards.

Just money, and politics, and power.

* * * * *

"Newspaper publishing companies, special editors, rewrite men, and reporters who are assigned to towns at some distance from the home office are not professional employees within the amended NLRA."¹ That was the verdict in In re: Jersey Publishing Company in 1948.

The case was the result of attempts by the publisher of the Jersey Observer to exclude 23 newsmen from a collective bargaining unit because of what it called their "greater responsibilities." The publisher said the journalists were "professional men like doctors and lawyers and should not be in a union." But the Labor Board did not agree.

The NLRB's rationale was that the employees the newspapers wanted classified as "professionals" weren't really any different from the rest of the employees.

The employees in the editorial department regarded by the employer as "professional employees" apparently are those whom it considers of particular value to the newspaper because of their experience and capabilities and who allegedly have greater responsibilities than employees it regards as non-professional.²

But, the NLRB continued, all reporters in the editorial department perform almost the same type of work and are subject to the same departmental supervision. The duties of all the employees, the board said, were closely related. All were responsible for gathering and reporting the news, promoting good will and representing the paper in their respective territories. All received weekly salaries and were entitled to the same vacation benefits.

All the reporters worked a 40-hour week, although there were some who did not check in and out of the home office on a regular basis. Finally, the board said, all stories were handled similarly.³

The NLRB conceded that judgment and discretion were involved in the work of newsmen in question, but insisted most of the employees' news coverage consisted of routine news items. And the board felt the newsman working on a more sensitive story would govern himself according to the acknowledged standards of his employer.

The board also noted the education requirements for entering journalism were hardly rigid:

None of the employees in the editorial department is required to hold a license or to undergo specialized training in a school of higher learning. A few are graduates of schools of journalism or academic colleges.⁴

Time was not happy about this analysis. In an article published soon after the Jersey case, it said the NLRB had said that because there were no education requirements and no license required, the newsmen were "just hired help, like the paper's clerks and stenographers."⁵

Perhaps Time reacted too strongly. But the board did say there was no reason to distinguish between the employees in question here and other employees in the editorial department on the basis of the duties performed or how well they were performed. If there was a difference, the board said, it was one of degree, not kind. The board said:

It is to be expected that the employer may find some newspapermen better qualified

and more trustworthy than others and make its assignments accordingly. This is a matter of good administrative practice but it does not warrant the conclusion that the less favored employees should be considered apart from their co-workers in the same department.⁶

Compare this with what follows. It was written almost 30 years later--but the style, the reasoning and the verdict have not changed.

"Journalists"--reporters, staff writers, columnists, copy editors, editors, editorial writers and cartoonists--in the news department of a newspaper publisher are not professional employees who must be offered a self-determination election before being included in a bargaining unit with other news department employees, notwithstanding employer's contention that Jersey Publishing Co. should be reversed and journalists accorded professional status in view of "dynamic changes" which have occurred in the communications media in recent years, since NLRA defines "professional employee" as one performing work which requires knowledge of an advanced type in the field of science or learning customarily acquired by prolonged course of specialized instruction and study in an institution of higher learning, as distinguished from general academic education, and journalists do not meet this standard.⁷

Another reason the board dismissed the paper's contention that Jersey Publishing Co. should be reversed was that it felt the paper had no policy of hiring only journalists who had some type of advanced education or training in journalism or communications, who had completed an apprenticeship, or who at least had been graduated from college.

The paper, however, said it was looking at potential employees who had a broad education, a capacity for intellectual advancement and the ability to grow on the job. It said what it liked to do was "hire creative people who show an interest in writing."⁸

In its brief the newspaper said journalists should be considered professionals because of "dynamic changes" in the news media. Among those changes listed were trends toward specialization; the increase of college-trained people on the staffs, as well as the employer's preference for hiring college-trained people; the close co-operation between the newspaper and journalism schools, with respect to development of curricula; the greater demands of a more sophisticated public; and the unique responsibility of a free press in a democratic society.⁹

That's the argument for labeling journalists as professionals. But the Newspaper Guild had reasons that label should not be affixed.

It said journalists were not professionals because they were not operating in a field which required "knowledge of an advanced type customarily acquired by a prolonged course of specialized intellectual instruction."¹⁰ Journalism, it argued, is a general field.

The NLRB agreed. Journalism, it said, simply doesn't fit the definition cited in the NLRA. But that is not to say the board was without accolades for newsmen. Though journalists are not professionals, the board said, it did "not question the intellectual demand of the modern journalist's job nor the special responsibilities inherent in his position . . . We recognize . . . that the story which ultimately appears in a newspaper is often the result of rigorous intellectual work."¹¹

Any attempt by the government to regulate the press carries serious First Amendment implications. It was apparently with this

in mind that the NLRB refused to adopt a specific criteria of education or experience as a prerequisite to professional status for journalists.¹²

But this opinion found some members of the board in dissent. And the majority opinion in In re: Western Electric said the dissenters had "failed to focus on the limited issue" before the board. The "limited issue" was whether journalism met the strict criteria set forth in section 2(12) of the NLRA. The board ruled the criteria had not been met--even though it acknowledged the employees in this case were "predominantly . . . individuals with advanced degrees" and that it could "be inferred that the work required 'advanced knowledge.'"¹³

The board's chairman dissented. She contended the NLRA was not a stagnant doctrine, but rather a growing, changing set of rules. It is the job of the NLRB, she said, to adapt the legislation to changes in society.

Chairman Murphy said journalism had become an occupation in which the work was purely intellectual. Analysis and good judgment, she said, were the hallmarks of the job. What the board had failed to do, she continued, was to recognize the type of work the journalist actually does.¹⁴

She concluded almost passionately:

The broad spectrum of knowledge, the ability to probe into the meaning of an event, and the ability to write clearly and concisely in newspaper style are the essence of professionalism exercised by employees who . . . carry the constitutional burden of keeping the citizens informed on all manner of subjects around the world affecting their lives, there is no question in my mind, and I would find that they meet the statutory definition of "professional employee."¹⁵

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

So in the eyes of the government, or at least the National Labor Relations Board, journalists are not professionals. But examine what the result would be if journalism were regulated like the traditional professions.

To practice medicine, one must pass a state-administered Medical Board examination. To practice law, one must pass the state bar exam. If all journalists were regarded as professionals, wouldn't they too be subject to licensing? Or would the First Amendment rise to thwart such a scheme?

Or, government regulation might include educational requirements. And an organization similar to the American Medical Association might be set up to enforce these regulations and sanction those who ignore them. Practicing journalism without a license could become a crime.

Perhaps this has too much of a doomsday tinge. Perhaps not. But it must be recognized that any governmental attempt to regulate the public's right (after all, journalists are part of the public) to express itself poses serious constitutional questions.

Journalists will show more indication of their professionalism if they put their egos on a diet, eschew prestige and not push for the government to call them professionals. Their duty is the same, whatever you call them.

III

OBSERVERS

"Observers" is used here as a label for the many, diverse persons who have taken notice of the problem of deciding whether journalists are professionals, but who are neither social scientists nor acting in a governmental capacity. Working journalists, former journalists, educators and historians figure prominently in the ranks.

They do not justify their conclusions with numbers, and their conclusions are more often open to challenge than the conclusions of those who do. But there seems to be a smell-of-gun-powder-right-there-in-the-trenches aspect, which is unavailable anywhere else, to their examinations of the question at hand.

There is little consensus among "observers." Those who argue vehemently that journalism is a profession are not outnumbered by those who disagree. And there is a lot of disagreement among those who, at least superficially, seem to agree.

The problem is that few "observers" seem to agree on what a "profession" actually is. Sociologists use a "professionalism index" which is almost standard in their field. The government has carved its definition into stone in the shape of the National Labor Relations Act. But to the "observers" a "professional" is everything from a completely objective reporter of the obvious facts to an outspoken advocate of a better society. Against such

a backdrop, it's no wonder confusion reigns.

As one sifts through what follows, then, remember the arguments and conclusions presented here are as often the product of purely objective thinking as not. Men discussing their life's work can have very definite, but slightly biased, ideas of what it is they do.

But this is no reason to discount or ignore their opinions. In fact, they may be all the more valuable since they present the journalist's self-perceptions in his own language.

So in this section, emphasis will be placed on linking the journalist's self-image as a professional with his definition of professionalism, so we can more clearly understand how the "observers" answer the question of whether journalists are professionals.

* * * * *

Insofar as it deals with journalism, The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences is not very scientific. At least not in the sense of using graphs, charts and surveys to conduct research and suggest hypotheses. Therefore it falls into the "observer" category. It is important because it was one of the first works to deal with journalists and professionalism.

There is no question where the author of the section on journalism stands on this issue. The entry begins: "Journalism is one of the oldest professions."¹ From that point on it deals with the inception of journalism as a profession and its development over almost two-hundred years.

Here is that history, as told in The Encyclopedia of Social

Sciences:

Assuming that a profession deserves the name only when it stands alone, requires a distinctive training, employs men for a lifetime of single-minded endeavor and has a fixed set of non-commercial standards and aims, the profession of journalism was scarcely born before 1760.²

Until the latter half of the eighteenth century journalism was a business or a part of the political realm rather than a profession. There were four stages in the development of the "profession." The first was being granted freedom of speech. The second was the emergence from subservience to political parties. Third was the trend toward individualistic leadership. (This refers to the very popular and persuasive editorial writers who were important in shaping popular opinion during the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries.) And finally, the obliteration of this individualistic leadership and a move toward objectivity.³

The professional character of the journalist has thus been a product of his environs. He rode the social and economic tides from generation to generation.

The journalist's conception of his work in the early years lacked dignity. But as a profession its dignity has grown steadily. Specialization has led to the establishment of schools to prepare persons for the profession. This, in turn, has led to a sharper distinction between experts and amateurs in the field and a stronger insistence on accuracy and ethics.⁴

And ethics and accuracy are more important to a professional reputation than anything else. In 1937, one criticism of journalism

in the United States was that it was slovenly, vulgar and sensationalistic.⁵ There were calls for the formation of a counterpart to the American Medical Association or the American Bar Association which would police journalism ethics.⁶ This has proved neither necessary nor wise because journalism is young and is still suffering from growing pains.

As a profession, journalism the world over suffers from the brevity of its history and a consequent lack of firm traditions; from the process continued generation after generation of annexing readers by establishing journals which reach out to the illiterate, ignorant and vulgar minded; from the frequent difficulty of reconciling the objects of the editorial department and the counting room; and from the great recent tendency in many countries toward consolidating rival newspapers, suppressing individuality and making the surviving journal commercial in character. A constant vigil is required to maintain elaborate journalistic standards.⁷

That, according to The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, is the history of journalism as a profession. As you can well see, it starts with the premise journalists are professionals and told the story in those terms. But in the quoted matter in the immediately preceding paragraph there is basis to refute that premise and build a strong case to the contrary.

Kimball is one who has done just that.⁸ In the established professions, he says, the state participates in examining and licensing in order to uphold standards. But it is unthinkable to give the state this power in the case of journalists. The pressures against the free flow of information are weighty enough.⁹

He unfolds his definition of professionalism and, in the process, shows why journalists don't fit in: "But as long as entry into a career in journalism carries no compulsory period of

specialized training, as long as there is no recognized test for the right to practice, journalists will forever be set apart from the ranks of the formal professions."¹⁰

Schools of journalism he says, cannot be compared to law schools and medical schools. "The role of the professional school in the non-profession of journalism remains ambiguous."¹¹

For Kimball, professionalism is closely akin to social responsibility. He believes that even in the face of economic self-interest, journalists retain their desire to improve society. And that, he says, is a constructive force.

But Kimball also differentiates between professionals and non-professionals on the basis of their ability as writers and reporters. That is, he seems to believe the more competent a journalist is, the more professional he is: "The artistry of the 'pro' is his ability to use a slice of life to illustrate the whole, to relate the reader to the event as if he himself were there, to unravel the complicated idea by some illuminating illustration."¹²

But how many journalists have this ability? Thomas Griffith of Time says many do but they're stifled by a lack of autonomy. A journalist with the ability, he says, "may have the duty, but often does not have the opportunity to tell the truth as he sees it. He is a hired man and because he is, he is not a professional."¹³

"And in journalism the key professional quality is control," says Kimball. Control over what news is covered and how it is presented to the public. A man whose decisions are constantly being reversed by his superiors has tenuous claim to being a professional. The journalist must be free to serve the public.

Wickham Steed, an editor at the London Times, agrees with Kimball's vision of a socially responsible press. He says "journalism is something more than a craft, something other than an industry, something between an art and a ministry. Journalists proper are unofficial public servants whose purpose is to serve the community."¹⁴

This loyalty to the public as a client and the sense of responsibility to the community is the principal professional claim of the working journalist, according to Kimball. He says public service is one of the main reasons most people get into journalism and that great reporters often have many of the same goals and much of the same zeal as religious missionaries.¹⁵

Also, he says, a professional ethic can exist without benefit of the formal machinery of professional societies and an elaborate code. In fact, he concludes, journalists are becoming more and more professionally oriented--even though they can never be members of a profession.¹⁶

There is more sensitivity now than ever before to editorial judgments made by reporters. Even though they are still bound by the decisions of their bosses, a lot of reporters are finding their superiors giving them a great degree of autonomy in their dealings with confidential sources and their overall coverage of the news. This is because more persons with editorial experience are crossing over into management positions.¹⁷ The result of the newfound cooperation will be a greater sensitivity by the management toward the professional standards of the reporters.

That prompted Kimball to note: "If he cannot legitimately

lay claim to a profession, he nevertheless goes right on growing more professionally minded . . . he sees himself working not merely for a single organization but as part of a brotherhood to shore up the foundations of an honest press."¹⁸

Elliot believes any changes in the attitude of the press away from or toward professionalism have been the result of changes in the organizational structure of that occupation.¹⁹ It is interesting to examine his views for two reasons. First, he believes journalists are professionals. And second, his area of observation is not the United States, but England.

Like The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, he begins with the premise that journalism evolved into a full-fledged profession at some point in the past and then sets about to trace that evolution.

In England, journalism has become a distinct, specialized occupation only within the past 100 years.²⁰ Attempts to organize it as a profession started in 1884 with the foundation of the National Association of Journalists. This organization supervised "professional duties" of journalists. It required certain qualifications for membership and tried to launch its member journalists into professional status.

Members looked to the day when, as a result of some test of competency, they would be insured a minimum wage through their connection with the Institute of Journalism (as the National Association was later renamed).²¹ Membership was available to working journalists with more than three years experience, but the Institute seemed to favor journalists in metropolitan areas.

Consequently, the journalists in rural areas felt slighted and formed the National Union of Journalists. Unionism, rather than professionalism, has proved more capable of advancing the journalists' material interests. But the two groups have yet to amalgamate.

Certainly one of the major differences between the evolution of journalism in England and its evolution in this country is the American professional's willingness to eschew monetary gain in order to advance the professional standards of his occupation. Few, if any, professional journalism societies in this country were formed to act as a collective bargaining unit. Indeed, on this side of the Atlantic, preoccupation with monetary gain is considered by many to be the very antithesis of professionalism.

Public opinion of the press has changed dramatically over the years. In 1852, Robert Lowe, speaking of journalists, said "the responsibility he really shows is more nearly that of the economist or the lawyer whose province is not to frame a system of convenient application to the exigencies of the day, but to investigate truth and apply it or fixed principles to the affairs of the day."²²

Compare this with what Francis Will wrote 100 years later: ". . . the diminution of the status of the editor to no more than a paid servant of proprietorial interest that has proceeded at so fast a pace during the commercialization of the press is manifestly contrary to the interests of the public."²³

The first seems to be more professionally oriented, and this tends to bear out Elliot's thesis that journalists are more

professionally oriented in accordance with the degree of autonomy they are accorded.

Autonomy is at the root of Elliot's definition of professionalism. He says there are three factors which determine whether journalists are professionals: (1) freedom from political interests, (2) freedom from commercial interests, and (3) a commitment to objectivity and accuracy.²⁴

In 1949, The Royal Commission on the Press studied journalism in England and concluded that the areas about which it was most concerned were respectability, invasion of privacy and the correction of mis-statements. But paramount, said the commission, was respect for the facts and concern for the truth.²⁵

Truth, the commission decided, was the unique responsibility of the journalism profession--much in the same way the legal profession is entrusted with justice and the medical profession is responsible for health.²⁶

The commission is thinking in terms of a libertarian press--and so is Elliot. What this means is that the press functions for the good of the society, not because it is required to or because it advocates a course of action, but because it is the nature of a free press to ferret out all information, fact and falsehood, so that a better-informed society can more ably discharge its duties. It is the members of this type of press which Elliot believes are professionals.

And he is not alone. Milton summed up the libertarian idea in a famous section of his Areopagitics. He said:

Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing or prohibiting to

misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple: whoever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?

Doctors and lawyers have "clients." A client is anyone who employs the services of a professional adviser. The law provides a blanket of protection for the relationship between a member of one of these professions and his client.

There is a great debate raging over whether journalists should be allowed the same privilege of confidentiality with regard to their secret sources that doctors and lawyers enjoy with their clients. The battle is being fought in the courts and it is instructive to study a few of the most important cases. Branzburg v. Hayes²⁷ involved a reporter who refused to identify two persons who provided him with information for an article on drug abuse in Louisville, Kentucky. Branzburg saw the pair make hashish, but only after he promised he would not identify them. He refused to answer questions about the two or identify them when called upon to do so before a grand jury. He was jailed.

Branzburg's case reached the Supreme Court of the United States and in a 5-4 decision the Justices said the First Amendment did not allow journalists to avoid the obligation of all citizens to respond to a grand jury subpoena and answer questions relevant to the grand jury's investigation.

Buried in Justice White's majority opinion and at the heart of the pivotal concurring opinion are indications that journalists' privilege might be recognized under certain conditions. But the Court refused to clarify itself on that point. So far, it has denied certiorari in five major newsman's privilege cases.²⁸

Without any lead from the Supreme Court, the only boundaries set for newsmen's privilege are a series of ad hoc decisions by the lower courts. It is significant, however, that a growing number of state and lower federal courts have seen fit to allow journalists to keep promises of confidentiality to their sources. And the courts' rationale: Branzburg.²⁹

Within Justices White's, Powell's, and Stewart's opinions are four variables which seem to have become the standard by which newsmen's privilege cases have been decided: (1) grand jury harassment or bad faith, (2) relevancy between the investigation and the need to know the journalist's sources, (3) compelling need for the information or non-legitimate need of law enforcement, and (4) alternative means of gathering the same information.³⁰

At least one study has concluded that "more state and lower federal courts are now prone to recognize a journalist's claim of privilege unless the information sought is of critical importance to a judicial proceeding and unless there is no alternative means of obtaining the information."³¹

The same study also concluded that courts recognize the value to society of preserving the sanctity of the reporter-source relationship as helpful to the free flow of information, but that there is little chance any court will recognize newsmen's privilege as an unqualified First Amendment right.³²

Courts generally consider newsmen's privilege to lie somewhere under the umbrella of First Amendment protections. That gives journalists special status. They are, in some cases, allowed a privilege which is not accorded the rest of society. Are they,

therefore, professionals? Is not the real difference between professionals and non-professionals the former's separate status in society?

The question is certainly open to debate.

Although journalists are members of the only occupation singled out in the First Amendment, they are denied privileges which are commonly accorded doctors, lawyers and priests.³³

Dr. Mario Jasclevich, who was being prosecuted for murder, partly as a result of investigative work done by New York Times reporter Myron Farber, subpoenaed Farber's notes on the ground that they might help him establish his innocence.

Farber and the Times contended the material in question was protected under New York and New Jersey shield laws. But the trial judge ruled the information was "necessary and material" to the trial. The Times failed in an attempt to stay the trial judge's order for an in camera inspection of the notes. But Farber still refused to turn them over. He was jailed for contempt and the Times was heavily fined.

Unlike the Supreme Court's ruling on the laws which privilege doctors, lawyers and priests, the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled that when journalists' shield laws conflict with the New Jersey or United States Constitutions, they must yield.

That prompted Jonathan Kwitny to note that:

If just a couple of well-known criminal defense lawyers were stripped of their privilege and forced to open up, the government might jail half the Mafia, save hundreds of lives and return billions of dollars to consumers and the public treasury. It won't happen. Nor should it.³⁴

Perhaps journalists do not merit this privilege. But we must ask ourselves: At what early stage could Richard Nixon have nipped the Watergate investigation in the bud if journalists had not had the protection of shield laws?

There are a lot of reporters who believe journalists should be accorded special privilege, but who don't believe journalism is a profession.

The Alsop brothers tell us newspaper reporting is not a profession, despite the "complacent beliefs" of many journalists who have reached the upper echelons of the business.³⁵ They say although a reporter can save valuable time and learn a great deal at a journalism school that he would otherwise learn on the job, he can still attain a good measure of success without "any of the long, specialized prior training that is the mark of the professional man."³⁶

The Alsop brothers conclude journalism is a trade that has its own well-defined requirements. "All reporters," they say, "need sturdy constitutions, good feet and some feeling for the English language."³⁷

William L. Rivers says there is confusion over what the word "profession" means because the language is ill-equipped.³⁸ As was noted earlier, a number of people do seem to define the word differently.

Walter Lippmann said a professional reporter is one who simply did a better job than his fellow-workers--whom he called amateurs.

Rivers disagrees with this completely. He says there are

two characteristics which every profession possess. The first is an "indispensible" period of intellectual training. Second, all those who are classified as professionals must offer their services "directly" to the public.³⁹

He says journalists serve thousands or millions of persons, but only through their publishers. They have no "clients." Also, specialized intellectual training is not an essential element of the background of the journalist. Journalism, therefore, flunks his definition of a "profession." The only real professions, he says, are law, medicine and theology.⁴⁰

In an article published alongside Rivers', Curtis D. McDougall showed his agreement with the idea that journalism is not a profession. And he also agreed that the lack of a requirement of organized scholastic preparation for entrance into the occupation precluded it from being a profession.

But McDougall raises the point that journalism cannot be considered a profession because there is no uniformity or consistency among the types of work journalists do.⁴¹ He apparently thinks the work of columnists, reporters and editors is interchangeable, and that that is the mark of a trade, not a profession.

McDougall says attempts to have the National Labor Relations Board classify journalists as professionals are thinly veiled gambits by management to weaken the power of the rank and file journalist to get full protection under the law.⁴²

McDougall is among a large group which thinks journalism lacks even the characteristics which would enable it to develop

into a profession. But Gerald says such a conclusion overlooks the many forms professionalism can take.⁴³ He says forces are at work which are bringing law and medicine constantly closer to resembling the institutional forms of journalism.⁴⁴

What is missing in communications, according to Gerald, is personal responsibility, the essence of professionalism in law and medicine. Furthermore, he says, the journalist's work-product is a joint effort among reporters, make-up desks and copy editors. And because of this, the organization of writers along professional lines is almost impossible.⁴⁵

"The system of discipline for newsgathering," says Gerald, "is not professional because most of the journalists do not take part positively in creating the spirit of the establishment. Instead, they are persuaded by the same routine of training and indoctrination that could produce a truly professional spirit to accept the role and discipline that goes with the status of a hired man."⁴⁶

Gerald believes journalism could become a profession; that is, it has the raw materials. So what of the professional societies whose aim it is to advance ethical standards in the interest of professionalism? He says there is a large number of organizations which perform semi-professional functions for journalists.

But in order to achieve full professional status, he says these groups must do these things: (1) unify that part of their effort concerned with professionalism; (2) provide central facilities for hearing, analyzing and answering public complaints about journalistic performance; (3) represent more journalists concerned

primarily with daily news reports important to self-government; (4) provide a representative regional and national structure so that relations with the public could be dealt with uniformly in a local context; (5) form a national council and provide it with financial support; (6) accept responsibility, with the schools of journalism, for the implementation of a program of professional education; and (7) undertake comparative studies of professional employment standards.⁴⁷

Gerald emphasizes, however, that professionalism exists in any organization in which all of these characteristics exist. But he wants to guard against professional systems without solid standards of ethical excellence and discipline. These, he says, are worse than an unorganized group, "for society is likely to relax its vigilance, at least for a time, when professional controls are established."⁴⁸

John Hohenberg does not seem to think public vigilance is necessary where journalism is concerned. He believes journalists are professionals.⁴⁹ And like Elliot and The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, he frames his discussion in historical perspective. But Hohenberg starts his history of "journalism-the profession" at a much later date. Here is his version of the evolution of professionalism in journalism in the twentieth century:

Journalism in the early part of this century had glamour, but little or no prestige. A good reporter in the 1920s often made only \$25 to \$35 a week.⁵⁰ Who could aspire to be a professional when he knew the printers were making considerably more?

Basically, newspapermen felt they had no professional

interests. And "the expression 'newspaper business' came more naturally to newspapermen than 'our profession,' and for the veterans of the city room that is still true."⁵¹

The way journalists were being trained was at the root of the evolution toward a more professional status. There were few college-educated journalists in the 1920s. But today, it is difficult to begin reporting for any top-notch newspaper without some sort of college degree.⁵²

Many graduates of journalism schools have done well in this field, but it has been less than fifty years since Joseph Pulitzer was harangued for saying good journalists were trained, not born.

There are two things which distinguish the journalist/craftsman of yesteryear from the journalist professional of today.⁵³ First, is the slow but steady establishment of interest among newspaper people in the professional aspects of their jobs; in other words, the establishment of professional societies which discuss problems and ethical standards and exchange practical experience.

Second, is the genesis of an educational program for journalists at the graduate level. In a journalism school, the initiate is prepared to enter a profession, not a trade. Here he picks up a professional perspective.

Compare that with this statement by McDougall. He doesn't think journalists are professionals:

Now all the time I taught it never occurred to me that anybody was in my class that didn't intend to go into journalism. You went to journalism school like you went to law school to become a lawyer, and so forth. Today these kids are not going to journalism school for that reason at all. They are

escaping from liberal arts. They are escaping from those behavioral scientists and the computer and the statistics . . . and they want to get a fast degree."⁵⁴

Hohenberg's saga of the evolution of journalism into a profession in the twentieth century ends, quite naturally, with what he believes is the state of the art in the field today.

For as long as he stays in journalism, these will be the hallmarks of the journalist's worth as a professional: (1) his responsibility and judgment; (2) his education, background and training; (3) his technical ability as a reporter, writer or editor; and (4) his contribution to the advancement of professional standards and ethics.⁵⁵

Note that nowhere in Hohenberg's list is there mention of service to the public or to a greater societal good. Yet as early as 1902, Joseph Pulitzer said: "A great newspaper must be a public institution for the public good, although incidentally and inevitably it cannot help also being a business."⁵⁶ Pulitzer's thesis was that a newspaper must differentiate sharply between business and editorial goals and that it is accurate and reliable reporting upon which it should place its emphasis.⁵⁷

With this in mind, Walter Lippmann suggested in 1920 that training for newsmen should be designed in such a way that "the ideal of objectivity is cardinal."⁵⁸ Objectivity, it was reasoned, propped up firmly as a journalistic icon, would be the shield which would forever separate the city room from the business office. It would forever insure the paper's role as defender of the public good. The task of distinguishing between objectivity and a reporter's own values or those of his sources has become one of the hallmarks of professional journalism.⁵⁹

The question is whether objectivity will withstand the pressures of the newspaper's need for self-advertisement, its own economic well-being and the well-being of its major sources. But Schiller tells us it will, because the groundwork for such a defense was done years ago by the men who instilled objectivity into journalism: "The equation of professionalism in journalism with the practice of objective news reporting thus gratified the occupation while simultaneously serving the encompassing need of commercial journalism to legitimate its major institutional role as the self-announced protector of the public good."⁶⁰

The most fundamental goals of a professional journalist are symbolized by credibility and relevance. His existence is contingent upon the existence of these factors.⁶¹ Professional journalists should understand the need for a free press--and they should probably understand that freedom is insured only through the press' economic independence.

Robert Marbut assumes professional journalists would agree that a newspaper must make sufficient profit to:

- (1) provide an adequate return on the capital employed, recognizing that capital cannot be attracted unless the return is there; and
- (2) support growth in circulation and product improvement (in order to meet the increasingly complex needs of readers and to provide the facilities and resources necessary to create such a product.⁶²

Obviously this does not jibe with Schiller's contention that objectivity will, and definitely should, keep the affairs of the counting room far from the mind of the professional journalist. Are Marbut's assumptions about the goals of journalists, then, different too? Hardly. He says all professional journalists

should want to communicate with as many people as possible, as effectively as possible, without compromising their professional standards.⁶³ The professional journalist, he says, implicitly acknowledges the need for fairness, accuracy and thoroughness.⁶⁴

There has been a trend in recent years away from the belief that strict objectivity in news reporting is a virtue. There are those who applaud this change as being the time when journalism will finally grow into a positive force in society. Others lament the transition as the end of journalistic integrity.

The peculiar nature of journalism makes the question difficult. Professions, almost by definition, are dedicated to actively serving the public and advancing the society. It would seem to follow, then, that the "new" or "interpretive" journalism is the more professional of the two.

But journalism is different. For years it has provided its greatest service to the public by making every effort to eschew interpretation or subjective reporting and simply report the facts. It is possible, that by making no effort to promote any particular course for society, the press can do society the most good. In that sense, journalism would meet the classical definition of professionalism, which requires service to the public, by not trying to help society at all.

But even neutrality causes problems. A press report which pleases a Republican will probably displease a Democrat. What sounds like doomsday news to a coal miner might be music to the ears of an environmentalist. "In short," says Wes Gallagher, general manager of the Associated Press, "one man's blizzard is

another man's ski trip."⁶⁵

But many persons don't get angry at the contents of a story when they hear it--they get angry at the reporter, and at the media in general.⁶⁶ Critics of the media refuse to treat journalism as a profession or newsmen as professionals. And the reason?

Disliking what they read, they drag out the cliches. The story was written because:

1. All reporters are liberal
2. All publishers are conservative if not reactionary
3. All journalists are members of the white protestant establishment
4. All journalists are radicals at heart and want to tear down the establishment
5. The reporter was white
6. The reporter was black.⁶⁷

Everyone has a special cause. And when people hear things they don't want to hear, they question the professionalism of reporters. But in order to be objective, indeed, in order to be "professional" a reporter is bound to report everything--regardless of who doesn't like it.

Perhaps this is why journalism will always be, yet never be recognized as a profession.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 258.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 258.

⁶⁷Pauline Elliot, "Professional Ideology and Organizational Change," in *The Sociology of Journalism* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1973), p. 187.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 187.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 187.

⁷⁰Robert Love in *The London Times* (February 6, 1852).

⁷¹As in Elliot, op. cit., p. 187.

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¹"Journalism," The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 8 (New York: Macmillan, 1937), p. 420.

²Ibid., p. 420.

³Ibid., p. 421.

⁴Ibid., pp. 422-23.

⁵Ibid., p. 421.

⁶Ibid., p. 423.

⁷Ibid., p. 424.

⁸Penn Kimball, "Journalism, Art, Craft or Profession?" in Kenneth S. Lynn and editors of Daedalus, The Professions in America (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), pp. 242-60.

⁹Ibid., p. 246.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 246.

¹¹Ibid., p. 247.

¹²Ibid., p. 252.

¹³Thomas Griffith, The Waist-High Culture (New York: Harper Bros., 1959).

¹⁴Wickam Steed, The Press (London: Penguin Books, 1938).

¹⁵Kimball, p. 256.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 259.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 259.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 259.

¹⁹Phillip Elliot, "Professional Ideology and Organizational Change," in The Sociology of Professions (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972), p. 187.

²⁰Ibid., p. 172.

²¹Ibid., p. 175.

²²Robert Lowe in The London Times (February 6, 1852).

²³As in Elliot, op. cit., p. 187.

- ²⁴Elliot, p. 172-91.
- ²⁵Ibid., p. 189.
- ²⁶Ibid., p. 189.
- ²⁷408 US 665.
- ²⁸George Killenberg, "Branzburg Revisited: The Struggle to Define Newsmen's Privilege Goes On," Journalism Quarterly (Winter, 1978), p. 703.
- ²⁹Ibid., p. 704.
- ³⁰Ibid., p. 705.
- ³¹Ibid., p. 706.
- ³²Ibid., p. 710.
- ³³Jonathon Kwitney, "Judicial War on the Press," The Wall Street Journal (August 23, 1978).
- ³⁴Ibid., op. cit.
- ³⁵Joseph Alsop and Stewart Alsop, The Reporter's Trade (New York: Regnal and Co., 1958), pp. 1-3.
- ³⁶Ibid., pp. 1-3.
- ³⁷Ibid., pp. 1-3.
- ³⁸William L. Rivers, in The Guild Reporter (November 14, 1975), p. 7.
- ³⁹Ibid., op. cit.
- ⁴⁰Ibid., op. cit.
- ⁴¹Curtis D. MacDougall, in The Guild Reporter (November 14, 1975), p. 7.
- ⁴²Ibid., op. cit.
- ⁴³J. Edward Gerald, The Social Responsibility of the Press (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1963), p. 181.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., p. 181.
- ⁴⁵Ibid., p. 181.
- ⁴⁶Ibid., p. 171.
- ⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 194-95.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 181.

⁴⁹John Hohenberg, The Professional Journalist (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1960), p. 6.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 6.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 6.

⁵²Ibid., p. 6.

⁵³Ibid., p. 6.

⁵⁴MacDougall, op. cit.

⁵⁵Hohenberg, p. 7.

⁵⁶As in Ricard Terrill Baker, A History of the Graduate School of Journalism of Columbia University (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), p. 24.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 24.

⁵⁸As in Michael Schudson, Discovering the News (New York: Basic Books, 1978), p. 152.

⁵⁹Dan Schiller, "An Historical Approach to Objectivity and Professionalism in American News Reporting" in Journal of Communications 29:4 (Autumn, 1979), p. 56.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 56.

⁶¹Robert G. Marbut, a lecture at the University of Michigan, February 23, 1979.

⁶²Ibid., op. cit.

⁶³Ibid., op. cit.

⁶⁴Ibid., op. cit.

⁶⁵Wes Gallagher, "A Case for the Professional," Nieman Reports 25:3 (September, 1971), p. 11.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 11.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 11.

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