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Diversity and Trust in the Newsroom:
Examining the Role of Homophily on Establishing Trust using ERGM

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Diversity and Trust in the Newsroom:

Examining the Role of Homophily on Establishing Trust using ERGM

by

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Dedication

To my family, Christina Yunsun Cha, Aidan Seungjoo Lee and Miles Seunghyun Lee

For their love and support

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Abstract

Diversity and Trust in the Newsroom:
Examining the Role of Homophily on Establishing Trust using ERGM

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This dissertation focuses on the trust relationship in the newsroom to examine journalists' status-based homophily, which refers to an individual's tendency that similarity in social statuses breeds informal connection at work. It analyzes South Korean newspapers as a case study because their newsroom composition has become diverse and intergroup relationships emerged as a key issue for newsroom management. Trust at work serve facilitates knowledge, information, and the skill set relevant to organizational survival. However, trust is not shared by everyone because status-based homophily governs the informal relationship. In particular, separated informal relationships between the majority with power and control and minority groups lead to the following research question of "which social characteristics of individuals that represent a symbol of social statuses at work generate homophily in journalists' trust?"

To answer this research question, the author incorporated network homophily and social identity theory as main theoretical frameworks and employed inferential network

analysis with the Exponential Random Graph Model (ERGM) as a primary methodological approach. Considering the unique nature of local characteristics in South Korea, the author assesses five social statuses on South Korean journalists' homophilous tendency in their trust network: (1) gender, (2) tenure, (3) academic prestige (4) recruitment, and (5) competence. In particular, a separate empirical analysis on two cases of the South Korean newspapers verifies whether status-based homophily is consistently found across the newspapers with different cultures and organizational composition.

The inferential network analysis of ERGM identified tenure-based homophily for both newspapers, while recruitment-based homophily and competence-based homophily were only found in one of the newspapers. Gender-based homophily became statistically insignificant as additional status-based homophily terms were added, which shows its relative weakness in determining journalists' homophilous tendency compared to other status-based homophily terms. Academic prestige-based homophily was not found to be significant for both newspapers.

This dissertation will add more insight into the theoretical adaptation of the social network theory and its association with the journalism practice inside the newsroom. Primarily, newsroom managers will learn a practical implication of how to manage the growing diversity inside the newsroom to unlock the positive effect of diversity.

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BACKGROUND

In 1987, the Hudson Institute, an American think-tank, predicted that the increased demand for labor would result in more diversity in the labor market (Judy & d'Amico, 1997). Diversity does not include only age, personal and corporate background, and level of education, but also extends to lifestyle, sexual preference, geographic origin, as well as tenure with the organization (Von Bergen, Soper, & Foster, 2002). Indeed, the most significant change in the workforce in the recent history of the global economy has been the fast growth of minority groups and the female workforce (Ingersoll & Merrill, 2012; Karoly & Panis, 2004; UN Women, 2012). Differences in gender, race, age, religion, and sexual orientation are more supported than ever in the workforce across most countries (Inglehart, Norris, & Ronald, 2003; Twenge, Carter, & Campbell, 2015). Similarly, the profile of the labor workforce has become more diverse around the world, and South Korea is not an exception to this change (Barak, 2016; Grund & Westergård-Nielsen, 2008; Prasad, Pringle, & Konrad, 2006).

The media industry in South Korea also follows in these footsteps. The employment rate of female journalists in the 21 largest news media was only about 5 percent in 1990, but by 2004, it increased to 12.5 percent (Ahn, 2004). By 2013, female journalists reached 23 percent of the total workforce at national news outlets in South Korea (Kim, 2013). Gender issues in the newsroom may be one of the popular research subjects in newsroom diversity in South Korea. Some evidence still points to discriminatory acts against female journalists in a patriarchal culture of South Korean

newsrooms (Kim, 2006). Yet, newsroom diversity still is an untouched subject in South Korean journalism studies because the country has remained culturally homogeneous. More than that, it may be true that diverse voices might be oppressed by the authoritarian norms and culture that is a remnant of the country's military dictatorship from the 1960s to the early 1990s (Kim & Kang, 2016). Thus, there has been little attention paid to the voices of those with lower status in the workplace, such as females and newly hired employees who face disadvantages in being promoted, assigned to important tasks, and paid equally. Mostly, their existence tends to be overlooked and their integration into an organization has received little attention.

In Western countries, mainly in the U.S. and the U.K., much discussion has centered on two crucial constituents of newsroom diversity: racial and gender diversity. However, as Berkowitz et al. (2004) pointed out, national culture plays an influential role in shaping journalism norms and cultures. South Korea has several unique characteristics, such as the type of recruitment and educational backgrounds, which should be taken into account for investigating newsroom diversity. Primarily, those characteristics are deeply rooted in the South Korean press system. It has been only about two decades since the South Korean press gained freedom of speech from a military dictatorship. The press was suppressed under a wide range of government restrictions on media content and the news media market until 1987 when the democratic movement against the military dictatorship occurred (Kim, 2010). However, the military dictatorship granted South Korean journalists a high social status in exchange for their collaboration with the dictatorship.

As a result, South Korean media enjoyed a growth in the monopolized media market during the military rule (Kang, 2005; Park, Kim & Sohn, 2000).

During the course of history, a series of political, economic, and societal events brought changes to the South Korean media system. In particular, those changes significantly affected the workforce composition. First of all, the financial crisis in the late 1990s and the growing popularity of the Internet in the early 2000s brought massive layoffs in the South Korean media industry (Bae, 2012; Media Today, 2005). News organizations had a hiring freeze and abolished the lifetime employment system (Bae, 2012). The aftermath of this organizational restructuring can be found in the descriptive statistics that the number of mid-career journalists is smaller than senior and junior journalists (Korea Press Foundation, 2018).

The financial crisis coupled with the government's policy change also affected the media organization's HR policies. The newly established democratic government lifted the ban and allowed the entry of new players in the media market. In return, news organizations faced tougher competition and started to adopt the corporate norms and culture that emphasize a performance-based rewards system and recruitment practices (Lee & Kim, 2016). These changes have brought a dynamic nature of internal movement in the labor market of the media industry. News organizations actively searched for talented journalists from a pool of experienced journalists, instead of hiring fresh college graduates (Chung, 2015). These changes also opened up new employment opportunities for mid-career journalists to move up in their career at larger and more influential news outlets (Chung, 2015). The competitive market environment also motivated journalists to

harness their skills and competence through obtaining advanced education or professional training (Lee & Kim, 2016). However, there still exists resistance in the newsroom to new norms and cultures. The conflict arises when journalists' old practices meet environmental changes such as the increased market demand for enterprise and soft news reporting that focuses on less serious, entertaining news (Ryfe, 2009). The perceptual gaps toward the journalistic norms and cultures suggest that diversity not only represents individuals' differences in race and gender, but also encompasses their cultural or psychological orientation (Hovden et al., 2009; Kossek & Lobel, 1996; Thomas, 1990; Von Bergen, Soper, & Foster, 2002). The scope of diversity extends to the deeper-level attributes, such as individuals' lifestyle, sexual orientation, personality, and functional expertise (Trinh, 2015; Von Bergen, Soper, & Foster, 2002). For instance, McCrae and Costa (1987) argued that the personality of employees, as an indicator of openness to new ideas as well as emotional stability, is an important element of team diversity that can affect the team performance. Now, South Korean newsrooms are no longer homogeneous in terms of individuals' social status or cultural orientation, as a reflection of the South Korean society that embraces diversified values.

The value of diversity is generally appraised by scholars (Cox, 1994; Gonzalez & DeNisi, 2009). Cross-exposure opportunities to those with diverse backgrounds have been considered as a powerhouse in generating innovative ideas and expanding viewpoints (Lasrado, 2018). Latimer (1998) even argued that diversity in the cultural and racial backgrounds of employees helps them adopt a multidimensional approach to problem-solving, therefore boosting their problem-solving capability. However, social

identity theory views the diversity of the workforce as disruptive to cohesiveness and communication among employees that aggravates conflicts among sub-groups (Ibarra, 1993; Thomas & Ely, 2006). Some scholars raised concern that increasing diversity in the workplace reinforces the status-quo by discriminating against minority groups (Abrams, 1989; Bond & Pyle, 1998; Kondo, 2009). This is because people often describe out-group members negatively while they treat in-group members more favorably by conferring a higher status (Alvesson, 2012; Ashforth, Schinoff, & Rogers, 2016; Brewer, 1979; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Kramer, 1991; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This in-group tendency has been found in informal relationships, which social network theorists described as network homophily where similarity fosters interaction (Blau, 1977; Currarini & Mengel, 2016; Festinger, 1950; Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954).

Researchers emphasize homophily, an individual's tendency to prefer and bond with one another when they share similarities, as a primary obstacle to promote intergroup relationships (Vala & Costa-Lopes, 2015). Much evidence shows that individuals have a strong sense of homophilous tendency when they establish relationships with others (Blau, 1977; Festinger, 1950; Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954). Furthermore, homophily tends to grow when interaction across in-and out-groups is limited (Granovetter, 1973). Uncertainty in social relationships inevitably strengthens individuals' homophilous tendencies (Granovetter, 1973). Homophily brings adverse effects on the interactions between in-and out-group members by confirming bias (Williams, 2001). Those with a lower status tend to be victims of homophily because they are dominated by those in power who control the allocation of resources and distribution

of information that are pathways to upward mobility (Chen & Mengel, 2016; Currarini, Jackson, & Pin, 2009; Jacquemet & Yannelis, 2012). Consequently, the value of diversity cannot be achieved when homophily segregates informal relationships based on individuals' social statuses (Martin, 2014; Bassett-Jones, 2005). The recent observation of intergroup conflict in the South Korean newsroom suggests that status-based homophily, which refers to an individual's tendency to connect with those who share similar social status, functions as a key principle that governs journalists' informal relationships (Jung, 2015; Kim, 2019; Lee & Jung, 2016).

Among the many types of informal relationships, this dissertation focuses on interpersonal trust among journalists. This is because trust relationships at work significantly influence not only employees' professional development, but also organizational productivity. As Hennessy and Amabile (1998) argue that managing a diverse workforce is only possible through trust built among employees, the establishment of trust among employees is critical to the success of organizations. Trust strengthens the cohesiveness and minimizes conflict among team members (Isaken & Lauer, 2002). Trust also contributes to the organizations by enabling individuals to exchange information and knowledge, achieve goals, and gain skill sets in the workplace (Johnson & Grayson, 2005; Mayer & Gavin, 2005; Morgan & Hunt, 1994; Oldham & Cummings, 1996). Organizations with a higher level of trust outperform their counterparts (Mayer & Gavin, 2005; Oldham & Cummings, 1996). More organizations tend to find a solution to improve organizational competence through trust that enhances collaborative work (Reina & Reina, 2007). The trust-based relationships have been

examined as an example of a strong tie that helps achieve organizational goals (Coleman, 1990; Granovetter, 1985; Hardin, 1998; Luhmann, 1979; Zanini & Migueles, 2013). However, little is known about journalists' trust-building with their peers in the newsroom (Demers, 1993; Gieber, 1964; Gordon, 2003). The subject of trust has not been integrated into the studies of newsroom diversity even though trust plays a critical role in connecting diverse individuals together (Kimble, 2011). The lack of interest in the subject of studies on trust relationships among journalists may be attributable to the unique nature of newsroom culture that underestimates interpersonal competency as Argyris pointed out in his ethnographic studies on newsroom culture (Argyris, 1974). In the meantime, as Moore (2018) pointed out a crisis of trust inside the newsroom, worsening working environment generated a high level of job stress, heavy workloads, and insecure job prospects, which brings concerns about establishing and maintaining trust among journalists.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Peer relationships in the newsroom have remained a marginalized subject of journalism studies (Gravengaard & Rimestad, 2014; Preston, 2009). While journalists' relationships to news sources, public relations professionals, and the audience have received much attention from media scholars (Jang, 2006; Kwon, 2004; Park, Cho, & Hong, 2001), scholarly research on journalists' interpersonal relationships is sparse and fragmented (Meltzer & Martik, 2017). This lack of research is somewhat surprising because interpersonal relationships at work have become one of the primary interests for organizational scholars for their influence on organizational outcomes (Rupp &

Cropanzano, 2002). Peer relationships at work enhance employees' learning process through sharing knowledge and skill-sets (Kimmel et al., 1980). Such relationships also play a crucial role in improving productivity by reducing tension and conflicts among diverse groups inside organizations (Chow & Chan, 2008; Floyd & Lane, 2000).

In a given situation, one can argue that the lack of studies on journalists' peer relationships may be attributed to the unique nature of journalism practice. Instead of collaboration, news production has heavily relied on highly individualized work processes (Thelen, 2002). Thus, there are few incentives for media professionals to build peer relationships (Argyris, 1974). That may be a reason few scholars examined informal relationships inside newsrooms. However, peer relationships at work have become important in the changing media environment. A diversified newsroom workforce and increasing collaborative opportunities inevitably cast light on the importance of informal relationships inside newsrooms (Paulussen, Geens, & Vandenbrande, 2011; Weaver & Willnat, 2012; Williams, 2015). Recently, there began to grow strong demands for scholarly inquiry on peer relationships in the newsroom (Matsaganis & Katz, 2013; Meltzer & Martik, 2017; Weiss & Domingo, 2010).

This dissertation examines journalists' trust relationships in its investigation of informal relationships inside the newsroom. Among many types of informal relationships at work, trust relationships have become one of the prominent informal relationships that organizational scholars have examined for their significant role in facilitating information, knowledge, and skills sets (Johnson & Grayson, 2005; Mayer & Gavin, 2005; Morgan & Hunt, 1994; Oldham & Cummings, 1996). More than that, trust functions as a lubricator

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that bonds diverse personnel together beyond their differences in backgrounds (Kimble, 2011). In other disciplines of studies, the utility of trust among employees was found to increase productivity at the individual as well the organizational level (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Organizations with a high level of interpersonal trust among their employees yield better productivity than those with a low level of interpersonal trust (Yli-Renko, Autio, & Sapienza, 2001).

Trust is not equally shared among all members of the organization. The exclusive and closed nature of trust does not allow everyone to share the benefits of trust (Kim, 2006). It may be ideal for organizations to construct a trust network where all employees are equally connected as trustors and trustees. However, prior evidence shows that the trust network at work is composed of small sub-networks where members belong (Cain, 2012). Scholars pointed out that homophily – a tendency to establish ties with others based on similarity in their backgrounds – functions as a governing principle in trust networks that accounts for the generation of small sub-networks (Creed & Miles, 1996; Keller, 2001; Williams, 2001). Yet, little is known about journalists' trust networks and their underlying mechanism of homophily (Demers, 1993; Gieber, 1964; Gordon, 2003). However, there began to grow interests in trust relationships inside the newsroom not only from professionals, but also from scholars due to their functioning role of mitigating tension at work that can lead to facilitate collaboration among individuals with diverse backgrounds (Gravengaard & Rimestad, 2014; Moore, 2018).

One important question that should follow this research agenda will be, "What factors determine homophily in journalists' trust network?" To answer this research

question, the author incorporates two important theoretical frameworks: social identity theory and the theory of network homophily. The social identity theory describes individuals' psychological orientation where individuals who want to spend time with others seek out those who are similar (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The theory aims to uncover its underlying mechanism of in-group bias that favors in-group members who share similarity over out-group members with heterogeneous characteristics (Brewer, 1979; Kramer, 1991; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The theory of network homophily, which refers to the idea that similarity breeds connection, further expands the theoretical implication of social identity from an individual and interpersonal level to a network level that emphasizes the sociological approach that focuses on "the structure of social interaction" (Leonard, Mehra, & Katerberg, 2008; p3). In other words, the theory of network homophily adds another layer of institutional settings in homophily.

In particular, this dissertation examines the influence of five important social statuses of homophily in South Korean journalists' trust network: 1) gender, 2) tenure, 3) academic prestige, 4) recruitment, and 5) competence. Broadly, those characteristics can be classified into two major categories: ascribed and achieved status (Foladare, 1969; Greenberger & Sorenson, 1971; Ibarra, 1992; Lincoln & Miller, 1979). The former is a given status that individuals obtain without any intentional effort, while the latter is an obtained status that individuals gain with intentional effort (Foladare, 1969). Based on the unique nature of South Korean newsroom contexts and factors identified in those theories (Brennecke & Rank, 2016; Lee, 2006; Lee & Brinton, 1996; Min, 2011; Shrum, Cheek Jr,

& MacD, 1988; Spataro, 2005), gender and working tenure were chosen as ascribed status, while academic prestige, the type of recruitment, and competence were selected as achieved status salient to the establishment of informal relationships in the South Korean newsroom context.

These social statuses were measured as follows: Gender was measured in a binary format by whether the journalists are male or female. Working tenure was measured in the number of employment years as a journalist. Academic prestige was dichotomously measured by whether the journalist graduated from top-tier schools. Recruitment was measured in a binary format, whether the journalist started his or her career at the current newspaper or joined it in mid-career. Journalists' competence also was measured by whether the journalist had ever received a journalism award granted by the Journalists Association of Korea each month. And, the key predictor of status-homophily was measured by the interaction term of those social statuses and trust ties among individuals.

In particular, this dissertation conducted a comparison of two South Korean newspapers, *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon,* which are pseudonyms as done by other social network studies that used created names to protect reporters' identities in revealing sensitive information (Krackhardt, 1987). An empirical analysis of, whether the establishment of "a tie between a pair of certain members of the network" is a function of status-based homophily terms, was conducted for these two newspapers in order to find the level of consistency across newspapers with different workplace composition and cultures. Prior studies found that differences in institutional and cultural settings lead to differential effects of those statuses on homophily in informal relationships (Brashears,

2008; Centola et al., 2007; Potarca & Mills, 2012). This evidence in non-media settings brings a strong need to verify whether the effects of particular statuses on homophily are consistently found in various newsroom settings. To achieve this research goal, this dissertation compared two South Korean newsroom cases. In particular, two major advantages were ensured with these research settings.

First, examining South Korean newsrooms compensates for shortcomings of prior studies that have been limited to the U.S. and other Western countries (Wang & Kim, 2013). As seen from different cultural orientations between the West and the East where individuals have different perceptions about collectivism, the focus on Western newspapers may limit the implications of the prior findings in other parts of the world (Wang & Kim, 2013). Thus, the investigation of South Korean newsrooms will add different perspectives to trust relationships among journalists by highlighting factors of academic prestige, tenure, and recruitment types that have been less observed and examined in prior studies. Second, a comparative analysis of journalists' trust networks in different newsrooms offers a unique opportunity of observing how status-based homophily varies based on the organizational settings. These newsrooms differ in their culture, history, and demographical composition. Thus, this comparative analysis will show how characteristics of individual journalists interact with an upper layer of organizational setting in generating their homophilous tendencies.

The author employed the ERGM on journalists' trust network data to identify the effects of homophily by considering: 1) gender, 2) tenure, 3) academic prestige, 4) recruitment, and 5) competence on the establishment of journalists' trust network. ERGM,

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a statistical modeling technique, enables researchers to draw a statistical inference about whether the establishment of ties between a pair of individuals (being regarded as a dependent variable in ERGM) is determined by the status-based homophily terms (being considered as an independent variable in ERGM) (Atouba & Shumate, 2010; Lusher et al., 2012; Lee, 2016). The analytic power of ERGM is based on its allowance of incorporating exogenous variables, such as characteristics of individuals and variables of the covariate of an edge (tie) that refers to status-based homophily terms (Robins & Lusher, 2013;Siciliano, 2015). Identifying the status-based homophily will be determined by its statistically significant role in influencing the existence of ties between a pair of individuals (Pilny & Atouba, 2018).

In particular, the current study used a particular set of ERGM developed by Krivitsky and Morris (2017) for its competitive advantages of allowing ego-centric data that contain information about egos (trustors) and their association with alters (nominees of trustees). Random sampling techniques have been rarely used by previous social network analysts because of concerns over a sampling bias that the whole network might skew results when the survey response rate is low. However, Krivitsky and Morris (2017) resolved this sampling bias issue by controlling the network size, which means that the sampling size does not affect the establishment of the social network. Through the combined methods of a name-generating survey and an interpreting survey, the author obtained 49 and 38 journalists' ego-centric trust network data, respectively for *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon*, between February 10th and May 15th, 2019. The name-generating survey contains relational information about survey respondents and their

nominees, and the relationship among the nominees also is presented by the name-interpreting survey that requests respondents to reveal the relational information among the nominees.

THEORY

The author examined journalists' peer relationships through the lens of social network theory. Social network theory explains the evolution of a given system through a set of individual actors (being denoted by nodes) and their association (being denoted by edges) (Newman, 2010). The network homophily, which refers to the notion that "similarity breeds connection in an informal relationship", is one of the popular subjects in social network theory because of its significance as a governing principle of formulating social networks (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001; p 415). McPherson and associates (2001, p416) defined homophily as "the principle that contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people." From a pioneering study of homophily from Lazarsfeld and Merton (1954), much evidence exists that individuals tend to associate with those similar to oneself in diverse disciplines of study such as economics (Benhabib, Bisin, & Jackson, 2011), sociology (McPherson et al., 2001), and organizational studies (Borgatti & Foster, 2003). Yet, network theory and its application have only been applied in a limited way to studies of journalism practice. In a given situation, the introduction of social network theory and its application to the newsroom setting should enhance our understanding of interconnected journalists in the changing newsroom environment that encourages a growing number of diverse individuals to collaborate.

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Yet, scholarly inquiry about the extent to which individual similarity influences social relationships has been deeply rooted in the psychological tradition and on-going issues in the domain of social identity theory, which describes intergroup attitudes and behaviors based on the individual's perceived group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The theory identifies the differences in social statuses as a key factor to generate in-group and out-group bias in informal relationships (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Much evidence was presented that gender (Bigler, Rohrbach, & Sanchez, 2016), ethnicity (Stark, & Flache, 2012), race (Smith, McPherson, & Smith-Lovin, 2014), religion (Adida, Laitin, & Valfort, 2015), and sexuality (Gillespie et al., 2015) play a significant role in establishing social relationships. However, similarity does not necessarily lead to a voluntary association and increased interaction (Lawrence & Shah, 2017). Instead, there should be a strong psychological incentive that motivates individuals to rely on status-based homophily when they attempt to establish relationships with others. As a theoretical exploration, the author brought the concept of social identity and its application to homophily in the workplace. Social identity theory finds a pervasive cognitive bias against those who don't share the similarities and are perceived as out-group members (Brewer, 1979; Kramer, 1991; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The social identity theory considers in-group bias as a way of bolstering self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). However, this cognitive bias extends to a negative portrayal of out-groups (Kramer, 1991). This cognitive bias is further systemically institutionalized by those organizational leaders who offer in-group favors in hiring and promoting opportunities (Lee, 1998). Inevitably, this psychological bias tends to generate a strong homophily-

based interaction consequently discouraging interaction between different groups, and then reinforcing individuals' homophilous tendency in the workplace (Roth, 2004). Those biases were further examined by ascribed status, such as gender and tenure, and achieved statuses, such as academic prestige and competence, within a theoretical discussion about psychological attachment to those statuses (Lawrence & Shah, 2017).

However, network homophily is distinctively different from social identity theory in its primary interest in the pattern of social relationships. While social identity theory finds individuals' in-group favor or bias from psychological orientation at a personal level, the network theory adds sociological perspectives to the psychological investigation of in-group bias and preferences with an emphasis on the significance of the structural pattern of social relationships. According to the network homophily, the structure of social relationships is not an empty conduit to exchange information or friendship, but rather functions as an important constraint of homophily. Thus, controlling the influential role of network structure is important for network analysts in their assessment of homophily. Network homophily provides an important theoretical framework that supports why homophily should be assessed within social relational contexts. In light of that, a combination of theoretical inputs from the sociological-based network homophily and psychological-based social identity theory will add more insight into journalists' status-based homophily in trust relationships with their peers.

In particular, the author introduced a theoretical framework of trust in a social-relational aspect within a workplace setting. Prior studies on social networks in the

workplace setting cover informal relationships where individuals exchange friendships (Ellwardt, Steglich, & Wittek, 2012), advice (Cross, Borgatti, & Parker, 2001), and social support (Heaney, 1991). Among many types of relationships, the trust network has received much attention from organizational scholars for contributing to fostering knowledge, information, and skillsets among organizational members (Johnson & Grayson, 2005; Mayer & Gavin, 2005). Many organizational scholars have paid attention to trust as an intangible resource for organizations that their members can utilize since Argyris (1964) uncovered its potential to improve organizational performance. The degree of trust shared among employees influences organizational performance (Mayer & Gavin, 2005). More than that, the author paid attention to trust in response to the increased demand for the trust that facilitates cooperation and minimizes conflict among a diverse workforce in a newsroom. However, trust can be a double-edged sword for an organization: trust can generate a positive impact on those who share trust, but also bring negative influence on those who do not (Gambetta, 1988; Mizruchi & Stearns, 2000). Those excluded by the trust network tend to be disadvantaged in obtaining knowledge and information relevant to surviving in an organization. Consequently, this unequal distribution of knowledge and information may reinforce the unequal distribution of power among diverse groups in newsrooms. Theoretical discussion about homophily and its adverse effects on minority status was additionally elaborated (Chen & Mengel, 2016; Williams. 2001).

The author also included theoretical inputs from diversity management for their theoretical connection with workplace relationships (Bacharach, Bamberger, & Vashdi,

2005). It has been less than three decades since diversity management was introduced by Cox (1994) who argued that workplace diversity promotes innovation, creativity, and performance because of its cross-exposure effects on diverse ideas brought by diverse personnel. Many workplaces, including newsrooms, have aimed to increase diversity in their workforce (Gonzalez & DeNisi, 2009). On the other hand, increased popularity about the virtue of diversity has overshadowed the potential tension and conflict among employees. Despite its contributing role, diversity in the workplace inevitably increases the chance of a conflict of different norms and cultures as new employees bring their own culture, norms, and values to the organization (Christian, Porter, & Moffitt, 2006).

Nevertheless, intergroup interaction at work does not seem to be fully integrated into diversity management where scholarly discussion does not typically go beyond exposure to different perspectives and opinions (Williams, 2017). However, the author further develops a theoretical discussion about diversity management and its relationship with homophily in an informal relationship for the following reasons. First, the changing composition of the workplace may greatly affect journalists' homophily as seen from prior evidence that compositional changes at work stimulate individuals' homophilous tendency (Brass, 1985; Ibarra, 1992; Marsden, 1988; Turner, 1987; Williams, 2001). Second, hiring practices have been a focal interest in the prior studies on diversity management but less attention has been placed on whether diversified workplace composition generates positive or negative outcomes (Williams, 2017). Workplace diversity generates a positive effect for employees by exposing them to diverse perspectives and values, but also brings a negative consequence of disagreements, which

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can develop into tension and conflict (Williams, 2017). The current investigation about workplace interaction will add more insight into the future mission of newsroom management.

METHODS

The primary goal of the current study is to identify journalists' social status that generates homophily in their trust relationship with peers. To achieve this research goal, the author employed an inferential analysis technique of ERGM commonly used for social network data. The analytic power of ERGM compensates for shortcomings of conventional social network analysis that only provides descriptive statistics about elements of relational ties (e.g. density) and their association with those within the network (e.g. the number of ties) (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). ERGM performs inferential analysis to explore whether the probability of a connection between a pair of individuals (dependent variable expressed in an existence of a tie) is influenced by individual characteristics-based homophily terms (independent variables expressed in an interaction term of social statuses and their association with trust ties), while controlling for the network characteristics of density (Lee, 2016). Homophily was defined by a tie-covariate, and it was identified when the number of trust ties established by those who share the same status significantly exceeded the number of trust ties established by those who do not share the same status. The author tested homophily hypotheses on five social statuses estimated to function as a primary driver of journalists' homophily: Journalists are more likely to trust their peers when they share 1) the same gender, 2) the same working tenure as a journalist, 3) the similar academic prestige, 4) the same type of

recruitment, and 5) a similar level of competence. Broadly, the methods section consists of two parts: 1) construction of journalists' trust networks using social network analysis and 2) inferential analysis on the journalists' trust networks using ERGM.

First, the author conducted a social network survey among South Korean newspapers of which the annual circulation is more than 20,000 from Feb 10, 2019, through May 15, 2019, and collected separate network data from two daily newspapers. The author labeled these newspapers with pseudonyms of *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon, respectively, in order to* protect their identity and encourage the subjects to participate in the survey that may contain sensitive relational information. The use of pseudonyms is common in social network studies because of the sensitivity around survey responses (Krackhardt, 1987). In particular, these newspapers were selected for two reasons. First, their sufficient sample size enabled the author to conduct further inferential analysis on ego-centric data using the ERGM model that allows general sampling procedures (Box-Steffensmeier et al., 2018). Second, differences in the workforce composition in the two newspapers offered a vital opportunity to find any consistency in journalists' homophilous tendency because organizational arrangement plays a crucial role in determining individuals' psychological orientation toward trust behavior (House, Rousseau, & Thomas-Hunt, 1995).

In total, ego-centric network data from 49 and 38 journalists working for *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon, respectively, were* obtained through this combination of name- generating and interpreting survey methods. First, these analytic sample sizes were obtained from 18 and 17 survey respondents of each newspaper who finished "the name-

generating survey" in which survey respondents nominated their trusting partners. Second, "the name-interpreting survey" additionally asked survey respondents to evaluate the dyadic relationship among those nominees (trusted partners). This sociomatrix was created upon the idea that alters of nominees, whom the survey respondents nominate as a trusting partner, can be a focal node of others and be recorded as alters of others (Krivitsky & Morris, 2017).

The key predictors of the status-based homophily terms were sequentially added into ERGM models. The homophily terms consist of interaction terms with trust ties and their association with 1) gender, 2) tenure, 3) academic prestige, 4) recruitment, and 5) competence. These social statuses were largely classified into two major categories of ascribed and achieved statuses, following Lazarsfeld and Merton (1954), who first recognized them when assessing determinants of similarity. These statuses are contrary to each other in terms of their nature. While an ascribed status symbolizes a social status that involves involuntary efforts of obtaining, such as biological attributes of gender, an achieved status is gained through voluntary and intentional motivation in obtaining. Despite prior findings that emphasize their influence on homophily in an informal relationship, the unique local contexts of South Korean newspapers require additional efforts to identify factors that can be classified into those categories. Thus, the author chose two important characteristics of gender and working tenure as a representative of an ascribed status and included three attributes of academic prestige, recruitment, and competence for an achieved status.

Gender, academic prestige, recruitment, and competence were recorded as binary variables: those who are male vs. female (gender), those who graduated from top tier schools vs. those who graduated from non-top tier schools (academic prestige), those who started their career at the current newspaper vs. those who did not (recruitment), and those who received the journalism award from the Korean Journalist Association vs. those who did not (competence). The journalism award was used as a proxy for journalists' competence for its quantifiable and easily recognizable nature of assessing a journalist's success (Coulson, 1989; Shepard, 2000). Also, working tenure was recorded in years working as a journalist (working tenure). Working tenure-based homophily was measured by an interaction term between differences between years of tenure and trust ties.

Furthermore, descriptive analysis, such as associative frequencies by social statuses, was conducted to detect any institutional difference across newspapers that may affect the analytic results of journalists' homophily. The case study approach of this dissertation has an inherent risk of generalizing results in different institutional contexts (Pahor, Škerlavaj, & Dimovski, 2008). Thus, separate descriptive statistics on each newspaper's workforce and journalists' trust ties add deep insight into journalists' homophily in their trust relationship. First, chi-square tests were conducted for gender, tenure, academic prestige, recruitment, and competence to observe any statistically meaningful difference in those characteristics between *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon*. Second, the associative frequency of trust ties by social statuses between two newspapers was presented to provide a brief overview of organizational differences in

trust association by those statuses. Descriptive results on dyadic trust ties by social

statuses were presented in a cross-tabulated format with the percentage of journalists. For

instance, these descriptive statistics would show comparative results about newspapers'

differences in their in-and out-group associations, such as female-female and female-male

association.

Third, ERGM was employed to perform an inferential analysis of status-based

homophily in journalists' trust relationships with their peers. ERGM is an advanced

statistical modeling technique prevalently used to assess homophily in a social network

for its analytic power of resolving problems arising from interdependence among

variables. For instance, the probability of individuals A and B becoming friends tends to

be influenced by the existing relationship where individuals A and B have a mutual

friendship with an individual C. This inherent interdependence in social network data

limits the use of the conventional statistical techniques such as a linear regression model,

because of its violation of the assumption about an absence of multicollinearity that the

independent variables are not highly correlated with each other (Van Duijn, Snijders, &

Zijlstra, 2004).

ORGANIZATION OF DISSERTATION

Chapter Two

The primary purpose of Chapter Two is to introduce theoretical frameworks for

the current study in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the research

subject of status-based homophily in journalists' trust relationships with their peers. First,

the chapter presents an overview of a research setting of South Korean news industry

distinctively different from the Western news media. This overview includes the historical path of the South Korean media industry that represents the changing press-state relationship over the decades when the country became a democratic nation from a military dictatorship during the late 1980s. The end of military dictatorship did not only change the press-state relationship, but also the relationship among news organizations as it brought changes to the economic environment in the media industry. Upon the removal of government regulations on the media market, news organizations faced intense market competition where more news outlets entered the media market. Amid the changes, increased diversity in workplace composition was one of the most noticeable phenomena in the South Korean press system.

As the press system reflects societal changes in South Korea, its workplace composition had rapidly changed since 1998 when the International Monetary Funds (IMF) implemented a massive reform of the conventional labor system of South Korea, such as termination of life-time employment to enhance productivity. The local media industry adopted the merit-based system where competence is highly valued in hiring and promoting decisions. Consequently, these changes opened more hiring and promotion opportunities for previously under-represented groups, such as women and employees externally hired from other organizations. Subsequent discussion on newsroom diversity was followed within a theoretical discussion on diversity management in the workplace. Largely, the scholarly inquiry on workplace diversity was discussed based on evidence found in business administration and sociology. Additionally, how journalism studies

embraced diversity management also was introduced in this section with a focus on conventional approaches to an intergroup relationship in the newsroom.

Also, theoretical discussion about trust was introduced in a detailed manner. This section highlights why trust relationships should matter in a workplace more than any other type of informal relationships. Because this is one of the first studies that examined journalists' interpersonal trust, this section offers an overview of trust from conceptual ideas to its application to the workplace. Trust was later examined against a newsroom setting where journalists can utilize it for performing their jobs in a changing newsroom environment. Furthermore, discussion about interpersonal trust was broadly extended into an organizational setting through a theoretical lens about social network theory. The social network theory provides an overarching idea about how a workplace relationship is intertwined beyond a dyadic relationship, revealing the hidden nature of workplace relationships not observed from an official chart. In other words, social network theory expands the scope of interest in the informally established workplace relationships beyond the interpersonal level to the organizational level, so researchers can approach the complex nature of the informal relationship in the workplace in systematically contextual ways (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Also, this section discusses scholarly inquiry about the informal relationship in a newsroom setting with the introduction of a recent theoretical adaptation of social network theory in the domain of journalism, such as *interpretive communities* and *communities of practice*. The theory of *interpretive communities* explains how members of communities develop a shared identity through in-direct interaction of sharing meaning embedded in texts (Zelizer, 1993). On the other hand, the

theory of *communities of practice* offers an explanation about how members construct learning communities through direct interaction (Meltzer & Martik, 2017). While these theories have distinctive differences in approaching journalism practice (indirect interaction vs. direct interaction) as well as theoretical orientation (journalism culture vs. journalists' learning process), their theoretical contribution to journalism study is commonly shared as they find a middle ground between the deterministic bureaucratic control and autonomous professionals (Meltzer & Martik, 2017). Instead of considering journalists as passive or active individuals, those theories highlighted how journalists establish their own cultures and norms by interacting with their peers. This viewpoint is mostly congruent with a theoretical perspective of social networks that the social network is a key determinant of individuals' attitudes and behavior.

Lastly, homophily, one of the major challenges that prevent intergroup trust relationships was discussed based on evidence in other disciplines of studies, such as sociology, psychology, and business administration. Because the primary goal of the current study is to identify factors that account for homophily in journalists' trust relationship, scholarly discussion about homophily in diverse types of status that is relevant to South Korean newsroom setting and journalism practice was presented. In particular, psychological approaches to status-based homophily, such as social identity and categorization theory, was discussed to understand the driving mechanism for status-based homophily.

Chapter Three

       This chapter focuses on methodology and measurement relevant to inferential analysis of social network data. This chapter mainly consists of five key areas: 1) data selection and collection, 2) survey design for social network data, 3) measuring status-based homophily, 4) descriptive analysis, and 5) inferential analysis. While this study relies on survey-based inferential analysis, the nature of social network data requires researchers to adopt unique data collection and analytic procedures distinctively different from conventional survey approaches. Thus, this chapter not only described methodological procedures, but also elaborated methodological issues relevant to performing inferential analysis on the network data.

       First, this chapter explained why the current study adopted a comparative research setting that separately runs empirical analysis on two cases of South Korean newspapers. Organizational studies that employ social network analysis heavily rely on an organizational unit-based case study. Inevitably, this unit of analysis creates a problem in generalizing implications from those case studies. To compensate for this shortcoming, the current study examined whether results are replicated across two news organizations. Thus, the rationale for selecting two news organizations was explained in a detailed manner.

       Moreover, the survey design for constructing social network data was elaborated to increase understanding of the unique nature of a network survey. The author explained why the ego-centric network approach, which contains relational information about the person of interest (ego) and his or her relationship with their associates (alters), was used

in this study by comparing advantages and disadvantages against the whole-network

approach, which is composed of all group members and their associated relationship

(Djomba & Zaletel-Kragelj, 2016). The ego-centric network functions as a personal

network that contains relational information about individuals and their association with

others, while the whole network represents a complete network established on an

aggregation of the ego-centric network. One of the noticeable differences that the ego-

centric network differs from the whole network is that an analytic unit for the ego-centric

network is an individual.   In particular, the inferential analysis of ERGM, developed by

Krivitsky and Morris (2017), enabled authors to resolve the issue of sampling bias data

by successfully representing a whole network data through a general sampling technique.

The name-generating and name-interpreting techniques, which nominate trusting partners

and identify the trusting relationship between those partners, were further explained in the

section of network data collection.

The author later presented ERMG as a main inferential analytic technique that

uncovers homophily effects by controlling other factors that might affect the existing

trust ties. The author employed ERGM, developed by Krivitsky and Morris (2017) for its

strong analytic power of generalizing results drawn from a sample by controlling network

size. After assessing status-based homophily through ERGM, the model fitness was

tested by a diagnosis of MCMC and Goodness of fit (GOF). The detailed procedure of

model assessment was explained in this section. Also, the current study sequentially

added diverse homophily terms into ERGM to observe how homophily terms were

interrelated. The coefficient changes associated homophily term will hint at interrelation

among those status-based factors. The reasons a separate ERGM analysis was conducted across news organizations were further explained.

The main goal of this dissertation is to identify status-based homophily in journalists' trust relationships with their peers. To achieve this research goal, the status-based homophily was assessed by whether journalists who trust each other share the same social status or not (Born, Akkerman, & Thommes, 2016; Lusher et al., 2012; Vögtle & Windzio, 2016). In other words, homophily was found if existing trust ties were established between journalists who share the same status. In particular, status-based homophily was investigated on two major categories of social statuses, following prior studies on status-based homophily: an ascribed status that does not require any voluntary effort of obtaining, and an achieved status that requires an intentional and voluntary effort of obtaining (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954). Considering journalism norms and newsroom culture in South Korea, the author added gender and working tenure as ascribed statuses that generate homophily. Also, academic prestige as an indicator of educational status, types of recruitment as an indicator for insider status, and competence as an indicator for journalists' professional status, were included to predict the achieved status-based homophily.

Lastly, the author described ways of constructing variables in his investigation of status-based homophily in journalists' trust relationships. Among five predictors, gender, academic prestige, recruitment, and competence were recorded in a binary format. This binary classification was created by theoretical arguments about social identity and

intergroup conflict. In-group favoritism against others is a key element of social identity

theory, which allows operationalizing key variables in a binary format. Dominant, such as

males, and dominated groups, such as females, are commonly assigned group

memberships used for studies about the intergroup conflict in a workplace "considering

the asymmetric positions of social groups in relation to a common universe of valued

symbolic and material resources in society (Amâncio, 1989; p2)." Based on this

theoretical perspective on South Korean workplace culture, academic prestige was

measured as those who graduated from top-tier schools or not. Recruitment was measured

as those started their journalism career in the current newspaper or not. Competence was

measured as those who received the monthly journalism awards granted by the Korean

journalism association or not. Moreover, gender was measured as either male or female.

Meanwhile, working tenure was measured in years of work experience as a journalist.

Chapter Four

This chapter displays empirical evidence on status-based homophily. The primary

focus of this chapter was to present whether gender, tenure, academic prestige,

recruitment, and competence generate homophily in journalists' trust relationships with

their peers. Statistical significance determined whether those social statuses were a proper

predictor for homophily in journalists' trust relationships. In particular, the variation of

parameter estimates across ERGM models revealed how the addition of status-based

homophily terms (trust ties x social statuses) reshaped journalists' homophilous tendency.

In addition, associative frequencies by social statuses were presented for each newspaper to add more insight into how trusting patterns differ across newspapers. Dyadic trusting patterns by social statuses were presented across newspapers. This descriptive statistics offered a brief overview of similarities and differences in trusting patterns between two newspapers. Meanwhile, the differences in organizational demographics also were illustrated for a comparative purpose to see differences in organizational conditions for trusting behaviors.

Chapter Five

This chapter primarily provides implications drawn from an empirical analysis of status-based homophily. Before advancing into implications from findings, the author presented summarized results, and interpreted how those pieces of evidence were drawn, based on the theoretical arguments. Furthermore, additional explanation was presented for social statuses that were found to be statistically insignificant and partially supported only in the case of one newspaper. In particular, the implications were drawn for 1) theoretical development for further studies on journalists' informal socializing, 2) further methodological application to the journalism studies, and 3) practical resolution for news organizations that struggle to maximize the value of workplace diversity. Additionally, further discussion also was made to guide future researchers in their investigation into the newsroom studies with social network analysis.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The primary purpose of this dissertation is to identify factors responsible for homophily in journalists' trust relationship with peers. This investigation can add more insight into existing literature and contribute to further theoretical development in journalism practice. Compared to external practice in which journalists interact with outsiders, such as their news sources, internal practice among peers inside the newsroom remains little known (Gravengaard & Rimestad, 2014). The existing knowledge about internal practice is biased to the ethnographical studies. In a given condition, the key contribution of this study rests on three major areas. First, the current study can promote more theoretical exploration of informal socialization in the newsrooms, following the recent theoretical efforts of finding the middle grounds between bureaucratic control and autonomous professionals (Meltzer & Martik, 2017; Weiss & Domingo, 2010). The journalism studies adopted two major approaches in their investigation of identifying what shapes journalists' attitudes and behavior: First, a group of scholars adopted a sociological approach following Breed's (1955) study on the social control in the newsroom. They considered journalists to be passive individuals who are greatly influenced by social, economic, political, and organizational forces surrounding journalists (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). On the other hand, other scholars regard journalists as independent and autonomous individuals and emphasize their professionalism as a key determinant to shape their attitudes and behavior.

However, after Zelizer's (1990) introduction of *interpretive communities,* more scholars in journalism studies began to recognize the limits of those traditional

approaches of bureaucratic control and professional individuals in their understanding of journalism practice (Dickinson, 2007; Meltzer & Martik, 2017; Preston, 2009; Weiss & Domingo, 2010). The informal nature of the journalists' social relationships has been centered on two theoretical explorations: *interpretive communities* and *communities of practice (*Meltzer & Martik, 2017). However, these theoretical discussions lacked vital components of informal relationships in understanding journalism practice, as following: First, the absence of examining real interaction among peers limits the theoretical implications of *interpretive* communities in its application to the newsroom setting. Second, the theory of *communities of practice* narrowly defines the network as a learning community. This narrowly defined scope of relationships limits generalizing implications to other types of informal relationships in the newsroom. Furthermore, the theory of *communities of practice* views a journalist's community as a whole network and pays limited attention to how the whole network consists of small subgroups. The intergroup relationships have been ignored in the theory of *communities of practice*, while it is an important subject of social network. This dissertation will add insight into the current journalism practice by focusing on those who are marginalized, and addressing understudied areas in journalism studies.

Second, this study fosters more scholarly attention to intergroup relationships in the domain of newsroom diversity. Diversity at work is defined as "similarities and differences among employees in terms of age, cultural background, physical abilities and disabilities, race, religion, gender, and sexual orientation (Saxena, 2014; p76)". Newsroom diversity has been an integrated part of journalism studies as more diverse

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groups of individuals have entered the news media industry (Craft & Wanta, 2004; McGuire, 2002; Williams, 2015; Zeldes & Fico, 2005). Yet, little attempt has been made to understand to what extent those diverse groups interact in the newsrooms (Preston, 2009). To what extent those interactions interplay for the establishment of journalism practice still remains unknown (Gravengaard & Rimestad, 2014). These unanswered questions may stem from a lack of empirical analysis on intergroup relations. Thus, the current study that employed inferential analysis on social network data will demonstrate a deep insight into the hidden nature of social interaction in the newsroom. In particular, the primary interest of homophily in journalists' intergroup relationship stimulates theoretical discussion on newsroom socialization. Furthermore, some social statuses, such as working tenure, the length of years working as a journalist, were added to address characteristics of South Korean newsrooms and press system. Investigating tenure, academic prestige, recruitment, and competence distinguish this investigation from prior studies that are mainly of the workplace setting in the U.S. and other Western countries where race, ethnicity, and gender are primary focuses on workplace intergroup interaction and conflict (Bigler, Rohrbach, & Sanchez, 2016; Healey, 1995).

Lastly, the study's focus on journalists' trust relationships will offer practical implications for news organizations that face increased demands for embracing and leveraging employees of diverse backgrounds. Among diverse types of social relationships, the current study paid attention to trust relationship because of its tangible benefits of knowledge-sharing, employee satisfaction, and organizational performance (Gratton & Erickson, 2007; McFadyen & Cannela Jr., 2004; Meyerson, Weick, & Kramer,

1996; Uslaner, 1999). In particular, the utility of trust may become more significant for news organizations than any other organization in the face of technological and economic challenges that have brought an intense competition, and consequently restricts news media's financial investment on newsroom performance. First, the increased demographic diversity in newsrooms needs trust as a facilitator for intergroup interaction (Williams, 2015). Second, the changing media environment that offers journalists more collaborating opportunities with their peers, citizen journalists and those in different newspaper departments, inevitably increases the utility of trust for its functionality of connecting diverse individuals (Neveu, 2014; Pavlik, 2013). Third, the financial constraints of news organizations need to shift more managerial attention to intangible resources of trust for their potential for empowering their members (Mishra, 1996; Mishra & Spreitzer, 1998). Those who share trust can reap the benefits of sharing knowledge, enhancing organizational learning, and increased job satisfaction that can contribute to better journalistic performance (Gratton & Erickson, 2007; Levin et al., 2002).

There have been alarming signals that journalism might have entered a dark age (Simons, 2017). The technology-driven, new digital economy crowds the news industry with new online news media. The intensified media competition limits the financial capability of news organizations, thus most newsrooms suffer from downsizing and increased workloads. Consequently, decreased morale and job dissatisfaction generate a great concern about the worsening quality of journalism and journalists' professional roles (Mellado & Lagos, 2014; Reinardy, 2011). Yet, there has been limited attention to

how to mobilize existing resources to produce better news. This dissertation focused on trust as an intangible resource that can empower journalists and improve journalism outputs of news reporting because it is embedded in social relations. However, the benefits of a trust are only exclusively shared by those connected through trust. Those outside the trust network are often alienated from sharing information and knowledge. As a result, they tend to be disadvantaged when it comes to being promoted and assigned to important news beats. In a given situation, the current study will entail further discussion on the functioning role of trust in news organizations since trust can be a crucial element of maximizing the value of diversity in the current newsroom setting.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

OVERVIEW OF THE KOREAN NEWS INDUSTRY

Press-state relationship

State-driven modernization and development over more than a half-century have cast a deep shadow on the modern history of the Korean press (Kim, 2010). Also, military dictatorship over three decades that ended in the late 1980s played a crucial role in establishing the current media landscape in South Korea (Kang, 1994). During this dark period of the nation's history, South Korean media often served as a mouthpiece of military dictators, and the news businesses benefitted from their collusive partnership with military dictatorship (Choe, 2013; Kang, 1994). The South Korean press advocated interests of the military dictatorship and corrupted business elites rather than protecting people's rights (Park, Kim & Sohn, 2000). These media organizations emerged as one of the key tenets that supported authoritarian regimes by promoting an anti-communism ideology, which the military used for its governance (Kim, 2010). Kang (2005) describes the nature of journalism under military dictatorship as "propaganda journalism." During the 1960 and 1970s, strong censorship on news reporting was implemented.

The return on their collusive partnership with military dictatorship was even higher in the 1980s when General Chun, who later became a South Korean president, strictly controlled the media market (Kang, 2005). The press was forcefully amalgamated and market entry by new media organizations was prohibited (Sa, 2009; Youm, 1986). This paved the way for major conservative newspapers that supported the business and government elites to upscale their news business and to strengthen their monopolistic

power (Ju, 1993). Revenue of the six major newspapers more than doubled from 1981 to 1987, and the net profit of the five large papers also increased by 4.2 fold during the same period (Joo, Kim, & Park, 1997). In return, journalists enjoyed a higher pay-scale than before, and more journalists became lawmakers than before, while the nation's freedom of the press faced a historic crisis (Kang, 2005; Kim, 2017).

The current media system was established in 1987 when the nation's democratization movement officially ended military dictatorship by revitalizing popular votes for presidential elections, which had been prohibited for 26 years. Upon people's demand for democracy, the government relaxed media regulations that oppressed the freedom of the press (Woo & Joo, 2002). The *Hankyoreh* newspaper was created by journalists dismissed for their resistance to military dictatorship, and other new daily newspapers were subsequently created. Increased numbers of news media brought increasing diversity in news coverage on issues of labor, reformation of conglomerates, and human rights, which had been largely ignored by major newspapers in the past (Kang, 2019). Yet, the newly created liberal newspapers struggled with small readerships as conservative newspapers actively mobilized financial resources to maintain their dominant status in the newspaper market (Kang, 2005). These major newspapers still play an essential role in forming conservative alliances with conservative government and business elites, and upholding the status quo in Korean society (Sa, 2009). These newspapers contributed to the victory of conservatives, who inherited the legacy of the military regime, in two consecutive presidential elections since 1987 (Kim, 2001). Many scholars pointed out that news media have begun to take more political power, taking

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advantage of the weakening power of authoritarian governments since 1987 (Kang, 2005; Kang, 2019).

Despite the improved freedom of speech in the era of democracy, many news media, including news wire service, television broadcasting, and newspapers still are under the influence of government because of state ownership of some media organizations: *Seoul Shinmun* (The oldest national daily newspaper), *KBS* (The largest broadcasting station), *Yonhap* News Agency (The largest news wire service), and *YTN* (The first cable news channel). Instead of direct influence on news reporting, the government indirectly intervenes with the news industry by appointing CEOs and board members in those media companies (Chung, 1998; Kang, 2018). This hiring practice was widely observed regardless of the political stance of administrations (Kwon, 2004; Lim, 2018). Inevitably, this leads to a high level of tension among journalists inside newsrooms because their career path, including promotion, tends to be influenced by the country's political situation (Lim, 2018). Moreover, the government manipulated its power of tax probes on news organizations (Chung, 1998). Under liberal administrations in the early 2000s, the owners of four conservative newspapers, including the three major newspapers, were unprecedentedly prosecuted for charges of tax evasion (Yang, 2001). The press-state relationship in South Korea goes beyond a healthy tension that the press and the state are supposed to have, which resulted in fluctuation of the press freedom index of changes in the political landscape (Chung, 2019). Recently, South Korean press freedom remained historically low when conservatives were in power (Chung, 2019). The Freedom House raised a concern about prosecution for the charge of defamation restricts

press activity (Choi, 2017). Lee (2001) argued that ambiguity and obscurity of judicial decisions on libel and defamation as one of the reasons legal proceedings are influenced by the prosecutors' office, which also is under the influence of politics.

Press-business relationship

The democratic reform in politics also brought a seismic change in the news business in 1987 (Bae, 2012). Lifting a wide range of media restrictions turned the newspaper market into a more competitive marketplace than before. The policy that restricted one newspaper per one state was abolished, and more newspapers were created in local and national markets (Korean Association of Newspapers, 2005). Newspapers have more authority than before in their business operation, including the number of published pages. However, this change in the media landscape was not necessarily welcoming for all news media because the collapse of media cartels would bring an intensified market competition and a worsened profit margin (Bae, 2010; Kim, 2005). The history in the 1990s showed that competition among newspapers was fiercer than expected as the media competition became a rate race intensified by an excessive subsidy of newspaper payment, a high ratio of unpaid publication, excessive promotional fees and publishing pages (Chung, 1999; Lee, 2010). The incidence of homicide that involved employees from major newspapers for a conflict over distributing newspapers in the 1990s showed how competitive the newspaper market became (Yoo & Kwon, 2007). Consequently, the cutthroat competition where newspapers competed for limited financial resources began to change the relationship of the news media to businesses. The influence of businesses on newspapers has grown as more newspapers attempted to gain

financial resources from those businesses. In particular, the financial crisis and emergence of the Internet in the late 1990s through early 2000s led news media to become more dependent on advertisers as newspapers rapidly lost their newspaper readership (Bae, 2012).

In particular, the news media revenue structure that has heavily relied on advertising revenues from a few large conglomerates raised a concern about press freedom and businesses' influence on news content. After the financial crisis in the late 1990s, South Korea reshaped its economy with a concentration of a few large conglomerates. This successful economic transition affected the relationship of news media to conglomerates to make them more dependent than before. In South Korea, the total advertising expense of four major conglomerates accounts for 15 percent of total advertising expenditures, and the advertising expenditure of Samsung, the largest corporation in South Korea, accounts for 15 percent of the total advertising revenue for minor daily national newspapers (Shin, 2005). This unique economy, where newspapers' revenue heavily relies on ads from a few conglomerates, makes it challenging for newspapers to produce unbiased news reports (Kim, 2005). Some scholars argue that Korean conglomerates use newspaper advertising to manipulate their dominant status to control news reporting rather than seeking advertising effects on their products (Kang, 2005; Lee, 2010). More journalists began to recognize the influence of businesses as the biggest threat to editorial freedom (Korea Press Foundation, 2009). In particular, newspaper journalists became more concerned about advertisers' influence on their

independent reporting than their broadcast peers as newspapers were in deeper financial

troubles (Korea Press Foundation, 2009).

Prior studies of a collusive partnership between the press and conglomerates cast

doubts on whether South Korea's news media have an intention or capability of achieving

independence from those conglomerates (Choi et al., 2011; Shim, 2002). The volume of

advertising from conglomerates was found to be statistically significant to newspapers'

favorable stance to them (Choi et al., 2011). Newspapers were found to increase news

coverage on conglomerates as they advertise more frequently in newspapers, and this

pattern was consistently found across conservative and liberal newspapers (Lim et al.,

2014). These pieces of evidence strongly support the argument that those who control

resources have influential voices in news reporting (Altschull, 1984; Baker, 1994;

Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). In particular, journalists who helped secure advertising sales

from businesses were more likely to be promoted, and this generated concerns that the

relationship between advertising power and the media weakened journalistic values

inside the newsroom and ethics for journalism practice (Kim, 2019; Park, 2000). Facing

financial difficulties, journalists began to concern about sustainable operation of their

news oulets and became collaborative partnerships with advertisers (Kim, 2019; Ryu,

2015). Some South Korea journalists write favorable news articles for the advertisers in

exchange of securing advertisement (Ryu, 2015). This ethical issue inside the newsroom

exacerbates journalists' trust in their organizations and ultimately leads to a deteriorating

quality of journalism. Yet, in the highly competitive environment, more journalists are

willing to trade journalistic values or ethics for the sake of job security (Kang, 1998;

Chung, 2010; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001). The South Korean public's low trust,

combined with the worsening financial stability of the South Korean press, may reinforce

a vicious cycle for the time being.

Public distrust in press

Now, the country with a population of 50 million has 10 national daily

newspapers and nine broadcasting corporations, including cable news channels that

compete at a national level (Lee, 2018). In 2017, the number of registered newspapers in

the government registry reached 4,225 and there were about 27,000 journalists working

for news media (Lee, 2018). Conservative newspapers remained dominant market leaders

for decades. The gap in revenue between conservative and progressive newspapers

amounts to 12 to 1, and the gap in circulation becomes larger with a ratio of 10 to 1

(MediaX, 2019). Considering the political landscape where conservatives and liberals are

almost equal, one may argue that, with economy of scales, conservative newspapers have

an advantage of generating a wide gap between conservative and liberal newspapers.

However, newspapers have suffered from lost print readers in recent years. The rate of

daily subscriptions in household dramatically decreased from about 70 percent in 2005 to

14.3 percent in 2010 (Kim, 2011). While the decline in print circulation is prevalently

found across countries, the rapid rate of decline is exceptionally large in South Korea.

One also may consider the world's lowest public trust in the press in South Korea

as one of the important factors for the sharp decline in newspaper readership. Among 37

nations, South Korea ranked last for public trust in news media for four consecutive years

(The Reuter Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2018). About 60 percent of the public

answered in the survey that they do not trust South Korean news media (Chung, 2019).

The main criticism of news media lies in their collusive relationship with political and

business elites (Kim, 2004). The shameful history of major newspapers that became a

partner with the military dictatorship and influenced public opinion as a political player

has followed to undermine their credibility (Kim, 1994; Sa, 2009). About eight out of 10

persons expressed a negative view on journalists by answering that journalists do not

represent the voices of socially disadvantaged groups (Cho, 2017). Consequently, the

public prefers online news portal sites that provide news aggregating services to a news

media's website or mobile application (Noh, 2018). Only 7 percent of 35 million mobile

users visited a media's mobile application at least once a month (Choi, 2016).

Losing public credibility for newspapers may exacerbate their financial

performance. As of 2016, *Chosun ilbo,* the largest newspaper in the country in terms of

circulation, had experienced decreasing revenues for three consecutive years, and for 11

national newspapers, their short-term net profits dropped by about 43 percent compared

to the previous year (Seo, 2018). This weak financial performance inevitably led to a

hiring freeze and created an increased workload for each journalist, causing decreasing

morale (Kim, 2018). Increasing members of journalists identified themselves as a

"salaryman", the term commonly found in South Korea and Japan that symbolizes

employees who only care about paychecks with a lack of professionalism for their jobs

(Choi, 2016; Kinmonth, 1981; Park, 2015). According to the Korean Journalists

Association, about 83 percent of journalists who responded to a survey agreed that more

journalists are becoming "salary men" and neglecting journalists' duties and

responsibilities (Kim, 2015). The low morale in the newsroom resulted from a reduction in workforce, decreased influence as an opinion leader, low satisfaction and a lack of vision as a journalist (Kim, 2015). About 76 percent of journalists said in a survey that their newsrooms suffered from a decline in morale last two years (Kim, 2018).

Change in journalism practice

These trends in the news industry brought unprecedented changes to journalism practice in South Korea. Consequently, newsroom changes amid the financial constraints have gradually incorporated new norms and cultures not seen before. One significant change is that journalists are not guaranteed lifetime employment (Kim, 1999; Lee, 1999). Newspapers began to hire more experienced, mid-career journalists to improve the cost-effectiveness of the management, rather than hiring recent college graduates through the longtime hiring practice of annual recruitments (Kim, 1999; Lee, 1999). The increased demand for experienced journalists created greater labor mobility among mid-career journalists who looked for better employment opportunities, and caused the recruiting ratio of experienced journalists-to-new hires to increase to-date (Kim, 2017). In addition, the South Korea's government loosened regulation on media and removed barriers for new media players entering the broadcasting market, contributing to increased labor mobility in the media market (Kim, 2011). The increased supply of media organizations, coupled with a higher demand for experienced journalists, opened up unprecedented opportunities for journalists for upward mobility (Chun, 2013). This new environment intensifies competition for   a high-level journalistic competence, which eventually attenuates the importance of given status, such as seniority and educational background

of academic prestige, that have played a significant role in journalists' career development.

On the other hand, the country's economic downturn stripped job opportunities for journalists outside the media industry, causing more senior journalists to stay with their current media organization. Despite the growing labor mobility, most job openings sought junior journalists. Most media organizations prefer to recruit journalists who can assimilate to the new culture; thus they are reluctant to hire senior-level journalists with much experience with other media companies (Shin, 2003). In their heyday, senior-level journalists were welcomed by other industries as public relation officers because their expertise and experiences could help corporations gain media exposure. However, financial hardship in overall business sectors and the emergence of new media made it hard to pursue careers in other sectors (Choe, 2008). The fact that the number of journalists in their 50s and older has rapidly increased over the years illustrates that the labor market in South Korean news industry is polarized along with the seniority (Korea Press Foundation, 2018). It is clear that South Korea's media industry has undergone significant changes internally at the organizational level and externally in the labor market. However, increasing reports show that South Korea's news organizations and newsrooms experience generational conflict as they failed to embrace senior-level, older journalists as valuable team members (Sung, 2013; Choi, 2014; Kang, 2015). An unprecedentedly increasing diversity in the newsroom workforce left managerial challenges for newspapers.

Nonetheless, increasing female journalists add more diversity to the newsroom. Female journalists have achieved significant progress in their roles and status in newsrooms in recent years. More female journalists have advanced into senior managerial positions, including the editor-in-chief position, and they now account for about half the newly hired journalists (Song, 2012). Considering that the percentage of female college students who major in journalism is higher than male students, it is expected that more women will enter the news industry and strengthen their status as journalists (Korean Educational Statistical Services, 2018).

One of the noteworthy changes in South Korean news organizations was changing their newsrooms into horizontal structures by granting more autonomy and power to managing editors (Kim & Kim, 2009). The typical organizational structure for South Korean newsrooms was highly centralized with a top-down workflow from the editor-in-chief to departmental heads, deputy heads, and news reporters (Kim & Kim, 2005). This hierarchical structure was established not only by leadership and the organizational chart, but also was maintained by an institutionalized culture that stratified journalists as they mutually reinforced each other (Janićijević, 2013). South Korean journalists internalized hierarchical norms and culture through the institutionalized hierarchy as well as their informal relationships with their senior and junior journalists (Lee, 1998). Hierarchical leadership in newsroom partly owed to an informal relationship among journalists, as Kwon (2006) pointed out. The homogeneous nature of newsroom workforce, such as a high level of similarity in educational backgrounds and recruitment type, tended to make it easier for the newsroom managers to maintain a centralized power system because

homogeneous groups are relatively easier to manage than heterogeneous ones (Gudykunst, 1995).

Considering this perspective, the failure of topic-team based systems in South Korean newsrooms in the mid-2000s might not be surprising. Many newspapers have previously attempted to introduce a Western-style newsroom system, but have failed (Kim, 2005; Nam, 2006). This may be because there was a significant gap between the hierarchical culture and horizontal structure that media organizations attempted to employ (Kim & Kim, 2005). Journalists of a hierarchical mind did not keep up with the pace of change in the newsroom, which resulted in failure of topic-team based system in South Korean newsrooms (Nam, 2006). This failure suggests that successful organizational transformation should come with cultural changes in newsroom (Min, 2011). Also, the cases in South Korea showed that informal relationships embedded in newsroom may outweigh the institutional routine.

In a given situation, one should give much attention to what extent this gap has diminished over the past decade to understand current on-going changes in South Korean newsrooms. Again, South Korean newspapers are attempting to incorporate horizontal elements into their newsrooms in preparing for changes in media environments (Kim, 2018). Amid those changes, increasing diversity among journalists can be a noteworthy factor from inside newsrooms because of its influence on the transformation of organizational structure. Increasing diversity in organizations tends to bring heterogeneous cultures into organizations, which will increase the chance of on-going

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changes in newsroom structure being more compatible than before (Mazur, 2010). The current investigation on the principle of homophily in journalists' trust relationship may be the first step to examine to what extent newsroom diversity plays a role in the on-going change in newsroom practice and routines, and influences on newsroom as a community of practice.

OVERVIEW OF DIVERSITY STUDIES

During the 1980s, along with the changing labor market environment, the value in diversity in organizational management gained popularity in developed countries (Thomas & Ely, 1996). Contributing to the diversity were an aging workforce and women's increased educational attainment and workforce participation. The diversity of the workforce also was accelerated by labor mobility across the globe and the increasing number of immigrants (Stockdale & Crosby, 2004). Furthermore, a paradigm shift in an organizational culture aiming to make organizations flexible threatened job security. This led to a gradual, cultural increase in diversity in organizations. This change first gained the attention of scholars and practitioners through the Hudson Institute's research (Johnston & Packer, 1987). Diverse training programs and institutional implementations were employed to maximize the diversity value in organizations (Pelled, 1996).

At the dawn of diversity studies on organizations, discussions concerned the issue of discrimination, prejudice, and affirmative action to disadvantaged members based on a narrow focus on demographic background, by adopting a social policy perspective. Consequently, the concept of diversity frequently discussed in media organizations often centered around gender and race. However, diversity encompasses an individual's

different religion, intellectual capability, lifestyle, and tenure and functional different in organizations along with demographic background (Kossek & Lobel, 1996; Thomas, 1990; Von Bergen, Soper, & Foster, 2002). Such characteristics can be broadly defined and diversely categorized. Social identity complexity theory views such differences in individuals as affecting how each individual realizes that he or she belongs to groups of multiple attributes. Thus identity is more complicated than a single category. From this perspective, intimacy among individuals may be created simply based on a shared gender or race, but it also may be more appropriate to argue that external factors, such as shared value, can lead to tolerance and intimacy toward different individuals (Miller, Brewer, & Arbuckle, 2009; Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

Conflicting views on effects of diversity on organizations

Studies on the effectiveness of workforce diversity center on how differences in attributes of individuals contribute to organizational success. Cox (1994) suggested the assimilation of those individuals into organizations as a principal goal of diversity management. This meant that workforce diversity should reflect and represent different individual's qualities beyond a simple headcount of minority groups or the composition of the team member's gender and race (Amadeo, 2013). However, the reality is that local newspapers in the U.S. continue to struggle to realize workforce diversity and fail to represent the true composition of society (Williams, 2015). Thus further investigation into how diversity and social relations formed between the minority groups and the majority group would add value to newspaper organizations that aim to maximize the value of diversity in the newsroom.

Studies on workforce diversity have focused on how the value of diversity affects work processes and organizational mechanisms (Gonzalez & DeNisi, 2009; Homan et al., 2008). Regarding the effectiveness/consequences of diversity in the workforce, there have emerged two opposing views. The information decision approach focuses on the positive consequences of diversity in the workforce, and social identity theory focuses on the negative consequences. On the former, Latimer (1998) argued that diversity in the workforce contributed to an organization's better decision-making capability. Culturally homogenous members encounter difficulties in problem solving as their experience and knowledge may lack diverse perspectives. On the other hand, heterogeneous members bring better quality solutions through creativity and multiple perspectives. The environment that values creativity in problem-solving not only brings satisfaction to the work performance of each member, but also contributes to achieving organizational goals (Cox & Blake, 1991; Richard & Shelor, 2002). Cox and Blake (1991) suggested that organizational diversity promoted creativity and innovation in organizations.

On the other hand, proponents of social identity theory criticized increased diversity in the workforce, claiming it hindered cohesiveness within organizations, promoted conflict among members, and prevented organizations from reaching their goals. Values in diversity, such as individual competence and creativity, are not easily attained in practice (Al-jenaibi, 2011). As in-group and out-group bias explains, individuals tend to favor others with similar beliefs or characteristics, and to be less accepting of others with different beliefs or characteristics (Bond & Pyle, 1998). Empirical evidence has shown that similarity among individuals increases attraction

(Sunnafrank, 1983). Bryne (1971) believed that similarity reinforces attitude or belief in interpersonal relations, and other scholars found this inclination in genetics (Rushton, 1990). Such views and discrimination against team members with different attributes can lead to creating sub-groups to achieve individual goals (Knight et al., 1999; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998).

Diversity management

The value in diversity is not yet being capitalized attests to the lack of organizational efforts at eliminating psychological prejudice based on social identity. According to Moore (1999), workplace diversity itself is a neutral value. It does not yield automatically either positive or negative consequences. Rather, the value can be realized through organizations' diversity management. As explained by social identity complexity theory, diversity is broadly categorized. Thus realizing diversity in the workplace must overcome complex challenges if it is to integrate diverse individuals into organizations. Furthermore, diversity management has yet to be defined and its application in the workplace is still in its initial stages. The conceptual idea of diversity management originates from the social policy in the U.S and the U.K., which aims to eliminate discrimination against disadvantaged groups and to provide incentives for employing diverse groups. As for media organizations, diversity in the workplace proved its effectiveness as seen from a positive relationship between content diversity and diversity in the newsroom (Pease, Smith, & Subervi, 2001).

However, diversity management should go beyond recruiting and retaining diverse personnel to achieving a competitive advantage and substantializing the potential

value of diversity. While organizations have enforced the institutionalized efforts of eliminating prejudice through education and policy, Dobbs (1996) argued that diversity management can be optimized by fostering interpersonal interaction among individuals with different backgrounds. Isaksen and Lauer (2002) emphasized the importance of trust to promote a high level of cooperation and yield a strong bond among team members. A tangible benefit of trust in diversity management is manifested through mutual adjustment that mitigates conflict and disputes (Ruscio, Whitney, & Amabile, 1995). Consequently, Hennessey and Amabile (1998) suggested that a central facilitator in managing diversity is trust. In particular, trust can be a viable diversity management tool for news organizations that rely on individual competence for organizational performance, rather than systemized supervision on employees as seen from evidence on other high-commitment organizations (Bamberger & Meshoulam, 2000; Lepak & Snell, 1999). Breed (1955) argued that social control is critical to managing journalists in the newsroom and journalists tend to conform to norms and culture through a strong group attachment. Hence, the informal side of social relationships in the newsroom needs to be explored. However, little is known about how journalists build social relationships or how they establish trust with one another in the newsroom (Becker, 1970).

TRUST

Definition of trust

A large volume of research has been produced since Argyris (1964) first recognized trust as a key factor for organizational performance. The literature on trust has extended across diverse disciplines, including sociology, psychology, and management.

These interdisciplinary studies on trust inevitably generated fragmented definitions and measurements on the subject (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998).

No universally accepted definition of trust exists. However, a good deal of evidence has been presented to explain the benefit of trust in many different social settings, including organizations. As Creed and Miles (1996) emphasized, scholars define trust in various ways, depending on their perspective. However, despite the vagueness and inconsistencies demonstrated in defining trust, the diverse definitions converge into three aspects of trust: belief in the goodwill of others, the decision to be vulnerable to others, and a risk-taking act (McEvily et al., 2003).

First, trust is defined as a subjective cognitive belief in the goodwill of others. Boon and Holmes (1991, p194) suggested trust to be defined as "a state involving confident positive expectations about another's motives with respect to oneself in situations entailing risk." In a similar vein, Creed and Miles (1996, p17) defined trust as "specific expectation that other's actions will be beneficial rather than detrimental and the generalized ability to take for granted." Lewicki, McAllister and Bies (1998) and Whitener and her colleagues (1998) shared similar views on the expectation of benevolence from others. In other words, trust is a belief in one's assessment of another's trustworthiness (Meyer et al., 1995). While trustworthiness is one of the qualities that trustees possess, trust is the aggregated belief in those qualities.

Scholars have debated the origin of trust (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998). Those who argue that people tend to expect positive intentions and behavior from others conceptualize trust as a generalized trust based on the benign nature of human

beings (Rotter, 1967; Uslaner, 2011; Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994). According to

Rotter (1967), this generalized trust is manifested in a way of trust in strangers and public

institutions, such as the government. Others have attempted to find the origin of trust

from social relationships, and argued that the positive expectation of others is bred from

prior experience and observation (Lewick & Bunker, 1996). Following this sociological

perspective that trust is embedded in social relationships, trust is defined as a relational

trust (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998). Cook (2005) emphasized that trust only

emerges from maintaining social relationships between individuals, and is a byproduct of

a dyadic commitment based on cognitive assessment on prior behavior. These views

highlight the repeated interaction between individuals over time as a prerequisite to

achieve reliability and dependability on others.

However, others have thrown light on the significance of manifesting belief in

others by defining trust as a willingness to accept vulnerability with positive expectations

of the intentions and behavior of others (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998). This

decision to render oneself vulnerable to others means that individuals willingly accept the

potential risk of being harmed by others. This view on trust emphasizes that trust is a

choice, taking a risk based on the psychological dependence on the positive expectations

of others. Meyer et al. (1995, p. 712) suggested that trust is "the willingness of a party to

be vulnerable to the actions of another party, based on the expectation that the other will

perform a particular action that is important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to

monitor or control that other party."

However, the question still remains whether such a decision necessarily leads to the action of trust. The notion that trust is not a behavior or a choice, but a psychological state (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt & Camerer, 1998) must overcome a strong counter-argument. For instance, good intention does not always yield good behaviors. This fact suggests that a psychological state is a mere condition for a risk-taking act. Some arguments have been made that individuals' willingness to be vulnerable to others by taking risks does not translate into behavioral responses of trust by those others (Costa, Roe, & Taillieu, 2001; Sitkin & Pablo, 1992). From this point of view, trust can be defined as the behavior of individuals engaging in risk-taking processes.

Levels of trust

House, Rousseau, and Thomas-Hunt (1995) clarified trust with a messo concept by integrating psychological processes with institutional arrangements in which individuals are placed. Seen from this perspective, trust is an outcome of the socially constructed process of judging others rather than the psychological cognitive process resulting from personal attributes. Mizruchi and Stearn (2000, p. 3) adopted this perspective by determining trust as "regularized social relations characterized by high predictability and reliability." Central to this argument is the idea that complex factors involved in the social relationship can amplify or diminish individual belief, decision, and actions of trust. Accordingly, recent scholarship has come to focus on diverse social contexts associated with trust (Powell, 1996). Within an organizational context, three different situational levels—the individual, relational, and institutional—have, since

Whitener et al. proposed them (1998), gained visibility in revealing factors associated with establishment of trust.

Individual level: Individual level factors are split into two main categories: trustors and trustees. First, some have argued that trust is an inherent characteristic that human beings are born with, and the benign nature of human beings enables individuals to expect positive intentions and behavior from others (Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994). From this view, the central place of establishing trust belongs to the pre-disposition of trustors. The pre-disposition of trustors plays a significant role in determining whether trustors trust others, as indeed they lack information about trustees, (George & Swap, 1982). Moreover, a growing body of evidence has been presented that existing beliefs and attitudes of trustors affect whether trust is established. They include a trustor's cultural values and norms (Huff & Kelly, 2002) as well as a political disposition (Robinson, 1996).

Second, the trustee's socio-demographic characteristics can inspire and inhibit trust between individuals. Tracing back to Plato's (1968, p. 837) notion of "similarity begets friendship", people tend to trust others who share similarities. Determinants of trust were found to be such demographic variables as age, race, and gender (Brass, 1985; Feld, 1982). The degree of trust also is enhanced by achieved statuses, such as occupational prestige and education (Marsden, 1988; Meyerson, Weick, & Kramer, 1996).

Relational level: In recent years, there have been several accounts that point to a relational aspect of trust. These object to the idea of generalized trust at an individual level. The rationale behind this argument is in line with a sociological perspective that trust is embedded in the social relationship (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998).

Giddens (1991) and Luhmann (1979) perceived trust as an outcome of negotiation between individuals. Cook (2005) emphasized that trust only emerges from maintaining social relationships between individuals. Trust stems from a dyadic commitment from both parties based on their cognitive assessment on prior behavior.

These views on trust address the importance of attributes of relationship as factors to influence trust. This argument of relational trust has been confirmed by increasing amounts of evidence. For instance, Fiske (1992) suggested authority ranking and communal sharing as influential factors to establish trust. Sheppard and Sherman (1998) emphasized that the degree of interdependence determines the degree of trust. A study by Burt and Knez (1996) also showed that, among managers in a high-tech company, trust is facilitated by frequency and duration of contact. These pieces of evidence resonate with the argument that repeated interaction helps individuals achieve reliability and dependability, and enhances emotional attachment to others (McAllister, 1995). What has emerged as one of the main relational factors determining trust in social relationships is familiarity as a conceptualized term of enhanced interdependence (Williams, 2001).

Institutional level: Within the boundary of a social system, institutional forces, such as organizational norms and culture, are constrained not only to an individual's attitudes and behavior, but also to interaction among individuals (Lewis & Weigert, 1985; Zucker, 1986). Scholarly discussion on trust has evolved from a dyadic relationship to the institutional level. Mizruchi and Stearn (2000) pointed to group dynamics as a key factor for establishing trust. Sitkin (1995) argued that an institution can promote or constrain

trust relations at the individual level. Zaheer, McEvily, and Perrone (1998) found in a study on inter-organizational trust that institutional forces intervene in interpersonal trust among employees. However, in many cases, institutional factors are undermined as a way of aggregating interpersonal trust as a proxy for institutional trust (Coleman, 1990; Sitkin & Roth, 1993). Because of a lack of empirical evidence, little is known about institutional forces and their relationship to trust.

Functioning roles of trust

There have been consistent efforts in many areas to predict consequences based on present actions in order to reduce uncertainty. Trust has been highlighted for its mitigating role in uncertainty in social relationships (Mizruchi & Stearns, 2000). Evidence shows that trust helps employees achieve their goals. The benefits of trust encompass positive contributions to employees' attitudes, behavior, and competence, which collectively promote the performance of organizations. One noticeable function of trust is to serve as a social lubricant to achieve organizational goals by connecting individuals of diverse backgrounds. One of the priority goals in organizations is to have employees share the same goal and vision by reducing internal conflict among them. That is because the relationship among employees is not spontaneously established, but rather they are built upon serving the same business purpose. And, employees with heterogeneous backgrounds tend to have different subjects of interest and goals. The contributing role of trust in reducing conflict and encouraging cooperation among employees has been found in many cases. In their study on temporarily formed organizations, Meyerson, Weick, and Kramer (1996) demonstrated the positive effect of

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trust on internal conflict among employees. Porter and Lilly (1996) also produced similar

results in their investigation on team performance. Consequently, trust enables

cooperative behavior in an organization (Gambetta, 1988).

Cooperation Moreover, the positive impact of trust on organizations is manifested

through cooperative behavior (Gambetta, 1988). Organizations with a high level of trust

allow employees to be more willing to exchange opinions more frequently (Zaheer,

McEvily, & Perrone, 1998). Employees with a high level of trust in their colleagues tend

to participate in information and skill-sharing (McFadyen & Cannela, 2004). Trust also

positively affects employees' perception on the quality of information that their peers

share (Roberts & O'Reilly, 1974). These results illustrate that trust empowers individuals,

as well as organizations, by contributing to organizational learning. With evidence from

the IT industry, organizations with a high level of trust outperform those with a low level

of trust (Yli-Renko, Autio, & Sapienza, 2001). Trust appears to be an important resource

for organizations to enhance productivity (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998).

Organizational citizenship behavior In addition, trust positively influences the

organizational citizenship behavior among employees. According to Organ (1988),

organizational citizenship behavior is an individual's behavior to help others without

receiving an explicit reward for their behavior, and this is related to employees'

contribution to others beyond their job description. McAllister (1995) showed that trust

among colleagues helps employees increase organizational citizenship behavior. Also,

strong trust in management and leaders generate the same results (Konovsky & Pugh,

1994; Robinson, 1996). Team members who share strong trust were found to provide

emotional support to their peers (Oh, Chung, & Labianca, 2004). While many work-related matters proceed through the standardized operational procedures, many employees rely on their peers to solve problems they encounter. In fact, informal help from other colleagues has been found to enhance the effectiveness of organizations. In the study of Mayer and Gavin (2005), the results demonstrated that the lack of trust in organizations facilitates the self-defense mechanism for employees to spend less time on productive issues. Thus, the positive consequence of trust in organizational trust leads to an overall enhancement of organizational performance.

Communication Some scholars have delved into the impact of trust on communication in organizations (O'Reilly, 1978; Boss, 1978). The typical symptom of an underperforming organization is the display of risk-aversion behaviors from employees. This means that employees feel unsafe about openly discussing new and innovative ideas. Poor communication in organizations evidently leads to misunderstandings among employees, and prevents employees from sharing similar attitudes and norms. However, as the literature demonstrates, trust among employees and within organizations facilitates openness in communication, and increases the amount of information sent to superiors (Robert & O'Reily, 1974; Zand, 1972). Kimmel et al. (1980) showed that the frequent exchange of ideas in dyadic relationships is contingent upon the degree of trust between partners.

Satisfaction Overall, employees within organizations with a high level of trust tend to have a higher level of satisfaction than those within organizations with a low level of trust. Trust increases overall job satisfaction among employees (Driscoll, 1978; Munchinsky,

1977). Brockner et al. (1997) showed that trust among employees contributes to a level of satisfaction for their organizational leaders. Satisfaction on other outputs, such as communication, meeting, and work groups, were found to be positively related to trust (Boss, 1978; Ward, 1997; Zand, 1972). The high level of satisfaction on work-related matters sheds light on the importance of building trust in the organization since much evidence has shown a positive relationship between employee's satisfaction and their performance. Meanwhile, trust in leaders was found to have a positive relationship with employees' task performance (Rich, 1997).

However, the question has been raised as to whether trust plays a direct role in the performance of organizations and employees. The key argument for this is that trust is just a condition to produce positive outcomes. Hwang and Burgers (1997) expressed a view that trust does not necessarily lead to cooperation. Evidence in other studies showed that trust does not generate a major effect on information exchange and group performance (Dirk, 1999; Kimmel et al., 1980). Scholars who are critical of a causal relationship between trust and organizational and employees' performance tend to perceive trust as a belief in others. Rousseau et al. (1998) argued that trust as a psychological state helps individuals assess and interpret the past behavior of others, which reduces uncertainty and ambiguity in the social relationship on the work floor. They added that trust only plays a limited role in economic exchange, which functions as a moderator. Scholarly debates on whether trust is a direct cause of other positive outcomes of employees and organizations stem from ambiguity in defining trust.

Trust and collaboration

Journalists have viewed news organizations as a means of exhibiting their professional values and beliefs (Fee, 2002; Russo, 1998). The culture on the work floor acts as a powerful organizational constraint to help journalists preserve their professionalism (Breed, 1955). However, the recent convergence of online and offline platforms have injected into the newsroom new values, such as profit maximization. Tensions arise in the newsroom when the shared norms and culture among journalists clash with business or entertainment values (Bantz, 1985). In their study, Silcock and Keith (2002) revealed the highly competitive nature of the newly converged newsroom with the tension between two groups of journalists often expressed as competition over story ownership. The authors argued that differences in culture and language among journalists increased tension and conflict in the newsroom. The cultural resistance often leads to organizational failure to adapt to a new environment. Preston (2009) emphasized a need to examine informal socialization among journalists, since newsroom culture is an institutionalization of informal social relationships. The ongoing transformation in the newsroom may redefine journalistic practices, norms, and cultures.

Among journalists, competition is often intense between diverse personnel and sub-groups with their own agendas and front-page goals. In an ethnographical study of the newsroom at a prestigious newspaper in the U.S., Argyris (1974) found that journalists respect professional competence, but regard with less respect individual competence at maintaining relationships with co-workers. However, as news institutions find value in enterprise news and convergence in the newsroom, collaboration among

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journalists has become more important than ever before (Cottle & Ashton, 1999).

Establishing trust in the newsroom will be a pre-requisite for effective collaboration

among journalists as a means to realign shared goals and values. Trust can resolve

conflicts between journalists' old practices and new demands of the new media

environment.

Trust and autonomy

With the advancement of bureaucracy into organizational practice, decision-

making related to tasks in an organization is part of a hierarchical order (Huber &

McDaniel, 1986). The prevalence of division of labor in organizations breaks the work

into specialized labor tasks, and employees become subject to managerial control (Miles,

Snow, Meyer, & Coleman, 1978). However, information relevant to the tasks that

employees possess inevitably signifies individual decision making (Locke & Schweiger,

1979). Performance can be improved when employees control their work. And, Becker

(1970) emphasized such autonomy as the desired value for working professionals.

Hackman and Oldham (1976) asserted through the job characteristics model that

employees' autonomy generates enhanced performance. Reflecting that autonomy is the

degree of freedom with which individuals fulfill their assigned duty at their own

discretion (Hackman, 1983), the idea of autonomy is closely related to self-regulation on

the whole job. Sociologists have raised a concern about coercive managerial control over

work, and the tension between journalists' autonomy and managerial control has been of

main interest to scholars in journalism ever since White's study (1950) on the newsroom.

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) asserted in their hierarchical influence model that,

in shaping news content, journalists are susceptible to external factors outside the newsroom, such as ownership and profit maximization pressure. Commercialism prevails in the news industry, putting journalists under great pressure (Aldridge & Evetts, 2003; Cottle, 2000; Ursell, 2003). They have resisted managerial control over their professional performance. Little is known about the informal side of journalism practice and little is known about the effect of trust among journalists on their autonomy. Nonetheless, much business literature has highlighted the idea that trust is an alternative form of governance in organizations. A high level of trust within organizations influences individuals to conform to the norms, belief, and values of the organizations (Baron, Vandello, & Brunsman, 1996). Managerial control over employees is found less by the most trustworthy individuals in organizations, but less trust in employees leads to more managerial monitoring of them (Bromiley & Cummings, 1995; Creed & Miles, 1996). Thus, it may be reasonable to argue that trust among journalists in the newsroom ensures journalists' autonomy, but also leads to their enhanced job performance.

SOCIAL NETWORK IN NEWSROOM SETTING

Informal socialization in a newsroom

Informal socialization in the workplace has emerged as one of the primary interests among scholars in organizational studies for its positive effects on employees and organizations (Farmer, 2017; Morrison, 2005; Nisbet & Hagner, 1988; Venkataramani, Labianca, & Grosser, 2013). From socialization with their peers, employees gain the benefits of social support, increased job satisfaction, and organizational learning (Gfrerer, 2014; Riordan & Griffeth, 1995; Schön & Argyris,

1996). Organizations also reap advantages of positive organizational outcomes when employees interact informally such as decreased turnover, a high sense of commitment among employees, employees feeling more empowered, and improved organizational performance (Jehn & Shah, 1997; Morrison, 2005; Ross, 1997). These benefits are widely observed across industries, including information technologies, nursing, finances, and digital media (Campana, 2014; Gfrerer, 2014; McGuire, 2002). Despite a vast amount of evidence for these advantages of informal relationships, little is known about informal relationships among journalists in newsroom settings (Preston, 2009). The lack of scholarly attention on newsroom socialization is somewhat surprising considering the significance of socialization in the workplace. Mostly, evidence about the informal relationship among journalists is fragmentarily presented with a weak theoretical umbrella (Gravengaard & Rimestad, 2014). Among those, Argyris (1974) presented newsroom socialization through a qualitative observation on 'prestigious newspapers' in the U.S. Gravengaard and Rimestad (2014) investigated socialization of journalists' trainees in the Norwegian newspapers. Endres (1985) examined the moral development of the U.S. journalists in newspapers as part of newsroom socialization. Weiss and Domingo (2010) presented journalists' adoption of innovative technology in the online newsroom through a learning theory of community of practice as well as a network theory.

Yet, dominant scholarly inquiry in journalism practice rests on the tradition of social control in the newsroom in line with Breed's (1955) argument about bureaucratic constraint in the behavior of journalists (Reese & Ballinger, 2001; Stonbely, 2015). As

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more media organizations adopt corporative-style management, more scholars have considered journalists as a passive entity constrained by the hierarchical structure of a formal organization (Stonbely, 2015; Underwood, 1993). Sociologists have raised a concern about coercive managerial control over work, and the tension between journalists' autonomy and managerial control has been of primary interest to scholars in journalism ever since Breed's study (1955) on the newsroom (Ryfe, 2012; Stonbely, 2015). On the other hand, some scholars emphasize a sense of self-governing for journalism practice with a focus on their professional status (Deuze, 2008; McDevitt, Gassaway, & Perez, 2002). In particular, a large volume of studies displays to what extent journalists' autonomy as a core value of journalism profession interacts with external constraints, such as management's influence in shaping journalists' attitude and behaviors on journalism outputs, such as objective news reporting (De Bruin, 2000; Johnstone, 1976; Russo, 1998). However, more scholars began to be less satisfied with notions that journalism practice is only structured by formal bureaucracy or by individual discretion (Meltzer & Martik, 2017; Zelizer, 1990). Zelier (1990) criticized, in her argument of journalists as an interpretive community, that those scholarly focuses are insufficient to understand journalists' practice because of their limitation on the collective nature of journalists' practice established by informal interaction. Dickinson (2007) argued that standards and application of the journalistic values are obtained by the informal mechanism at work. Preston (2009) emphasized that the newsroom culture is institutionalization of informal social relationships, suggesting further investigation on journalists' informal relationships as a key to the understanding of the newsroom culture.

Collaboration and journalism practice

These growing demands on the scholarly inquiry for informal relationships in the newsrooms may reflect the changing nature of journalism practice and media landscape (Dickinson, 2007; McGuire, 2002; Meltzer & Martik, 2017). Traditionally, journalists were perceived to operate as "lone wolves", from collecting information from news sources and making judgments on newsworthiness, to writing news articles (Demers, 1996; Greenbau, 1995). This heavy reliance on a single individual has made content production a highly personal process (Picard, 1998). *The Tampa Tribune*'s executive editor described journalism practice as "highly individualistic professional mystique" (Thelen, 2002, p. 16). While private corporations adopted the division of labor as a critical component of the production system, craftsmanship-based journalism practice has changed little over the decades (Hardt, 1996; Witschge, 2013). The highly individual-oriented work process in newsrooms has bred many "lone wolves" in newsrooms while undermining interpersonal competence in their work (Argyris, 1974; Breed, 1955; Emirbayer & Mishe, 1988; Sewell, 1992). This routinized practice in newsrooms is far removed from an adaptive culture that encourages innovation and risk-taking through collaboration and discussion among coworkers (Sylvie, 2003). Instead, newsrooms remained as a competitive market place where "with limited resources of space (e.g., news holes) and time, journalists compete against their fellow journalists as they attempt to sell, on a daily basis, news stories to their editors (Cook, 1998, p. 75)" as De Vreese (2003) characterized.

One of the most noticeable changes in newsroom management that signify the importance of the informal relationship is a growing number of minorities in the newsroom workforce (McGuire, 2002; Weaver & Willnat, 2012). Around the world, today's newsroom becomes diversified in terms of gender, seniority, race, and educational backgrounds compared to 1990s (Kim, 2006; McGill, 2000; Williams, 2015). More ethnic minorities are also observed in the U.S. newsrooms (McGill, 2000). And, South Korean newsrooms are filled with journalists with more diverse backgrounds. Female journalists account for a considerable part of the newsroom workforce (Kim, 2006). A growing number of senior journalists are also observed in South Korea where the population is rapidly aging (Kang, 2016; Kim, 2017). These changing workplace demographics inevitably bring more scholarly attention to diversity management because increasing heterogeneity in the newsroom workforce tends to expose journalists to more conflict if there is no proper management (McGill, 2000). Evidence from women's studies and diversity management reveals that such concerns lead to discriminating against minority groups (Beam & Di Cicco, 2010). Important newsroom decisions, such as news assignment and news beats, are frequently made based on workplace friendship that excludes others beyond their own social circle (Tsui & Lee, 2012; Yoon & Lee, 2003). Novel information related to journalism work is only exclusively shared by individuals who are connected to each other (Kim, 2006). Those with the minority statuses tend to be marginalized by invisible hands of informal socialization that segregates those from individuals in power. These pieces of evidence inside newsrooms are consistent with the findings from business administration and sociology on how

informal network functions against those with the minority statuses in an organizational setting (Brands & Kilduff, 2013; Burt, 1998; Elmore, 2007; Yoon & Lee, 2003).

Particularly, it may be noteworthy that peer interaction at an informal level grows more important than ever during structural changes of newsrooms because of structural changes in the newsroom (Dickinson, Matthews, & Saltzis, 2013). Traditionally, a chain of command is strictly imposed on the news production procedure within a hierarchically structured bureaucracy where top-down management discourages individual autonomy (Underwood, 1993). In particular, the role of journalists as individual decision-makers tends to be severely limited in countries such as South Korea, where the collective culture and authoritative leadership are prevalent in the workplace (Cho & Davenport, 2007; Rowley, Benson, & Warner, 2004). It is more likely that journalists have only limited opportunities to build a collaborative team based on their evaluation of their peers' strengths and expertise. Consequently, this hierarchical nature in South Korean journalism tends to lead to scant scholarly interest in informal socialization in newsrooms. Instead, scholars have paid attention to journalists' informal socialization outside newsrooms, focusing on their informal relationship with their news sources (Cottle, 2000; Hur & Na, 2008; Kwon, 2004; Rodgers & Thorson, 2003). Because the news production system is heavily dependent on news sources, socialization outside the newsroom has gained more attention compared to socialization inside newsrooms (Chung et al., 2014; Wai & Perina, 2018). Evidence suggests that South Korean journalists actively exploit their personal connections, such as school and regional connections, to establish informal relationships with politicians and government officials (Kwon, 2004; Lee, 2009). The

pattern of informal socialization with news sources varies, depending on for which news outlets journalists work (Jang, 2006).

The current newsroom convergence that fosters a collaborative work environment in a decentralized structure needs to shift scholarly attention to informal socialization in newsrooms. This is because organizational inertia that resists on-going newsroom convergence testifies that breaking the wall that separated the print from the online (Quinn, 2004), the editorial from the commercial (Domingo et al., 2008), the professional from citizen journalists (Neveu, 2014; Pavlik, 2013) cannot be completed without gluing those workforces together. This is because those in their domains tend to resist adopting new norms and culture. While the newsroom convergence blurred the physical boundary in an organizational chart, employees' reluctance to adopt collaborative norms and cultures shows that invisible walls still exist in their minds (Sehl et al., 2018). For instance, Korean newspapers tried to reorganize their newsroom structure from the late 1990s to the early 2000s from the traditional news beat system to team-based system, but they only experienced failure and returned to a hierarchical structure because of increasing tension and conflict among journalists (Kim, 2005; Nam, 2006). These pieces of evidence suggest that desirable outcomes from a collaborative work system can be achieved through establishing strong informal ties on the work floor that mitigates tensions arising from disagreement (Dean, 2010; Min, 2011; Msanjila & Afsarmanesh, 2008). Many scholars argue that trust is a key mechanism that self-governs cross-disciplinary and functional teams, bringing tangible benefits of collaborations such as

learning (Gratton & Erickson, 2007; Uslaner, 1999). Yet, there is no systematic investigation on journalists' informal socializing that supports their collaborative acts.

Communities of practice and journalism

Despite the lack of direct evidence on informal relationships in newsrooms, journalism scholars have increased their attention to the theoretical framework of communities of practice that can add more insight on informal socialization among journalists (Matsaganis & Katz, 2014; Meltzer & Martik, 2017; Weiss & Domingo, 2010). Communities of practice is a learning theory developed by Lave and Wenger (1991), that explains how individuals in the workplace learn from each other through interactions, obtain knowledge and harness their expertise. Wenger (2006, p1) defines the communities of practice as "groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly". Largely, scholars agreed that the communities of practice are composed of three major components of a domain of knowledge, people who voluntarily associate and interact, and shared practice (Wenger & McDermott, 2002). These theoretical foundations characterize the learning process as a socially shared culture that is embedded in interactions among individuals (Roth & Lee, 2006). The concept of *communities of practice* has expanded its theoretical usefulness from the field of education to businesses with its explanatory power of how learning is being institutionalized through socialization (Weis & Domingo, 2010). In particular, Lave and Wenger (1991)'s definition of communities as a set of relations among individuals resonates with the theoretical perspective of the social network. The communities of practice are considered as a

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particular type of social network with an emphasis on an objective of learning (Hoadley, 2012).

Meltzer and Martik (2017) suggested that the theoretical perspective of the communities of practice paves a new way of understanding journalistic communities. Their argument is based on two key elements that determine journalistic communities. First, the boundary of journalistic communities is fluid and unstable. The remote-work system in journalism work suits the needs of loosely connected individuals that constitute a community. Second, the craftsmanship-based learning system in journalism practice resonates with a theoretical emphasis on informal learning introduced by the communities of practice framework. Thus, more scholars began to adopt this framework in their investigation on the news production system (Carlson & Lewis, 2015; Matsaganis & Katz, 2013; Weiss & Domingo, 2010). Through the lens of communities of practice, Matsaganis and Katz (2013) examined the identity developments of journalism professionals at ethnic news media, and Weiss and Domingo (2010) explored an adoption of innovation in online news teams. As communities of practice emphasize a domain of knowledge as a key element, the prior scholarly investigation in journalism largely lies in functional division in newsrooms (García-Avilés, 2014; Weiss & Domingo, 2010).

The most important contribution of introducing communities of practice into the domain of journalism may be the expansion of the theoretical scope of social control on journalists beyond structured bureaucracy and autonomous individuals (Meltzer & Martik, 2017). Traditionally, much discussion on journalism practice has evolved from the

tension between individuals and the organizational structure (Gallagher, 2005; Johnstone, 1976; Mathisen, 2017). It seems that informal interaction in newsrooms has been marginalized from the dominant scholarly discussion on social control on journalism practice. Evidence on informal socialization was presented in a piecemeal manner. However, as Zelizer (1990) noted in her criticism of the interpretive community, those streams of theories are either undermining self-governing rules or ignoring structural constraints on individual actions. These flaws raised the need for further exploration of informally established networks among journalists (Zelizer, 1993). The introduction of communities of practice into journalism partly owes to Zelizer's (1990) idea of interpretive community, despite dissimilarities in theoretical goals, means of interaction, and membership qualification (Meltzer & Martik, 2017). Communities of practice may emerge at the heart of the theoretical arguments that the relational lens should perceive journalism through the actors who constitute journalism, as seen from increasing discussion (Cottle, 2007; Couldry, 2004).

Yet, there remain open areas in the prior discussion on the informal relationships within a context of communities of practice, which limits in-depth understanding of journalists' socialization. First, oversimplifying was addressed as one of the significant problems in the communities of practice, leaving out the dynamic nature of interaction inside the communities (Meltzer & Martik, 2017). In other words, one can say that some assumptions, such as an absence of hierarchy in the communities and equal access to resources, were naively defined considering the complicated nature of the social relationships in real life. For instance, the theory of communities of practice assumes that

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all individuals are equally treated as a member of the communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). An absence of hierarchical structure is a key characteristic of the communities, highlighting voluntary association and mutual commitment among members (Eckert, 2006). However, accumulated evidence contradicted those assumptions that hierarchy is unavoidable in any form of association among individuals (Lonner, 1980; Mannix & Sauer, 2006). Baron and Hannan (2002) demonstrated that even organizations with horizontal structures change to be culturally hierarchical over time because of inequality in sharing power and control. These pieces of evidence illustrate that it may seem impossible to equally share respect, voices, and influence because each individual competes to gain more of each (Sutton & Hargadon, 1996). Also, a large body of studies in social network theory confirms the existence of interpersonal hierarchy embedded in diverse forms of informal relationships, including friendship (Carson, 1969; Kiesler, 1983). In particular, substantial explanation is required to understand tension and conflict among status-based subgroups, such as female cliques, inside the communities, as organizational demography becomes more complicated than ever. This is because social status functions as a symbol of organizational classes in many organizations (Rafaeli & Worline, 2000). In a given condition, the community cannot sustain as it intends without a component of trust that glues heterogeneous individuals and sub-groups together (Cain, 2012). These weaknesses will be addressed further in detail in the current study.

HOMOPHILY AND TRUST

Echoing the psychological mechanism of "similarity-attraction," social network theorists introduced the homophily hypothesis as a mechanism through which individuals

who share similarities with others tend to form and maintain the strong informal social relationships (e.g., Blau, 1977; Festinger, 1950; Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954). An old concept of homophily is found in other disciplines. Relational demography has investigated the extent to which similar characteristics in demographic characteristics construct people's attitudes toward others (Tsui et al., 1992). In psychology, to explain why people tend to like each other when they share a similar characteristic, researchers turn to self-categorization theory and social identity theory (Lemyre & Smith, 1985). Social network theorists' approach toward homophily is different. These researchers assess the extent to which their networks are homogenous and their effect on predicting behavior and attitudes, such as with online dating (Fiore & Donath, 2005).

In a dyadic relationship, egos and alters will establish a close relationship as they have more in common. Individuals tend to establish trust easier than others with the same demographic attributes (Creed & Miles, 1996; Keller, 2001; Williams, 2001). Keller (2001) showed that demographic features, such as age, gender, and ethnicity, are determinants not only for the establishment of informal relationships but also for interpersonal trust. Those who differ by gender and race often exhibit hostile attitudes to one another, such as mistrust and suspicion (e.g., Cox, 1994; Donnellon, 1996; Kanter, 1977; Sitkin & Stickel, 1996). Cognitive favoring of similar groups over dissimilar ones leads to cooperative behavior among those who share the same demographic attributes (e.g., Brewer & Kramer, 1985; Kramer & Brewer, 1984).

Williams (2001) argued that this social categorization is a primary mechanism that influences individuals' perception of trustworthiness as well as the establishment of

trust in social relationships. Turner (1987) defined social categorization as the cognitive process of inclusion and exclusion of others by gender, race, or profession. This social categorization is exhibited as a stereotype of specific group members that inhibits individuals from evaluating others objectively (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996). Fiske and Taylor (1991) suggested that social categorizing is contingent upon environmental conditions including time pressures to cognitively evaluate others. Thus, social categorization is a strategy by individuals who want to save time and energy to verify the intention of others for an instrumental purpose. Lazarsfeld and Merton (1954) distinguished status-based homophily (e.g., gender, age, education, and occupation) from value-based homophily (e.g., attitudes, values, and beliefs).

GENDER-BASED HOMOPHILY

Gender and press

Research on gender and the press began to receive increasing attention through the late 1960s and 1980s when the women's liberation movement brought the issue of gender inequality to the surface (Byerly & Ross, 2006; Chambers, Steiner, & Fleming, 2004). As Tuchman (1979, p1) described prevalent sexism in media "as being the blatant sexism of the mass media as being blinded", the demand for gender equality was high. Scholars responded to those voices by examining to what extent news media create and reinforce the status quo in a society where men's ideology ruled society (McLaughlin, 1993; Wilson & Gutierrez, 1985). Bodies of evidence showed that the media did their job poorly in keeping balanced and fair in their reporting on gender issues (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009; Gill, 2007; Wood, 1994). Women were less viable on television shows (Basow,

1992); female politicians were given less news coverage in the campaign (Devitt, 2002), and women professionals were less quoted as a news source (Armstrong, 2004; Desmond & Danilewicz, 2010). Furthermore, women were described by the media as being passive and dependent (Davis, 1990). These pieces of evidence suggest that the media's portrayals of women impeded them from having an equal share of their voices being heard in society. However, gender inequality is still an on-going issue, as seen from evidence that the presence of women only accounts for 13 percent in global media (Global Media Monitoring Project, 2015). The longitudinal study on recent presidential campaigns of women candidates in the U.S. confirmed that prevalent sexism had not changed much over time (Falk, 2008).

Media's indiscriminate reproduction of sexism has caused great concern to scholars as it may stimulate misperception of the gender role of sex and promote prejudice against women (Wood, 1994). Much evidence justifies this concern being substantially real in people's minds. For instance, the number of female candidates for the parliament has become smaller as the media tends to display more bias against women (Haraldsson & Wängnerud, 2018). Women are more likely to accept sexual violence as they are exposed to media content that depicts sexual aggression on women (Dieter, 1989). Facing media sexism, certain scholars shifted their attention to media producers from the media content, and investigated a direct link between a female in media organizations and the prevalence of sexism on media content. It might be a reasonable assumption that sexism or gender discrimination in media content originates from the gender gap inside media organizations considering the nature of media content that solely

relies on the intellectual activities of individuals. A considerable amount of research

demonstrates that the composition of female journalists and female leadership in the

newsroom influences how news media shape their content (Craft & Wanta, 2004; Sebba,

1994; Zoch & Turk, 1998). There has been more research on female journalists in the

newsroom through the lens of workplace diversity as female journalists found more

opportunities in the news media, which used to be a heavily male-oriented workplace

(Voss & Speere, 2014).

Women and newsroom

In 1996, the female journalists from *The Hankyereh* daily newspaper, the most

liberal newspaper in Korea, raised the issue of gender discrimination in the newsroom

(Media Today, 1996). The female journalists claimed that they were discriminated

against by their male peers in news beat assignments, promotion chances, and salaries.

This resembles a series of discriminatory lawsuits in the 1980s against major news outlets

in the U.S. including the *New York Times* and the Associated Press for their

discriminatory practices against female journalists (Voss & Speere, 2014). Those

incidents drew much attention to gender discrimination in the newsroom, and increased

the awareness of gender equality in the news industry in Korea (Media Today, 1996). Ten

years after the female journalists raised their voice against gender discrimination, *The

Hankyereh* daily newspaper became the first national daily newspaper that appointed

female journalists to the editor-in-chief position (Yang, 2005). It took 85 years for a

female journalist to move up to the top position in the newsroom since the first Korea

female became a journalist in 1920.

Since then, female journalists in Korea have made significant progress toward leveling the playing field in the newsroom. In particular, since the female journalists at *The Hankyereh* daily newspaper shattered the glass ceiling in 2000, more editor positions at national newspapers have been filled by female journalists, (Chung, 2005; Kim, 2005; Lee, 2001): the first female editor at city desk (2001), the first female editor at political desk (2005), and the first female editor in chief (2005). In 2017, the number of female editors-in-chief went up to three among 10 national daily newspapers in Korea, and one media magazine described the rise of female leadership in the newsroom as "breaking glasses with softness and active attitudes" (Kim, 2017). In the meantime, local newspapers moved faster toward gender equality and opened up an editor-in-chief position to female journalists earlier than national newspapers in 2000 (Chun, 2000). These changes are a significant accomplishment for female journalists in Korea who have challenged the masculine culture and gender discrimination in the newsrooms (Kim, 2017). Newsrooms in Korea are increasingly demanded to change from the male-dominating setting to a more gender-neutral and inclusive workplace, as female reach about 50 percent of newly hired journalists (Song, 2012).

However, skepticism about the male-oriented newsroom culture and setting has not fully lifted because of unresolved issues of gender equality. The chief reporter at the police beat position for a broadcasting news station was not filled by a female journalist until 2018 (Park, 2019). Currently, the percentage of female editors in the Korean news media remains at the level of the 1980s in the U.S (Kim, 2018; Voss & Speere, 2014). While the ratio of female editors in the U.S. reached 12.4 percent in 1986, South Korea

achieved the similar level only in the late 2010s (Kim, 2018; Voss & Speere, 2014). This gap of 40 years between the U.S. and Korea suggests that South Korean female journalists had more difficulties than the U.S. counterparts in advancing to higher positions inside newsrooms, facing prevalent gender discrimination embedded in the South Korean organizational culture. Female journalists still frequently are excluded from essential news beats or assignments (Ju, 2007), and consequently, they have a less-demonstrable track record of accomplishments, which may play a negative role (or negatively affects) in their promotion to upper levels. It may not be surprising that one may argue that the prior accomplishment with a selective few largely contributed to each's performance rather than an organization-wide conscious shift toward gender equality.

Possibly, such achievements are not the results of female values being accepted within the news organizations, but rather a consequence of female journalists' acceptance of male-oriented norms and culture prevalent in the newsroom. Notably, prior studies on gender and newsroom in the U.S. demonstrate that the female identity tends to be downplayed among female journalists in high ranking positions in the newsroom (North, 2009; Van Zoonen, 1988). In other words, adopting men's values, such as being assertive and aggressive, may help female journalists survive in a hostile newsroom environment. Despite much accomplishment, female journalists in Korea still feel more discriminated against as they move into higher ranks (Hong, 2010). Recent survey results revealed that about only 30 percent of female journalists believe gender inequality exists between male and female journalists (Hong, 2010).

Female discounts and newsroom

      The minority position inside an organizational hierarchy inevitably limits opportunities for fair evaluation of minority employees' value and competence (Fanning, 2002). In particular, this minority discount was largely observed in the case of female journalists across official organizational charts and informal relationships (Hur, 2006; Kang & Kim, 2005; Sohn, 2005; Yoo, 2003; Yoon & Lee, 2003). As Lee (2017) points out, this distinction between working and non-working hours is not clear because of the nature of journalism practice. The newsroom culture in Korea accompanies working into late nights and engaging in after-work meetups with news sources and peers over drinks (Kim, 2006). Korean journalists leverage these informal meetups or drinks as opportunities to be assigned to a prestigious news beat and access to intangible resources embedded in the informal network, such as advice and information. However, social roles assigned to women, such as working mothers, make it hard in Korea for female journalists to engage in after-work social meetups as much as their male counterparts (Kim, 2006).

      As a consequence, female journalists tend to be marginalized from critical social circles by missing out on opportunities to cultivate workplace friendships or source-reporter relationship. Losing these opportunities means that female journalists are at a greater disadvantage of producing impactful stories (Kim, 2006). Meanwhile, the male-oriented culture in the newsroom, which Elmore (2007) describes as "patriarchal", does not take gender difference in the account and gender inequality is persistently found in many newsrooms across countries (Elmore, 2007; Kang & Kim, 2013; Steeves, 1987). In

turn, promotion opportunities to managerial positions are limited for female journalists (Bulkeley, 2002; Falk & Grizard, 2003) and income inequality between male and female journalists follows as a consequence (Price & Wulff, 2005; Reed, 2002; Weaver et al., 2003).

In these circumstances, it is interesting to witness how male and female journalists have different perceptions on factors in their promotion at work: Men chose a sense of responsibility and professionalism, while women selected informal relationships as the first criterion for promotion chances (Hong, 2010). This perceptual difference along gender lines may indicate women's dissatisfaction over their disadvantage on an informal relation in the newsroom. Many studies on gender and newsroom culture in Korea agree on female journalists' feelings of alienation at informal advice network (Yoon & Lee, 2003), at invisible inner circles (Kang & Kim, 2005), in cross-gender networks (Hur, 2006), and in informal meetings among high-ranking position holders (Yoo, 2003). However, journalists are not the only profession in which females are left out of an informal relationship. It is widely reported that female employees are isolated from their informal social circle in the workplace (Brass, 1985; Ibarra, 1995; Steeves, 1987). In particular, male employees view the increasing presence of a female in the workforce as a threat to their losing promotional opportunities (Phalen, 2000). The majority group sometimes deliberately excludes tokens of the minority groups from their informal networks in order to maintain their hegemonic power and reinforce the status quo in organizations (England, 1984; Kilbourne et al., 1994).

Gender and homophily

Homophily theory emphasizes the human nature of preference that unconsciously prefers those with similar backgrounds (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook. 2001; Smith-Lovin & McPherson, 1993). This homophily tendency generates interpersonal attraction and further influences on establishing relationships (Bielby & Barson, 1986; Erickson, Albanese, & Drakulic 2000; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook 2001). Among many socio-demographic characteristics, gender becomes one of the most salient factors that affect the informal relationship on the work floor (Bielby & Barson, 1986; Kalleberg et al., 1997). The same gender does not only provide psychological attachment but also gives feelings of cohesion in a group setting (Pelled & Xin, 2000; Shapcott et al., 2006; Tsui et al., 1992). Even further, gender influences a person's intention of staying in the organization (Mellor, 1995). While gender-based homophily has many benefits for those who share the same gender, it marginalizes those with different gender and reinforces gender inequality in the workplace as a result (Caetano & Maheshri, 2016). In particular, occupational segregation along the gender line is quite evident since instrumental purposes, such as getting advice, mentoring, or support, are embedded in the informal relationships on the work floor (Greenberger & Sorenson, 1971; Ibarra, 1992; Lincoln & Miller, 1979; Moore, 1990). In turn, this unconscious cognitive process of homophily results in discriminatory action against minority groups (Reskin, 2003).

Despite female journalists' frustration at being marginalized from informal relations in the newsroom, it is less known about how they respond to the current situation. In particular, their dilemma on whether female journalists actively assimilate

into the majority of male-led groups by adopting male norms and culture, or whether they establish their female groups in the newsroom, has not been examined. Female journalists' informal relationships may be influenced by several factors considering prior studies on female homophily. First, Marsden (1990) found a smaller gender gap in establishing informal relations among younger and educated individuals. This presents the potential that gender homophily has some interaction effects with age and the level of education. On the other hand, other scholars pointed out the importance of organizational setting (Quillian & Campbell, 2003). For instance, Marsden (1990) proposed a possibility of interaction between racial composition in the workplace and gender homophily, through evidence that more heterogeneous racial composition intensifies gender segregation on the work floor. Brass (1985) and Ibarra (1992) also emphasized the importance of gender composition. Their studies show that men prefer the same gender as their key contacts when the majority of the workforce is composed of men.

In the meantime, some scholars proposed skeptical views of women's capability in utilizing informal networks in organizations (Brands & Kilduff, 2013; Burt, 1998). In other words, females' minority status in the informal network downplays their leveraging power, compared to that of their male counterparts (Burt, 1998). For instance, in his examination of a brokerage role in the informal network, Burt (1998) argued that the status of females restricts information access and control in the network. In particular, the limits of females on establishing a relationship with a high position in the organization is a critical weakness in utilizing the network effects (Burt, 1998). Brands and Kilduff (2013) shared similar views of the limited role of women in the network with the

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argument that females in essential positions in the network may trigger hostile effects from their male peers. This may be because those women violated their perceived gender role of being subordinate (Brands & Kilduff, 2013).

In a given situation, it is highly likely that female journalists establish their blocs in the newsroom, rather than attempting to establish an informal network across gender lines. Considering the effects and cost to establish and maintain informal relations, gender-based homophily seems to be a reasonable choice for female journalists in the newsroom. Stronger gender effects on organizational learning also suggest strong homophily effects for journalists in the newsroom (Homan et al., 2008). South Korean female journalists institutionalized their informal networks by creating their own association whose memberships are restricted to female journalists. The organization called "Women Journalists Association" not only helps socializing among female journalists but also raises their voices on unequal treatment of female journalists (Media Today, 1996). In response, male journalists may also tend to establish their trust relationships within their gender groups. Thus, given all these findings, the following hypothesis is put forward:

H1: Journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of the same gender.

TENURE-BASED HOMOPHILY

Aging society and generational conflicts at work
An aging workforce in the newsroom is one of the important but unobserved changes in the Korean news industry. The country has become an aged society in 2018,

where the elderly population is more than 14 percent of the total population (Bang, 2018). The news industry workforce in Korea reflects the nation's aging trend: Journalists in their 50s and older who comprised the smallest age group in 2010 have become the largest cohort in 2017 (Korea Press Foundation, 2018). In the last seven years, the number of journalists in their 50s and older has more than doubled. As of 2017, these older journalists accounted for 24 percent of the total population of Korean journalists (Korea Press Foundation, 2018). Considering other industries where older employees account for a small fraction of the workforce, the media industry's older workforce is an exception in the labor market. For instance, those in their 50s and older make up only 3 percent of the total employees for one of the major lifestyle companies (Park, 2018). This trend of an aging workforce in the media industry calls for in-depth scholarly attention and investigation on the extent of its impact on journalism (Hyun, Kang, & Lee, 2016).

Over the past seven years, the younger workforce has seen shrinking (Korea Press Foundation, 2018); the percentage of employees under the age of 29 decreased from 15.5 percent to11.7 percent, those between the ages of 30 and 34 decreased from18.9 percent to 13.9 percent, those between the ages of 35 and 39 also shrank from 21.2 percent to 16.2 percent, and those between the ages of 40 and 44 diminished from 19.9 percent to 17.1 percent. In short, the age composition of workforce in Korea is more diverse than ever with the increasing number of senior journalists and the decreasing number of junior journalists. This unprecedented generational diversity in the newsroom leaves an important task for young and old generations to get along in the newsroom. However, prior studies on other occupational settings show that the generational gap in Korea is

wider than the one in the U.S. because the pace of change in industrialization of the

country is faster than the one in the U.S (Park & Park, 2018).

Despite scant previous interest on the generational diversity in the newsroom,

scholars around the world have recently begun to pay more attention to the topic.

Erzikova and Lowrey (2012), and Pasti (2005) examined the generational clash in the

newsroom in Russia. They categorized two generational groups into older and younger

groups before and after the political movement of *Perestroika*, and found that older and

younger groups negatively described each other and established their own subgroups in

the Russian newsroom. In the analysis of Indian television newsroom, scholars examined

the interaction among generations of female journalists (Kanagasabai, 2016). Moreover,

Ramírez (2014) studied perceptual differences between young and old Mexican

journalists. McClure (2008) investigated the Millennial Generation of journalists and

their use of technology. Furthermore, Andersson and Wadbring (2015) investigated the

generational gap in the value of journalism in Sweden by extending the subject of

analysis into students in journalism during different time-spans.

In particular, three U.S. generations, including Baby Boomers, Generation X and

Y, have become the primary interest of generational conflict because of their distinctive

characteristics (Kupperschmidt, 2000). Further analysis was followed when a new

generation was added to the workforce. However, generational conflict at work is a

relatively new phenomenon, compared to gender and racial conflict. The growing interest

in generational diversity and conflict is mainly attributed to the extension of the lifespan

achieved through advanced medical technology. Now, the issue of generational conflict

has been recognized as a prevalent form of workplace conflicts around the world (Aylmer

& Dias, 2018; Buisman, 2009; Cogin, 2012; Karp & Sirias 2001; Lyons & LeBlanc, 2019;

Novicevic & Buckley, 2001; Schaerer et al. 2018).

Shared experience and generations

Generational conflicts can be defined as "the clash of perspectives and values at

the workplace" alongside generations (Aylmer & Dias, 2018; p19). The underlying

assumption behind this definition is that cohort groups by birth share unique non-work-

related life experiences that shape their perception, attitude and behaviors (Cennamo &

Gardner, 2008; Cucina et al., 2018). Organizational studies in Korea largely categorized

generations into three different groups: Baby Boomer generation (born between 1955 and

1964), Generation X (born between 1964 and 1979), and Generation Y (born after 1980)

(Oh, Kim, & Kwon, 2011; Oh, Kwon, & Lee, 2014). The identity of each generation is

established on the circumstances of the times when they were placed. For instance, Seo

(2013) characterized the Baby Boomers as a generation that has sacrificed themselves for

economic development under dictatorship, while Generation X has been described as a

liberal generation because of their experiences of social dilemma, which has been left by

remnants of political dictatorships and rapid economic growth. Meanwhile, Generation Y

is considered as being indifferent to politics, but with a high unemployment rate that they

experienced and made them more conscious about economic equality (Kim & Heo, 2007).

Park and Park (2018) argued that the widening generational gap is attributed to the rapid

economic, social and political changes that have occurred in Korea during a short time.

Before advancing into how intergenerational conflicts are portrayed in the newsroom, discussion on environmental conditions of the media industry is necessary to understand generational conflicts in the Korean newsroom. Prior studies emphasized that generational differences in work ethics, occupational commitment, and intent to quit jobs are contingent on the changing media environment (Choi, 2016; Kim, 2004). Choi (2016) came up with the term of "salary men" to describe today's journalists in South Korea. "Salary men" is a commonly used term in South Korea that negatively describes employees who have no professional values. Choi (2016) emphasized a stark contrast between generations of younger and older journalists in their perception of professional values. "De-professionalism" may be true as Choi (2016) argued, but it should be noted that increasing job losses in the media market during the recession period between the late 1990s and mid-2000s left many young journalists in fear of losing their jobs. In a given situation, it is not surprising that young journalists place more value on job security than their older counterparts and place less value in professionalism as a result. Furthermore, journalists' social status has changed as traditional media have gradually lost their monopolizing status in the digital landscape. In an analysis of job turnover in the newspaper market, Lee (2010) emphasized that a high turnover rate in major newspapers was a somewhat surprising result since there was a common belief that the level of journalists' job satisfaction would remain because major newspapers provide a high level of wage and social status. This result shows that scholars might have to investigate beyond pay dissatisfaction to find contributing factors for staff turnover among journalists such as their decreasing social status (Lee, 2010). In particular, the fact

that the average tenure at newspapers for ex-journalists is about 11.7 years indicates that

a high level of dissatisfaction on the value of journalism among young journalists leads to

a large turnover in those cohort groups (Lee, 2010).

Growing tension and the newsroom

Not all generational differences in the workplace lead to generational conflict. As

seen from many survey results, about eight of 10 employees acknowledge the

generational gap at work, so this is a common issue for any industry in South Korea (Kim,

2018; Lee, 2015). However, ineffective communication between young and old

journalists can be a warning signal as Arsenault (2004) pointed out that poor

communication can lead to a generational conflict. According to the Journalists

Association of Korea, only two out of 10 respondents said that communication between

senior and junior journalists went well, while half gave negative assessments on

intergenerational communication (Kim, 2017). In particular, young journalists had more

unfavorable responses to intergenerational communication than their older counterparts.

One of South Korea media journals raised a concern about the generational conflict in the

newsroom, and reported this issue with the title of "Newsroom full of distrust and

prejudice" (Kim, 2017). Junior journalists complained about a hierarchical culture in

communication, while senior journalists pointed out a lack of commitment among young

journalists in intergenerational communication (Kim, 2017).

According to survey results from Samsung, the largest corporation in South Korea,

generational differences were largely acknowledged in social gatherings, rather than in

work-related matters (Lee, 2015). Social gathering among employees, called *hwe-sik* in a local language, has become an integral part of corporate culture in South Korea for its role of building relationships and solidarity among employees and between supervisors and their subordinates (Shim, 2017). However, *hwe-sik*, an after hour social gathering that often involves drinking, has faced increasing criticism from the young generation (Byun, 2017). They view this after-hour social gathering as an extension of working hours and stressful (Lee, 2014). The survey showed that the older generations preferred more occasions of *hwe-sik* (Kim, 2019) displaying the generational gap in roles and values (Kim, 2019). In a given situation where *hwe-sik* loses its popularity, there remains no substitute for *hwe-sik* that can carry the same function of establishing and strengthening informal relationships at work. As old and young generations at work face increasing difficulties in understanding each other and closing the generational gap, generational differences will likely escalate into generational conflict. In fact, there have been a series of media reports on the conflict between seniors and juniors.

Kabanoff (1991) characterized the principle of distributive justice as a pathway for members of organizations to establish and maintain enjoyable social relations. His characterization indicates that the intergenerational relationship among journalists also is contingent upon fair practice and equal distribution of resources in newsrooms. However, the emerging conflict between young and old journalists in South Korea proves that the generational gap in newsroom practice, work ethics, and resource-sharing leads to clashes, and failing to find a middle ground. Junior journalists have begun to question customary practices that they took for granted in the past. For instance, they raised the question

about the customary norms that senior journalists' bylines were printed first although junior journalists were the lead journalists for collaborative works (Kim, 2019). They also began to ask for an equal share of work load between junior and senior journalists (Kang, 2016).

On the other hand, senior journalists do not value work-life balance as much as young journalists do. Since the nature of a journalist's work blurs the line between working and non-working hours, senior journalists tend to view young journalists' positive attitude toward the work-life balance as a weakened work ethic (Choi & Kim, 2019). Moreover, generational conflicts over economic resources seem to be acutely confrontational. As newspapers prepare for an aging workforce, the adoption of the wage-peak system, which reduces wages for those who are close to retiring age, has emerged as one of the significant issues among journalists. Complaints about the system mainly come from seniors who feel that the pay cut is more than they expected (Kang, 2016; Lee, 2017). Some senior journalists raised their voices for creating a separate labor union to protect their rights against the wage-peak system (Kang, 2016). Considering these pieces of anecdotal evidence, one can say that generational conflicts in the newsroom have grown across diverse issues from media practice, journalism values, and newsroom resources. However, there remains a question of how well newspapers are prepared for generational diversity and aging newsrooms.

Absence of mediators in the newsroom

"News media are agonizing over departures of journalists at mid-career" is one of the headlines that described the current labor market of the news industry in South Korea (Choi, 2016). The news articles elaborated the current exodus of journalists at mid-career. The numbers of journalists between the ages of 35 and 44 have shrunken by about 10 percent over the last five years (Choi, 2016). According to the statistics published by the Korea Press Foundation (2018), mid-career journalists (ages between 35 and 44) were in the majority in 2010, but their shrinking numbers contributes to the inverse-pyramid structure where seniors occupy the largest group, while juniors are the smallest group. Because mid-career journalists function as a bridge between young and old journalists by transmitting norms, culture and skills, losing this group inevitably causes problems for organizations in keeping a coherent culture. In other words, there remains a high level of chances that different generational cultures co-exist without being converged into one. Co-existence among different generational cultures may fail to fulfill the expectation of each generation for distributional justice if there is no effective intergenerational communication (McCann & Giles, 2002).

The buffering zone between the young and old generation of journalists becomes thinner than before because of a significant loss of mid-career journalists. Instead, news organizations decided to utilize the expertise of senior journalists by taking them off editorial positions and assigning them to news beats (Choe, 2018). There are more chances for young and old journalists to have a direct interaction without moderators of mid-career journalists. The decision broke the traditional newsroom practice in South

Korea that journalists fill managerial positions by leaving news beats as their tenure

grows (Kim, 2010). However, the functioning roles of senior journalists in news beats are

vaguely defined, and they felt somewhat uncomfortable in a given situation that former

subordinates will evaluate their work performance (Sung, 2013). There was no systemic

support from news organizations in redefining the relationship between young peers and

senior journalists (Choi, 2014; Kang, 2015). This unprecedented trial of bringing senior

journalists to news beats has been evaluated by many media practitioners as a half-

success (Kim, 2010). The absence of mid-career journalists who can mediate between the

two sides may be the reason for the increasing generational conflict in the newsroom.

Then, one can easily question what will happen when senior journalists' hierarchical and

collective cultures meet junior journalists' equalitarian and individual cultures. The

answer may be no trust and intergenerational conflict.

Tenure and homophily

Despite the lack of studies on journalists' homophily by seniority, studies in other

occupational settings demonstrate that seniority influences homophily in the workplace

(Brennecke & Rank, 2016). In a similar vein, smaller differences in years after graduation

from colleges also contribute to establishing a professional network among physicians

(Mascia et al., 2015). The shared experience during the same period contributes to similar

attitudes, values, and ethics (Zenger & Lawrence, 1989). The shared language and

interest also facilitate frequent communication among the same generation (McCain,

O'Reilly, & Pfeffer, 1983; Williams & Nussbaum, 2001; Zenger & Lawrence, 1989).

Age-based homophily was found in neighborhood interaction (Sampson, 1984), factory

workers' social ties (Feld, 1982), and friendship networks (Fischer, 1977). However, tenure in an organizational setting in Korea means more than shared organizational experience and functions as a replacement of age, which represents a hierarchical order in a social setting in Korea (Min, 2011). In South Korea, tenure is a social status, which is often institutionalized by corporations that encourage informal relationships among tenure-based cohort groups and provide job assignments based on tenure (Kim & Kim, 2005; Min, 2011). In turn, tenure-based culture in news organizations plays a critical role in establishing and reinforcing the hierarchical culture in South Korean news organizations. Considering the nature of shared experience and factors related to the generational conflict in the newsroom as explained above, it may not be surprising to find tenure-based homophily in trust relationships among journalists. The hypothesis was constructed as follows:

H2: Journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of the similar tenure.

ACADEMIC PRESTIGE-BASED HOMOPHILY

Academic prestige and social status

Educational achievement plays a crucial role in upward mobility in a contemporary labor market (Lee & Brinton, 1996). Those who have accomplished their educational goals gain skill sets and knowledge required for their dream jobs. There are significant differences in wages, hiring and promotional opportunities based on educational achievement (Fallon, 1999; Kuncel, Hezlett, & Ones, 2004; Lanzi, 2007). With these positive effects on occupational status and earnings, education has emerged as

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an important social status that distinguishes those with educational achievement from others (Lee & Brinton, 1996). The primary focus of labor economists lied on the impact of education productivity from the perspective of human capital (Lee & Brinton, 1996). The educational gain is assessed by the highest degree earned by individuals in most social science studies in Western countries as seen from Weaver's and Willnat's (2012) investigation of journalists' profiles. However, as Operario, Adler, and Williams (2004) pointed out, is the value of the diploma from a local college the same as that from an Ivy League school?

Much research demonstrates that graduates from prestige colleges received more employment opportunities, higher earnings and occupational prestige than ones from non-prestige colleges (Brand & Halaby, 2006; Gaddis, 2014; Ishida, 1993; James, Alsalam, Conaty, & To, 1989; Jia & Li, 2016). This premium of academic prestige is widely observed across nations, such as the U.S., France, India, Columbia, China, Japan, and Korea (Gaddis, 2014; Jia & Li, 2016; Lee & Brinton, 1996; Saavedra, 2008; Sekhri, 2014). In light of this, academic prestige does matter in the workplace. In current practice, most social science studies use the highest degree earned by individuals as a proxy for educational gain, ignoring a rigid academic hierarchy present in the workplace and society. Thus, the lack of attention on academic prestige in the workplace may limit implications of educational gain on an individual's career development. Besides Ivy League schools in the U.S., France has l'Ecole Polytechnique and l'Ecole normale superieure, and China has Tsinghua University and Peking University, and Japan has its prestigious schools, such as Tokyo University and Waseda University (Yoo & Lee, 2009).

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Graduates from these academic institutions constitute a group of elites in politics,

business, and government (D'Aveni, 1990). Membership in prestigious academic

institutions serves as a driving force for social stratification not only in society, but also

in the workplace (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979; Collins, 1979; Kingston & Lewis, 1990;

Wakeling & Savage, 2015).

Yet, the highly subjective nature of "prestige" leads to little consensus on the

definition of "prestige" among scholars. D'Aveni (1990, p 121) argued that prestige is a

multidimensional concept that constitutes superior status "associated with membership in

an elite social circle." March and Simon (1958) emphasized the perceived nature of

prestige by highlighting the importance of public recognition on success within a

particular societal system. Reputation from success often defines prestige in sociological

tradition (Shenkar & Yuchtman-Yaar, 1997). Despite differences in the definition of

"prestige," perception and superiority in status were consistently found as main

constituents of "prestige." This illustrates that academic prestige in higher education can

be defined as a symbol of academic success that the public recognizes. In general, the

public considers enrollment in elites' colleges that require top grades and scores for the

entrance exams as academic success. Entrance into Ivy League schools in the U.S. and

SKY universities (acronyms for top three universities in South Korea: Seoul National

University, Korea University, and Yonsei University) are widely viewed as one's success

and enrollment in elite schools requires exceptional test scores on the entrance exam. The

prestige status of these schools not only relies on individuals' cognitive superiority

manifested through the standardized test score, but also arises from the potential mobility

into elites' social circle (Lee & Brinton, 1994). In particular, prestige is more likely to be maintained and fortified by informal relationships among graduates who occupy the high level of positions in business, government, and politics as the informal social network stratifies the existing hierarchical structure of social status (Collins, 1979; Kim, 2003; Moore, 1979; Rivera, 2016).

Academic prestige and the South Korean workplace

Higher education has emerged as a pathway for occupational success as demand for white-collar jobs has grown amid the nation's rapid economic growth (Lee & Brinton, 1996). The proportion of high school graduates who entered four-year universities jumped from 27.2 percent in 1980 to 83.8 percent in 2008 (Hwang, 2011). A four-year university diploma guaranteed high occupational status and wages (Park & Park, 1984). Even further, increased demands for academic prestige in higher education has led more high school graduates to choose to spend additional years to prepare for and earn better scores on the college entrance exam. The reason for intense competition for academic prestige may be attributed to the public perception that academic elites are most likely to be in powerful positions in business, government, and politics (Choi, 2001; Lee, 2019).

Anecdotal evidence explains much of that public belief. Graduates from SKY universities occupy about 64 percent of 232 high-ranking positions in government, and about four out of 10 CEOs among major 495 companies in South Korea graduated from one of the SKY universities (Chung & Kang, 2019; Lee, 2019). Furthermore, the concentration of SKY graduates even reaches 95 percent in high-ranking positions in the

national prosecutors' office (Kang, 2017). These figures suggest that social stratification based on academic prestige is more pronounced in South Korea than any other country although its significant role in social stratification is widely found in many nations (Lee & Brinton, 1994). Some scholars believe that this excessive concentration of academic elites on the top-tier of diverse sectors is rooted in the unique cultural background of South Korea where Confucian literati, *yangban* in the local language, have ruled the country for more than 500 years (Lee & Brinton, 1996). The extraordinary regard for academic expertise inevitably nurtures a high level of respect for education and academic elites in the country (Lee & Brinton, 1996).

School-ties are one of three major types of social ties in South Korea, along with kinship-ties and regional-ties (Bstieler & Hemmert, 2010; Kim & Bae, 2004; Yee, 2000). South Korean employees perceive an academic clique as the most significant informal group in organizations (Sohn, 2011). Kwon and Kwon (2018) found that college alumni-based cliques are prevalent in the workplace The influence of school-ties in the workplace was prevalent in organizations, ranging from the appointment of a CEO by the corporations' owner to employees' career development, such as promotion and salary (Chung, 2002; Kim & Park, 2004; Yoon & Tak, 2006). Mostly, these benefits arise from having exclusive access to knowledge and information relevant to individual performance and promotion among alumni who share a strong sense of identity and belonging (Lee, 1989). In particular, school-ties are distinct from kinship and regional ties because they rely on achieved status. Graduating from particular prestigious schools functions as an indirect proxy of individual competence because higher education in South Korea is

hierarchically structured. This adds more incentives for individuals to rely on each other because individual ability plays a vital role in achieving the individual's goal in a business setting.

Academic prestige and the newsroom

Akhavan-Majid (1990) described elitism in Japanese news media by saying "media professionals are also members of an academic elite." South Korea is similar to Japan in regard to academic prestige in its news industry. Graduates from the top three prestigious universities accounted for about 60 percent to 80 percent of newly hired journalists in the top major news media from 2004 to 2011 (Song, 2012). Seventy-five percent of managerial positions in newsrooms from 25 major news outlets were filled with only those who graduated from the top three universities (Chung et al., 2014). Academic prestige in newsrooms is particularly noticeable in *The Chosun* daily newspaper that has the largest circulation and *KBS*, a national public broadcasting company where graduates of the Seoul National University occupy all major managerial positions in the newsroom (Chung et al., 2014). This overrepresentation of graduates from the top three universities in the newsroom brings a concern about potentially failing to deliver diverse voices in society. Some scholars argue that the media are responsible for promoting elitism in society with the homogeneity of its workforce occupied by elite school graduates. Workforce composition may be a driving factor for the media's promotion of academic elitism (Kang, 2011; Kim, 2007).

However, prevalent elitism is not a distinctive characteristic of East Asian news outlets. More than half of journalists in *The New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* attended prestigious colleges in the U.S., and nearly 20 percent of journalists have degrees from Ivy League schools (Wai & Perina, 2018). These figures are higher than other prestigious occupations that also need highly educated graduates. Scholars found this high concentration of elites in newsrooms results from the nature of news production-where journalists rely heavily on their social relationships with news sources (Chung et al., 2014; Wai & Perina, 2018). In particular, prestigious academic backgrounds help journalists gain easy access to elites' circle in politics, businesses, and government (Wai & Perina, 2018). Evidence that journalists from elite schools garnered more Pulitzer Prizes than others in international reporting suggests that journalists' elite status may help them approach elite bureaucrats in international affairs through their school-connection (Volz & Lee, 2013; Willnat & Weaver, 2003).

Yet, little is known about how academic prestige plays a role in informal socialization in the newsroom. The lack of evidence may be somewhat surprising since newsroom socialization and its impact on news coverage are one of the primary interests among scholars in journalism practice (De Bruin & Ross, 2004; García-Avilés, 2014; Meltzer & Martik, 2017). In particular, the media's heavily elite-concentrated workplace is alarming as journalists are responsible for delivering diverse views and the voices of the public, and the monopolizing power of newsroom decision-making from journalists with particular elites' colleges may fail to deliver diverse journalistic voices. Because social practice is formally and informally embodied and sustained by individuals in

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media organizations (De Bruin, 2004), identifying to what extent individual characteristics play a role in newsroom socialization can offer more insight into the decision-making process in the newsroom. However, prior studies on journalists' academic prestige have narrowly focused on its relationship with external actors outside newsrooms, such as news sources. Kwon (2004) examined how academic prestige plays a role in bridging media professionals and politicians. Through comparative analysis, Chang (2006) uncovered how journalists' academic prestige functions differently as resources to establish their social network with news sources across newspapers. Findings suggest that patterns of informal social relations not only differ across newspapers, but also across top-ranking schools.

In the meantime, studies of local newsrooms provided more evidence of the importance of school-ties in the newsroom. Hur and Na (2008) found that an educational background plays a pivotal role in local journalists' personal network, and argued that the importance of school connection or network begins from the journalist's high school alma mater. This finding was consistent with prior study that an alma mater is a crucial factor in socialization inside newsroom (Yoon & Hong, 1996). These pieces of evidence that a high school connection is a central part of local journalists' socialization suggest that their educational background tends to be more affiliated with regional ties, rather than considered as a symbol of human capital. Lee (2009) argued that local journalists take advantage of their high school-connection in maintaining relationships with local elite groups. Considering prior studies, one may argue that functionality of academic background is contingent upon news outlets' contexts.

Academic prestige and homophily

The question addressed in this section is whether journalistic academic prestige can predict interpersonal trust among peers in a newsroom. This question may not be relevant under the traditional news production system where individual journalists work as "a lone wolf," rather than in collaboration. However, today's newsroom culture has become a more open and collaborative working environment than ever, recognizing the increasing importance of interpersonal relationships among journalists in the newsroom. This change in newsroom culture is a sharp contrast to what Agyris (1974) observed in the elite newsroom where journalists only respect individual competence, ignoring interpersonal competence. Organizational learning in the newsroom has become more important than ever for better quality journalism at an organizational level and for the empowerment of individual journalists. Incorporating trust into the relationship among diverse journalists will help organizations achieve their goals through improving journalistic performance. In this collaborative working environment, it is even more critical for journalists who gained high-quality education and skills from elite schools to build trust beyond their inner circle to maximize a pull effect among their peers. Their decision-making roles in the newsroom, combined with a rich network and exclusive access to tangible and intangible resources in a newsroom, can benefit journalists in a minority position by sharing the knowledge and information relevant to achieve journalistic excellence.

However, much research has shed light on the difficulty of establishing heterogeneous ties among individuals with different educational backgrounds.

Homophilous tendencies have been found to be particularly strong when it comes to academic prestige. In studies on college friendships, graduates from elite boarding schools tend to prefer those with similar educational backgrounds as friends around the globe (Wimmer & Lewis, 2010). A strong influence of educational ties also was found in French (Burt, Hogarth, & Michaud, 2000; Kadushin, 1995) as well as in Russian and Chinese elite groups (Buck, 2007; Dittmer, 1995). Yoo and Lee (2009) argue that technological innovation in Korea is led by established trust among graduates from the top SKY universities. These results align with the prior findings that people with the same level of education are more likely to share confidential information than those with different levels of educational attainment (Marsden, 1988). In particular, evidence that students selectively create social circles that resonate with their academic achievement suggests that homophily in academic prestige may be a result of a combination of educational and prestigious similarities (Burris, 2004; Smirnov & Thurner, 2017).

As discussed earlier, there are many factors that give these top-ranking schools a prestigious classification, such as top test scores required on college entrance exams. However, one can argue that their reputation is maintained by their graduates who become leaders and decision-makers in diverse sectors in society. This mechanism partly explains how graduates from prestige schools share a sense of identity inculcated and certified by the schools (Kingston & Lewis, 1990). It may not be difficult to imagine that a collective experience between students from prestigious colleges and those from non-prestigious colleges is different as one of the core objectives of prestigious schools is to prepare their students to become leaders (Persell & Cookson, 1985). This functioning role

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of prestigious schools may create different occupational aspirations for their graduates, as Mullen (2009) emphasized that aspirations are being nurtured by their social circle (Mullen, 2009). Prestigious schools institutionalize norms and culture required to become elite in society for their students, which consequently tend to generate homophily in academic prestige among those in the workplace (Ayling, 2015). Considering the nature of academic prestige and the newsroom situation in South Korea, the following hypothesis is put forward:

H3: Journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of the similar academic prestige in their educational backgrounds.

RECRUITMENT-BASED HOMOPHILY

In the South Korean labor market, incumbent employees can be broadly categorized into two groups based on their prior work experience: insiders (*Gongchae* in local language) who started their career at the current organizations, and outsiders (*Kyongryok* in local language) who are recruited from other organizations in their mid-career (Chung & Lee, 2002). While those outsiders are prevalently found in the U.S. and other Western countries as seen from those with external hiring, their social status is significantly different from the one in South Korea because of considerable advantages given to the insiders in chances of being promoted and being assigned to an important work task (Kim, 2009). This institutionalized unequal treatment for outsiders is attributed to the conventional HR policy of South Korean companies that conduct mass recruitment of new college graduates, and train them as future leaders (Kim, 1999; Lee, 1999). One of

the reasons behind this HR practice can be attributed to the convenience of cultivating a homogenous corporate culture that no work experience ensures that corporations can easily and quickly cultivate individuals to adopt existing corporate culture and norms and maintain organizations to have the homogenous corporate culture for enhanced corporate loyalty (Lee & Kim, 2010). Prior studies revealed that prior work experience generates a perceptual difference in organizational cultures and norms between insider and outsiders (Kim & Hwang, 2011). In a given situation, it may not be surprising that those externally hired often struggle with a prejudice that they are not as loyal as insiders. Some anecdotal evidence partially supports this prejudice that those externally hired have a relatively weak organizational commitment compared to a career commitment (Samsung Economic Research Institute, 2013). Many South Korean employees believe that there remain unequal treatments based on the types of recruitment or discriminatory acts against the outsiders despite a growing demand for external hiring (Yong, 2018).

However, the South Korean labor market is being shifted favorably to external hiring in recent years (Caraway, 2010). Previously, South Korean corporations annually hired and trained a fresh pool of college graduates (Kim, 1999; Lee, 1999). The mid-senior level positions were internally filled by those employees, and the life-time employment was guaranteed throughout their entire career (Bae, 2012). However, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) recommended a reform on these practices for its inefficiency that decreased labor productivity during the financial crisis in the late 1990s (Caraway, 2010). This reform on the labor market opened more opportunities for those who seek upward career mobility outside the current workplace. The ratio of those

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externally hired has gradually increased over the years to about 40 percent of the total

workforce in 2011 (SERI, 2013). The media industry was not an exception to this

growing trend in external hiring. The news reporters externally hired account for about 20

to 30 percent of the total workforce for major newspapers, such

as *Chosun* and *Joongang* Daily Newspapers (Kim, 2004). According to the Korea Press

Foundation, the ratio of external hiring reached about 40 percent of the total job

advertisements placed from 2010 to 2015 (Chung, 2015). While the fresh recruits of

college graduates still is a dominant recruitment type for South Korean news media, the

gap in the ratio between fresh recruits of college graduates and external hiring has

gradually diminished (Kim, 2016). The popularity of external hiring is mainly attributed

to two primary reasons: First, a proven work history increases odds of a high level of

performance. Second, corporations reduce the financial burden of training journalists

(Kim, 2004).

However, not all organizations can reap the benefits of external hiring as much as

expected. Prior studies on the effectiveness of external hiring are mixed (Bidwell, 2011;

George, 2003). First, proponents of external hiring argue that those "outsiders" with an

excellent work history bring their skillsets and knowledge to improve organizational

productivity (Bidwell, 2017). The expected outperformance is the primary reason for

organizations to pay a premium for their knowledge and skillsets obtained through prior

work experience (Borman et al. 1993; Rynes et al., 1997; Schmidt et al. 1986). Other than

this direct contribution, companies can reap in-direct benefits from those outsiders

(Almeida & Kogut, 1999; Rao & Drazin, 2002; Song et al., 2003). Mixing those outsiders

with existing team members offers considerable opportunities for exiting members to receive knowledge and skills sets, and to expose them to new ideas from outsiders (Cormier & Hagman, 1987; Groysberg, 2010; Singley & Anderson, 1989). Also, intense internal competition with the addition of outsiders motivates incumbent employees to work harder to occupy a limited number of high-ranking positions (Devaro, 2016).

On the other hand, some scholars argue that prior success does not necessarily translate into success in the new workplace (Dokko, Wilk, & Rothbard, 2009). The relation between the prior experience and performance at a new company was found to be insignificant, or even negatively associated (Allison & Long, 1990; Castilla, 2005; Groysberg & Nanda, 2004; Medoff & Abraham, 1980). The factors related to these mixed results range from a measurement issue of ill-treating experience as a proxy for knowledge to an influence of mediators, such as skill-sets (Dokko, Wilk, & Rothbard, 2009; Quinones, Ford, & Teachout, 1995). Above all, much evidence points out an informal socialization with incumbent members as a primary reason for generating different outcomes of external hiring (Bauer & Green, 1994; Beus et al., 2014; Carr et al., 2006; Comer, 1991; De Vos & Freese, 2011; Riordan et al., 2011). This is because those outsiders do not only bring knowledge and skill-sets, but also norms and culture that may collide with existing ones at a new workplace (Dokko, Wilk, & Rothbard, 2009). The tension between journalists externally hired and those who started their careers at the current news outlets is invisible but real in the South Korean newsroom (Lee, 2001).

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Informal relationship and external hiring

Bauer and Erdogan (2011, p 51) defined newcomers' adjustment into the current company as a "process through which new employees move from being organizational outsiders to becoming organizational insiders." The subject of newcomers' assimilation has recently become more important for organizational studies than ever because of the increased mobility of experienced workers (Bauer et al., 2007). Newcomers have a strong tendency of adjusting to the newly defined functioning roles, but also to reshaping their identity to resonate with existing values and culture inside a new organization (Allen, 2006). During the course of socialization, the newcomers engage in a variety of informal activities with their peers and get ultimately accepted as an insider (Ashford & Black, 1996; Crant, 2000; Graham, 1991; Masterson & Stamper, 2003). The sense of belonging brings benefits of comfort feeling at work, increased satisfaction at work, and work commitment (Stamper, Masterson, & Knapp, 2009). These benefits do not only help newcomers' settlement in the new working environment but also positively contribute to achieving the organizational goal of increasing productivity. Thus, the organizations that undergo frequent inputs of newcomers pay close attention to newcomers' assimilation as a prominent management issue (Bauer et al. 2007). They tend to implement diverse tactics, such as mentorship, that help them interact with existing members, and learn and adapt to norms and culture (Eby et al., 2015).

However, the integration of experienced newcomers into the new corporations cannot be easily accomplished. Crossing corporate boundaries inevitably carries work routines and habits that may not fit well with the ones accepted in the new workplace

(Dokko, Wilk, & Rothbard, 2009). Those routines and habits may disorient cognitive and behavioral navigation when the experienced newcomers establish and maintain the relationship with incumbent employees (Gioia & Poole, 1984; Markus & Zajonc, 1985). From this perspective, Ashforth et al. (2007) argued that informal socialization is a more challenging task for experienced newcomers to complete than organizational socialization. Peer relationship is a crucial part of informal socialization as organizational insiders play a gatekeeping role in deciding on whether the experienced newcomers should be accepted as organizational members (Allen, 2006; Bauer & Erdogan, 2011). In particular, the perceived insider status is a key to access intangible resources embedded in informal social relationships, such as information and knowledge relevant to survival tookkits in a new organization (Comer, 1991; Louis, 1980). This perceived insider status serves to distinguish in-group from out-group members (Lapalme et al., 2009).

In particular, an institutional setting influences the experienced newcomers' relationships with existing members. On the one hand, cultural orientation in society determines the strength of ties among existing members and consequently affects a relationship between in-and out-group members. Hofstede (2001) emphasizes that the newcomers externally hired feel much more challenged to blend with incumbent members when they are placed in a collective culture. The collective culture adds a stronger personal and emotional dimension to the workplace relationship (Wang & Kim, 2013). In countries, such as South Korea and China, where collective culture is prevalent, the conceptual idea of coworker extends to friends and comrades beyond a functionally defined colleague (Farh, Zhong, & Organ, 2004). This strong workplace relationship

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inevitably reinforces inclusive cultures among existing members, while inclusive culture functions as a barrier for outsiders of experienced new employees to assimilate into existing members (Kim, 2016). Much more effort and time are required for those outsiders to cultivate a relationship with existing members and to be accepted by their peers as an insider.

On the other hand, organizational and individual competitiveness is another important factor that may foster or discourage social interaction between insiders and outsiders (Cini, 2001). More inputs of those externally hired from outside the company inevitably stimulate intense competition in the workplace. In a given situation, existing members tend to perceive those outsiders to be a threat to their career development (Pai & Bendersky, 2020). Their relationship tends to be a rivalry that competes for a limited volume of resources and promotional chances than establishing a collaborative relationship (Pai & Bendersky, 2020). It is most likely that employees with a low level of productivity may sabotage in embracing the experienced newcomers. Their relationship may fall into intergroup tension and conflict. Consequently, organizations may fail to achieve their initial goal of distributing knowledge and skill-sets through external hiring.

Insider status and the South Korean workplace

Among many social statuses, insider status in the workplace has not been much explored in the literature on workplace homophily. With a limited volume of studies, there are some tendencies found in scholarly inquiry about insider status in the workplace. First, insider status against outsider status has been mainly examined within an

organizational context where temporary or agency workers share the workplace with full-time workers (Lapalme et al., 2009; Stamper & Masterson, 2002). Those workers explicitly differ from full-time workers in employment benefits, pay scale, and promotion opportunities. The boundaries that distinguish insiders from outsiders are clear and explicit. Second, many studies focus on the social adjustment of the experienced newcomers with an emphasis on the specific time when they enter into the organization (Jablin, 2000; Stamper & Masterson, 2002). Experienced new employees actively display proactive behavior of engaging in social activities and initiate social interaction with incumbent employees at this transitional period (Wang & Kim, 2013). The experienced newcomers accept a new organizational identity by adjusting to a changing environment.

However, those approaches may limit our understanding of insider status and its relationship to homophily in other parts of the world that have distinctive workplace culture and norms (Wang & Kim, 2013). For instance, outsider status is given to not only temporary workers but also those externally hired in South Korea (Kim, 2013). Types of recruitment come with a life-long tag that functions as a work status through their entire professional career (Kim, 2016). Thus, integration of those externally hired into a new workplace may not be limited to an organizational entry period that prior studies mainly focused on. There remains limited knowledge as to what extent outsider status persists during the entire career cycle at a new organization. Prior research conducted against organizational contexts in the U.S. and other Western countries inevitably has a limited implication of understanding social interaction between insiders and outsiders (Wang & Kim, 2013).

Insider status plays a vital role in the South Korean workplace as a dominant workplace ideology. The ideology of *Soonhyul-jooui* in a local language that represents an insider status is prevalently found in South Korean workplaces (Kim, 2013). Insiders, who started their careers at the current organization, have considerable advantages in promotion chances and hiring processes in exchange for their loyalty to organizations (Kim, 2009). This preference of insiders is not only found in business sectors but also in government agencies and academic sectors (Lee, 2006). For instance, South Korean colleges prefer their alumni when they fill vacant faculty positions (Yoo, 2017). About 90 percent of professors at Seoul National University were found to be its graduates (Chung, 2010). The same pattern goes to the case of prestigious consulting firms that prefer insiders when they fill certain positions (Kim, 2016). This in-group favor has emerged as a problematic issue in the labor market since this discourages dynamics in the labor market by violating fair competition among employees (Kim, 2013). The merits of in-group memberships in the existing workplace provide little incentive for employees to prove that they excel in their work, and qualify for the upward mobility in the labor market. Consequently, employees aim to achieve their professional goals by protecting their hegemonic power in the workplace through strengthening bonds among insiders. Those externally hired tend to struggle in establishing a strong relationship with existing members in this closed and exclusive culture. In a given situation, it may not be surprising to witness a growing tension between journalists who started their careers at a current newspaper, and those externally hired from other news outlets (Lee, 2001).

Recruitment and homophily

One noticeable characteristic of the external labor market in the media industry is the HR practice that limits external hiring to junior journalists who have relatively little work experience with less than five years (Kim, 2016). This means that South Korean news media acknowledge a potential risk associated with hiring outsiders. The outsiders can bring new norms and cultures that do not integrate into the existing culture, which may result in newsroom conflict (Dokko, Wilk, & Rothbard, 2009). Thus, this HR practice is a part of managerial efforts of hedging risk that selectively hire less-socialized journalists who can quickly adapt to norms and cultures at a new organization. However, it does not necessarily mean that those externally hired in their early careers are fully assimilated into the current newsroom socialization. As some news outlets institutionalize discriminatory acts against outsiders by disqualifying them from nominating an editor-in-chief, outsider status may function as a symbol of a second class-citizen in the newsroom (Kim, 2005). This minority identity may affect their psychological attachment to existing members and informal relationships as well. However, it may not be easy for those outsiders to establish their own social circle similar to other minority groups that female journalists establish their small group and raise their voices. This is because the strength of ties among those outsiders may not be as strong as other groups because of their differences in collective experiences and a short length of time having interaction in the same workplace. Thus, it may be reasonable to argue that outsiders have not yet established their own groups.

In 2011, four major broadcasting companies were newly added in South Korean media market mobility (Newspaper & Broadcasting, 2013). Their establishment had a significant meaning for scholarly inquiry about labor mobility in South Korean media, and its impact on informal socialization in the newsroom. First, their massive recruitment of experienced and skillful journalists began to generate chain effects of journalists' mobility (Newspaper & Broadcasting, 2013). They recruited experienced journalists from large-sized newspapers, and then large size newspapers filled vacant positions with those who worked for smaller newspapers (Kim, 2011). This chain reaction inevitably increased the number of outsiders in the newsroom. Intense competition in the news media market motivated more news outlets to hire experienced journalists, instead of investing money on hiring and training new college graduates (Lee, 2016). This increasing demand also fosters more journalists to move across news outlets. This change may inevitably open more opportunities for those externally hired to move upward at the newsroom ladders.

However, the recent change of newsroom composition, where journalists externally hired account for a significant portion of the newsroom workforce, may generate a strong sense of in-group membership among insiders. Insiders may feel threatened by those outsiders as they emerge as a competitor for manager positions and important news beats. In-group bond and trust among insiders tend to be strengthened as a shared pain put people together (Bastian, Jetten, & Ferris, 2014). In response to strengthened ties among insiders, outsiders tend to mobilize their members to form a social group to raise their voices against the hegemonic power of insiders. In particular,

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the experience of workplace discrimination for their outsider status may foster internal

trust among outsiders (Bastian, Jetten, & Ferris, 2014). The survey result showed that

about half of respondents reported their experience of discrimination at work because of

their outsider status (Yong, 2018). This shared experience of workplace discrimination

contributes to shaping shared identity among outsiders. Prior research on calculative trust

that shared interests ensure cooperative behaviors supports in-group trust among insiders

and outsiders (Parkhe, 1993; Poppo, Zhou, & Li, 2016; Saparito et al., 2004; Williamson,

1993). Thus, it may be a reasonable argument that recruitment-based homophily will be

observed in the South Korean newsroom, and the following hypothesis was constructed.

H4: Journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of

the same type of recruitment.

COMPETENCE-BASED HOMOPHILY

Collective competence is a crucial feature of the community of practice that

distinguishes itself from other types of individual associations (Wenger, McDermott, &

Snyder, 2002). As a learning theory, the community of practice emphasizes the nature of

a social learning system designed for members to cultivate their competence by learning

from each other (Wenger, 1998). Members contribute their skills, expertise, and

knowledge to empower the community to serve their members to reap the benefits of

shared learning (Li et al., 2009). However, membership in the communities of practice

may not be fully available to everyone. Existing members of the community selectively

embrace new members whose competence meets their expectations (Wenger, 1998). In

the workplace, individual competence plays a vital role in linking members of the community of practice and facilitates trust among employees (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Hwang et al., 2016; Lieberman, 1981; Singh & Srivastava, 2009; Wenger, 2010). Competence is also a key component of internal politics in the community of practice where disagreement and conflict inevitably occur (Wenger, 2010). However, the community of practice largely ignores internal politics inside the community (Wenger, 2010). Research hasn't clearly addressed the extent to which individual competence mediates disagreement or conflict in the communities of practice

In an organizational setting, competence is defined as the degree to which individuals are capable of utilizing their professional knowledge, expertise, and skills for their assigned jobs (Kane, 1992). In a similar vein, Gabarro (1978) referred to it as relevant sets of knowledge and skills required to succeed in an organization. While these characterizations of competence emphasize cognitive domains that can predict superiority on individual performance, Lucia and Lepsinger (1999) expand the concept of competence by including affective domains of competency, such as listening attitudes. The recent implementation of digital technology in the workplace sheds light on technical proficiency as a critical element of individual competence in the workplace (Colbert, Yee, & George, 2016).Also, communicative ability in interpersonal relationship has gained more attention as an important element of individual competence as more companies have begun to adopt a team-based work system (Wright, 2016). A growing body of evidence suggests that individual competence is a crucial component of knowledge management (Berio & Harzallah, 2005; Ley & Albert, 2003).

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Journalistic competence

      Journalism Practice published a special issue on journalistic competencies in 2013. The journal highlighted the growing demand for new skill sets required from today's journalists in response to changes in the news production system. Among many, the blurred borderline between traditional and citizen journalists and the rise of new positions such as data journalists, have made news production systems more dynamic and complicated than before (d' Haenens, Opgenhaffen & Corten, 2013). These changes are mainly because of new information technology that makes news production and access to news easier for the public than ever, which inevitably reshapes journalistic competence (Cremedas & Lysak, 2011; Deuze, 2007). Upon the recent change in the media industry, Donsbach (2010) presented that journalistic competence rests on the following five areas: 1) general competence of analytic thinking, 2) subject competence, such as expertise, 3) process competence of communicative capability 4) journalistic skills sets, and 5) professional values, such as ethics. Now, some elements of journalistic competence are being challenged by changes in the media environment, while some areas may remain as essential journalistic skills that distinguish outstanding journalists from others.

      Despite the growing interest in journalistic competence in the digital age, knowledge about journalistic competence is limited among media scholars and media practitioners (Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi, & Damon, 2002). Even further, there remains no consensus on what defines journalistic competence (Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi, & Damon, 2002). For instance, Willnat, Weaver, and Choi (2013) presented cross-national survey results on journalistic competencies, which was a part of the umbrella project of

global journalists. However, as the authors admitted, their investigation was not based on rigorous theoretical frameworks on journalistic competence. Mainly, their contribution lies in the descriptive differences in journalistic competence across countries. A similar limitation was also found in research conducted by The European Journalism Training Association (EJTA) (Drok, 2013).

One possible explanation for the lack of attempts or explanation on journalistic competence is the intangible nature of journalism work that cannot be easily quantified by the traditional measurement tool of assessment (Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi, & Damon, 2002). The difficulty of quantifying an individual's journalistic skills or excellence may be because of a high degree of subjectivity in criteria that evaluate journalistic competence, such as fairness and balance, enlightening and societal impact, continued excellent quality of journalism (Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2008). For instance, what is considered as high-quality journalism pieces can vary among different segments of audiences or news consumers (Iyengar & Hahn, 2009) among the public, professionals, or journalists (Weaver, 1998). However, Donsbach (2010)'s proposal is mainly in line with the criteria of using journalism awards to evaluate excellence in journalism (Blankenburg & Allen, 1974). Journalism awards, which have long been considered as valuable, easily recognizable, and prestigious among journalism practitioners (Blankenburg & Allen, 1974), emerged as a proxy for the news industry to quantifiably recognize journalistic competence as an important figure in the industry (Coulson, 1989; Shepard, 2000). For instance, nine out of 10 U.S. newspaper managing editors say that journalism awards are valuable, and half of them agree that the awards represent a

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journalist's achievement (Coulson, 1989). Prior research shows that awardees received organizational and occupational prestige more than those without awards (Beam, Dunwoody, & Kosicki, 1986).

Despite much discussion on professional values in journalism and the quality of journalism, there has been little effort to investigate in how those criteria can be applied to journalistic competence. Still, unresolved issues on journalistic competence have remained, such as *does journalistic competence owe to human capital?* Also, *how is journalistic competence shaped?*

Journalistic competence and the South Korean media market

In late 1997, South Korea officially announced that the country decided to implement an economic reform on its financially troubled economy in order to receive the bailout provided by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). One news media described this event as "the worst financial crisis in South Korea's history and arguably the most traumatic event since the Korean War" (Borowiec, 2017). The backlash from this crisis was massive on South Korean journalists as well. The total amount of debts that 10 major newspapers borrowed from banks reached three trillion U.S. dollars in 1998, which resulted in massive layoffs in the media industry (Kim, 1999). One estimated that 24 out of 100 journalists in South Korea were laid off during this financial crisis and the total unemployed journalists were estimated at about 8,500 (Kim, 1999). Most news media in South Korea were pressured to overcome organizational complacency that lingered for decades. One of the most significant changes was the end of lifetime

employment and adoption of the performance-based salary system in media organizations (Kim, 1999; Lee, 1999). These changes meant that journalists were thrown into competition in the labor market that has become more flexible than ever. These environmental changes in the media industry inevitably motivated journalists to actively manage their careers to display their competence not only for current employers, but also for potential employers.

Accordingly, this "IMF crisis" has established a new trend for South Korean businesses to prefer experienced workers over new hires from a cost-effective point of view (Caraway, 2010). South Korean newspapers were not an exception. The newspapers adopted an outcome-oriented hiring process and implemented a recruitment-on-demand system rather than annual mass recruitment (Kim, 2016). These changes offer a favorable working environment for experienced journalists to leave their current employer and find better opportunities in another newspaper that provides better working conditions and salary (Kim, 2008; Lee, 2001; Park, 2012). One of the major newspapers in South Korea estimated that journalists who were recruited from other news media made up half their journalist workforce (Lee, 2001). The ratio of recruiting experienced journalists to new hires continues to increase (Kim, 2017). The increased workforce mobility in the media industry may contribute to the collective competence of the journalistic field, since intense competition among journalists may motivate them to produce higher quality content.

However, newsroom management is slow to adapt to these environmental changes and demands from journalists for fair HR policies and organizational justice. In Jung (2009)'s research, HR personnel pointed out that editors in the newsroom still rely on seniority when they evaluate journalists' job performance, which indicated a significant difference in performance-based evaluation systems among personnel between newsrooms and management. Meanwhile, journalists, especially newly hired journalists, become more sensitive to their assigned news beats because news beat assignments play a critical role in journalists' career management (Hur & Na, 2008). For instance, one of South Korea's major newspapers placed an HR editor in the newsroom as journalists demanded a fair assignment of news beats (Kim, 2016). In a given situation, it may not be surprising that the environmental change fostered Korean journalists' motivation for higher achievement, which can lead more journalists to engage in the community of "competence" as seen from other occupations (Smith, 2015). At the same time, more scholars started to pay attention to how to manage the newsroom workforce in today's competitive media environment (Choi & Ahn, 2012; Lim, 2016; Park, 2012).

Yet, considerable differences were found between national and local newspapers concerning journalists' career mobility. Yim (2016) raised a concern about the deteriorating quality of journalism in local newspapers because of increased workloads on local journalists. Local journalists suffer from a shrinking workforce in the newsroom caused by local newspapers' financial distress that limits resources and opportunities for journalists to maintain or improve their competence. This burden makes it difficult for local journalists to maintain a high level of competence. Thus, these journalists at local

newspapers have limited opportunities for career mobility, and consequently, job security

becomes one of their utmost concerns (Son, Kim, & Choi, 2012). Yim (2016) pointed out

this work environment at local newspapers causes worsening of the work ethic and

worsening professionalism among journalists as some use their news sources for their

own interest in getting promotions or job changes. Combined with a lack of motivation

among local journalists, this may lead to declining journalistic competence at the local

level.

Collaboration and journalistic competence

The title of an opinion article in *The Guardian* that features the future of

journalism was "The future of journalism in three words: collaboration, collaboration,

collaboration" (Lewis, 2016). The generations of "the lone wolf" journalists may be

becoming a legacy and collaboration becoming the buzzword in today's journalism.

Collaboration occurs in newsrooms where journalists with different skill sets work

together, and it happens beyond the boundary of newsrooms as more citizen journalists

engage in news production than ever (Hänska-Ahy & Shapour, 2013; Paulussen, Geens,

& Vandenbrande, 2011; Wall & Zahed, 2015). In some cases, collaboration was carried

out even among rivalry news organizations, which was considered unthinkable in the past

(Graves & Konieczna, 2015). The positive relationship between the collaborative news

production system and journalistic competence is found in the archive data for Journalism

Awards in South Korea: the industry has witnessed an increased number of team-based

awardees in recent years and the majority of journalism awardees were those in

collaboration (Center for Research at Korea Press Foundation, 2015). News media in

South Korea began to reintroduce the previously failed topic-based team system into newsrooms in order to institutionalize a collaborative news production system (Kim & Kim, 2016; Kim, 2018).

However, the collaborative working environment may be a double-edged sword. During the collaborative process, knowledge is often limitedly shared among certain groups and tensions among subgroups brew over time (Dennis, 1996; Zuzul, 2019). Inadequately planned and managed collaboration may lead to poor decision-making and work against achieving an organizational goal (Dennis, 1996; Zuzul, 2019). The failure of the adoption of topic-based teams in the newsroom in the late 1990s in South Korea also is a good example of how a collaborative system can fail because of ambiguous roles assigned to team members, a lack of autonomy in leadership, and resistance from hierarchical culture (Nam, 2006). In particular, the growing importance of individual competence in the newsroom may prevent journalists from learning from each other in the team system. Journalists may be less likely to accept less- competent peers as collaborative partners as competence functions as an entry point for the membership of the community of practice. In this case, increasing chances for collaboration may reinforce status quo that competent journalists become more competent, and alienates less- competent individuals from collaborative circles. Yet, little is known about how journalistic competence at an individual level plays a role in collaborative association among journalists.

Competence and homophily

As social setting defines the nature of the social relationship, the business contexts influence employees in their decision on trusting their co-workers. A number of studies in organizational settings have demonstrated competence as a critical factor for employees in establishing trust with their supervisors and peers (Butler, 1991; Butler & Cantrell, 1984; Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Hwang et al., 2016; Kee & Knox, 1970; Lieberman, 1981; Singh & Srivastava, 2009). Positive perceptions of competence of co-workers encourage information-and resources- sharing, which leads to trust among employees (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2009; Levin et al., 2002; Wittenbaum et al., 1999). These results highlight that employees' strong goal-oriented attitude affects their social relationships at work. The degree of task competence pertinent to technical capabilities, skills, and know-how becomes a solid ground for employees' search for their trust partners because of its impact on their goal achievement at the organization, such as promotions and a high wage level (Sako, 1992). Perceived competence influences the exchange of trust (Sonnenberg, 1994). In particular, competence has consistently emerged as an important factor in different relationships, such as relationships with supervisors, subordinates, and co-workers (Schindler & Thomas, 1993).

Most of the studies on the relationship between competence and trust at work have investigated the areas of organizational leadership (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Knoll & Gill, 2011; Kwon, 2000). However, those streams of studies overlooked the important organizational transition that happens in a contemporary organization where the horizontal structure without centralized control provides employees more opportunities

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for learning from each other and collaborating (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004). The news

production system is not an exception to the adoption of collaboration and coordination

(Singer, 2011). More investigation is required to understand interpersonal trust among co-

workers and their relationship to competence (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004). In particular,

evidence from prior studies in a team-based setting may add more insight on Korean

journalists whose work system has gradually shifted to the topic-based team system from

the news beat system. Schneider and Northcraft (1999) emphasized that an appropriate

level of expertise is an essential element in bringing together diverse employees in the

project team. This finding is consistent with prior evidence from other studies that show

that trust was rapidly developed in a temporary work system once professionals

positively perceived the competence of others (Meyerson, Weick, & Kramer, 1996). A

failure to demonstrate competence prevents employees from interacting with each other

in an organizational setting (Rawls & David, 2005). These pieces of evidence describe

competence as a way of meeting expectations in situated practices on the work floor

(Garfinkel, 1963). Evidence that perceived competence for the tasks influences

interpersonal trust in the workplace was constantly found among other occupational

settings, such as medical industry employees at hospitals and the national child-care

center teachers (Hwang et al., 2016; Lee & Song, 2014). Considering the prior findings

from other occupational settings and emerging changes in the newsroom in South Korea,

the following hypothesis is put forward:

H5: Journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of

the same level of competence.

CHAPTER 3: Methodology

The author aims to discover the interpersonal trust between journalists that are based on important homogeneity factors. The primary interest of this research lies in two distinctive types of social status that might act as driving forces in establishing homogeneous ties in mutual trust between journalists: a given social status, such as gender and tenure, and an achieved social status, such as one's academic prestige, how one is recruited and degree of competence. To achieve the research goal, the author examined the homophily effects of these social statuses through inferential analysis of social network data where the relationship of trustor and trustee is shown. In particular, Exponential Random Graph Models (ERGM) was used to assess whether the likelihood of trust ties occurs by accident or systemically because of ERGM's capability of controlling network effects in predicting homophily effects. The next section enumerates data collection and analytic procedures employed.

DATA SELECTION

The author collected data from South Korea, where cultural traits are distinctively different from Western countries. Studies on workplace and corporate environment in East Asia and those in Western countries show a stark contrast in cultures (Rowley & Benson, 2002). In particular, strong collectivism in East Asia has been highlighted in studies of trust establishment among employees for its distinctive cultural characteristics against the individualism that governs the Western countries (Chua, Morris, & Ingram, 2009). Servaes (2000) argues that Asian values may play a critical role in developing

Asian journalism culture differently from the West. Yet, cultural uniqueness in East Asian countries has been sidestepped when scholars examined forces that cultivate journalists' attitudes and behaviors (Richstad, 2000). Data collected from South Korea will add more insight into intercultural journalism studies by expanding the geographical boundary of a field previously limited to Western nations.

Among many news media organizations, the focus of this research is specifically on newspapers, which have gone through turbulent times in facing the emergence of new media. Global scholars report that newspapers have changed their organizational structure to try to be more flexible in adapting to the fast-changing media environment (Bunce, Wright, & Scott, 2018). In particular, many innovative changes inside the South Korean newsroom have been reported, such as changing an organizational structure into a team-based, collaborative structure; empowering news editors with more decision-making authority; and integrating digital technology into the newsroom (Job, 2017; Nam, 2006; Yoo, 2015). However, the outcome of these organizational changes has not been productive as initially expected (Kim & Kim, 2009). One of the main reasons for the unsuccessful transition from the South Korean conventional organization structure could be cultural resistance from journalists accustomed to a certain hierarchical system and the harmonious culture valued in South Korean newspapers (Halvorsen, 1992; Kim & Kim, 2009; Kim, 2018). As the degree of impact from the change in the media environment has been greater for newspapers than any other media organization, this research on newspaper journalists is needed more than ever (Eggensperger, 2006; Sparks et al., 2016; Yoo, 2015).

In particular, the current research adopted a comparative analysis on sample data

for the following reasons. The author adopted Exponential Random Graph Models as a

main analytic method on network data explained more later. This analytic method applied

to organizations inevitably turns research into case studies as the network boundary is

limited to an organization. Many newspapers have different characteristics in such factors

as ownership structure, newsroom size, history and source of revenue. Considering these

unique features, comparative studies on two different newspapers will help assess

whether the same attributes of journalists are found to establish trust across different

news organizations, as similar studies in other industrial and occupational settings

suggest (Chua, Morris, & Ingram, 2009; Raeymaeckers & Kenis, 2016). Moreover, much

research on social network analysis has been conducted for organizations where a whole

network is composed of a small number, about 30 individuals or less (Krackhardt, 1987).

Comparing two organizations will improve the generalizability of results by

compensating for the case studies where the sample size is relatively small. Thus, the

current study follows previous network studies in an organizational setting that adopts

comparative analysis (Burt & Batjargal, 2019; Lincoln & Miller, 1979; Nohria & Eccles,

1998; Schermerhorn & Bond, 1991; Tichy & Fombrun, 1979).

DATA COLLECTION

The current study draws on network survey data collected between Feb 10, 2019

and May 15, 2019 after multiple pre-trials on survey sampling. Survey emails were sent

to journalists from randomly selected 16 newspapers whose paid circulation was more

than 20,000 annually as of 2016 (Korea Audit Bureau of Certification, 2017). Among

targeted samples, two newspapers were finally chosen for a comparative analysis because survey participation of journalists from these newspapers provided ample size to conduct inferential analysis.

A panel of respondents was selected only from news reporters in the newsroom, excluding photo-journalists, local correspondents, copyeditors, and administrative staffs. This restriction has not only theoretical reasons, but also practical reasons. First, news reporters and other workforce in the newsroom are functionally different, which means that they belong to different communities of practice. This difference in functionality among group members not only limits their interaction with each other, but also makes it hard for them to provide an accurate assessment of trust relationships among them. In other words, investigation on the entire newsroom tends to be beyond the focus of the current research that aims to investigate the homophily in trust relationships within the community of practice.

Second, while the newsroom is a physical place where all employees work together and interact at any level, functioning roles in the newsroom distinctively construct a "communities of practice" of their own and limit the degree of interaction (García-Avilés, 2014; Meltzer & Martik, 2017; Weiss & Domingo, 2010; Värk & Kindsiko, 2019). While copy editors and news reporters are called "journalists", the fact that they have their own professional associations may show huge differences in functioning roles, as well as in occupational identity (Russo, 1998). Considering this

functioning difference that restricts the degree of interaction and shared identity, the author allowed news reporters to nominate only other news reporters.

Many newspapers do not maintain their journalists' roster as public information, and thus there is not an identifiable resource to find contact information for the workforce other than news reporters, who disclose their email addresses with their bylines in newspapers. The author went through the latest two-weeks of the online publication of newspapers and collected journalists' contact information before distributing survey email. The roster of journalists was created by aggregating the name of journalists. Journalists received an email invitation to the survey URL with a description of the research, and two more subsequent emails were sent during the survey period through Qualtrics.com. As expected from pre-trials on network survey collection, survey participation from most newspapers was fewer than 10 individuals. This low participation failed to provide the ample size of samples to conduct social network analysis. In the end, three newspapers were chosen for further analysis. Among these newspapers, two newspapers, which will be called *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon* to protect the journalists' anonymity, were finally selected considering the similar characteristics of these newspapers, such as geographical market, paid circulation, and newsroom size.

The data were comprised of respondents who completed the questionnaire, including 18 from *The Daily Sun* and 15 from *The Daily Moon*. The response rate for each newsroom was 17 percent and 14 percent, respectively[1]. The names of the

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[1] The low participation of journalists in the survey may be attributed to some factors as seen from some journalists' feedback on the survey. In a given situation where journalists are not familiar with the name

newspapers are pseudonyms because the case study design raises a concern about confidentiality of information sensitive to organizational reputation. In addition, this study secured an ample size of nodes' data through a combination of a name generator (for egos' alters) and name interpreter (for alters' alters) techniques similar to ones used in the General Social Survey (Davis, Smith, & Marsden, 2002). The name generator is a survey technique used for social network data, which require the survey respondent (ego) to nominate others (alters) and to reveal his or her (ego) relationship to them (alters), while the name interpreter asks the respondents (ego) to assess the relationship between nominees (alters). As a result, the analytic sample included ego-centric network data of 49 journalists from *The Daily Sun* and 38 from *The Daily Moon*, representing 45 percent and 39 percent of the entire populations of the newsrooms. The analytic sample sizes for both news organization is more than 30, sufficient enough to ensure the quality of an inferential analysis drawn from the model of ergm.ego on ego-centric data (Box-Steffensmeier et al., 2018).

Some journalists' attributes, such as educational background, were obtained from various public sources, including journalists' Facebook account, news articles from the Journalists' Association, the author information on publication from online book stores, as well as insiders.

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generating survey technique, they expressed concern about the sensitive nature of newsroom decision making that can be inferred from the informal relationship in the newsrooms. In particular, the recent political scandal in South Korea where government agencies spied on civilians might make journalists more hesitant to participate in the survey as one journalist raised this.

SURVEY DESIGN FOR NETWORK DATA

The current study adopts a network survey methodology to collect data about relational trust embedded in dyad relations. Compared to other types of trust, such as general trust (in strangers) and trust in institutions, interpersonal trust established in a dyad relation has rarely been investigated by scholars examining journalistic organizations. A large body of studies measured trust by relying on individuals' *perception* of the trustworthiness of others, not by their *actual* trust in others (Glaeser et al., 2000). Glaeser and his colleagues (2000) cast doubts on whether an attitudinal aspect of trust based on multiple dimensions of trust on individuals (e.g. "Top management tries to be fair in dealing with others", Mayer & Davis, 1999) can predict behavioral trust. In this sense, a network survey that uncovers actual exchanges and relational ties between individuals may have the competitive advantage of assessing the existence of trust and exchange of trust between individuals. Network survey methodology emerges as an alternative method of measuring trust for its capability of accessing relational data (Adali et al., 2010; Mizruchi & Stearns, 2000).

The author adopted a survey questionnaire from the General Social Survey, a benchmark survey for social network analysis that paves the way to construct network data (Burt, 1984; Burt, Marsden, & Rossi, 1985). The name generator used for GSS records data in such a way that survey respondents are presented as ego (focal node) and their relation to others (alters) is presented as an edge. From the point of individuals, each individual has his or her own network. A relational data that is structured with those focal

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individuals and their relation to others is called as egocentric data, which this dissertation used.

For this research, the name-generating question was slightly modified from GSS to represent the unique nature of journalists' relational trust in the workplace. Respondents received an open-ended question of "Name three news reporters whom you trust to discuss important work-related matters". Compared to other network survey questions used for analyzing trust in an organizational setting, this question has some important features. First, the author incorporated "trust" into the question to explicitly assess trust relations among journalists. While other studies inferred trust from a strong tie, such as "sharing confidentiality" and "discussing important matters" that implicitly represent trust embedded in the relation, it is possible that even a strong tie, such as friendship, cannot be converted to a trust relation. Therefore, the author assures the validity of the question by adding the term "trust", similar to a prior study on trust (Lusher et al., 2012).

In addition, there remain unresolved issues among network analysts about how many alters should be nominated by survey respondents (Merluzzi & Burt, 2013). The current study fixes the number of nominees to three individuals out of concern about a high rate of non-response, for which Milardo (1988) mainly describes as fatigue by survey participants. Collecting network data is a daunting task for two reasons: respondents' concern about privacy violation and their burden of answering long and complex questions (Tourangeau, Rips, & Rasinski, 2000). Survey participants are

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reluctant to fill out a survey not only for their concern in disclosing information about their informal relations, but also for the tedious nature of social network questions. This is because survey respondents are required to write the name and evaluate their relationships with others and even the relations between others for an egocentric network survey (Carolan, 2013). In a given situation, it seems natural that researchers have a concern about nonresponses because a high rate of no-response can be detrimental for social network analysis. Limiting the number of nominees is a tangible solution for resolving this issue (De Lange, Agneessens, & Waege, 2004). Then, the remaining question will be "how many should researchers ask about?"

Depending on the nature of studies and the research goal, the number of nominees varies from three to six individuals in general (De Lange, Agneessens, & Waege, 2004). Merluzzi and Burt (2013) even empirically tested how many are enough and concluded five as a cost-effective number. However, they suggested that the threshold of the number of nominees is contingent upon the level of integration inside organizations. In other words, close proximity among organizational members helps researchers rely on a small number of nominees in estimating a whole picture of the network.   In this sense, the author set the number of nominees at three because journalists' community in South Korea is highly integrated. A combination of collectivism, strong kindship among journalists, and craftsmanship training in journalism generates a lot of interaction among journalists, which makes journalists in South Korea a highly integrated community compared to other professional occupations (Kim, 2006; Kim, 2018; Kim et al., 2018).

EGOCENTRIC SURVEY

The current study adopted an egocentric survey approach following prior studies that investigated the effects of homophily on individual ties (Flatt, Agimi, & Albert, 2012; Lazer et al., 2007; Lozares et al., 2014; Weng & Lento, 2014). The collection of ego's relational data can turn into a whole network data where all egos are embedded. Considering the nature of egocentric data, they can be obtained from either an egocentric survey or a whole network survey: the egocentric approach relies on a survey on samples and a whole network approach count on the survey of a population. These distinctive approaches inevitably lead to the differences in constructing the survey questionnaire. Accordingly, the current study adopted the survey questionnaire used for egocentric data.

Despite the similarity in sharing name-generating techniques, ways of collecting information about alters significantly differ between an egocentric survey and a whole network survey (Kilduff & Tsai, 2003). In an egocentric survey, alters may not be present because it is possible that they do not participate in the survey. The egocentric survey asks survey participants to report on information about alters, such as sex and age, and even further collects relational information between alters. In a similar vein, the current research constructed survey questions suited egocentric data collection in the following order; First, survey participants were asked through the name-generating technique to nominate whom they trust to discuss important work-related matters in the newsroom. Then, a series of name-interpreters were presented to the participants to ask alter-alter relationships and characteristics of alters as has been done by other studies (Marin &
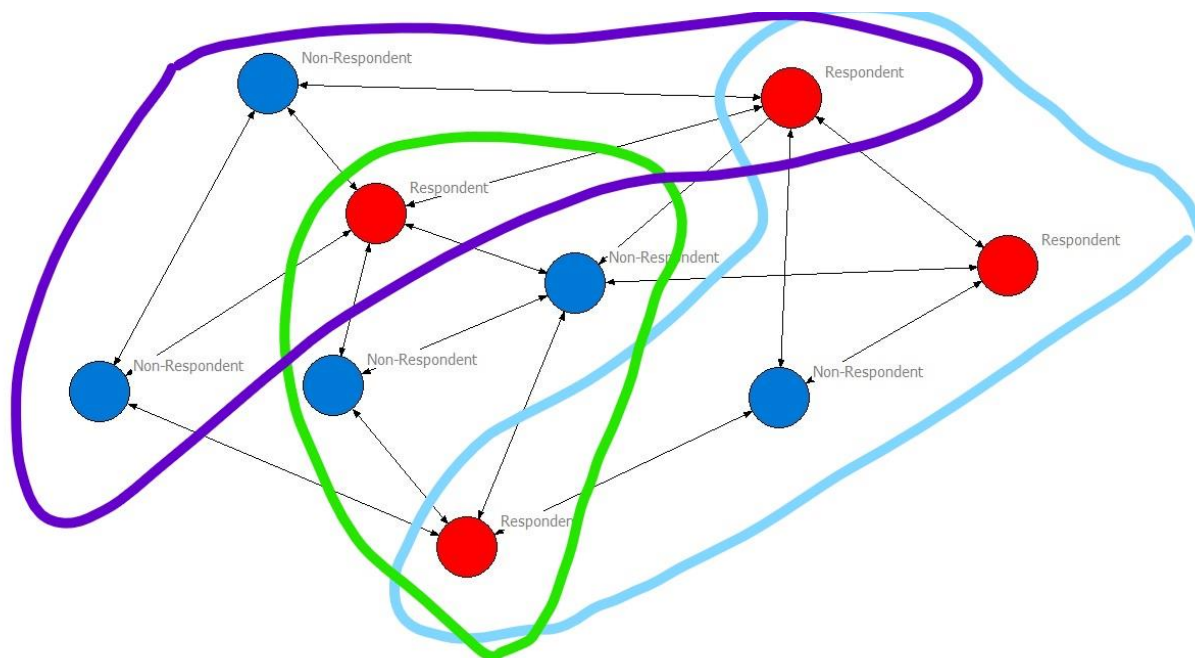
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Figure 1:   Grouping with drawing suggests a whole network data being sliced into
ego-data.

Hampton, 2007). Lastly, the survey respondents were asked to report their attribute

information, such as sex, working experience as a journalist, working tenure at the

current newspapers, and type of recruitment at the current newspaper, which can be

crucial in establishing trust among journalists.

In addition, the survey questions from the GSS survey was modified to represent

the culture and norms in South Korea and to suit the characteristics of journalists while

following the existing survey practice on egocentric data. First, the identity of the alters

needs to be reported by survey participants. For egocentric data collection, to what extent

alters' identity is reported can be determined by researchers' own discretion on the goal

and the nature of research. For instance, alters can be completely anonymous or reported

using initials or first name or full identity (Burt, 1998; McCarty et al., 2007; Mitchell,

1994; Noy & Jabbour, 2017). The author decided to ask survey participants to disclose the full identity of alters, based on multiple. As Witchmann and Brettschneider (2009; p510) pointed out in their studies on elites journalists in Germany and America that "journalists are hard to survey, low response rates for journalists' surveys have been reported before", so there were concerns about insufficient data that supports the implementation of inferential analysis on egocentric data. The pretests in five newspapers confirmed the difficulty of obtaining enough data to conduct the analysis. Thus, the author decided to present alters of egos as an additional ego in sociomatrix with their disclosed information to secure an ample size of analytic samples, as Krivitsky and Morris (2017) suggest that alters can be an ego of others or alters of others. In other words, each alter presented in an ego network is presented as a focal node since he or she has his or her own ego network with other nodes and edges. The information about inter-alter ties being observed makes it possible to present alters as focal nodes as well. The idea of transforming data is in line with Krackhardt's (1987) argument of the cognitive structure where the whole network is composed by expressed and perceived evaluation: Survey respondents express their ties with nominees and perceive ties among nominees. Because the ego-data contributes to the establishment of whole network data, the whole data constructed by survey respondents' expressed and perceived evaluation can be sliced into ego-data, as seen from Figure 1. Because the creation of ego-data largely relies on the answers provided by the survey respondents, the author confirms the reliability and validity of the data through cross-checks on data to see any difference in alters' characteristics.

In addition, limiting the number of alters to three individuals does not generate any concern about the biased estimation of network parameters because research design on trust relations fits into specific contexts that prevent sampling bias. In the study of degree-capped ERGM sampling, Fotouhi and Rytina (2018) reviewed about 60 previous studies on the bias of sampling procedure using ERGM. They suggested that intimate relations of sharing secrets, seeking advice, or borrowing money do not provide any bias of degree cap on nominees because of the small number of corresponding nominees in estimating network parameters. Because the trust relationships are one of the most intimate relationships, there is little chance of results being biased in estimating a network property.

Furthermore, the author worded questions to make survey participants feel less sensitive to disclosing information, such as their alma mater. As seen from reading a Facebook page where the respondent said "I refuse to disclose my alma mater as an action of my objection to *hakbol* society", there is certain information that people do not feel comfortable disclosing. Thus, instead of directly asking attributes of individuals, the survey participants in this study were asked to answer whether the relationship with alters is based on the mutually shared attributes. For instance, the questions were constructed in following ways, such as "Does *alter A* whom you nominated in the previous question have the same gender as you?", and "Does *alter A* whom you nominated in the previous question have the same alma mater as you?" instead of "What is your alma mater?" These questions about alters were repeated until information was obtained about three alters whom survey respondents nominated. The reliability and validity of those data were

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cross-checked through data obtained from multiple sources, including journalists'

Facebook and insiders within the organizations. Furthermore, similar questions were used

as well to uncover attributes of alters, such as "Does *alter A* and *alter B* whom you

nominated in the previous question have the same gender?"

ANALYTIC PROCEDURE

Exponential random graph model

The current research employed Exponential Random Graph Models (ERGM) to

achieve the goal of making inferences about the effects of homophily on trust among

journalists in the newsroom. ERGM, a statistical modeling technique, has recently gained

increasing popularity by network analysts for its empirical power of uncovering driving

forces that configure networks (Pilny & Atouba, 2018). This model technique was widely

used to examine the effects of homophily on network structure, such as homophily and

inter-organizational networks (Atouba & Shumate, 2010), homophily and advice network

in public organizations (Siciliano, 2015), homophily and trust among top managers

(Lusher et al., 2012), and homophily and organizational learning in software companies

(Pahor, Škerlavaj, & Dimovski, 2008). But no study could be found that has examined

journalistic networks. The recent popularity of ERGM also is attributed to its analytic

power of finding why and how network configuration works while social network

analysis descriptively displays homophily ties (Pilny & Atouba, 2018).

In estimating the extent to which similar backgrounds, such as age and gender,

influence tie-formation, ERGM is the best modeling technique of controlling the effects

of structures and allowance of incorporating individuals' attributes and structural variables into the model. An inherent problem of network data is interdependence among actors and their ties (Cranmer & Desmarais, 2011). Since the possible ties between actors are assumed to be conditional for other possible ties in the network, a conventional statistical method cannot estimate the parameters of networks because of its violation of the assumption that observations are independent to each other (Greyer & Thompson, 1992; Handcock et al., 2008). Thus, ERGM, with its analytic power of disentangling dependency among ties, heralds the discovery of the effects of homophily, which led to its popularity among scholars who examine homophily in the network. The intuitive nature of ERGM also is one of the benefits for researchers who employ ERGM for its analytic technique, such as model fitness (GOF) as it interprets results that resemble a conventional inferential analysis in setting (Pinly & Atouba, 2018).

The primary goal of ERGM is estimating the likelihood of specific network configurations by factors that influence the network structure (Robins, 2013). The author aims to check whether the probability of the observed tie formation occurs by any chance, or if it systemically happens because of individuals' similar backgrounds, such as gender, tenure, academic prestige, recruitment type, and competence. In particular, the probability of presence or absence of ties associated with specific exogenous factors (e.g. attributes of individuals, such as gender, tenure, academic prestige, recruitment, competence) will be examined by ERGM. The model estimation will proceed with Bernoulli distribution, a probability of distribution on discrete events with taking the value of 1 if there is a tie with the probability of tie, "p", and taking the value of 0 with the probability of non-tie,

"1-p", considering the binary nature of trust relationship in this research: absence or presence of trust ties. In addition, ERGM assumes a Markov dependence that attributes to the probability of the current event to the prior event. The situation where events are not independent to each other, but rather they are related to each other clearly violates the assumption of a linear regression model (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Thus, the probability of trust ties is estimated by the Markov dependence that assumes that "the presence of one tie may affect the presence of the other ties – ties are conditionally dependent on one another if they share a node" (Kacanski & Lusher, 2017). This means that a potential tie can be influenced by existing ties. For instance, the situation where person B's probability of being friends with person A is dependent on person B's relations to person C, who is already a friend of person A, can be resolved in the ERGM model with the Markov dependence. Prell (2012, p212) made it clear this Markov dependence in a social network setting suggests that any tie between two actors is constrained by "any and all other possible ties involving actor i or j". ERGM tests whether the probability of trust ties is a function of gender, tenure, academic prestige, recruitment, and competence.

ERGM analysis will be conducted as follows: 1) Estimating models based on the observed data with an assumption that fits for relational data where relationships among actors are recorded in a matrix, such as the use of the Bernoulli distribution and the Markov dependence. ERGM estimates parameter values by assigning the highest probability that can be obtained from the observed network. A series of simulations helps find the network configuration against all possible network configurations by adjusting

the values of the simulated network to the ones of the observed network. The model will be fitted using the Markov Chain Monte Carlo simulation technique, which draws samples from a randomly assigned probability distribution. 2) Evaluating the model goodness of fit (GOF) - The diagnosis test on the fitness between the observed and the simulated network determines whether the distribution of parameters estimated from the simulated network is consistent with one of the observed networks. In other words, this test confirms if the distribution of parameters obtained from the simulated network can reproduce the corresponding one from observed networks. The parameters used for GOF are for the ones that are not included in the initial model, such as degree distribution, and the ones that are included in the model (Krivitsky & Morris, 2017).

With these analytic procedures, the effect of homophily on trust ties among journalists will be assessed by applying the principle of tie dependence on individual attributes. Namely, the effects of homophily on trust ties mean that dyadic independence is conditioned on attributes of individuals (Van Duijn, Snijders, & Zijlstra, 2004). For instance, one can conclude that there will be tenure-based homophily in the network if he or she observes more frequent ties between actors i and j who have the same tenure, compared to a randomly simulated network. Robin et al. (2007) refer to the conditional ties between actors i and j based on the attributes as the Markov attribute assumption.

Data analysis

The primary goal of the current research is to discover the effects of status homophily on trust relationships among journalists. In particular, two ascribed statuses,

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such as gender and tenure, and three achieved statuses, such as academic prestige, recruitment and, competence, were tested in assessing homophily effects on homogeneous ties of journalists. The present study tried to build step-wise models by sequentially adding those factors into ERGM in order to test the homophily hypotheses following the prior study (Pahor, Prasnikar, & Ferligoj, 2004; Watanabe, 2015).

The step-wise procedure has competitive advantages of displaying the extent to which status homophily changes upon a series of models. Observing coefficient changes across models by adding homophily terms from the baseline model will deepen understanding of the underlying mechanism of homophily in the trust network.

Furthermore, separate analysis for *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon* was conducted in similar manner to that conducted by Pahor, Skerlavaj, and Dimovski (2008), who employed ERGM for the comparative studies of private corporations. The parameter values for each model will be drawn from the pseudo-population size that is set to 1,000, based on the prior study (Krivitsky & Morris, 2017). The statistical significance of parameter values is determined by "the ratio between the parameter and corresponding standard error with t-statistics (Pahor, Skerlavaj, & Dimovski, 2008; p1991)". Then, the MCMC diagnosis will be followed as a goodness of fit test to see if convergence fails because of a high level of autocorrelation among explanatory variables or insufficient data to create the model (Robins et al., 2007). The p-value for the MCMC diagnosis functions as an indicator of the model fitness. The p-value is close to 1 as the differences between the simulated value from the fitted models and values from observed data are smaller. The goodness of fit for each parameter value will be assessed by a visual

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illustration that the value of difference should be bell-shaped from the centered value of zero.

In addition, the current research did a follow-up GOF analysis to ensure the quality of model estimation by examining any systemic bias in estimated ERGM models. All analysis was conducted using the statistical model of ergm.ego packages developed by Krivitsky and Morris (2015) for its strong analytic power of handling sampled egocentric network data with its network size invariant parametrization" (Krivitsky & Morris, 2015, p11). This recently developed package of ergm.ego paved the way for access to research subjects that are difficult to reach threshold of whole network data by running on the sampled egocentric network data, and thus allows researchers to conduct statistical inferential test on journalists' informal relationship.

In particular, GOF tests examine to what extent differences between simulated values drawn from the model and observed values from original data exist on statistics in the model as well as statistics not in the model, such as the full-degree distribution. The goodness of fit for statistics in the model is confirmed by a box plot that displays whether "the dark line should coincide with the center of the boxplots (the vertical line in the boxplot representing the median of the distribution)" (Van Der Pol, 2018; p 25). On the other hand, the goodness of fit for the full-degree distribution also is visually confirmed by the bell-shaped distribution with the centered value of zero, which indicates the differences between simulated and observed values (Van Der Pol, 2018).

Homophily effects were assessed by testing if the presence of trust ties is a function of gender, tenure, academic prestige, recruitment, and competence. A dyadic-

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level attribute was incorporated into ERGM as a dependent variable since a relational

trust is embedded in a dyadic relation. The value of the dependent variable was given as 1

if an ego and an alter shared the same characteristic, and 0 if they did not share the same

characteristic. The value of the estimated parameter becomes significant as there is a

systemic tendency of homophily in a trust relationship. The positive value of the

estimated parameter represents that the likelihood of the presence of trust tie increases as

the pair shares the same characteristic. For instance, the positive parameter will indicate

that the probability of gender homophily increases as more egos and alters share the same

gender. Unlike dichotomous variables, such as gender, academic prestige, recruitment,

and competence, tenure was recorded as a continuous variable, and then the absolute

value of the difference in tenure for pairs was given to the dyadic-level attributes in

testing tenure-based homophily as seen from a prior study (Janulis et al., 2018.)

Specifically, the procedure of model building was constructed as follows: First,

the baseline model started only with a structural variable of density. A tie-formation was

not only contingent upon individual characteristics, but also dependent on structural

properties of the network (Morris, Handcock, & Hunter, 2008). Controlling dyadic

dependence emerged as one of the top priorities in obtaining rigorous analytic results

from the ERGM models since tie formation is not a simple byproduct of individual

attributes (Koehly et al., 2004). ERGM properly handles this endogeneity issue that

structural property triggers in tie formation for its modeling technique that incorporates

structural variables as well as individual attributes simultaneously (Wang et al., 2013).

Considering the importance of this endogeneity issues, the current study follows this

standard procedure of including density, as most baseline models with ERGM technique start with, in order to "control overall probability of a tie being present" (Watanabe, 2015; p37).

After incorporating the structural variable of density, the following homophily terms were sequentially added into the models: ascribed statuses of gender and tenure were first included, and then achieved statuses of academic prestige, recruitment and competence were added. While ascribed statuses were commonly found across countries as key determinants of homophily behavior, the influence of achieved statuses varied because the nature of achieved statuses heavily relied on cultural characteristics of local settings (Greenberger & Sorenson, 1971; Ibarra, 1992; Lincoln & Miller, 1979). Thus, this dissertation sequentially added variables from the ones universally found to the ones salient to local settings. Changes in p-values corresponding to each variable with the addition of new variables will deepen our understanding of how these variables are related to each other in establishing trust relationships among journalists. Through these procedures of ERGM model specifications, the current research was able to uncover the effects of homophily on trust relation among journalists.

MEASURES

The current study aims to measure the effect of homophily on trust relations among journalists. The author examines relational trust in the social network setting and its relationship with status homophily, which Lazarsfeld & Merton (1954) recognized as one of the two important types of homophily; status and value homophily. In particular, two different types of status homophily were measured and tested to find their

relationship with trust. The first one was an ascribed status, such as gender and tenure in

organizations, which represents a given social status of individuals, ones that don't

require any effort or intention to achieve. The ascribed status was found to have a

tendency of establishing ties and other social relationships across cultures (Lee, Kim, &

Piercy, 2019; Morgan, 2018; Titzmann, Silbereisen, & Mesch, 2012). On the other hand,

the author incorporated the unique achieved status into the model for testing homophily

effects on trust relations considering the unique nature of journalistic and corporate

culture in South Korea. Because achieved status is defined as an obtained social status

based on the merits system (Linton, 1936), it is closely related to class and stratification

inside the social system (Kerbo, 2006; Lin, Vaughn, & Ensel, 1981; Parsons, 1940). Thus,

the author included three important achieved statuses, including academic prestige,

recruitment, and competence, all relevant to the obtained social status in the practice of

journalism in South Korea. How these variables are measured will be explained shortly.

Relational trust

Following prior studies on social relationships in a network setting (Born,

Akkerman, & Thommes, 2016; Lusher et al., 2012; Vögtle & Windzio, 2016), the current

study measures relational trust via a binary format (1= trust tie; 0= no trust tie). Survey

respondents were asked to nominate three co-workers in an open-ended format following

the name-generator surveys. Specifically, they were asked to answer the following

questions: "Please name three peers of news reporters in the newsroom whom you trust to

discuss important work-related matters." This question was adopted from prior studies on

trust in social network settings (Lusher et al., 2012). The upper limit of three individuals

on nominees was not only for a practical reason, but also for an analytic reason. First, it may prove a heavy burden for survey respondents to nominate all possible individuals in the organization that they discuss work-force matters with as to evaluate their relationship with each other. The prior study raised a concern about respondents' fatigue in participating in network surveys, which require respondents to answer a series of questions about information about relationships with alters and their attributes (Tourangeau, Rips, & Rasinski, 2000). Second, obtaining reliable sampling results is crucial for inferential analysis on egocentric data. Thus, asking for a large number of nominations weakens the reliability of the results, as Fotouhi and Rytina (2018) mentioned. After the three names were enlisted, respondents were further asked about the trust relations among the nominated coworkers (alters), through questions such as, "Do you think that the person A and person B whom you nominated trust each other in terms of trust in discussing the important work-related matters?". Subsequently, survey respondents were followed to choose to answer the 'Yes, they trust each other' or 'No, they distrust each other'. The option of mutual distrust offers an opportunity of checking veracity of information about alters' alters. There was no contradictory result found. Through these repeated name-interpreter questions on three nominees, the relationships among alters were recorded in a binary format for a socio-matrix.

In addition, it is noteworthy to make ego-alter in trust relations reciprocal in this study despite the absence of alters' response. Trust may be either one-way or two-ways, but the current research design on trust among journalists in the newsroom enables the researcher to make the trust relations reciprocal, based both theoretical and empirical

research. First, reciprocal trust is contingent upon intense interaction in terms of the duration of time spent on the relationship and close proximity of the two people (Abdulkadiroğlu & Bagwell, 2013; Butler, 1983; 1986; Larzelere & Huston, 1980; Ostrom, 2003; Zand, 1972). Uni-directional trust was observed in an experimental setting of a one-shot game (Ben-Ner & Putterman, 2009; Kurzban, Rigdon, & Wilson, 2008) where participants in the trust game did not have enough time to develop trust and fall into the prisoners' dilemma. Buskens and Raub (2008, p 11) described the trust game as being a one-sided game where "only the trustee has an incentive for opportunism, while the trustor's equilibrium behavior cannot be seen as opportunism but is exclusively protection against the trustee's opportunism". Trust has a strong tendency to being stabilized over time when people are exposed to each other and have more opportunities for interaction (Gabarro, 1978). In other words, one-way trust at the early stage of a relationship will become either reciprocal or short-lived over time (Abdulkadiroğlu & Bagwell, 2013). Journalists' community in South Korea is a highly integrated community where everyone knows each other and maintains a high level of interaction (Lee, 2015). Using more than an average of 10 years of tenure among the analytic sample provides a sufficient amount of time to develop reciprocal trust. Much research demonstrates that individuals reciprocate trust (Abdulkadiroğlu & Bagwell, 2013; Butler, 1983; Larzelere & Huston, 1980; Zand, 1972). A recent study on trust and reciprocity in organizational settings offered empirical evidence that reciprocity applies to expressive and perceived trust (Lusher et al., 2012). The consistency in results confirmed the reciprocal nature of trust regardless of whether survey respondents explicitly express those whom they trust

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or implicitly perceive trust relationships among those they nominated. Vilares, Dam, and Kording (2011) found that trust and reciprocity are highly correlated. These results support the notion that people have expected reciprocity of their trust for others (Burt, 2005; Gambetta, 1998; Tyler & Kramer, 1996).

Ascribed status

Gender Journalists' gender and tenure in an organization were presented as ascribed status. Gender was recorded binary, female as 1 and male as 0. Approximately 72 percent of 49 journalists at *The Daily Sun* were male, while 82 percent of 38 journalists at *The Daily Moon* were male.

Tenure It was measured by the number of years in employment at the current newspaper rather than overall employment in the newspaper industry. In South Korea, experienced workers' tenure is readjusted based on their prior experience when they enter into new organizations. Respondents in *The Daily Sun* had about three fewer years on average in tenure as a journalist than those in *The Daily Moon* (10.04 years vs. 14.39 years).

Achieved status

Academic prestige Academic prestige (a.k.a. *Hakbol)* is one of the most important achieved statuses in South Korea that influences social relationship and chances for promotion in an organization (Jung & Lee, 2003; Jung, 2004). Thus, the current study used attending one of the top elite schools as a proxy for academic prestige. It was categorized into two groups and coded binary (1= prestigious alma mater, 0=non-prestigious alma mater). Prestigious colleges were defined as the top three ranking

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colleges in South Korea, which South Koreans in general widely accepted as elite schools (Anderson & Kohler, 2013; Kim, 2011). About 38 percent of journalists at *The Daily Sun* graduated from one of these prestigious colleges while about 60 percent of *The Daily Moon* journalists graduated from the top colleges.

Recruitment It was re-corded binary, those who started their career from the current newspaper as 1, or otherwise 0. In a closed labor market in the media industry in South Korea, journalists whose career path started with the current newspapers have a competitive advantage of establishing informal relations inside the newsroom where most of their peers and supervisors have taken the same career path (Kim, 2005). Journalists who took the same annual recruitment exam and were in the same cohort of the newly hired tend to have similar experiences of job orientation and training (Lee, 2015). This shared experience inevitably creates a strong bond between juniors and seniors, compared to those who were recruited from the outside. For instance, the majority of journalists in the sample started their journalists' career at the current newspapers. Approximately 85 percent of journalists at *The Daily Sun* started their career at the current company, while 68 percent of *The Daily Moon* journalists were hired through the annual recruitment exams.

Competence This study adopted journalism awards as a proxy for journalists' competence. Competence is defined as "sets of behaviors that are instrumental in the delivery of desired results or outcomes (Bartram, Robertson, & Callinan, 2002; p7)". However, there is limited consensus on how to quantify and measure journalists'

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competence because of the nature of journalistic work (Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi & Damon, 2002). Even most newspapers do not have a reliable performance matrix for evaluating journalists in South Korea (Kim, 2012). In a given situation where competence is an important factor for individuals to trust, the absence of measurable indicators of journalists' competence emerged as a challenge to find the association of journalists' skills to their trust ties.

Therefore, journalism awards were used as a proxy for the news industry to quantifiably recognize a journalist's achievement (Coulson, 1989). The criteria for journalism awards share similar components of journalistic competence that Donsbach (2010) suggested in terms of journalists' professional identity: 1) analytic thinking, 2) expertise on subjects 3) communication capability 4) journalistic skills and 5) professional ethics. The journalism awards have long been considered as valuable, easily recognizable, and prestigious among journalism practitioners (Blankenburg & Allen, 1974). Among many journalism awards, *the monthly journalism awards* granted by *the Journalists Association of Korea* have been highly regarded by journalism practitioners and scholars in journalism for their fairness and objectiveness (Journalists Association of Korea, 2005). Thus, the author used the prior experience of receiving the monthly journalist awards that the journalist received as a proxy for his or her journalistic competence. It was recorded as a binary variable, assigning 1 to award-winning journalists, and 0 otherwise. Awards data were collected from archive data from *the Journalists Association of Korea.* It should be noted that one respondent answered he won an award, but his response was not consistent with the archive data that do not

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display his name as an awardee. Through this cross-check, his competence was coded as 0. Nearly 38 percent of journalists at *The Daily Sun* received the award, while about 37 percent of journalists at *The Daily Moon* received the award.

Status-based homophily terms

The homophily terms are made of interaction terms where trust ties and their association with 1) gender, 2) tenure, 3) academic prestige, 4) recruitment, and 5) competence.

CHAPTER 4: Status-based homophily in journalists' trust network

This chapter examines whether journalists tend to have trust relationships with their peers in the newsroom based on their shared characteristics. In particular, the primary focus of this investigation is of ascribed and achieved status: Ascribed status is status given to individuals, such as gender, while achieved status is status earned by individuals, such as academic prestige. The influence of the ascribed status on the informal relationship is widely found across different countries and occupational settings (Brennecke & Rank, 2016; Feld, 1982; Laniado et al., 2016; Mascia et al., 2015; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook. 2001; Opper, Nee, & Brehm, 2015). But less attention has been drawn to the effects of achieved status on the informal network (Louch, 2000). Many achieved statuses, such as academic prestige in South Korea, represent a unique cultural characteristic of East Asia.

Considering evidence found in global studies and local research, five hypotheses were addressed as follows: Journalists have a tendency of 1) gender-based, 2) tenure-based, 3) academic prestige-based, 4) recruitment-based, and 5) competence-based homophily in their trust relationship with their peers in the newsroom. To examine these hypotheses, the author used Exponential Random Graph Models (ERGM) on egocentric data, which constitute individuals' tie information. The results of ERGM analysis will reveal which ascribed and achieved statuses are a driving force that generates homophily in trust ties among journalists.

Analytic results will be presented in the following order. First, descriptive statistics on journalists and their trust tie information will be introduced through a comparative analysis on journalists working at two different news organizations. The current study is designed based on inferential analysis of social network data, which restricts the boundary of the social relations within organizations. A case study approach with organizational data may create a risk of generalizing results drawn from one organization because of differences in organizational culture and history that cannot easily be quantified and incorporated into analytic models (Pahor, Škerlavaj, & Dimovski, 2008). To compensate for this weakness, the current study adopts a comparative analysis of journalists' homophily from two organizations. The comparative description of journalists' statistics will enhance the understanding of the different nature of newsrooms to which journalists belong.

Second, the author will present separate analytic results drawn from ERGM, on each organization. The present study tried to build step-wise models by sequentially adding individual attributes into models to test the homophily hypotheses, which are based on previous studies (Pahor, Pransnikar, & Ferligoj, 2004; Pahor, Škerlavaj, & Dimovski, 2008). These step-wise processes will help observe the extent to which factors, such as ascribed and achieved status, contribute to the establishment of trust ties among journalists. These model specification strategies will help find the presence of interaction effects of individual characteristics over step-wise processes. The baseline model was constituted only with main effects, and homophily terms were added to the processes. The main effects in the baseline model will show an overall picture of which factors

Table 1:   Descriptive statistics of sampled news reporters.

	The Daily Sun	The Daily Moon
Gender (Percentage)		
Male	72%	82%
Female	28%	18%
Tenure (Years)*	10.04(5.87)	14.39(8.06)
Academic prestige (Percentage)*		
Top schools	38%	60%
Non-top schools	62%	40%
Recruitment (Percentage)		
Starting	85%	68%
Non-starting	15%	32%
Competence (Percentage)		
Awardees	38%	37%
Non-Awardees	62%	63%
Sample Size	49	38

Note: Chi-square tests were conducted to find differences across the newspapers. The differences in tenure and academic prestige were statistically significant at the level of .05.

significantly affect the tie formation. Table 2 and 3 illustrate the results of estimated

parameters for homophily effects in *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon*. The parameter

values were drawn from two independent simulations. The statistical significance of

parameter values was determined by "the ratio between the parameter and corresponding

standard error with t-statistics (Pahor, Skerlavaj, & Dimovski, 2008; p1991). For each

model, the following methods of Markov Chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) and GOF

(Goodness-of-fit) were employed to check the quality of model estimation.

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

Workforce composition across newsrooms

The Daily Sun and *The Daily Moon,* pseudonyms for the two news organizations studied, have some similar organizational characteristics, such as newspapers' target market, the size of circulations, and a relatively long company history compared to other newspapers. Despite these similarities at the organizational level, these newspapers differ in workforce composition. In particular, beat reporters from both newspapers, in particular, have a statistical significant difference in their journalists' tenure and academic prestige. As for working tenure, *The Daily Sun* is considered a young organization compared to *The Daily Moon,* as the average tenure among journalists at *The Daily Sun* is four years less than *The Daily Moon* (χ^2=37.08, p<.05, *d.f.*=20). Thus, *The Daily Sun's* newsroom environment could be somewhat more dynamic and energetic with the presence of more young journalists if the newsroom successfully manages generational diversity. However, *The Daily Sun*'s younger workforce is not necessarily a positive sign because tenure may reflect the organization's higher turnover rates and a larger number of inexperienced journalists, which can affect the newspaper's performance. If this is true, it is likely that generational conflict between senior and junior journalists is more intense at *The Daily Sun*. On the other hand, longer tenures found at *The Daily Moon* may help it create a coherent culture and stronger bonds among journalists.

In addition, *The Daily Moon* has more journalists whose educational backgrounds are from top-ranking schools than *The Daily Sun* (χ^2=3.95, p<.05, *d.f.*=1). Six out of 10

journalists at *The Daily Moon* graduated from top-ranking schools, while about 40 percent of journalists at *The Daily Sun* is from top-ranking schools. One may say that *The Daily Moon* has a higher level of human capital than *The Daily Sun* because educational achievement is one of the most important forms of human capital that affects job performance (Lanzi, 2007). Evidence that journalists with a background from prestigious schools garnered more Pulitzer Prizes in the international reporting awards than others supports the notion that educational achievement is an indication of human capital (Volz & Lee, 2012).

There are two possible scenarios for this *hakbol* tendency of *The Daily Moon*. First, *The Daily Moon* has a biased recruitment policy favoring graduates from top schools (Lin et al., 2009). Journalists from top-ranking schools may leverage their educational backgrounds to access information in government and business more easily because of their alumni connections to those who occupy important positions in government and business. Then, *The Daily Moon* may be motivated to adopt such recruitment practices. Second, there may be a tendency for applicants from top-ranking schools to prefer working for *The Daily Moon* possibly for its reputation.

While other types of characteristics, such as gender, recruitment, and competence were not found to be statistically different across newspapers, it is worthy of looking at different ratios of those characteristics to enhance our understanding of the workforce in those newspapers. As for the gender composition of the workforce by newspapers *The Daily Sun* has more female journalists than *The Daily Moon* by about 10%. Female

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Journalists account for about 28 percent of the beat reporters at *The Daily Sun.* The percentage of female journalists is only about 18 percent at *The Daily Moon*. These differences in the gender ratio of the workforce may generate different patterns of gender-based homophily. For instance, more female journalists at *The Daily Sun* possibly may have advantages of raising their voices in the newsroom and creating their own social clique, as Marsden (1990) argued that more heterogeneous racial composition intensifies gender segregation on the work floor.

The Daily Sun and *The Daily Moon* also have some differences in the recruitment types that show whether journalists started their journalism career at their current newspaper. The ratio of those who started their journalism career at *The Daily Sun* was 85 percent, while 68 percent of journalists at *The Daily Moon* started their career at the paper. The higher ratio for *The Daily Sun* can be results of either a high sense of loyalty among its journalists, or vacancies filled by newly recruited journalists because of its high turnover rate. It may be too early to draw a conclusion, but the shorter tenure of journalists at *The Daily Sun* increases the likelihood of filling the vacancy with newbies.

Lastly, there was not much difference in journalists' competence between *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon.* The difference in the percentage of journalists with an award experience was only 1 percent. *The Daily Sun* has 38 percent of journalists who have prior experience of receiving the journalism awards and *The Daily Moon* has 37 percent with the same experience. According to the Korean Journalist Association's awards archive, working in teams has a significant advantage of receiving the journalism

awards than working as a "lone wolf" in recent years. Thus, the figure that a little over one-third journalists had journalism awards may represent the extent of a team-based working system.

Trust relationships across newsrooms

It should be noted that the author collected 196 trust ties from 44 journalists for *The Daily Sun,* while there were 132 trust ties from 38 journalists for *The Daily Moon.* The number of trusting partners for *The Daily Sun* was 4 journalists on average, 0.53 more than that for *The Daily Moon*. This result indicates that the actual number of trusting partners may exceed the number required by the questionnaire, which leaves further attention to the methodological development of the name-generating techniques used for social network analysis.

It would be beneficial to examine some descriptive analysis of trust ties before advancing into analytic results on journalists' homophily tendency on trust ties. In particular, the type of dichotomous variables, which is of primary interest in this study, allows the author to examine the association of sub-categories. As seen from Table 2, the cross-tabulations will give a brief overview of trust relationships by gender, academic prestige, recruitment, and competence. These descriptive results across newsrooms represent the percentage of journalists who are associated with sub-categories.

First of all, the first category in Table 2 shows associative relationships between male and female journalists on trust relationships. It is noteworthy that male journalists

Table 2:   Conditional probabilities of dyadic trust by gender across newspapers.

	The Daily Sun	*The Daily Moon*
Male/Male	80%	83%
Male/Female	20%	17%
Sum	100%	100%
Female/Female	32%	25%
Female/Male	68%	75%
Sum	100%	100%

prefer establishing trust ties with their male peers in both newsrooms. Fewer than 20

percent of the total male journalists' trust ties were composed of the cross-gender ties at

both newspapers. Also, the cross-gender ties were prevalently found among female

journalists across the newspapers. The female journalists' cross-gender preference was

more noticeable at *The Daily Moon* than *The Daily Sun*. The female journalists' strong

preference for cross-gender ties may be attributed to the utilitarian motive of females that

choosing those with dominant status in the newsroom hierarchy can bring more benefits

to them. For newsroom comparisons, *The Daily Sun* with a higher percentage of female

workforces was found to have more cross-gender trust relationships than *The Daily Moon.*

Second, there was a stark contrast of the academic prestige-based trust

relationships across the newsrooms. The top school graduates at *The Daily Sun* preferred

those with same educational backgrounds as trusting partners over those with the

different educational backgrounds. However, different educational backgrounds

Table 3:   Conditional probabilities of dyadic trust by academic prestige. across
newspapers.

	The Daily Sun	*The Daily Moon*
Top Schools/Top Schools	72%	38%
Top Schools/Non-Top Schools	28%	62%
Sum	100%	100%
Non-Top Schools/Non-Top Schools	71%	39%
Non-Top Schools/Top Schools	29%	61%
Sum	100%	100%

were prominently preferred by top school graduates at *The Daily Moon* in their trust

relationships. For *The Daily Sun*, the dyadic trust of non-top school graduates to those

with the same educational backgrounds reached about 71 percent of the non-top school

graduates' trust ties. In contrast to *The Daily Sun*, the percentage of non-top school

graduates to those with the same educational backgrounds was only 39 percent for *The

Daily Moon*.

        Third, the same recruitment type based dyadic trust relationships were prevalently

found across newspapers from those who started their career at the current newspapers.

However, outsiders' dyadic trust relationship to those with the same recruitment type was

found to be different across newspapers. The same recruitment type-based dyadic trust

relationships from outsiders at *The Daily Moon* were nearly 50 percent of their total ties,

while *The Daily Sun* was only 21 percent. From this result, the author assumes that *The

Daily Moon* has a diverse workplace culture more open to those from outside

Table 4:   Conditional probabilities of dyadic trust by recruitment across newspapers.

	The Daily Sun	*The Daily Moon*
Starting/Starting	86%	79%
Starting/Non-Starting	14%	21%
Sum	100%	100%
Non-Starting/Non-Starting	21%	47%
Non-Starting/Starting	79%	53%
Sum	100%	100%

the organization.

Lastly, the pattern of dyadic trust relationships by competence was similarly found across newspapers. Compared to gender, academic prestige, and recruitment, there was little variation found in the competence-based dyadic trust relationships. The percentage of ties that journalists with award experience chose peers with the same experience was 59 percent and 49 percent of their total ties, respectively, for the news organizations. Non-awardees' same background preference was also found to be 63 percent and 66 percent of their total ties, respectively, for the news organizations.

ANALYTIC RESULTS

Study 1: Homophily in *The Daily Sun*

Seven models were constructed and tested to achieve the research goal of finding journalists' homophily tendencies in their trust relationships. The baseline model started with two variables, such as density and a network size adjustment. A structural variable

Table 5:   Conditional probabilities of dyadic trust by competence across newspapers.

	The Daily Sun	*The Daily Moon*
Awardees/Awardees	59%	49%
Awardees/Non-awardees	41%	51%
Sum	100%	100%
Non-awardees/Non-awardees	63%	66%
Non-awardees/Awardees	37%	34%
Sum	100%	100%

of density, "a proportion of ties actually exist among all possible ties within the network (Watanabe, 2015; p52)", was added following the lead of prior studies with inferential analysis on social network data (Pahor, Prasnikar, & Ferligoj, 2004; Watanabe, 2015). This simple model informs the homogenous edge probability. In other words, an estimated parameter of the density term indicates whether every trust tie is equally occurring. In addition, the term of network size adjustment was added since this helps network size invariant parametrization, which can produce an accurate estimated parameter on sampled eco-centric network data. If the result from this baseline model confirms the unequal likelihood of trust ties, analysis will be ready to move to the next step of investigating the factors that shape the trust tie in specific ways.

Before adding homophily terms into the model, the author first included nodal covariates of gender, tenure, academic prestige, recruitment, and competence. The model with these covariates demonstrates to what extent each variable influences the degree of trusting ties - a number of trusting partners - which adds more insight on the underlying

mechanism of trust ties among journalists. Then, the following homophily terms were sequentially added into the models: ascribed statuses of gender and tenure were first included in the models, and then achieved statuses of academic prestige, recruitment and competence were added into the models. While ascribed status was commonly found to be a major factor that influences informal relationships in organizational studies, those with achieved statuses reflect a unique value embedded in the local setting of South Korea (Ibarra, 1992; Lincoln & Miller, 1979; Greenberger & Sorenson, 1971). Changes in p-values corresponding to each variable with the addition of new variables will enhance our understanding of how these variables are related to each other in establishing trust relationships among journalists.

During model specifications, Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) diagnoses and Goodness of Fit (GOF) tests were followed to evaluate the quality of the models. The p-value for the MCMC demonstrates the degree of fitness between the simulated value from the fitted model and observed value from data. As the p-value is greater, the model fitness is better. If the p-value for the MCMC was within the range of .05, the model convergence fails, possibly because of the autocorrelation among variables or insufficient data to generate simulated value from the observed data. Meanwhile, the graphical illustration for each parameter also helps model specification at the MCMC diagnose. The difference between the fitted and observed value should be centered around zero, with a bell shape, if the convergence is successful. These diagnoses through statistics and

Table 6:   ERGM results for homophily in trust relationships for *The Daily Sun.*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Network size adjustment	-3.89(0.00)***	-3.89(0.00)***	-3.89(0.00)***	-3.89(0.00)***	-3.89(0.00)***	-3.89(0.00)***	-3.89(0.00)***
Density	1.50(0.09)***	0.84(0.80)	0.86(0.91)	0.47(0.93)	0.52(0.94)	0.64(0.89)	0.34(0.95)
Sex (1=Females)		-0.37(0.29)	-0.16(0.28)	-0.33(0.31)	-0.34(0.30)	-0.32(0.28)	-0.33(0.95)
Sex Homophily			0.43(0.20)*	0.35(0.21)#	0.34(0.21)#	0.36(0.20)#	0.37(0.21)#
Tenure		-0.01(0.02)	-0.01(0.02)	0.03(0.02)	0.03(0.02)	0.03(0.02)	0.03(0.02)
Tenure Homophily(Abs difference)				-0.19(0.03)***	-0.18(0.17)***	-0.18(0.03)***	-0.18(0.04)*
Academic prestige (1=Top-schools)		-0.40(0.23)#	-0.41(0.26)	-0.30(0.24)	-0.32(0.25)	-0.32(0.25)	-0.36(0.27)
Academic prestige Homophily					-0.04(0.17)	-0.04(0.16)	-0.05(0.18)
Recruitment (1=Insiders)		0.16(0.28)	0.16(0.32)	0.36(0.32)	0.36(0.32)	0.17(0.32)	0.13(0.37)
Recruitment Homophily						0.34(0.26)	0.34(0.29)
Competence (1=Awardees)		0.44(0.26)#	0.45(0.28)	0.41(0.27)	0.41(0.27)	0.41(0.26)	0.45(0.26)
Competence Homophily							0.52(0.18)**
degree3		1.13(0.36)	1.14(0.52)	1.26(0.35)	1.27(0.34)	1.27(0.34)	1.27(0.35)
degree4		-0.49(0.59)	0.43(0.20)	-0.33(0.56)	-0.33(0.54)	-0.34(0.56)	-0.33(0.50)
MCMC (p-values)	0.55	0.61	0.30	0.58	0.14	0.46	0.66

***<.001, ** <.01,* < .05, # < .10

Note: The model fitness is better as the p-values for the MCMC are higher.

graphical visualization will offer more insight into how the estimated model properly reflects the observed data.

Furthermore, the GOF test examines any systematic bias in fitting the model by investigating the unobserved statistic of the degree distribution that is not included in the model. The graphical illustration of a box plot confirms the goodness of fit: the dark line in the box plot should be around the center of the boxplots, which represents the median distribution (Van Der Pol, 2018).

The models in Table 6 provide analytic results of ERGM on journalists at *The Daily Sun*. First of all, Model 1 introduced an edge term, which represents density as well as a network size adjustment. As expected, the edge was found to be significantly negative, which means the decreasing density tends to be a function of certain factors, not randomly assigned ties. The significantly negative signs for the edge term were consistently found across models as seen from Table 6.

Furthermore, Figure 2 illustrates the visual results of MCMC and GOF. It is noteworthy that the model does not properly represent the observed data. Degree distribution, which was not included in the model, has some differences between the observed data and the simulated data from the fitted model. For instance, the GOF plot in Figure 3 shows that the fitted model underestimated the number of nodes with degree 3, but overestimated the number of nodes with degree 4. This means that simulated values on the degree 3 (the number of trusting partners, three in this case) are less than observed
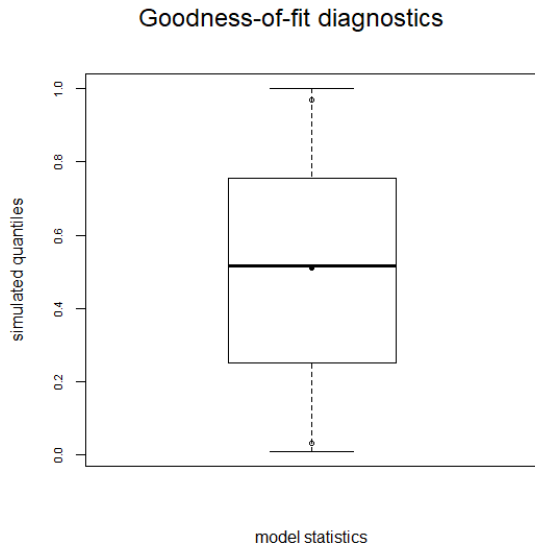
Figure2:   GOF plots for original model.
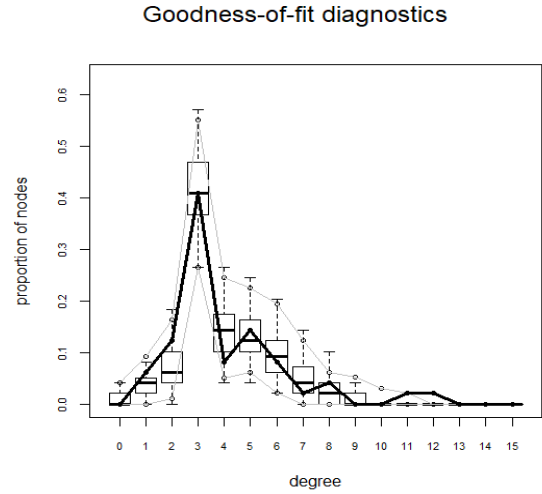

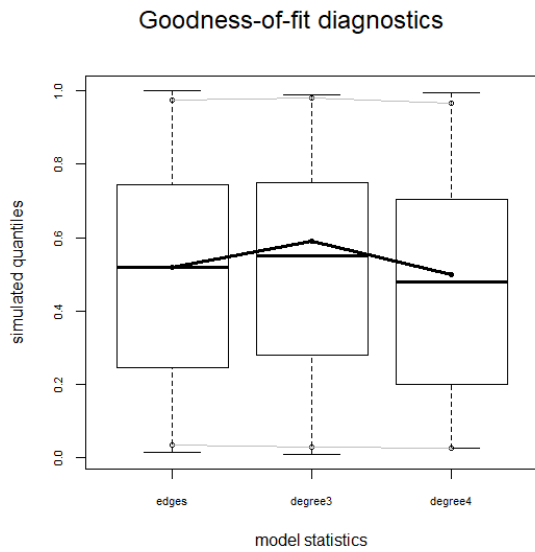Figure 3:   GOF plots for original degree
distribution.

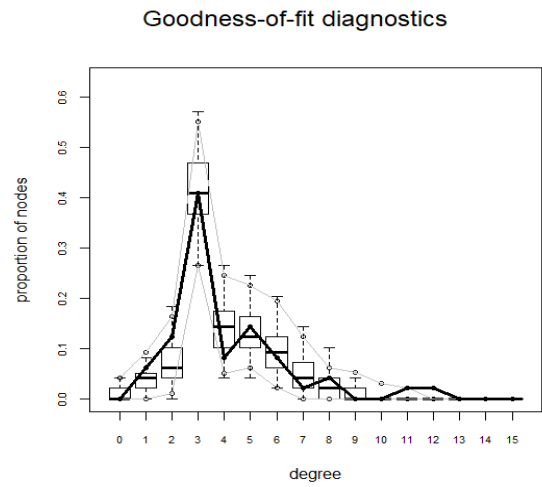Figure 4:   GOF plots for modified model.

Figure 5:   GOF plots for modified
degree distribution.

data, while simulated values on the degree 4 were more than observed data. These differences on the degree 3 and 4 between the simulated values from the fitted model and observed value from data tend to generate the biased results in estimating the homophily effects on the trust relationships. Thus, the author attempted to repair this poorly defined model by fitting the degree term of 3 and 4, which can reduce the differences in the simulated and observed values on degrees 3 and 4.

Now, the modified model fits well with the observed data, as seen from Figure 5. Next, the model was established only with the main effects of gender, tenure, academic prestige, recruitment, and competence. Each nodal covariate demonstrates its influence on establishment of trust-ties. The model 2 in Table 6 presents ERGM results on which factors contributed to trust tie-formation between journalists at *The Daily Sun*. The two main effects of academic prestige and competence were found to be marginally significant in predicting establishment of trust ties. Despite the similarity of these factors as being described as "achieved status", their influence on trust-tie was found to be the opposite. The negative sign for academic prestige indicates that journalists from top schools are less likely than those from non-top schools to establish trust relationships with their peers (b = -.40; p <.10). Possibly, this result is attributed to the nature of top school-based connection that operates on exclusive memberships, suggesting that selective individuals from top-schools maintain their social circles as exclusively as possible, rather than expanding their boundaries. Also, it should be noted that journalists from top schools tend to be more exposed to competition for selective managerial positions in the newsroom than those with non-top schools. It is likely that the

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competitive atmosphere surrounding journalists from top schools may make it difficult for them to find trust partners.

On the other hand, the main effect of competence was found to be positive at a marginally significant level (b = .44; p <.10). The positive sign for competence suggests that journalists who had prior awards experience are more likely than those without prior experience to establish trust relationships with their peers. This piece of evidence should be discussed in recent trends of Korean journalism in which collaborative work becomes essential to produce quality work. Notably, collaborative work increases the chance of receiving journalism awards used as a proxy for individual journalist's competence in this study. It may be true that journalists' competence relies on successful collaboration with their peers, which requires more trust in each person. While both academic prestige and competence represent each journalist's achieved status, their relationship with trust ties in the newsroom displays that they have distinctive attitudes against their peers. They function on the opposite principles, such as exclusivity and embrace. For instance, the top-school connections may benefit their members when the membership operates on exclusivity, while competence may generate more powerful effects when its holders embrace more individuals as members. Adding nodal covariates of gender, tenure, academic prestige, recruitment and competence into the model improves a model fitness as seen from the change in p-values that higher is better.

The Model 3 in Table 6 demonstrates significantly positive effects of gender homophily as expected from the hypothesis. Then, H1, *journalists are more likely to form*

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trust relationships with peers who are of the same gender, was supported (b =.43; p<.05). Drawing from this piece of evidence, one can tell that journalists at *The Daily Sun* tend to trust their peers more when the pair shares the same gender. The gender-based homophily is found to be a key factor that influences the likelihood of the trust relationships in the newsroom. The corresponding probability associated to the coefficient values for gender homophily at *The Daily Sun* is .60. This means that the chance of establishing trust ties is 60 percent greater when journalists at *The Daily Sun* are the same gender. However, the p-value in the MCMC diagnosis indicates that adding the term of gender homophily decreases the model fitness as seen from the decreasing value in the Table. The lower p-value means that differences in the simulated value from the fitted model and observed value from data became greater with an addition of gender homophily. The GOF plots for the model fitness and degree distribution produced satisfactory results.

Another ascribed status of working tenure was added in the following model as seen from the Model 4 in Table 6. The model fitness was greatly improved with the term of working tenure as indicated by the p-value in the MCMC diagnosis. As expected, H2, *journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of the similar tenure*, was supported (b = -.19; p < .01). The significantly negative sign for tenure-based homophily shows that journalists are more likely to form trust ties with their peers as the difference in years of tenure becomes smaller. For instance, individuals with 4 years of tenure are more likely to form trust ties with those with 6 years of tenure than those with 8 years of tenure. Tenure does not only indicate the length of employment as a journalist, but is also associated with their social status in Korean newsrooms. Moreover, since

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journalists with a similar length of career are more likely to interact with each other, they have more chances of sharing collective experiences and socializing. Thus, evidence that tenure-based homophily is prevalent in the newsroom is not an unusual result. The corresponding probability for the tenure homophily was found to be .46. This shows that the chances that journalists establish trust ties with their co-workers are 46 percent greater when the difference in their tenure decreases by one year. The degree distribution simulated from the fitted model was consistent with the one from the observed data. In the meantime, the estimated parameter for gender-based homophily became marginally significant after adding the tenure-based homophily term in Model 4. The change in the variance of gender-based homophily demonstrates that gender and tenure are significantly associated with each other. This result also hints that the influence of tenure on gender is greater than the influence of gender on tenure.

From Model 5, a series of achieved statuses was tested to find their influence on journalists' homophily tendency on trust relationships. Considering the importance of educational backgrounds for the social relationship in South Korea, the term of academic prestige was first introduced into the model among achieved statuses. However, the estimated parameter for the academic prestige-based homophily was not found to be significant, which rejected H3 that *journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of the similar academic prestige in their educational backgrounds*. However, estimated parameters for gender and tenure remained little changed. In addition, it should be noted that the model poorly fits the observed data as seen from both MCMC statistics and GOF plots. The p-value from MCMC significantly decreased, compared to

the Model 4. Figure 7 shows that the model underestimated the nodes with degree 5, which represent journalists with five trust partners.

The term of recruitment type was added to Model 6 to assess whether the type of recruitment generates homophily tendency in trust relationships among journalists. The result seen from Table 3 demonstrates that the estimated parameter for the recruitment type-based homophily was not significant. H4, *journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of the same type of recruitment*, was rejected. The estimated parameter for tenure was found to be consistent with the ones found in prior models. The coefficient for gender was slightly greater in Model 6 than the prior model. The p-value for Model 6, which was drawn from MCMC diagnosis, indicates that the model fitness was significantly improved with an addition of recruitment type based homophily.

Lastly, Model 7 examined whether competence is a good indicator of homophily in trust relationships among journalists. Despite the importance of competence in the communities of practice as a criterion for members to embrace new members, there has been little investigation on the competence in a newsroom setting. Little was known about the influence of journalistic competence and its influence on trust relationships among journalists. Then, H5, *journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of the same level of competence*, was tested here. Results in Table 3 demonstrates that H5 was supported (b = .52; p < .01). The result implies that journalists with competence are more likely to choose those with the same caliber as their trusting

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partners. The corresponding probability for the estimated value for the competence

homophily shows that the chances for journalists to establish trust relationships are 40

percent greater when both journalists possess the same level of competence. With the

term of competence-based homophily, the model fitness was greatly improved as seen

from the p-values from the MCMC statistics. So far, Model 7 with competence

homophily was the best-fitted model. The values for parameters of gender-based

homophily and tenure-based homophily remained little changed in Model 7.

Study 2: Homophily in *The Daily Moon*

The same analytic procedure was applied to investigate the homophily tendency

among journalists at *The Daily Moon*. Despite the similarities between the two

newspapers, the differences between *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon* on their

organizational culture, the level of workforce diversity, and each organization's history

may not produce the same results. A separate analysis using ERGM on each

organizational data presents unique opportunities to assess how and why differences are

drawn since the inferential analysis on organizational data limits its implications on that

particular organization.

First of all, Model 1 in Table 7 started with only edge terms the same as before

when homophily effects in *The Daily Sun* were investigated. The same result holds as the

one from *The Daily Sun* that the estimated parameter of the edge term was found to be

significantly negative. The pattern of GOF diagnosis on model fitness was also found to

Table 7:   ERGM results for homophily in trust relationships for *The Daily Moon.*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model3	Model4	Model5	Model6	Model 7
Network size adjustment	-3.64(0.00)***	-3.64(0.00)***	-3.64(0.00)***	-3.64(0.00)***	-3.64(0.00)***	-3.64(0.00)***	-3.64(0.00)***
Density	1.37(0.01)***	1.06(1.07)	1.10(1.20)	2.53(1.40)	2.54(1.48)	2.41(1.42)	2.15(1.37)
Sex (1=Females)		0.05(0.38)	-0.15(0.46)	-0.15(0.62)	-0.16(0.61)	-0.15(0.64)	-0.09(0.63)
Sex Homophily			0.38(0.19)*	0.49(0.22)*	0.54(0.27)*	0.49(0.30)	0.37(0.29)
Tenure		0.01(0.02)	0.01(0.02)	0.01(0.03)	0.01(0.03)	0.01(0.03)	0.01(0.03)
Tenure Homophily				-0.28(0.05)***	-0.28(0.05)***	-0.29(0.05)***	-0.28(0.05)***
Academic prestige (1=Top-schools)		-0.11(0.24)	-0.11(0.29)	0.07(0.36)	0.09(0.37)	0.14(0.39)	0.14(0.38)
Academic prestige Homophily					-0.13(0.23)	-0.14(0.24)	-0.17(0.24)
Recruitment (1=Insiders)		0.19(0.35)	0.19(0.40)	0.23(0.44)	0.24(0.45)	-0.06(0.46)	-0.07(0.45)
Recruitment homophily						0.75(0.36)*	0.77(0.37)*
Competence (1=Awardees)		0.15(0.32)	0.16(0.36)	-0.14(0.44)	-0.16(0.43)	-0.16(0.42)	-0.09(0.405)
Competence homophily							0.37(0.22)#
Degree3		1.25(0.39)***	1.38(0.38)***	1.27(0.37)***	1.36(0.38)***	1.53(0.36)***	1.52(0.36)***
Degree4		-0.99(0.83)	-1.00(0.79)	-0.90(0.79)	-0.90(0.80)	-0.88(0.77)	-0.89(0.76)
MCMC (p-values)	0.88	0.41	0.77	0.76	0.21	0.77	0.37

***<.001, ** <.01,* < .05, # < .10

remain the same while the levels of difference changed. As seen from Figure 4, the nodes

with degree 3 were nderestimated and the nodes with degree 4 were slightly

overestimated in the simulated results of degree distribution drawn from the fitted model.

Then, the model was modified by fitting data on nodes with degree 3 and 4. In addition,

no nodal covariates were proved to be a factor contributing to the degree of trusting

partners for the *Daily Moon,* while academic prestige and competence were found to be

marginally significant in terms of their influence on the number of trust partners.

It may be difficult to predict why *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon* have

different estimation of marginal effects of nodal covariates. However, there are possible

explanations for that difference. First, the intensity of competition inside each newsroom

can affect how journalists are connected with each other. As discussed earlier, journalists'

educational background between the two newspapers is quite different, because more

than half the workforce at *The Daily Moon* is journalists from top schools, exclusive

membership may no longer be applicable at the *Daily Moon*. Second, the collaborative

work process may be different at the two newspapers. For instance, if a topic-team based

system is well-institutionalized, such as by having more managerial support for the

collaboration, there may be little incentive for journalists to establish trust to pursue

collaborative works. There should be more explanation for this significant difference

between two news organizations.

Model 3 in Table 7 shows gender-based homophily for journalists at *The Daily*

Moon. H1 for *The Daily Moon*, *Journalists are more likely to form trust relationships*

with peers who are of the same gender, was supported (b = .38; p < .05). The finding is consistent with the one found in *The Daily Sun.* Gender plays a critical role in establishing the trust relationship among journalists at *The Daily Moon.* The corresponding probability for the estimated parameter of gender homophily reveals that journalists are 62 percent more likely to form a trust relationship with someone when their gender is the same. The difference is only 2 percent. Gender homophily at *The Daily Moon* is slightly higher than the one at *The Daily Sun*. With the addition of gender homophily, the estimated model fits the observed data better than Model 2, which does not have a homophily term. MCMC and GOF diagnosis found no systemic bias on the estimated model.

Model 4 in Table 7 provides evidence of tenure-based homophily for journalists at *The Daily Moon.* The finding that journalists make a trust connection with their peers based on their tenure supports H2 (b = - .28; p<.001). The corresponding probability for the tenure-based homophily is 43 percent. While both *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon* found a strong tendency of tenure-based homophily in the trust relationship, the impact of tenure on gender becomes somewhat different across models. For instance, the estimated parameter of gender homophily for *The Daily Moon* still remained significant and the coefficient became greater than that in Model 3 while it became marginally significant at *The Daily Sun.* Possibly, the different composition, of female journalists with a higher tenure, may have led to these dissimilarities.

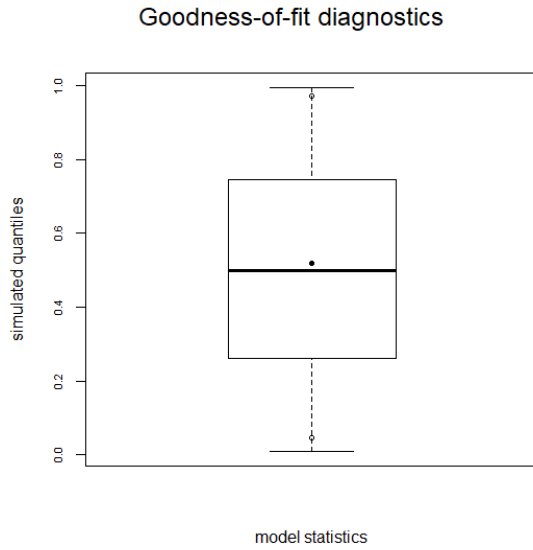Figure 6:   GOF plots for original models.

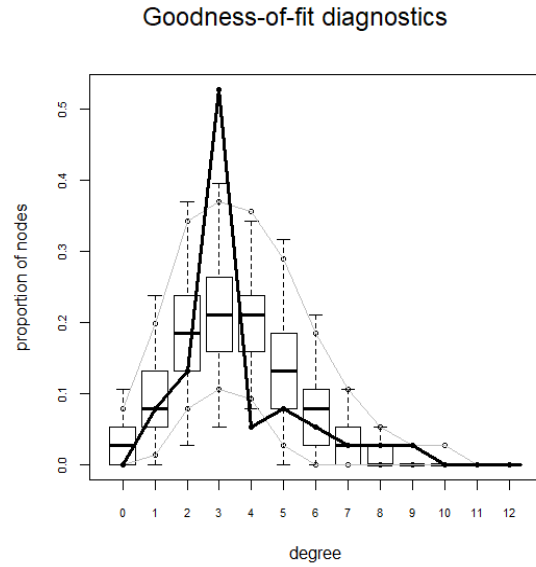Figure 7:   GOF plots for original degree distribution.
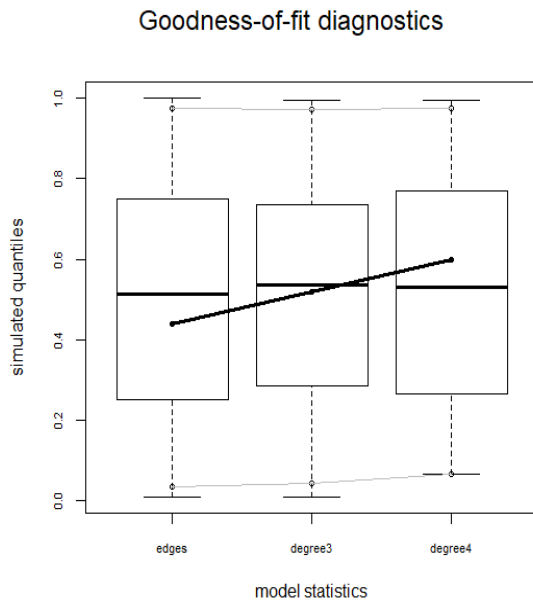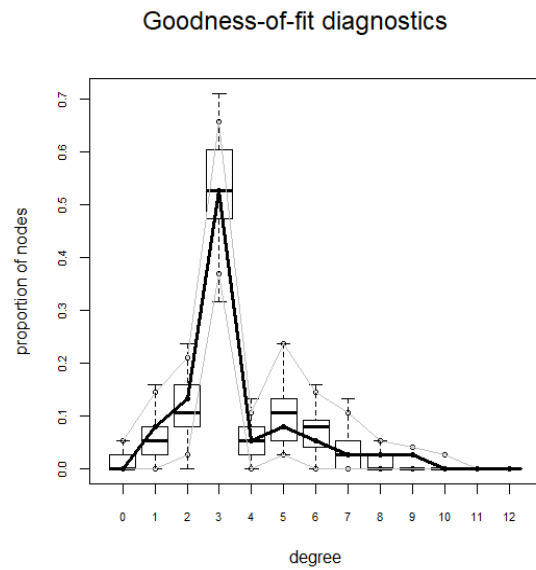

Figure 8:   GOF plots for modified models.

Figure 9:   GOF plots for modified degree distribution.

Academic prestige-based homophily was also not found in *The Daily Moon* as seen from Model 5 in Table 7.Then, H3, *journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers whoare of the similar academic prestige in their educational backgrounds*, was rejected. Not only do these two organizations share analytic results on academic prestige-based homophily, but they also have a similar pattern of the model fitness. The model fitness greatly decreased with the addition of the term that represents academic prestige-based homophily. These results raise questions about academic prestige as the potential driver for trust establishment. Also, it may be possible that academic prestige-based trust should be specifically categorized in terms of each school, instead of one grouping into top schools. Further discussion should be conducted on the variable of academic presrige-based homophily.

In addition, there was a striking contrast found between the two organizations in terms of recruitment type-based homophily. Model 6 in Table 7 shows that recruitment type-based homophily is significantly significant. Thus, H4, *journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of the same type of recruitment*, was supported (b = .75; p< .05). The corresponding probability for the recruitment type-based homophily was 68 percent, meaning that journalists form trust relationships with their peers 68 percent more likely when they shared the same recruitment type. So far, recruitment type has a higher corresponding probability than gender or tenure. Considering the workforce diversity on recruitment types, it is noteworthy that *The Daily Moon* had greater diversity in recruitment types than did *The Daily Sun*. A considerable number of journalists recruited from other organizations may encourage journalists to

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form their own groups. Meanwhile, gender-based homophily became non-significant with the addition of recruitment based homophily. The change in variances of gender-based homophily gives a clue that there may be a significant relationship between gender and recruitment types.

Lastly, Model 7 in Table 7 shows competence-based homophily, which was found to be marginally significant (b = .37; p <.10). This result at *The Daily Moon* is somewhat different from that at *The Daily Sun*, where competence was found to be a significant determinant for the trust ties. The addition of competence-based homophily took up some variances from gender- based homophily, as seen from the change in coefficient of gender-based homophily, while others remained little changed. This addition lowers the model fitness.

Comparing all models across newspapers, tenure was found to be the strongest predictor of the trust homophily in South Korean journalists. The tenure-based homophily was not only statistically significant across *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon*, but also its significance remained the same across models with different sets of variables. Tenure as a driving force for trust relationships among journalists suggests that managing generational diversity is an impending issue for newsroom management. On the other hand, competence was found to be statistically significant at *The Daily Sun* and marginally statistically significant at *The Daily Moon*. Since competence is a crucial element of building trust in the workplace where social relationships are inevitably formed with a robust goal-oriented purpose, it may not be surprising to find the
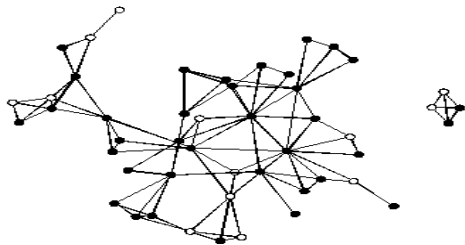
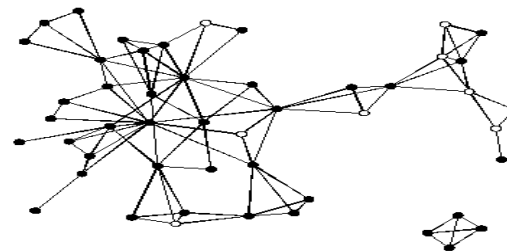Figure 10: *The Daily Sun* by gender.

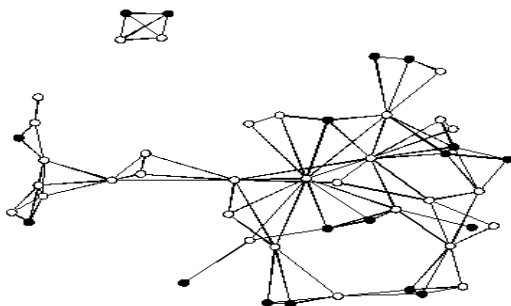Figure 12: *The Daily Sun* by recruitment.
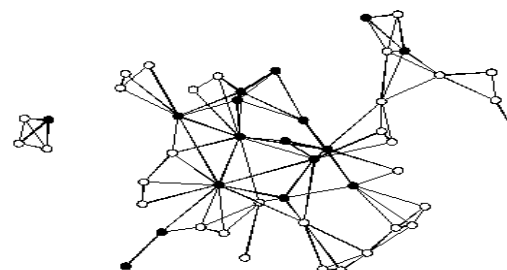

Figure 11: *The Daily Sun* by academic prestige.

Figure 13: *The Daily Sun* by competence.

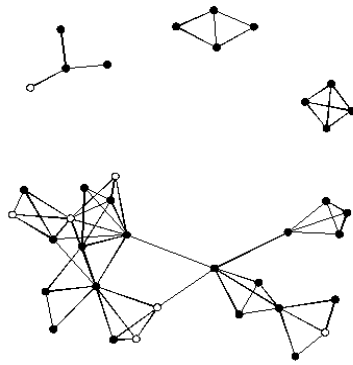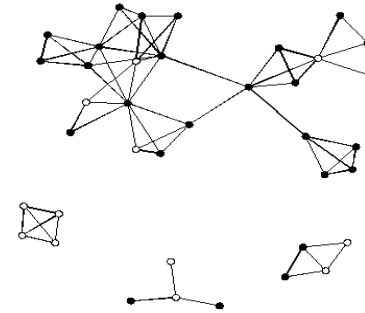Figure 14:   *The Daily Moon* by gender.

Figure 15:   *The Daily Moon* by academic prestige.

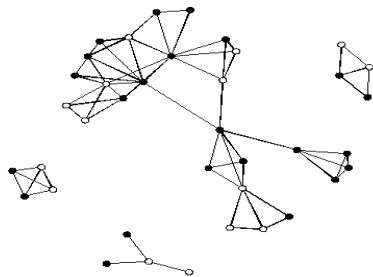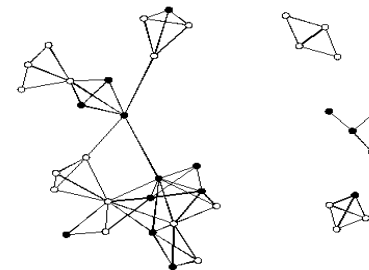Figure 16:   *The Daily Moon* by recruitment.

Figure 17:   *The Daily Moon* by competence.

Table 8: Cross-tabulations on dyadic trust by gender, academic prestige, recruitment, and competence across newspapers.

		Gender		Academic prestige		Recruitment		Competence	
		Female	Male	Non-Top Schools	Top schools	Non-starting	Starting	Non-awardees	Awardees
Gender	Female	32%(25%)	68%(75%)						
	Male	20%(17%)	80%(83%)						
Academic prestige	Non-Top Schools			71%(39%)	29%(61%)				
	Top Schools			72%(38%)	28%(62%)				
Recruitment	Non-starting					21%(47%)	79%(53%)		
	Starting					14%(21%)	86%(79%)		
Competence	Non-awardees							63%(66%)	37%(34%)
	Awardees							41%(51%)	59%(49%)

Note: Figures without brackets represent *The Daily Sun* and the figures with brackets represent *The Daily Moon*.

Table 9: Hypotheses testing results for *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon.*

Hypotheses	*The Daily Sun* (Study 1)	*The Daily Moon* (Study 2)
H1) Journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of the same gender.	Accepted	Rejected
H2) Journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of the similar tenure.	Accepted	Accepted
H3) Journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of the similar academic prestige in their educational backgrounds.	Rejected	Rejected
H4) Journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of the same type of recruitment	Rejected	Accepted
H5) Journalists are more likely to form trust relationships with peers who are of the same level of competence.	Accepted	Rejected

competence-based homophily in the newsroom. In particular, the result is consistent with

a prior finding that individual competence plays a crucial role in connecting members in

the communities of practice as it influences trust relationships among coworkers (Wenger,

1998).

Meanwhile, gender-based homophily was found to be statistically significant

across *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon* in models with no additional homophily terms.

However, the term of gender homophily at *The Daily Sun* became marginally significant

with an addition of the term of tenure homophily, while its significance at *The Daily Moon* also disappeared as the models developed further. These results suggest that gender-based homophily was not a significant force to establish trust ties among journalists. There are possibilities that its impact partly owes to other factors, which leaves more investigation as to what extent gender-based homophily is contingent upon other factors.

The most striking contrast between *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon* was recruitment-based homophily that journalists tend to establish their trust ties based on their recruitment type. While journalists from *The Daily Sun* do not have a disposition of recruitment- based homophily, those from *The Daily Moon* demonstrated a statistically significant tendency of the recruitment-based homophily. The descriptive result that *The Daily Moon* has more journalists recruited from other companies at their mid-career than does *The Daily Sun* suggests a possible relationship between this workforce composition and its impact on the recruitment-based homophily.

However, academic prestige-based homophily was not found to be a significant predictor for trust ties among journalists across both newspapers. The addition of the term of academic prestige into the models significantly worsened the model fitness, which leaves much inquiry on the operationalization of academic prestige and requires further theoretical development on the impact of academic prestige on the trust ties among journalists.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The implications of this study can provide interesting discussion points for further scholarly inquiry about journalists' informal socialization. The major contribution of the current study is two-fold. First, the current study sheds light on the importance of interpersonal trust in the newsroom, while there has been little attention to trust as an underlying mechanism for journalists' socialization. Among many types of informal relations, a particular interest in trust is based on its contributing role of overcoming individual differences to connect those with diverse backgrounds. As presented by studies on other professions, interpersonal trust reduces uncertainty embedded in social relations (Mizruchi & Stearns, 2000) and facilitates the exchange of opinions, knowledge, and skills (McFadyen & Cannela, 2004; Zaheer, McEvily & Perrone, 1998). Collectively, the organizations reap the benefits of increased trust among employees in the form of high-level employee satisfaction and organizational productivity (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Yli-Renko, Autio, & Sapienza, 2001). Despite these positive outcomes from established trust in the workplace, trust has been largely ignored and marginalized in scholarly interests in journalism practice. Possibly, the intense competition among journalists contributes to the lack of interest in interpersonal trust. As Cook (1998) pointed out, journalists compete against their peers to occupy the front pages by selling their ideas and stories to their editors every day. De Vreese (2003) compared this nature of the newsroom to the market competition where limited resources (e.g. news holes and time) inevitably generate intense competition.

Consequently, there might not be much value on interpersonal relationships and trust in newsrooms, as Argyris (1974) pointed out in his study on the prestigious newspapers in the U.S. Also, it should be noted that the newsroom workforce had historically remained relatively homogeneous until groups of minorities started to enter the news industry. This homogeneous nature of the newsroom workforce tends to be more intense in South Korea because the labor market of the news media industry has remained less flexible than the one in Western countries with a limited level of labor mobility inhibiting journalists from moving across news outlets. In a given situation, it may be little incentive for media professionals to exploit trust in the newsroom. Consequently, there has remained little interest in how journalists establish trust with their peers and benefit from the interpersonal trust to achieve their professional goals.

However, the recent changes in the South Korean news industry highlight trust as a valuable resource for news organizations for its role in reducing the uncertainty surrounding the industry. First, the increased complexity in the newsroom workforce, including gender, seniority, academic backgrounds, and types of recruitment, tends to bring cultural tension and conflict. Historically, South Korea's major news outlets had comfortably grown within a collusive partnership with the military dictatorship that ruled the country for about 30 years. Strict government regulation that limited entry of new media outlets guaranteed journalists' life-time employment by suppressing market competition for decades. However, news outlets needed to embrace competition-based corporate culture and norms to survive in intense market competition, as the

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government's restriction on new media outlets was lifted upon the end of the dictatorship.

This market pressure changed news organizations' HR policies to reduce the financial

burden on training newbies by recruiting more mid-career journalists. This talent

recruitment battle among news outlets inevitably put more value on journalistic

competence. Combined with the advancement of females in the news media industry, the

South Korean newsroom has become more diverse ever, compared to past decades.

These internal changes require effective tools to bond diverse workforces to minimize

adverse effects of the increased diversity. The interest in the trust is timely because trust

is a facilitator of intergroup interaction that can enhance newsroom practice and help

media survive and thrive in a competitive environment (Moore, 2018).

Besides, it should be noted that more collaborative chances to produce journalistic

products generate a strong need for establishing trust among those with diverse

backgrounds to fulfill the mission of collaborative work systems. Journalists are no

longer "lone wolves" that hunts news stories by themselves, but instead, they work in a

pack to survive in the changing media environment. For major news outlets, their

traditional role in delivering breaking news has been weakened because of online

competitors in the new era of news media. Instead, they find their own ways to attract an

audience from in-depth and investigative reporting that requires a higher level of

collaboration among journalists (Neveu, 2014; Pavlik, 2013). More so, diverse forms of

collaboration across entities with different backgrounds occur widely, such as

collaboration between online and offline newsrooms (Quinn, 2004), between media

(Dailey, Demo, & Spillman, 2005), and between editorial and business workforces

(Quinn, 2004). Combined with the increased complexity inside the newsroom, these

changes leave more managerial tasks to integrate individuals with different backgrounds

into one team. Trust deserves its value in addressing concerns that arise from growing

opportunities for interactions among diverse individuals in journalism. The current study

may pave the way to further investigation on journalists' trust and its impact on the

newsroom.

Second, the current study examined homophily in journalists' trust relationships.

Homophily has received much attention from organizational scholars for both its positive

or negative influences on employees in the workplace. In-group biases as a consequence

of homophily facilitate sharing knowledge and skillsets among those who share similar

characteristics (Currarini & Mengel, 2016), but those individuals outside inner circles

may be victimized by out-group biases (Lamertz & Aquino, 2004; Stark, Flache, &

Veenstra, 2013; Woodson, 2014). In particular, the principle of homophily can function

as a discriminatory act against minority groups when the demographic composition in the

workplace is skewed to one particular group. Considering this nature of homophily in the

workplace, the growing number of minority groups in the South Korean newsroom serves

as a unique testing ground and as a double-edged sword for journalism scholars. The

increasing number of journalists with diverse gender, culture, or academic backgrounds

brings new ideas and insights that can benefit journalists in the newsroom. At the same

time, newsrooms can experience more tension and conflict as the emergence of minority

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groups can threaten those who hold newsroom hegemony (Meyers & Gayle, 2015; Rivas-Rodriguez et al., 2004). In fact, media journals in South Korea have begun to report increasing tension and conflict among journalists across diverse gender, seniority, and educational backgrounds. These pieces of anecdotal evidence require further scholarly investigation on whether journalists' interaction stays within their own circle or reaches across circles. The current study may be among the first scholarly efforts to respond to this inquiry from the perspective of homophily in the tradition of diversity management in journalism studies. In particular, the primary focus of this study is to examine the trust relationship among many forms of informal relationship because trust transcends socio-demographic boundaries in inter-group interaction (Ferrin et al., 2006). Thus, implications from the current study can benefit newsroom managers for their efforts of managing diverse newsroom personnel.

STATUS-BASED HOMOPHILY

Countries, such as South Korea are in the infant stage when it comes to workplace diversity. The country has maintained its ethnic homogeneity for a long time, and authoritarian culture has oppressed voices from those in the dominated groups with less power and control (Rowley, 2013). Thus, the depth of research on how employees with diverse backgrounds interact is very slim compared to the countries with a rich history of minorities such as the U.S. Thus, one must rely on evidence from those countries that have already experienced tensions and conflicts caused from the increased diversity in the workplace when the researchers aim to understand the emerging complexity in South

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Korean newsrooms. Prior studies on gender and workplace socialization in other countries can provide some navigating roles in finding its effects on South Korean journalists' informal relationships as gender was commonly found to be a determinant of workplace homophily (Bielby & Barson, 1986; Kalleberg et al., 1997).

However, there is a strong need to address some unique local characteristics that can reflect the cultural traits of East Asian countries, including South Korea. This is because these countries have distinctive cultural backgrounds that can orient individuals to establish and maintain a social relationship in specific ways that differ from Western countries. Thus, the current study examined seniority, educational backgrounds, and types of recruitment. More than that, journalistic competence was examined to represent the unique domain of journalism practice. The newsroom is the place where journalists get together to achieve their professional goals. This contextual information offers journalistic competence as a primary component of newsroom practice and interaction, as some journalism scholars emphasize in the theory of *communities of practice*, in which learning and harnessing skills sets and knowledge are essential for journalists to achieve their goals in a newsroom (García-Avilés, 2014; Meltzer & Martik, 2017; Weiss & Domingo, 2010). In a given situation, journalists are more likely to consider journalistic competence as a crucial factor for their decisions to establish and maintain a relationship with their peers in the newsroom. Factors, such as seniority, educational backgrounds, types of recruitment, and journalistic competence, have mainly been ignored in the literature on homophily in the workplace because the studies in other countries do not

represent the unique nature of workplace setting in East Asian countries. Thus, assessing those factors will expand the theoretical boundaries of homophily into the unchartered areas in global settings.

In particular, the current study compensates for shortcomings from prior studies on diversity management by shifting the primary interest from the "number game" among diverse workforces to the interaction among those diverse groups. In many cases, the focus of diversity studies in journalism is whether the newsroom composition proportionally represents societal demographics (Dedman & Doig, 2005; McGill, 2000). Understanding of diversity is usually limited to a mechanical calculation of the demographic composition of the newsroom; to what extent the growing minority groups in newsrooms actually interact with the majority has been ignored, even though interaction is a key mechanism for integration (Gravengaard & Rimestad, 2014). Thus, little is known about how diverse workforces in newsrooms blend. Gravengaard and Rimestad (2014, p 83) contended that journalists' socialization remains "a black box". It is unclear whether the increasing diversity in newsrooms generates positive effects, or brings tension and conflict into the newsroom. Evidence that journalists selectively establish their trust relationships with peers who share similar tenure, competence, and recruitment types raised a question about whether newsrooms can reap the benefits from increasing diversity in the newsroom.

Before advancing into results drawn from the inferential analysis, it should be noted that the two studied newspapers have some key differences that may affect the

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informal relationship among peers. As a reminder, the current study labeled each news organization with *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon* in similar ways that other studies protected organizational identities with the pseudonyms because of the sensitive nature of the questions (Evans, 2013; Hoppe & Reinelt, 2010). *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon* are direct competitors, targeting the same geographical market, but differ on key characteristics, The newspapers share some cultural traits that shape their journalists' attitude and behavior However, among key organizational demographics, seniority and academic prestige have been found to be statistically different for *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon.* Their differences in average tenure and educational backgrounds among their journalists may be one of the noticeable factors at the organizational level that can influence informal socialization among journalists.

First, the descriptive analysis shows that average tenure at *The Daily Sun* is shorter than the one at *The Daily Moon,* which indicates that members of *The Daily Sun* are younger compared to *The Daily Moon.* This difference may lead to establishing a distinct cultural orientation towards gender equality issues and performance-based rewards systems. For instance, aging effects were found in South Koreans' perception of gender roles in decision-making (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2016). According to the survey results from the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family in South Korea (2016), older generations are more likely to stereotype gender roles than younger generations. In addition, the performance-based rewards system was preferred by younger employees than their older counterparts (Chung, 2002; Ng, Schweitzer, &

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Lyons, 2010). Partly, the cultural orientation reflects a generational gap found in South Korean society where generational conflict becomes a major social conflict (Park, 2010). On the other hand, journalists' educational backgrounds also were found to be statistically different between the two organizations. Considering the ratio of top-school graduates, one may say that *The Daily Moon* exhibits more elite characteristics than *The Daily Sun*. Because academic backgrounds represent an achieveded status, which individuals earn by their efforts, journalists in both newspapers may have different perceptions of academic prestige and journalistic competence. For instance, journalists who graduated from less-prestigious colleges may prioritize professional competence over academic backgrounds, while those who graduated from elite schools may consider academic prestige as a more important status symbol than professional expertise.

Tenure

Among key variables, the tenure-based homophily was the most dominant informal mechanism that governs journalists' trust relationship in newsrooms. Tenure was measured in years of individuals work as a journalist, and this may undoubtedly tie journalists together when it comes to shared values and experience at work (Andersson & Wadbring, 2015). In a similar vein, the effects of shared values and experiences on informal relationships are often found in studies on age-based homophily: Individuals within similar ranges of age tend to have more social interactions and friendships with each other (Feld, 1982; Fischer, 1977; Sampson, 1984; Verbrugge, 1977). While the generational gap has been commonly found at any workplace in different cultural settings

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and different time periods, the current generational gap observed in the news media industry across countries may have resulted from the financial downturn of the news media from the late 1990s through 2000s, when a hiring freeze changed the aging structure of the newsroom (Compton & Benedett, 2010; Reinardy, 2016; Weaver & Willnat, 2012). In particular, massive layoffs and hiring freezes during the decline of the newspaper industry may exacerbate the generational gap because of a lack of people who act as generational liaisons between old and young journalists (Weaver & Willnat, 2012). Thus, tenure-based homophily tends to be a universal phenomenon for global newsrooms that have had a painful experience of massive layoffs.

However, tenure is more than a shared experience or values in countries, such as South Korea where a hierarchical culture exists. In South Korea, tenure is often identified as a salient status that distinguishes employees with high status from those with low status (Seo, Leather, & Coyne, 2012). Undoubtedly, the status of tenure represents a high status in the workplace. A long tenure on the job is considered as one of the important characteristics for newsroom leaders (Kim & Kim, 1989). Many South Korean newspapers institutionalize the tenure-based social mechanism, and journalists' promotion is associated with their tenure (Jung, 2002). Journalists with a longer tenure tend to receive some increased level of respect from their peers as a senior (*sunbae* in local language) (Seo, Leather, & Coyne, 2012). Organizational tenure in South Korea means power and status beyond the shared experience found in other countries. These characteristics embedded in organizational tenure may easily generate homophily in

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South Korean newsrooms because of increased familiarity and bondS found in similar tenure groups (Kim & Kang, 2016). Evidence in this study supports the argument that newsroom homophily is a function of tenure. Combined with hegemonic power and shared experiences, organizational tenure undoubtedly generates status-based homophily in a South Korean workplace, which the current study supports.

The limited level of inter-generational trust in the newsroom can be explained by several factors. First, the pace of social change, especially the pace of change led by technological advancement, may broaden and consolidate the perceptual difference between younger and older generations. Erickson (2008) attributed the increasing generational conflict in the workplace to a widening gap in their perception of societal change. The younger generation tends to be more tolerant of societal changes than older counterparts, accepting new norms and culture. For instance, this age effect in psychological adaptation to the new ideas, norms, and culture was found among younger generations because their inexperience with the existing norms and culture allows them to support the inclusion of diverse groups with minority status, such as ethnic groups, immigrants and those in the LGBT community (Janmaat & Keating, 2019; Kim, Kang, & Lee, 2014). The generational gap widens as the speed of societal change becomes greater because of the rapid development of information technology. The stark difference in generational viewpoints on societal change has now reached an alarming level and has in fact gained a good deal of attention from scholars (Dencker, Joshi, & Martocchio, 2007; Hewlett et al., 2009; Lie & Park, 2006). Now, the younger generation tends to seek

knowledge within their age cohort rather than directly contacting older generations. They tend to put a greater value on the amount and quality of information available on the Internet than information gained through personal contact (Weiler, 2005). The lack of inter-generational trust in the newsroom can be interpreted as an upshot of the information revolution around the world.

Seniority-based homophily in the South Korean newsroom reflects the country's unique cultural background. Denney (2015), in describing the changing pace of South Korea, stated that the country has experienced "compressed modernity" or "hyper modernization." In Korea's rapid modernization in politics, economics, and culture, the younger generation is now challenging the long-dominant cultural norm of collectivism (Hwang, 2003; Koo, Han, & Kim, 1999). Evidence of the impending collapse of this old value can be observed in the most bureaucratic organizations (Kim & Ha, 1997). A generational conflict in the workplace can be aggravated by heightened job competition (Park, 2011). Furthermore, the unique working environment in the South Korean news industry may help journalists rely more on seniority as a cue for trust than journalists in Western countries. Most news outlets in South Korea adopt the seniority-based promotion system and assign journalists with higher levels of seniority to managerial positions in the newsroom, instead of assigning them to news beats. This job assignment of senior journalists can thwart inter-generational trust among journalists. Indeed, mutual understanding cannot be achieved when there is a lack of direct interaction between junior and senior journalists. A reverse mentorship that younger journalists mentor their

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seniors on issues, such as the adoption of technology for news reporting, may fulfill its functional role of expanding mutual understanding. This reverse mentoring may not only foster knowledge exchange, but also promote cross-generational relationships (Murphy, 2012). However, institutional efforts in encouraging inter-generational trust, however, have been rarely witnessed in the South Korean newsroom.

In addition, tenure-based homophily in newsrooms brings sizable concerns about generational conflicts as South Korean newsrooms increasingly face aging workforce issues (Hyun, Kang, & Lee, 2016; Kim, 2017). As of 2018, South Korea has entered into a phase of an aged society. Reflecting on the fact that society as a whole becomes aged, the newsroom workforce has been rapidly filled with more senior journalists in recent years (Bang, 2018; Korea Press Foundation, 2018). According to the Korea Press Foundation (2018), numbers of journalists over age 50 have doubled since 2010. However, South Korean newsrooms do not seem to know how to utilize their senior workforce who was not promoted to managerial positions. Those senior journalists struggle to adjust to the new roles assigned to them because their functioning role is not clearly defined (Kim, 2017; Sung, 2013). Senior journalists are sometimes blamed by their younger counterparts for light workloads (Kim, 2017; Sung, 2013). Largely, the differences in workload are attributed to remnants of hierarchical culture in the South Korean newsroom where juniors feel pressured to give job assignments to seniors and seniors are not expected to carry a heavy workload (Kim, 2017; Sung, 2013).

Generational tensions also have intensified as compensational issues directly affect journalists' salary (Kang, 2016). In particular, young journalists stressed the need to reform the tenure-based salary system as the aging newsroom has become a financial burden for news organizations (Kang, 2016). In the meantime, this tenure-based segregation in informal relationships suggests a structural weakness of South Korean newsrooms that fail to form the inter-generational trust. Unlike journalists in the U.S., journalists in South Korea tend to leave news beats and prefer managerial roles as their tenure increases while this cultural norm is steadily being changed (Kim, 2017). This inevitably inhibits frequent communication between seniors and juniors. Also, decreased social gatherings (*hwe-sik* in local language) after work may prevent the mutual understanding between senior and junior journalists because social gatherings of *hwe-sik* historically have brought employees together and positively contributed to finding common grounds between seniors and junior employees (Shim, 2017). However, social gatherings after work have lost their traditional role of bonding employees as young employees prioritize work-life balance and consider social gatherings as another round of work (Shim, 2017). Thus, tenure-based homophily in trust relationships currently witnessed in South Korea is more likely to be involved in the recent changes to the work environment, bringing more concerns beyond a prevalent workplace generational tension. The tenure-based segregation in informal relationships will severely damage organizational capacity as a knowledge community because it tends to limit the transmission of craftsmanship from senior to junior journalists.

Competence

The result that competence, measured by the journalism award experience, was found to be significant for *The Daily Sun* and marginally significant for *The Daily Moon,* partially supporting the hypothesis that a trust relationship is a function of journalists' competence. This result illustrates that journalists establish some trust networks based on a similar level of journalists' competence. Despite the varying degree of the influential role of competency, this variable was the second-most influential factor that contributes to the establishment of trust among journalists. Individual competence is a key element of trust relationship (Butler, 1991; Butler & Cantrell, 1984; Kee & Knox, 1970; Lieberman, 1981). In particular, business contexts in the work setting add more value to competence to the workplace trust relationship because interpersonal trust at work is established on the personal belief that a trusted partner fulfills their duty of work (Sako, 1992). The theory of *communities of practice* emphasizes that individual competence is a key criterion as to whether the communities accept new members (Wenger, 2010). The result drawn from the current study is consistent with prior findings that competency is a central part of an informal relationship in the workplace, supporting evidence in organizational trust and network theory (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Hwang et al., 2016; Lieberman, 1981; Singh & Srivastava, 2009; Wenger, 2010).

More than that, combined with evidence that academic prestige (*hakbol*) has no statistical significance in establishing journalists' trust, the result brings some new insights to newsroom management in how competency can be used as a valuable resource for their journalists to produce better quality journalism. For instance, the result may

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provide some cues for newsroom managers on how to shuffle their journalists in creating a team-based system. Instead of personal preferences, teams can be made by journalists with diverse levels of expertise and knowledge, which may result in increased collective competence if their ties are built upon trust and enable knowledge-sharing. On the other hand, the result that competence-based homophily was not found at *The Daily Moon* brings a further intriguing inquiry on the underlying mechanism of competence-based homophily in newsrooms.

The finding that competence determines informal trust relationships in newsrooms supports the recent argument that journalists are communities of practice where a level of expertise and knowledge is a critical element of journalists' relationship (Matsaganis & Katz, 2013; Meltzer & Martik, 2017; Weiss & Domingo, 2010). In this networked community, professional competence pertinent to technical capabilities, skills, and know-how is widely respected because the business context inevitably characterizes social relationships in the workplace as being goal-oriented associations (Ross, 1997). People are motivated to work to achieve their professional goals, not to build friendships in the workplace. Thus, demonstrating appropriate expertise, knowledge, and competence are pre-requisites for establishing any kind of social relationship, including workplace friendship (Schneider & Northcraft, 1999). Failure to do this tends to ruin the social relationship (Rawls & David, 2005). This organizational setting inevitably sheds light on the importance of cognitive elements of trust, beyond the positive perception of the goodwill of others (Sako, 1992).

In interpersonal trust, perceived competence as the expectation of the abilities of the trustees to carry out their job responsibility plays a crucial role in building a relationship at work (Butler, 1991; Butler & Cantrell, 1984; Kee & Knox, 1970; Lieberman, 1981). In a U.S. newsroom study, Argyris (1974) argued that newsroom lacks interpersonal competence. Journalists in the U.S. newsroom do not value the individual capability of building and maintaining healthy relationship with their peers. Rather, those journalists highly respect professional competence. However, in the context of the South Korean news industry, journalism competence at an individual level has drawn little attention. While it still may play an essential role in promotion in South Korea newsrooms, the lifetime employment and seniority-based promotion brings a limited level of internal competition in the newsroom, so value of journalistic competence might be downplayed in informal relationships in the South Korean newsroom. This is because professional competence has been rarely rewarded in the seniority-based promotion system. Considering prior cultural traits in the South Korean newsroom, the result suggests that newsroom culture is changing to where journalists have begun to value journalistic competence more than ever. Largely, this emphasis may be related to the environmental change in the South Korean news industry where the recruitment policy is being changed to hire more experienced and talented journalists and a competence-based rewards system is being adopted (Lee & Kim, 2016). It also signals to transform journalists into learning communities of practice.

In particular, the different results between journalistic competence and academic prestige should be noted for its implication. These social statuses, similar in terms of the implication of individual competence, differ in terms of the scope and the way of representing competence. Both represent achieved statuses that individuals earn through effort. While journalistic competence, drawing from a proxy of the journalism awards, directly reflects expertise in the domain of journalism, academic prestige is a broadly and in-directly defined individual competence. However, journalistic competence is not easily recognized, and requires more careful efforts to observe who are competent in the newsrooms, compared to academic prestige. This is because degree of competence is changeable over time, while academic prestige is permanent. Yet, there has been a little investigation on how professional competence and academic prestige are used as a determining factor that shapes employees' socializing behavior in the South Korean workplace. Evidence from the current study suggests that South Korean employees are more likely to put efforts into finding who is well-equipped with professional expertise, and rely on a direct indicator of expertise relevant to performing their jobs. One can see this change as positive because it directs a rational decision-making process, rather than relying on stereotypes developed from social status determined by where one earns a degree.

The organizational demographic differences between *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon* help explain differences in the results. Compared to *The Daily Sun, The Daily Moon* has more journalists from elite schools. The ratio of journalists from elite

schools reached about 60 percent of the total workforce in *The Daily Moon*, while the ratio stayed at around 38 percent at *The Daily Sun*. This statistically significant difference strongly suggests that the composition of educational backgrounds among their workforce may generate perceptual differences in journalistic competence and its relation to academic prestige in their establishment of trust relationships. It may be reasonable to assume that a higher level of academic elitism exists at *The Daily Moon* than at *The Daily Sun* as a governing principle that rules the atmosphere of newsrooms. Consequently, the social meaning of journalistic competence may be undermined at *The Daily Moon,* bringing a widening gap between the two newspapers.

Furthermore, the composition of journalists' tenure at the two newspapers may yield different outcomes of journalistic competence on trust establishment. Despite the increased job mobility in the South Korean news industry, there still exists a barrier for senior journalists to change jobs (Broadcasting Journalists, 2016). This is because South Korean companies including news outlets provide a limited number of job offers to senior employees in concern about the integration of senior employees into the existing corporate culture (Baek, 2014; Broadcasting Journalists, 2016). Kim (2016) emphasized that most news outlets in South Korea prefer to hire mid-career journalists whose tenure is fewer than five years.   In a given situation, junior journalists may be the ones who actively care about their journalistic careers. It is likely that journalistic competence plays a more important role in an informal relationship for the organization composed of young employees, such as *The Daily Sun,* because most South Korean news outlets limitedly

hire senior-level journalists (Shin, 2003). This contrasting result of journalistic

competence between the two newspapers suggests a strong need for investigating how

social status interacts with organizational composition in other statuses.

Recruitment

      In addition, the mass recruitment of new college graduates is a commonly used

HR practice in East Asian companies, not in the U.S. and other Western countries

(Rowley & Benson, 2002). This recruitment system still is a prevalent form of hiring

employees in the South Korean news industry, while more news outlets began to hire

experienced journalists. The organizational differences of the effects of types of

recruitment on trust relationships may be a direct result of institutional settings,

supporting prior findings that the principle of homophily tends to be strengthened as

groups of minorities make up a considerable part of the total workforce. The recruitment-

based homophily was not found in *The Daily Sun,* while it was a statistically significant

factor that determines the trust relationship in *The Daily Moon.* The outstanding

difference between these newspapers is the proportion of journalists who were recruited

from other organizations. The ratio of these outsiders reaches about 32 percent of the total

workforce at *The Daily Moon,* which has more than twice the percentage of *The Daily*

Sun. These simple figures do not indicate that journalists at *The Daily Moon* are less

satisfied with their newspapers and are more likely to leave the company. It may be that

The Daily Sun filled vacant positions with young journalists through its mass recruitment

system on new college graduates, as the exodus of young journalists are impending

problems for news outlets that do not have enough resources to keep their employees

(Kim, 2017). Either way, a small group of journalists recruited from outside exist at *The*

Daily Sun. This considerable portion of journalists with the status of "outsiders" cannot

be ignored in the decision-making process or informal socialization in the newsroom.

Also, growing minority groups may threaten the hegemonic power of majorities in their

competition for managerial positions and influential news beats, which tends to stimulate

in-group preferences in socialization in newsrooms (Kim, 2016).

On the other hand, those "outsiders" may not tend to identify themselves with a

dominated group membership any longer and find their own group identity. These

tendencies of majority and minority groups will create growing tension and conflict as

seen from evidence from other countries that suffer from workplace conflict rising from a

growing number of small groups that challenge those who have monopolized hegemonic

power in the workplace (Emerson & Murphy, 2014). In particular, recruitment-based

homophily found in the current study signifies a new trend of newsroom conflict not

observed before in South Korean newsrooms. Compared to other minority status of

gender, types of recruitment receive relatively little attention from the studies on diversity

management. This is not only because the industry's unique characteristics of the local

labor market where job mobility is historically limited, but also because of a lack of

shared identity among those outsiders who started their career at different news outlets.

While female journalists attempt to achieve an equal voice in the newsrooms through an

organized movement of establishing female journalists' association (Media Today, 1996),

there have been no cases reported where "outsiders" have organized to raise their voices in newsrooms. Since there still is a disparity in the upper level of newsroom positions where "insiders" dominate (Lee, 2003), evidence of recruitment-based homophily implies that this new type of organizational conflict would be imminent for most newsrooms as the labor market in the media industry becomes flexible and the ratio of "outsiders" in the newsroom workforce will grow in the near future.

Gender

The result on gender-based homophily in journalists' trust relations with peers was not found to be statistically significant for *The Daily Moon*, while gender-based homophily was found to be marginally significant at *The Daily Sun.* However, the results from the model specification suggest further discussion points on the relationship of gender and other social statuses. First, gender was found to be statistically significant, suggesting that it played a role for journalists to establish their trust relationships in simple models that do not have other homophily terms. However, its significance became changed to marginally significant with an addition of tenure-based homophily at *The Daily Sun,* On the other hand, gender-based homophily was found, but disappeared in other advanced models. These results strongly indicate that gender identity tends to be downplayed in interactions with other social identities, suggesting further investigation on how multiple-statuses shape individuals' attitude and behavior toward their trusting partners. In other words, gender may be less powerful than other characteristics in predicting homophily in trust relationships.

This evidence supports an argument that there should be an analysis of the combined influence of multiple social statuses since they cannot be isolated in constructing individuals' identity (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990). Much evidence shows the prevalence of female disadvantages is not only reflected in formal structures of newsrooms, but also in informal relationships in regard to access to resources and promotion chances (Brands & Kilduff, 2013; Burt, 1998). However, this evidence does not mean that female journalists with prestige academic backgrounds are less advantaged than their male counterparts with non-prestige academic backgrounds. Similarly, female journalists who start their careers at the current newspapers may have more chances than their male counterparts who join the company in their mid-career in utilizing informal relationships to advance their careers. This is because those recruited as fresh college graduates through a mass-recruitment system share the same experience with their peers from the beginning of their careers, which may nurture a strong bond among them. Possibly, the recruitment type tends to be more important than gender in building an informal relationship in the newsroom.

Little is known of comparative disadvantages among diverse social statuses in newsrooms and how those statuses combine to affect work socialization. Many journalism studies tend to ignore how the status of gender is built upon interaction with other social statuses, regarding gender as an isolated status (Adams, 1980; Hardin & Whiteside, 2009; Ross, 2010). It is still unclear whether gender as social status is suppressed by other social statuses or suppresses other statuses. Notably, the current

evidence that the significance of gender-based homophily becomes weak is consistent

with prior newsroom observations that the female identity tends to be downplayed among

female journalists who successfully move up the newsroom ladders (North, 2009; Van

Zoonen, 1988). This tendency may be a strategic choice for women to survive in the

organization to avoid negative stereotypes resulted from portraying themselves as female

leaders (Ainsworth, Batty, & Burchielli, 2014). Instead of emphasizing feminine

characteristics, female leaders may actively rely on other social statuses, keeping a

distance from stereotypes of female leaders often depicted as weak and emotional

(Halford & Leonard, 2006). Disappearing or weakening gender effects added to other

social status terms may result from female journalists' strategic selection to avoid

accruing prejudice and discrimination, as argued by the double jeopardy model that says

that discrimination against minority women is greater than white women because of

prejudice on both statuses (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Davis, 1981). This suggests that

there may be a hierarchical order among those social statuses in South Korean

newsrooms.

Academic prestige

The current study hypothesized that academic prestige (*Hakbol*) plays a critical

role in journalists' trust relationships, but found no evidence for this argument. No

evidence from the current study found academic prestige-based homophily, contradicting

South Korean's common belief that *hakbol* makes a big difference in the socialization

process. *Hakbol* still is prevalently found as an important social status in South Korea

given to graduates of certain universities (Jang et al., 2018). Largely, an achieved status of *hakbol* helps people adopt *hakbol* ideology in a workplace, justifying informal socializing among those from schools of similar academic prestige (Lee & Brinton, 1996). This institutionalization of informal gathering keeps them connected and helps each in job placement and promotion (Chung, 2002; Kim & Park, 2004; Yoon & Tak, 2006). Elite school connections are at the heart of criticism because of its monopoly in upper-level management (Kim, 2004). News media also receive criticism from scholars since the graduates from three elite schools dominate high ranking positions and important news beats in newsrooms (Chung et al., 2014; Song, 2012). This is because of great concern about the failure of delivering diverse societal voices through news content (Chung et al., 2014). In a given situation, a statistical insignificance of academic prestige-based homophily across newspapers needs some explanation. There are two possible reasons academic prestige-based homophily was not found in the current study, while it is widely accepted in South Korean society. Discussion on these potential causes will add theoretical and analytical insights to further analysis of the impact of school-ties on journalists' trust relationships.

On one hand, *hakbol* may lose its competitive advantage in establishing trust relationships. In particular, the unique nature of newspapers' entrance examination, a standardized test adopted by most South Korean news media for their annual recruitment of college graduates, may weaken the influence of *hakbol* on journalists' socialization because passing the exam may represent an achieved status. *Hakbol* does not only

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represent educational backgrounds, but also functions as an important indicator of competency (Lee & Brinton, 1996). South Korea has adopted *hakbol* ideology for a long time and it benefited those who graduated from elite schools (Lee & Brinton, 1996). South Koreans widely believe that academic prestige represents individual competence. In particular, its importance has grown as other types of informal relationships, such as kinship ties, have rapidly lost their foundation in the modernization of society. Local connections and blood-ties do not support informal relationships anymore in a society becoming more complex. Instead, academic prestige may have become a powerful source of informal relationships to reduce uncertainty in social relationships because it does not only represent school-connections, but also reflects individual competence in South Korean society.

However, *hakbol* as a symbol of individual competence may be less relevant in the context of a South Korean news industry that adheres to a test-based hiring practice. Only a small portion of applicants are accepted at each news outlet. In a given situation, it is highly possible that the impact of *hakbol* can be reset at the initial stage of journalists' career, and *hakbol* tends to function as a weak parameter in predicting individual competence in the newsroom. Considering evidence that competence plays crucial roles in establishing journalists' trust, journalists still find cues that represent individual competence, but not from *hakbol*. Instead, they may find success through areas such as excellence in domain expertise, manifested by journalism awards.

On the other hand, there may be flawed operationalization of *hakbol* that the current study overly simplifies *hakbol* by categorizing those from elite schools and those who are not. Prior studies on elite education emphasize that students from elite schools prepare to take a role of leaders by adopting norms and cultures required to function as leaders (Kingston & Lewis, 1990; Mullen, 2009; Persell & Cookson, 1985). This shared sense of identity and collective experience naturally lead to their own social circle in informal relationships (Ayling, 2015). South Korea's grouping of elite schools, or "SKY" an acronym for the top three elite schools, such as Seoul National University, Korea University, and Yonsei University, reveals that the public perceives a distinction between graduates from elite schools and those from non-elite schools (Lee & Brinton, 1996). Much evidence showed that prestigious educational backgrounds promote informal relationships among those from similar backgrounds (Buck, 2007; Burt, Hogarth, & Michaud, 2000; Dittmer, 1995; Kadushin, 1995; Wimmer & Lewis, 2010). However, the current results suggest that those tendencies may not necessarily hold true in socialization at work. Journalists may have shared identities that help their informal ties, but they may be in a rivalry relationship as they climb the corporate ladder. In part, trust among those in the elite group may be based on the calculative interest of sharing newsroom hegemony, such as promotion and recruitments. This calculated trust may not be as strong as other types of trust relationships. This characteristic of trust may involve internal tension among those groups who share trust. Inevitably, one may argue that categorizing graduates from the three elite schools into one group may be an oversimplification. *Hakbol*-based trust may be more prominently displayed within their

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own school as other studies narrowly defined the school-based informal relationships as *hakyon* based on loyalty to their own schools (Kwon, 2006).

In particular, it should be also noteworthy that the current institutional settings in the South Korean newspapers may reinforce journalists' homophilous tendency of establishing a trust relationship. Largely, scholars find individuals' homophily from their psychological orientation prefers those with similar backgrounds, as seen from much evidence in social identity theory and social categorical theory (Brewer, 1979; Kramer, 1991; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Biased attitudes toward in- and out-group members were found to be pervasive in ways that people negatively characterize out-group members, while they treat those with similar backgrounds more favorably (Brewer, 1979; Kramer, 1991). Furthermore, individuals give a sense of superiority to groups of individuals sharing similar characteristics, which results in bolstering their self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). These tendencies are often institutionalized in a workplace from a recruitment stage in which raters give a favorable evaluation on applicants with similar backgrounds, such as gender and ethnicity (Baron, Hannan, Hsu, & Kocak, 2007; Baskett, 1973; Carrington & Troske, 1998; Wexley & Nemeroff, 1973). Also, employees who share similarities with their predecessors are more likely to occupy vacant positions that predecessors left (Kanter, 1977). Now, inequality in new recruitment and in promotions based on particular statuses, such as gender and type of recruitment, is one of the emerging issues in the South Korean newsroom now that its organizational diversity has become more complex ever (Kim,

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2017). The prevalent filtering bias tends to translate differences in statuses into hierarchical statuses. Many scholars consider that the hierarchical structure caused that change (Bhagat et al., 2002; Gruenfeld & Tiedens, 2010; Hofstede, 2005). With respect to value, status is originally a value-neutral concept, displaying differences between objects (men vs. women; senior vs. junior). However, limited resources and opportunities break equality embedded in statuses and enhance inequality among statuses (Bagchi, 2009). Those who have more resources and opportunities hierarchically differentiate them from others (Heckman, 2011; Peet, 1975). Mainly, the monopolization of upper-level positions by certain groups of people results in a status-based stratification at the workplace (Bielby & Baron, 1986; Morales, 2008). A hierarchical structure confers a legitimate status to employees' homogeneity by setting barriers between diverse groups (Kandel & Lazear, 1992). Reskin, McBrier, and Kmec (1999) argued that organizations run on their homogeneity in a real setting while workplace diversity is appreciated. Ridgeway (1987) emphasized that the perceived ranking of power embedded in status also influences informal relationships. Considering these, journalists with minority status, in particular, may have limited leverage in extending the informal relationships with majority groups within a hierarchically structured organization. Instead, the existing informal network tends to reinforce journalists' homophily tendencies in the workplace. Considering the corresponding nature of the informal relationship to the organizational structure (Weeden & Sorensen, 2004), the success of the recent newsroom transition in South Korea from a hierarchical structure to a horizontal one may depend on how

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newsroom management successfully integrates those with the minority status into one single group at an informal relationship level.

Contrasting results across organizations shed light on differences of institutional settings. Among key variables, competence - measured by a proxy of journalism awards - and the types of recruitments between the mass recruitment for the new college graduates and mid-career recruitment were found to be different between newspapers. Competence was statistically significant at *The Daily Sun*, while it was marginally significant at *The Daily Moon*. On the other hand, the type of recruitment was statistically significant at *The Daily Moon*, but not in *The Daily Sun*. These differences in results may arise from differences in institutional settings and cultures that cannot be easily quantified as variables in the statistical analysis. In particular, the newspapers' HR policy should receive some attention in explaining differences in journalistic competence regarding a performance-based rewards system and organizational demographics in educational backgrounds. Media corporations tend to adopt journalistic competence as an important criterion to evaluate and reward journalists for their performance as the South Korean news industry becomes more interested in recruiting mid-career journalists who have excellent records of journalistic competence (Lee, 2015). Yet, there still is cultural resistance among journalists to this HR practice because some believe that this corporate evaluation can negatively affect journalistic professionalism and limit journalists' performance (Media Today, 2002). Largely, a seniority-based salary system informally functions as a governing rule in newsroom management, while life-time employment was

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officially terminated (Jung, 2002). It may be true that a performance-based review system has not been fully adopted by the South Korean newsroom (Jung, 2003). The cultural resistance to this competence-based review and rewards system may vary across newspapers considering their unique HR systems and cultures in the newsrooms. This suggests that the institutional setting and cultural atmosphere in newsrooms play a role in establishing informal relationships with peers.

In particular, generational diversity in newsrooms tends to be an important factor that shapes journalists' collective attitudes toward competency. The history of the competence-based rewards system has not been long in South Korea, where its origin traces back to South Korea's worst financial crisis in 1997 when the IMF (International Monetary Fund) system abolished life-term employment (Kim & Kim, 2003). Thus, collective memory and experience about the competence-based rewards can be mixed among journalists, based on seniority. Young generations tend to consider this competence-based evaluation to be fair, while older generations favor the seniority-based rewards system (Han, 2014). Combined with generational differences toward this competence-based rewards system, competence may be differently interpreted as a symbol of organizational status in newspapers. In line with these historical backgrounds, the generational composition of the two newsrooms is a noticeable institutional factor that can explain the varying degree of the competence on their peer relationship. As seen from the descriptive analysis on newsroom characteristics, *The Daily Sun* runs a newsroom filled with younger journalists than *The Daily Moon*. These demographic

compositions in newsrooms may differently influence the role of competence in establishing relationships with their peers because of their perceptual difference of journalistic competence as a social status. It is likely that organizations correspond to employees' cultural orientation by adopting the competence-based reward systems where journalistic competence functions as an incentive for promotion and a pay raise. If so, institutional setting and informal relationships mutually reinforce journalistic competence as an influential social status in newsrooms.

Results in this study are consistent with prior findings in other professional settings in which there is clear segregation between majority and minority groups in their informal relationships along the line of tenure, journalistic competence, and types of recruitment (Abrams, 1989; Kondo, 2009). These findings raise serious concern about the possibility that the minority statuses in the workplace are systematically unable to use intangible benefits from informal relationship, such as organizational learning and knowledge-sharing, although the newsroom composition is becoming more diverse in the newsroom in South Korea. Largely, discrimination against minority groups in the workplace proceeds by providing favors to similar others, rather than any explicit or systematic prejudice against minority groups (Cho & Davenport, 2007; Welle & Heilman, 2005). Labor economists pointed out that homophily in the workplace functions as an underlying mechanism of consequential discrimination against minority groups (Chen & Mengel, 2016; Currarini, Jackson, & Pin, 2009; Jacquemet & Yannelis, 2012). Homophily heightens the existing status quo in the workplace by preventing minority

groups from accessing the resources embedded in the network—resources that lead to

career opportunities (Ridgeway & Nakagawa, 2014). Yet, there has been a lack of

institutional policy or initiatives to ensure equal employment opportunities for minority

groups in newsroom management in countries such as South Korea that have a relatively

short history of diversity management. The recent tension and conflicts among diverse

groups in the newsrooms reported from media journals indicate a failure of the South

Korean newsrooms in integrating minority groups into one group (Kim, 2017). The result

that different types of homophily determine trust relationships among journalists in the

newsroom highlights the inherent risk of homophily that develops into discriminatory

acts against minority groups in the newsroom.

Nevertheless, journalism studies have not extended their interest into the domain

of homophily in the newsroom, and their investigation is biased into a "numbers game"—

focusing on the minority composition in the total newsroom workforce. To what extent

informal segregation results in consequential discrimination against minority groups has

not been answered in the studies on newsroom practice. Homophily was found to

reinforce the status quo in the organization by enabling in-group members to exclusively

share knowledge, expertise, and information that can be advantageous for promotion

opportunities. Yet, journalism studies have only a limited amount of knowledge on how

minority groups access and mobilize intangible resources embedded in informal

relationships. The results of this research will be a stepping stone for further discussion

on how prevalent homophily in the newsroom generates individual and organizational

outcomes, leaving managerial tasks of integrating minority groups in the socialization

process in the newsrooms.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

In recent years, a growing number of South Korean media journals noted

increasing tension and conflict in the South Korean newsrooms (Kang, 2016; Kim, 2017;

Kim & Kang, 2016; Sung, 2013). The differences in journalists' gender, tenure, and

academic backgrounds have caused tension and conflict in newsrooms as journalists'

demographic composition becomes complex (Brief et al., 2005). An adequate response to

that phenomenon should be a crucial part of managerial and scholarly inquiry to find the

potential driving forces that generate inherent conflict. Exploring interpersonal

relationships among journalists may be the first step to resolving tension and conflict with

its role in blending diverse persons. The current study attempted to discover new findings

and add news insights on journalists' informal relationships an unchartered area of

newsroom studies. Mostly, the current study owes to diverse theoretical frameworks,

such as social network theory, homophily theory, trust theory, and diversity management.

Findings in this study deepen our understanding of the intersection of social network

theory, trust theory, and homophily theory, as the primary focus rests on the homophily in

journalists' trust relationship with their peers. In particular, implications from the current

study can be applied to further theoretical development of *communities of practice* in the

domain of journalism.

First, the current study is one of the few that empirically confirm the presence of journalists' networks in an organizational setting. From Zelizer (1990)'s interpretive communities to *communities of practice*, a growing number of scholars in journalism pay attention to the theoretical usefulness of social network theory, and incorporate network perspective into the domain of journalism (Matsaganis & Katz, 2013; Meltzer & Martik, 2017; Weiss & Domingo, 2010). Since Breed's (1955) study of social control in the newsroom, scholarly endeavors in journalism practice have mostly continued in sociological views on the influence of bureaucracy on journalism practice and its counter-arguments that emphasize the autonomy of journalists as a determinant of journalism practice (Meltzer & Martik, 2017). The dominant influence of these theoretical perspectives inevitably left blind spots for informal relationships at the workplace. Our knowledge is minimal on 1) what motivates journalists to establish and maintain informal relationships, 2) how they shape their informal relationships 3) to what extent their informal relationship is related to organizational ranks or chart, and 4) to what extent their informal relationship influences their journalism outcomes. In a given situation, the findings on status-based networks in this study support the prior argument for the network perspectives function as a theoretical liaison between the perspectives of bureaucratic constraint and autonomous professionals that determines journalists' attitude and behavior since social network theory find the middle ground between structural constraint and self-governing individuals (Meltzer & Martik, 2017). While the informal relationships has begun to gain momentum from scholars in journalism studies as a governing rule in the newsroom, their studies primarily rely either on an ethnographical

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approach or theoretical arguments that have not been empirically tested (Matsaganis &
Katz, 2013; Meltzer & Martik, 2017; Weiss & Domingo, 2010). There is a little attempt
to display journalists' informal network and uncover the driving mechanism that forms
their informal network. Thus, this study will pave the way for further application of the
network theory into journalism.

Second, the implications from evidence in this study can be more broadly applied
to journalists' informal relationship than other network perspectives introduced in
journalism. As mentioned before, *the interpretive communities* and *the communities of
practice* are the most well-known network theories introduced in journalism studies. Both
illustrate the informality of the relationship and the voluntary nature of association among
journalists (Weiss & Domingo, 2010; Zelizer, 1990). However, the interpretive
communities are the networks without direct interactions among journalists (Meltzer &
Martik, 2017). Instead, the theory emphasizes the significance of shared values that
connects journalists through their journalistic outcomes (Berkowitz & TerKeurst, 1999).
The theory of *communities of practice* narrowly defines the communities from the
learning perspective with its theoretical roots based in education (Lave & Wenger, 1991).
Considering the nature of the organizational setting, the learning network tends to be
formed by a calculative interest in benefits that individuals reap. Thus, the theoretical
implication is biased toward the cognitive constituent of the informal relationship,
undermining the affective nature of the informal relationship. In a given situation, the
findings of status-based networks may have more applicability to further discussion about

journalists' socialization and informal relationship since status reflects cognitive evaluation of others as well as affective perception on others. Thus, implications from the current study add more insight into the dual nature of the informal relationship in newsrooms where journalism meets friendship.

Third, findings of homophily among journalists' informal networks can add more insight into the further theoretical development of journalists' informal networks, particularly the *communities of practice*. The findings of the status-based homophily strongly suggest the presence of diverse types of small groups inside the journalists' network beyond divisions by job titles. As individuals are motivated to establish and maintain their relationships with others, these small groups may collaborate and compete against each other to achieve their own group goals. Inevitably, group-level interaction may involve power and control (Thibaut, 1959). This political nature of interaction violates the primary assumption of the *communities of practice* that members in the community are equally treated (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In particular, the findings of homophilous associations based on the hierarchical status in the newsroom need a more detailed explanation of how the communities maintain their horizontal structure with an addition of hierarchical nature of homophily in their members' informal relationship. Prior study in journalism has limited its implications to the functionally divided whole network (García-Avilés, 2014), largely ignoring complexity inside the entire network. Evidence in this study will guide further theoretical development of journalists' learning network.

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Fourth, this study has extensively explored and reviewed trust inside the newsroom, highlighting the significance of interpersonal trust in the changing news media environment. Traditionally, trust has been discussed in journalism from the news consumer's perspective, such as public trust in news media (Blöbaum, 2014; Kiousis, 2001; Moehler & Singh, 2011). This perspective has guided the theoretical orientation of trust in ethical issues. For instance, the ethical dilemma of news media and their relationships to public trust in news media are at the heart of scholarly inquiry on trust in the domain of journalism (Blöbaum, 2014). Researchers mainly examined issues, such as the credibility of journalists' use of news sources and biased news reporting (Kiousis, 2001; Kohring & Matthes, 2007). Those studies underestimated relational aspects of trust that arise from the relationship which limit their implication to trustworthiness. However, trust and trustworthiness are two unique conceptual ideas, as trustworthiness is one of the qualities that trustees should carry to obtain the trust from counterparts (Meyer et al., 1996). In a given situation, the current study can contribute to expanding the scope of analysis into the domain of relational trust inside the newsrooms. The discussion on the concrete benefits of trust at work also will add more theoretical applications of trust to newsroom management.

Lastly, the current study added new knowledge on homophily studies by expanding the scope of analysis into academic backgrounds, types of recruitment, and journalistic competence. Existing knowledge about status-based homophily has centered on countries, such as the U.S., where diversity became a societal issue. Much evidence on

status-based homophily has accumulated in race (Smith, McPherson, & Smith-Lovin, 2014), ethnicity (Stark & Flache, 2012), gender (Shrum, Cheek Jr., & MacD, 1988), religion (Adida, Laitin, & Valfort, 2015), and sexuality (Gillespie et al., 2015). While some statuses, such as gender, have been widely observed as a determinant for homophily across countries, this study examined factors that have not been investigated in other parts of the world. The factors examined in this study may provide more insight into further research on developing countries that may have gone through a similar transition that South Korea experienced in politics, economics, and culture.

METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

One of the biggest obstacles for social network analysis and inferential analysis on network data is to obtain adequate size of samples. The sample size should be representative of the relationship in the population. It also needs to be large enough to perform inferential analysis. The current study overcame this challenge by employing Exponential Random Graph Models (ERGM) that was recently developed by Krivitsky and Morris (2017). ERGM is the most suitable statistical modeling technique for assessing homophily effects by controlling network effects in predicting homophily effects. In particular, Krivitsky and Morris (2017)'s ERGM model differentiated itself from other ERGM models as it runs on egocentric data. Egocentric data contain information about survey respondents and their relationship with their nominees. They have competitive advantages in terms of convenience of collecting data, compared to the whole network data that require an about 70 percent survey response rate to conduct the

network analysis. Despite this advantage, egocentric data are considered inferior to the whole network data for a lack of information on network configuration. More importantly, researchers have faced an issue of generalization drawn from the sampled data. There remained a selection bias when researchers use egocentric data and treat individuals as a case in eliciting meaningful implications from the network configuration (Moody, 2001). Quilian and Campbell (2003) cautioned against overestimating the homophily effects for cases where researchers fail to control the interdependence of dyadic relations. It has been unclear about the cut-off points when researchers can say that sampling is enough to conduct an inferential analysis. However, Krivitsky and Morris (2017) successfully handled this problem by developing statistical models that incorporate the network size invariant parametrization. Thus, the sampling procedure for egocentric network data can be conducted in the same way as any ordinary survey in social science. Considering the absence of network data about journalists, this statistical modeling technique may open more opportunities for scholars in newsroom studies to empirically analyze journalists' informal relationships.

Besides, the current study amplified an analytic sample size by combining the name- generating and name-interpreting techniques, inspired by Krivitsky and Morris (2017). The current study constructed a socio-matrix using a two-step process. First, survey participants were recorded as ego, and their nominees were also recorded as alters through a name-generating technique. Second, the name-interpreting technique was followed to identify the relationship between alters. Alters are recorded as an ego of

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others or alters of others. This transformation technique is supported by the argument of Krackhardt (1987) that individuals' cognitive structure is composed of both expressive (a direct assessment with answers by survey participants) and perceived judgment (survey respondents' in-direct assessment with perceived evaluation on the relationship about nominees). While this approach should be carefully implemented by cross-checking consistency on the relationships on alters, this sampling technique enables researchers to conduct a social network analysis with disclosed information. Future researchers can reap the concrete benefits of methodologies employed in the current study.

Lastly, it should be noted that social network analysis can compensate for shortcomings of qualitative studies for those who study newsrooms from organizational perspectives. Despite a growing interest in social network perspectives and methodological implications, social network analysis is rarely used in areas of journalism practice. Still, most of the newsroom studies and even a growing body of studies on the communities of practice, a learning network, have been conducted by ethnographical approach. However, Tichy, Tushman, and Fombrun (1979) argued that social network analysis is a complementary tool for conventional methods to assess organizational structures and design. Since then, social network analysis has received much attention from scholars for its explanatory power of observing hidden relationship that does not arise from official organizational charts. Considering its analytic usefulness, empirical evidence in this study may stimulate the further application of social network analysis in the field of journalism.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

In particular, newsroom managers can benefit from the current study in their management of growing diversity in their newsrooms. First, the findings of journalists' homophilous tendency suggest that the newsroom is exposed to growing tension and conflict among diverse personnel, rather than reaping benefits of sharing expertise and mutual understanding. This result signifies the importance of managerial intervention in promoting inter-group relationships among journalists. However, considering an absence of institutional effort to blend diverse personnel into a coherent team, South Korean newsrooms do not prepare for embracing a value of diversity. This unprepared management makes the newsroom vulnerable to rising issues of diversity, such as unfair treatment on minority groups in the newsroom.

Consequently, the South Korean newsrooms have not fully exploited the values of diversity and fail to integrate those values into newsroom performance, as well as the empowerment of individual journalists. Possibly, one of the reasons for this poor management is news organizations' perception on the source of conflict, which they tend to treat it as a personal issue between individuals, instead of considering a group-level issue (Lowrey, 2003). This underestimation may weaken institutional efforts of identifying sources of conflict and finding answers to interpersonal conflict in the newsroom.

In a given situation, it may not be surprising to witness a constant decrease in journalists' morale and satisfaction rate, and increased intention rate of leaving the

current news organizations (Newspapers & Broadcasting, 2018). While there may be more complex factors involved for journalists' dissatisfaction and low morale, it may be true that a lack of managerial efforts of improving journalists' interpersonal relationships contributes to the current crisis in newsrooms where journalists do not find any comfort in the newsrooms. It should be noted that employees in the workplace can receive the benefits of psychological comfort and increased job satisfaction when they are strongly connected in an informal relationship (Lloyd & Mertens, 2018; Ma, Batterham, Calear, & Han, 2016). The news organization should pay attention to journalists who can play a bridging role in connecting inter-groups, as seen from other business sectors (Cross, Parise, & Weiss, 2007). Journalists who possess both various minorities and majority status in the workplace may be well-suited to act as a bridge to intergroup relationships. Their significance in an informal relationship should not be underestimated to produce positive benefits of the informal relationships.

Also, evidence of tenure-based homophily needs further inquiries about the generational conflicts in the newsrooms. There should be a prompt response required for newsroom managers to manage the generational conflicts. Aging newsrooms, where the number of senior journalists began to be accountable for a significant portion of the newsroom workforce, is an unprecedented phenomenon facing the South Korean newsroom. How to align the power relationship between younger boss and older subordinates is an impending and challenging issue for the South Korean newsrooms that still have a tenure-based hierarchical culture and norms. Moreover, the recent downsizing

in the newsroom workforce may exacerbate generational conflicts in the newsrooms as Patota, Schwartz, and Schwarz (2007) argued that intergenerational conflict becomes acute as competition for job opportunities becomes intense.

Consequently, newsroom managers should be cautious about the cost associated with generational tension and conflict in the newsroom. One of the main concerns may be a loss of knowledge transfer from senior journalists to their younger counterparts. Sharing information, knowledge, and skill sets among employees are an important element of organizational success as well as the empowerment of employees. An absence of sharing those relevant skill sets and knowledge was found to worsen newsroom morale and lead to increased dissatisfaction among journalists (Erzikova & Lowrey, 2012). In particular, young Russian journalists chose a failure of knowledge transfer as one of the biggest complaints toward their senior counterparts (Erzikova & Lowrey, 2012). In a given situation, tenure-based homophily can be an alarming signal for newsroom operations that should pay attention to its development into the generational distrust in the newsroom. There should be further managerial action required for promoting intergenerational relations.

One possible resolution is to break a long-standing hiring practice that news media limitedly target their recruitment of experienced journalists for young journalists. As seen from anecdotal evidence provided by the Korea Press Foundation (2017), South Korean newsrooms suffer from a thin layer of mid-career journalists in their newsroom demographics. A lack of bridges that connect young journalists with senior counterparts

tends to widen the generational gap of communication styles, professional values and ethics, and workplace humor in the newsroom. Inevitably, the growing generational gap will lead to a lack of interaction, and increase misunderstanding in a generational dialogue. For decades, newsrooms' homogeneous cultural orientation may have been prioritized over other issues, and South Korea has been reluctant to hire mid-career journalists from other news outlets due to a concern about their assimilation into the existing corporate culture (Kim, 2016). However, the newsrooms' homogeneous culture is not challenged by "external intruders," but instead is being contested by newsroom insiders whose demographical composition in tenure, gender, and recruitment types becomes complex. Thus, the long-standing HR policy that mostly hires inexperienced journalists from other news outlets may not promptly react to the changing newsroom nature. The value of generational diversity should be obtained by strengthening bridges that can connect generations.

Besides, there should be an advanced managerial action that can prevent status-based homophily from developing into discriminatory acts against journalists who belong to dominated group membership. The current study confirms the prior findings that dissimilar peers establish their own informal circles based on social statuses (Bielby & Barson, 1986; Brennecke & Rank, 2016; Erickson, Albanese, & Drakulic, 2000; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook 2001). In particular, status-based homophily in the workplace raises concerns about aggressive and hostile behavior against those with low status in the workplace (Reskin, 2003). For instance, it is widely observed that those in

power and control displayed an aggressive and hostile attitude and behavior toward those with less power and control (Neuman & Baron, 1998; O'Leary-Kelly, Griffin, & Glew, 1996; Vardi & Weitz, 2003; White, 2018). Less-powerful individuals are unfairly blamed and accused as a scapegoat (Joly, 1998; Thylefors, 1987).

Possibly, one of the primary causes of this unfair treatment is based on the prevalent belief that minority status does not change. The perceived belief on status quo in power relationships allows hierarchical power relationship to be taken for granted among those in power (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). This psychological tendency tends to weaken individuals' motivation to find values and utility in intergroup interaction (Saguy & Dovidio, 2013). Consequently, homophily reinforces existing hierarchical structure through a vicious cycle of a lack of interaction and a lack of mutual understanding (Roth, 2004). In a given situation, it is important to balance power between diverse groups in the newsroom through proper HR policy that offers equal access to organizational resources and promoting opportunities. Prior studies show that aggressive action reduces increasing costs for those actions (Archer, 1999; Vardi & Weitz, 2003; White, 2018). Promoting journalists with dominated group membership into an upper echelon of newsrooms may function as a preemptive action for homophily being developed into discriminatory acts against those in minority status.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE STUDIES

A lack of external validity is unavoidable for any case study (Yin, 1984). This study is no exception. Despite its common usage for organizational studies, the weakness

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of case studies comes from their reliance on small sets of particular cases, which faces a sampling bias (Tichy, Tushman, & Fombrun, 1979). This research setting inevitably brings an issue of generalizing from a small set of case studies on many levels. For instance, sampled newspapers in this study are nationally published papers. This inevitably requires future researchers to consider organizational sizes and geographical differences across media when they look at relationships among newspapers. The contrasting results across *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon* show that unique organizational setting and culture play a considerable role in influencing journalists' attitudes and behaviors. Besides, the country's unique cultural, political, economic and media systems cannot be overlooked when predicting homophily in journalists' trust relationships. As argued by Shoemaker & Reese (2013), macro and micro forces continuously interact with each other in shaping media content. Cultural influence on trust development should be examined at a national level as many scholars pointed out (Doney, Cannon, & Mullen, 1998; Noorderhaven, 1999). From this perspective, evidence drawn from the current study may be more applicable to East Asian than Western countries because of similarities in hierarchical cultures, the press system, and the nature of social relationships. Interpreting results from the current study should accompany understanding of those cultural and institutional factors. Possibly, comparing newsrooms in different cultural settings may enable to generalize findings that are applicable to any organizational setting.

In addition, researchers need to look for some practical resolutions from more careful sampling techniques since the risk of sampling bias is inherent in social network analysis. One practical solution may be to collect data from a team unit or news beats that consist of a small number of people. A small organizational unit may be easier than large units to meet the threshold level of network survey response rate because construction of whole network tends to be easy on an organizational unit that has a small size of employees (Krackhardt, 1987). From this point, external validity tends to be secured as the size of an analytic sample increases with a collection of small team units. Because data collection may be one of the biggest obstacles for conducting social network analysis, future researchers should set out an implementable research design.

Meanwhile, implications from the current study owe to hegemonic perspectives that a growing number of journalists with a minority status in gender, age, and recruitment types will be in tension and conflict with those who control newsroom hegemony. The primary concern about journalists' homophily in their trust relationships lies in worsening inter-group relationships by separating those groups and taking away opportunities for interaction among them. As seen from prior evidence, a confrontation between men and women, and those from elite schools and the others has frequently occurred in South Korea (Jung & Lee, 2003; Kang & Kim, 2013; Tsui & Lee, 2012). However, there remains a question about the usefulness of dichotomizing individuals into two groups. For instance, the current study assessed academic prestige-based homophily by categorizing academic prestige into two groups, top-tier schools and non-top tier

schools. However, there should be more detailed hierarchical orders in academic prestige of colleges in South Korea (Kim & Kim, 2015). Some schools are closer to top-tier schools than others in terms of college entrance exam scores. Thus, the issue of oversimplification may generate a statistically insignificant result for academic prestige as a determinant that shapes interpersonal trust among journalists.

Also, it may be true that hegemonic power of graduates from the top three schools is substantial as seen from their dominance in high-ranking positions in government, corporations and news media (Choi, 2001; Lee, 2019). Yet, there is no rigorous empirical support for this dichotomous categorization. Some scholars used different categorizations, such as the top four schools (Lee & Brinton, 1996). Then, multi-categorization may address complex sets of academic prestige and its relation to informal relations in newsrooms. This multi-categorization strategy also can apply to other social statuses that can be more specifically divided in representing the nature of complexity. In light of this, generational categories, such as Baby Boomers, Generation X and Y, and Millennials, may provide interesting implications for inter-generational trust, while the current study added differences in tenure or years of working as a tenure-based homophily term. In particular, one may need to consider the country's unique characteristics, such as political and economic events, in his or her attempts of categorizing generations because of its differences in political and economic developments. For instance, the Baby Boomer generations in South Korea are those who were born after the Korean War, while the same term the U.S. applies to those who were born after the Second World War (Maples

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& Han, 2008; Woo & Lee, 2011). Many studies on South Koreans' generational gap have adopted and developed their own criteria of categorizing generations (Woo & Lee, 2011).

In a similar vein, future researchers should be cautious about binary classification for its disadvantages of loss of information (Altman & Royston, 2006). As mentioned earlier about academic prestige, binary classification may lose some important information that can guide more detailed orientations to the investigation of homophily effects. For instance, this dissertation adopted journalism awards as a proxy to measure journalists' competence because of no universally accepted measurement of journalists' competence. However, journalists' competence measured by prior journalism award experience may fail to reflect complex and multi-dimensional concepts of competence at work. This is because competence does not only include individual capabilities of performing their assigned works, such as expertise and skills, but also it encompasses other attributes, such as integrity and interpersonal skills (Reio Jr., & Sutton, 2006). Thus, this dichotomous classification leaves further inquiry about its relevance to representation of professional competence.

The binary data used for measuring trust relationships also may simplify the complex nature of trust relationships that could be classified as a relationship with valued data. The relationship between two journalists was recorded as being dichotomous in this study. This approach provides no differences in the strength of the trust relationship between a pair. While this binary approach is widely adopted in social network analysis to measure interpersonal relationships, the valued data that weigh on the strength of the

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relationship can accurately describe the nature of the relationship (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Since strength of ties can be determined differently by individuals' subjective evaluation, the tie-strength can be critical information in estimating journalists' trust relationship and their association with social statutes. Unfortunately, the current ERGM model used for this study does not support the valued data. The underdevelopment of statistical modeling limits understanding of trust relationships. Thus, more insight will be provided upon further development of the ERGM model.

In addition, it should be noted that whole network data can provide more insight in journalists' informal relationships than ego-centric network data employed in this dissertation. Ego-centric network data lacks an important structural network data due to its isolated nature that inevitably finds a limited level of reachability to all possible individuals. This disconnectivity among individuals is one of the major limitations of the ego-centric data because data do not allow researchers to adequately assess important structural properties, such as transitivity and cohesiveness in estimating homophily. Since the analytic power of social network analysis owes to its capability to observe those structural properties embedded in social relationship, future researchers should consider the use of the whole network data to compensate for shortcoming of the current research setting.

Future researchers also need to consider adequate representation of journalistic competence in their attempts of quantifying it. Despite an absence of defining and measuring journalistic competence, this dissertation used prior experience of journalism

awards as a proxy of journalistic competence. The criteria used to evaluate excellence in journalism largely reflect journalists' competence. However, the monthly journalism awards used in this dissertation are rarely found in other countries, so this proxy of journalism awards may not be available in those countries. The fact that elements of excellence in journalism may differ across countries should be another challenge of having standardized measurements of journalistic competence. In a given situation, peer evaluation on individual competence can be an alternative method of measuring journalists' competence in the future research.

Furthermore, the absence of a time variable in the current study limits our understanding of the dynamic nature of trust over time. Similar to individuals, most social relationships go through their own life cycles from creation to termination (Fehr, 2000; Rawlins, 1992). Even if relationships persist over time, the death of partners eventually terminates the dyadic relationship. An interpersonal trust also begins with the phase of getting to know, proceeding with frequent interactions, and ends with the establishment of trust (Lewicki, Tomlinson, & Gillespie, 2006). Trust generally finds its equilibrium by being reciprocal over time (Ostrom & Walker, 2003). Once one violates the belief of trust in the other, the other will acknowledge that, and their trust relationship will end. Much evidence supports that trust is a reciprocal relationship (Ostrom & Walker, 2003). However, the strength of trust ties may vary during the development stages. There should be more factors involved in differentiating the strength of the trust ties at each stage (Lount Jr. & Pettit, 2012). For instance, one's high status or ranking was found to affect

the psychological evaluation of trusting others at the initial stage of trust development (Lount Jr. & Pettit, 2012). The influence of those factors may play a significant role in supporting their relationship, even during an interpersonal crisis that can be caused by miscommunication or misunderstanding. Thus, analysis of longitudinal network data can adequately address issues related to changing social relationships (Wölfer, Faber, & Hewstone, 2015). This analytic approach will compensate for the weakness of the cross-sectional approach that has a limitation of controlling and uncovering time-variant factors (Huisman & Snijders, 2003).

In an effort to find the relationship between journalists' social status and their trust relationships, there should be further exploration of journalists' dual identities and organizational demographics. As discussed earlier, the analytic models with a step-wise process suggest that journalists' dual identities of being female and senior are likely to interact in building a trust relationship with their peers. Yet, it remains unclear whether the interplay among those social statuses reinforces homophily, or facilitates heterogeneous relationships in the newsroom contexts. Adding three-way interaction terms (e.g. gender x tenure x homophily term) into the analysis model may be a practical solution for finding effects of dual identities on the trust relationship. Yet, little is known about how the relationship between one particular status and homophily varies across other social statuses, while increasing studies point to an importance of understanding individuals' dual social statuses (Reid, 1982; Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990). One of the main reasons for little attempts of testing three-way interaction terms is that the ERGM

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model has a limited capability of incorporating three-way interactions terms in analyzing personal network data. Thus, further advancement in statistical modeling will enable future researchers to add more sophisticated interaction terms.

However, prior research on dual-minority status found evidence against the conventional belief that dual minority status generates accumulated disadvantages in the workplace (Beale, 1979; Davis, 1981; Hancock, 2007). Black female leaders in the workplace were found to be free from negative stereotypes used to depict individuals with a single minority status (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). More blunt discrimination affected black males than their female counterparts (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). These results contradict the prior belief in the double jeopardy model that emphasizes that those with dual-minority status, such as an ethnic minority woman, suffer from discrimination more than those with a single minority status (Ehrenberg, Goodhardt, & Barwise, 1990). These pieces of evidence shed light on the possibility that journalists with dual-minority status may be in a better position than those with single minority status in their social relationship with other groups. Thus, the results in this study may be a stepping stone for further investigation for how particular social statuses interact with others in establishing a trust relationship. More scholarly investigation on journalists' dual identities and their impact on trust-building should be followed.

Meanwhile, it should be noted that the ways of translating diversity status into minority status may be differently interpreted and accepted because unique cultural backgrounds and societal experience about diversity tend to differentiate asymetrial

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asymetrial relationship among diverse status (Amâncio, 1989). The term of minority used here follows a sociological definition that "any group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination (Wirth, 1945, p 347)". While dominated groups share similar characteristics of minority status, the intensity of discrimination against females and African Americans in the U.S. is not the same. The intensity of discrimination against those groups in the U.S. should not be equally comparable to those externally hired outside in South Korea due to the differences in historical paths. Thus, future researchers need to consider intercultural aspects of diversity management when they expand the scope of analysis into the international setting.

In addition, there should be a further investigation about the demographic composition of employees in organizations in regard to their roles as a mediator for the relationship between social status and homophily. The current study does not have variables that represent organizational demographics in its analytic model. However, the results drawing from the comparative analysis on the two newsrooms strongly suggest that the organizational demographics may generate a mediating effect on the relationship between social statuses and establishment of trust among peers. The mediating role of organizational demographics was found in a study that uncovered the mediating role of gender ratio in the newsroom for the relationship between differences in genders and news reporting (Rodgers & Thorson, 2003).

Moreover, evidence shows that the impact of competence on trust-building was found to be less significant for the newsroom, where academic prestige is more prominently found than the other newsroom. These results indicate that organizational culture may influence how journalists as a group have differently perceived journalistic competence as an achieved status. The implication from these results may hold as Larwood, Szwajkowski, and Rose (1988) emphasize a situational context of the workplace as an important factor for discriminatory acts at work. In particular, organizational demographics can be a useful proxy to represent cultural traits in the workplace because of their positive association with organizational cultures in a given condition that organizational culture is difficult to quantify for empirical analysis (Chatman et al., 1998). Yet, the current study has a limitation of finding and controlling organizational factors that constrain journalists'attitudes and behavior. As seen from factors that differently generated homophily effects between *The Daily Sun* and *The Daily Moon*, it may seem logical to assume that an organization is more than a simple association of individuals. In other words, organizations have their unique culture that may affect their members' informal relationships, as Groat (1997) argued. As organizational culture is the one where the formal structure meets informal relationships, the degree of homophily at work may vary depending on organizational culture. Identifying cultural traits inside organizations expand our understanding of journalists' homophily tendency beyond a dyadic level. In particular, the theoretical focus of this dissertation limited to informal relationships. Thus future researchers consider adopting

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theoretical inputs from cultural studies on newsrooms in order to comprehend a whole picture of newsroom homophily.

Future researchers should consider value dissonance and its relationship to homophily as well. This is because the on-going transition in the newsroom may change conventional beliefs about professionalism of journalists and their roles. As concern about business competence grows, leadership in the newsroom has more opportunities to collaborate with the business department, and business considerations also may influence editorial decisions to increase news readership (Gade, 2004; Rappleye, 1998; Sylvie & Huang, 2005). Wiik (2010) observed that these changes altered the identities of journalists into the realm of commercialism and weakened their role as watchdogs. More journalists experience challenges as they put themselves in line with this new expectation of news organizations (Deuze, 2005; Gade, 2004; Hayes, Singer, & Ceppos, 2007). It may be possible that journalists may get confused about their role, and suffer from a value dissonance caused by a failure of embracing organizational expectations. In particular, as organizations expand and include more diverse personnel, sub-groups may establish their own culture, and pursue their own agendas and goals (Novicevic & Buckley, 2011). Managing those diverse entities is a crucial organizational task for news organizations. In a given situation, evidence that trust positively establishes employees' consensus on their perception of the organizational work environment suggests that trust in the workplace contributes to shared norms and values (Muchinsky, 1977). Cohen and Prusak (2001) argued for the importance of strong trust in blending individuals with

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shared beliefs and values. Investigation into what extent journalists' value system affects informal relationship will open more scholarly discussion about psychological outcomes of institutional constraints on journalists.

Lastly, further analysis is required to examine the alma-mater based social connections inside the newsroom. While it may be true that alma-mater based social connection in other countries is not as strong as South Korea, alma-mater social circles are prevalently found at the top levels of business and politics in other countries as well (Collins, 1979; Kingston & Lewis, 1990; Rivera, 2016; Wakeling & Savage, 2015). Prior evidence in the U.S. and France also demonstrated that graduates of elite schools have similar social identity and a closed social connection (Kingston & Lewis, 1990; Rivera, 2016). As long as the education system is hierarchically constructed with ranking based tiers, alma-mater may still play an important role in socially categorizing others in the workplace. Despite its importance as social status, little is known about the influence of journalists' educational backgrounds not only on career movement but also informal networks. Investigation on this subject will uncover journalists' career mobility inside the newsroom, which has been less highlighted by newsroom scholars. In particular, it is strongly recommended to investigate prestige news outlets as subjects of analysis since alma-mater based social connection is more pronouncedly noticed at the top organizations in the industry (D'Aveni, 1990).

CONCLUSION

The effective use of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) can be a fertile area for future studies on how to facilitate inter-group trust in newsrooms. Particularly in South Korea, the news beat system that resembles the remote working environment highlights the importance of ICT for journalists' interaction. South Korean journalists go to their assigned news beats, such as government offices, police stations, and corporations, for their daily work instead of coming to their newsrooms. This work routine tends to limit journalists' direct interaction opportunities, such as face-to-face meetings. The constraint of traveling time and physical proximity may discourage South Korean journalists from engaging in interpersonal interaction. This working environment is not favorable for journalists to build interpersonal trust with their peers because physical proximity still influences promoting interpersonal interaction (Ronbinson, 2011; Sias & Cahill, 1998). Thus, mediated communication may play a more significant role in South Korea than other countries in promoting journalists' interaction.

ICT should be one of the focal interests for future scholars who are interested in journalists' trust-building. Journalists in South Korea heavily rely on instant messaging services or phone calls to communicate with their peers (Kim, 2016). These communication tools require a much longer time to build interpersonal trust, as Bos et al. (2002) pointed out, compared to face-to-face communication. Inevitably, journalists tend to be vulnerable to misunderstandings and ambiguity in their communication as Daft and Lengel (1986) explained the characteristics of mediated communication in their media richness theory. Text-based communication, such as emails and messaging services,

cannot observe expression or actions of the speakers. Telephoning also gives individuals

a limited volume of cues despite its capacity of delivering tone and nuance of voices.

Trust is hard to obtain through mediated communication and it may not be as strong as

the established through face-to-face communication because of limited capacities of

delivering diverse cues. Thus, analyzing the pattern of communication and finding

practical communication tools to facilitate trust among journalists can add more insight

on trust development in the newsroom.

More discussion about homophily should be incorporated into the current

literature about diversity management in the newsroom. The managerial task for

newsroom diversity in countries such as the U.S. has focused on hiring more minority

groups in the newsroom (Gross et al., 2002; Liebler, 1994). While racial issues have

emerged as a primary interest for scholars in Western countries, more research should be

conducted to reflect characteristics of local labor markets as seen from the current study.

In addition, scholarly interest has remianed on to what extent the increasing diversity in

the newsroom can deliver diverse voices (Carpenter, 2010; Zeldes & Fico, 2005). The

results about the association of newsroom diversity to the diversity of the contents were

found to be mixed (Carpenter, 2010). For instance, differences in journalists' gender

leads to differences in news content as female journalists cited more female non-partisan

news sources than their male counterparts in a gubernatorial election in the U.S.

(Freedman & Fico, 2005). On the other hand, some studies found little influence of

newsroom composition on the news content. For instance, contrary to other findings that

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gender was found to be a significant predictor of journalists' source selection (Zoch & Turk, 1998), Smith (1995) found in her research on television news that ratio of females in local television news management did not have a significant impact on the use of female news sources. Some found that proportional representation does not hold in terms of the relationship between news coverage and its relationship to the newsroom composition (Lavie & Lehman, 2003; Merritt & Gross, 1978; Turk, 1987). Yet, there is no robust explanation for these mixed results. This lack of explanation raises the need for a new perspective on the understanding of newsroom diversity. Future studies should expand the scope of diversity beyond race and gender diversity, and further investigate to what extent their interaction results in news content.

In a given situation, homophily can explain to what extent social interaction transforms newsroom diversity into the successful integration of minority groups. It can function as an indicator of whether the diverse workforce is well-blended. While the virtue of workplace diversity is highly appreciated, increased diversity only results in tension and conflicts with absent organizational efforts of integrating those with a minority status (Holck & Muhr, 2017). The current literature on diversity management in the newsroom may underestimate the importance of informal socialization in newsrooms. Thus, evidence about informal socialization in the newsrooms was presented in a piecemeal manner as scholars of gender and race studies partly covered discriminatory acts against minority groups that arise from informal socialization (Gross et al., 2002; Liebler, 1994). As Gravengaard & Rimestad (2014, p. 83) described the journalists'

informal interaction as "a black box," as it is hard to observe and identify. Only limited amount of knowledge on journalists' informal relationships is available (Gravengaard & Rimestad, 2014; Pritchard & Stonbely, 2007; Rodgers & Thorson, 2003). However, scholars should focus more on journalists' socialization because building trust across groups can be a core element in diversity management that can materialize the virtue of diversity. Trust beyond their own circles can increase mutual understanding across groups and consequently contribute to journalists' more balanced perspectives. Future researchers can benefit from theoretical perspectives and analytic power of the social network for their in-depth assessment of the underlying mechanism of informal socialization.

Also, a newsroom atmosphere in which journalists have a strong sense of competition should be further examined concerning trust building in the newsroom. The cultural norm that prioritizes and cherishes individual competence is prevalent in the newsroom (Argyris, 1974). This internal competition has become a crucial component of modern management in which employees are motivated to achieve better performance (Benndorf & Rau, 2012). However, intense competition also brings many negative consequences that prevent sharing information and knowledge with coworkers, as Argyris (1974) found in his newsroom studies. Prior studies demonstrate that this competitive culture fosters more deceptive activities, such as the omission of important information, and prompts to feign trust among employees (Schweitzer, De Church, & Gibson, 2005). In particular, distrust among peers can be easily observed in news

organizations where journalists have little confidence in organizational justice, which makes them unlikely believe in equal treatment of employees and fair evaluation on employee performance (Hur, 2000). Journalists tend to be motivated to participate in workplace politics as an active player in order to increase the chances of being promoted to an upper-level position (Kim, 2014). The power struggle between the haves and have-nots may deteriorate intergroup trust. In a given situation, managerial resolutions should be investigated in order to reduce internal competition and to promote interpersonal trust in the newsroom. Yet, there are only a limited volume of studies on newsroom management in South Korea and newsrooms remain a less-explored workplace compared to other professionals. There should be more collaborative work required between media professionals and journalism scholars to achieve this research goal.

The recent adoption of the topic-team based work system in the South Korean news industry may be a noticeable institutional change that can soften the competitive atmosphere. Given the history of team-based work systems, most of them failed to achieve their expected success and resulted in the increased internal conflict and competition among team members (Thornton & Rupp, 2006). The South Korean news industry was not an exception to this painful experience of failure in their first attempt in the early 2000s. The failure provided an important lesson that the transformation of the work system requires more organizational efforts beyond the change on the surface. In a given situation, the research conducted by Meyerson and her colleagues (1996) provides some insight into how the topic-team based work systems function as planned, fostering

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interpersonal trust that can lead to sharing knowledge and information. Meyerson and her colleagues (1996) developed a conceptual idea of *swift trust,* describing the tendency for an individual to form trust at the initial stage of team-building. The expectation of individuals that their performance is evaluated and rewarded at the team level heightens *swift trust (*Meyerson et al., 1996*)*. Their findings resonate with the previous failure of the South Korean news media that a collaborative work system failed because of a lack of a proper HR policy, such as a team-based evaluation system (Lee, 2010). Informal network structure does not necessarily reflect an organizational structure, but an organizational structure can be a solid ground on which informal relationships nurture among employees. Therefore, further investigation should be followed in assessing the relationship between the institutional setting and informal socialization, which deepens our understanding of intergroup trust in the newsroom.

Considering institutional efforts, creating a predictable work environment will help solidify intergroup trust in the newsroom. Predictability is a key concept in studies of organizational justice (Forret & Sue Love, 2008). Increasing predictability in performance evaluations and job assignments can facilitate interpersonal trust in the workplace because the predictability eliminates uncertainty involved in workplace relationship with peers (Forret & Sue Love, 2008). Prior research shows that employees tend to commit themselves in sharing knowledge and skills sets, and helping each other in those organizations where employees have a confidence in predicting managerial

procedure (Moorman, 1991). This suggests that employees' trust in their organizations can nurture interpersonal trust in the workplace (Tan & Lim, 2009).

Besides, there should be a further investigation that considers the decision-making processes in the newsroom as an organizational factor in promoting intergroup trust in the newsroom. In general, less-structured and less-aligned work processes increase the uncertainty on workplace decision making because of its unplanned nature (Evans & Davis, 2005). Inevitably, this working environment increases uncertainty because of the difficulty of predicting the behavior of others. Individuals tend to look for an additional source of information. They mainly tend to rely on socio-demographic attributes since they are easily noticeable and can be obtained with the least efforts (Brass, 1985; Cook & Gronke, 2005; Feld, 1982). Those pieces of information help with their decision-making because information tends to reduce the cognitive labor needed to evaluate the expected behavior of others (Cook & Gronke, 2005). A rational model justifies this tendency as rational decision-making in regard to efficiency in decision- making. A large number of studies have shown that individuals find an increased level of perceived trustworthiness within the same socio-demographic groups (Winter & Kataria, 2013).

Integrating employees with diverse backgrounds within one team is a challenge for managers. The lack of employee consensus and belief about an expected response from organizations tends to lead employees to pursue their personal agenda and interests (Argyris, 1974). Thus, the transparent decision-making agreeable to most of the employees, in areas of the job assignment and performance evaluation, can be critical to

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preventing employees from engaging in dirty work invisible to formal decision-making lines. However, newsroom operations in South Korea lack a clear guideline on HR policies on promotion and rewards, and there is no established matrix for measuring journalists' performance (Jung, 2009). Without an established consensus on those HR policies, journalists tend to rely on informal relationships to get promoted and gain rewards for their work. Increased subjectivity in managerial decisions regarding promotion and pay scales bolsters individual decision-making. Some anecdotal evidence revealed that South Korean journalists believed that important decisions are made by a few select individuals and that such a practice was likely to make them recipients of workplace injustice (Kim, 2012). The volume of studies on decision-making in the newsroom and its impact on newsroom trust are scant, and thus, any investigation on this subject should be welcomed in future studies.

Appendices

APPENDIX A – GOF DIAGNOSIS FOR MODEL 7 AT *THE DAILY SUN*.

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics
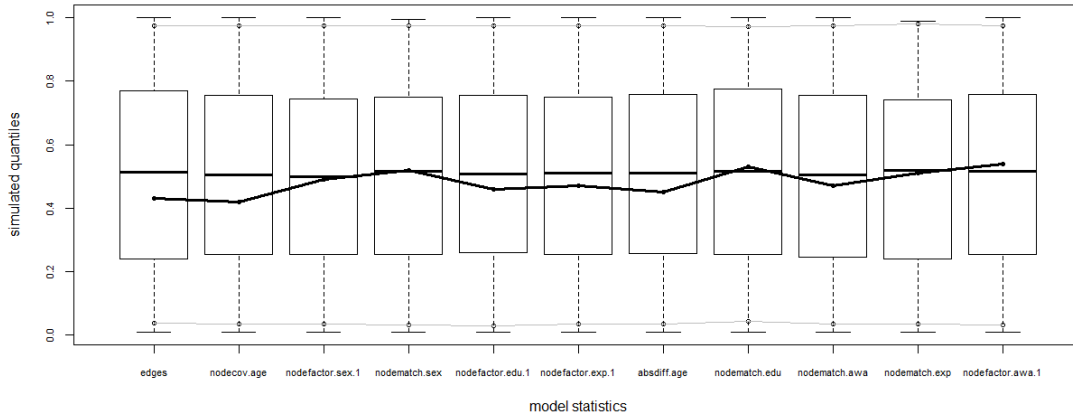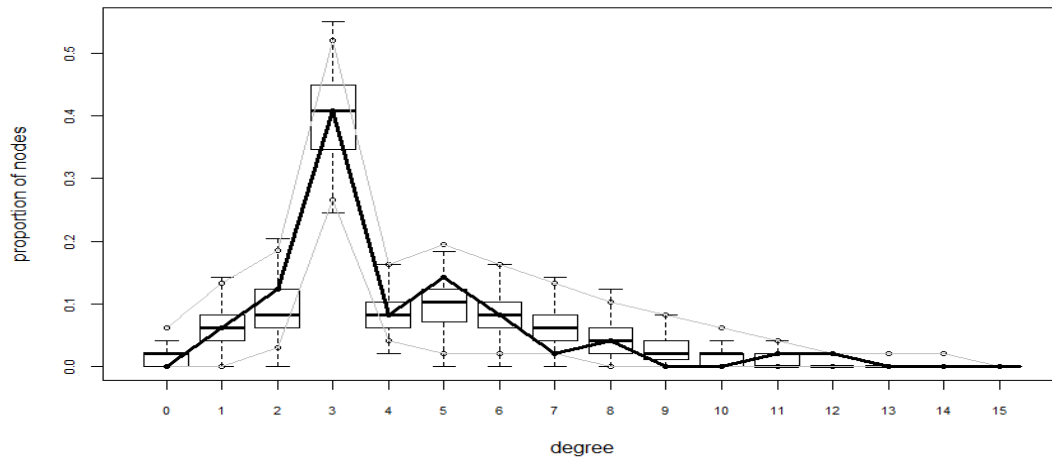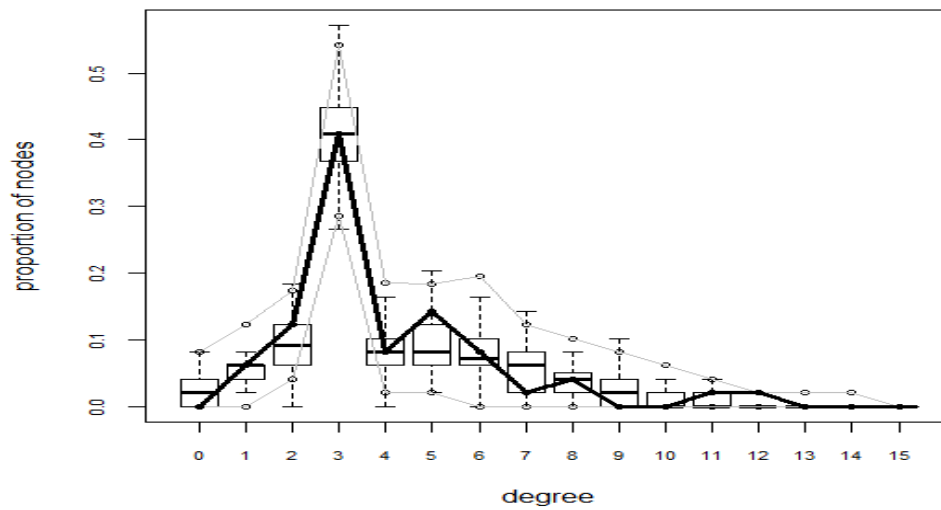

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

APPENDIX D – GOF DIAGNOSIS FOR MODEL 4 AT *THE DAILY SUN*.
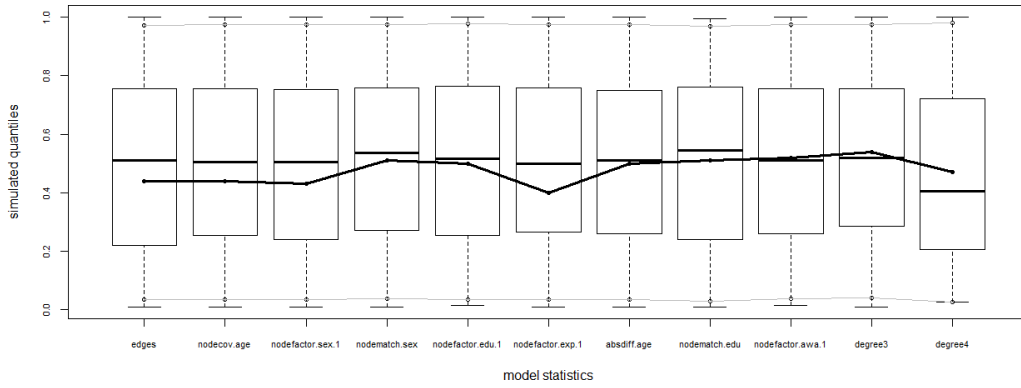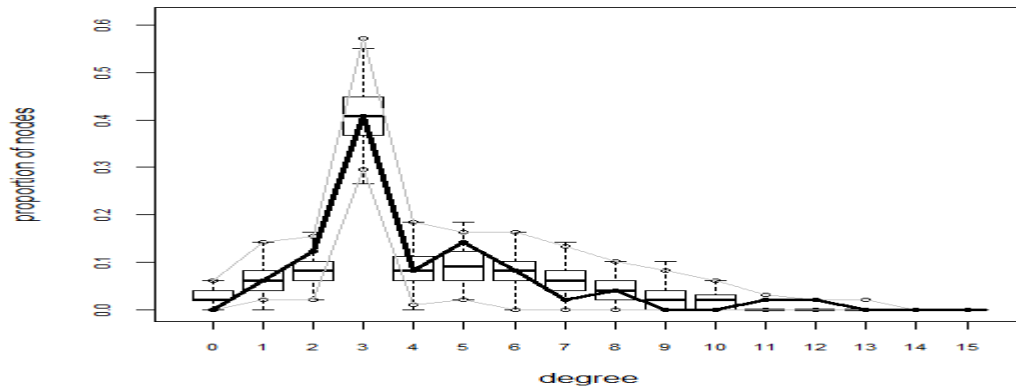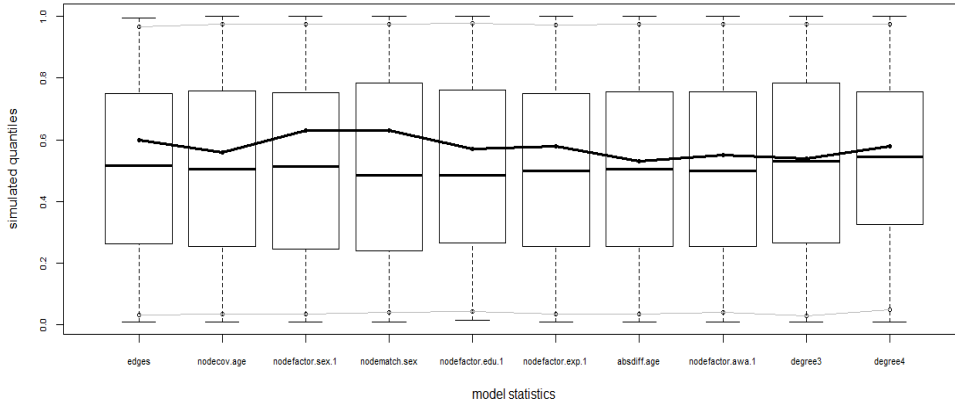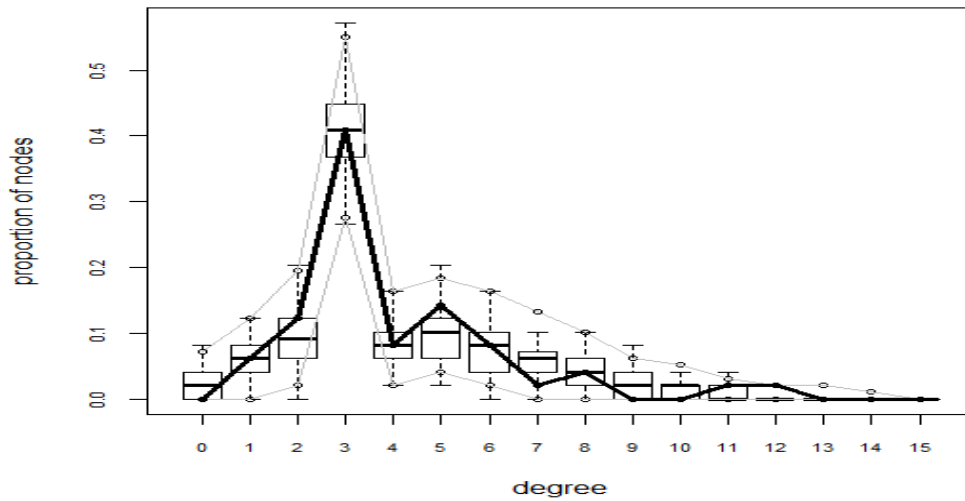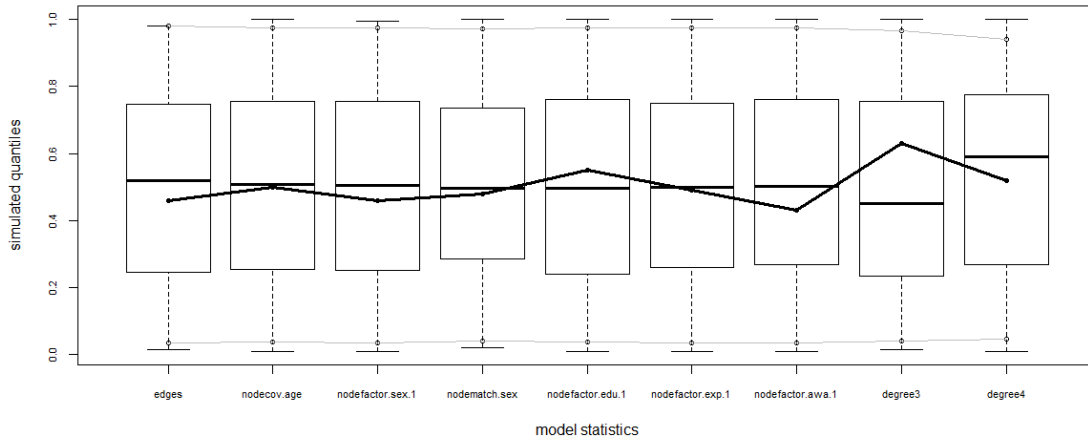
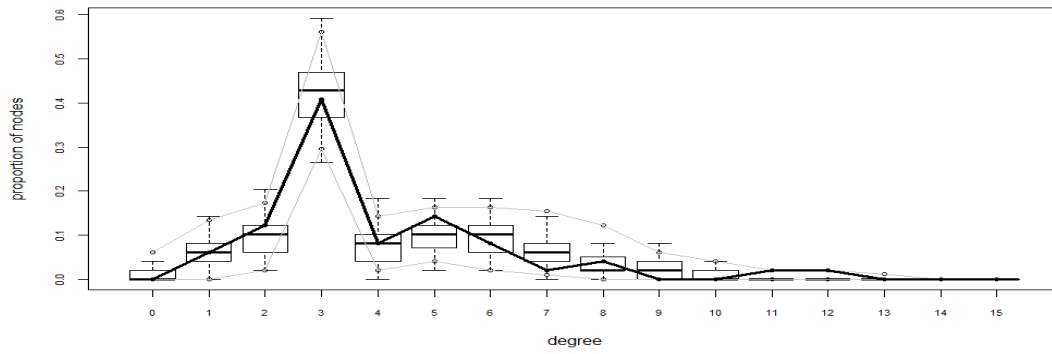Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

APPENDIX E – GOF DIAGNOSIS FOR MODEL 3 AT *THE DAILY SUN*.

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

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Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

APPENDIX H– GOF DIAGNOSIS FOR MODEL 5 AT *THE DAILY MOON*.
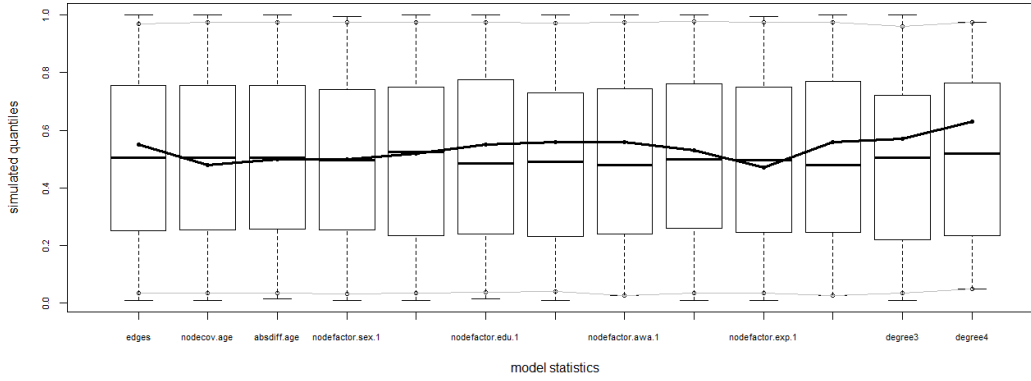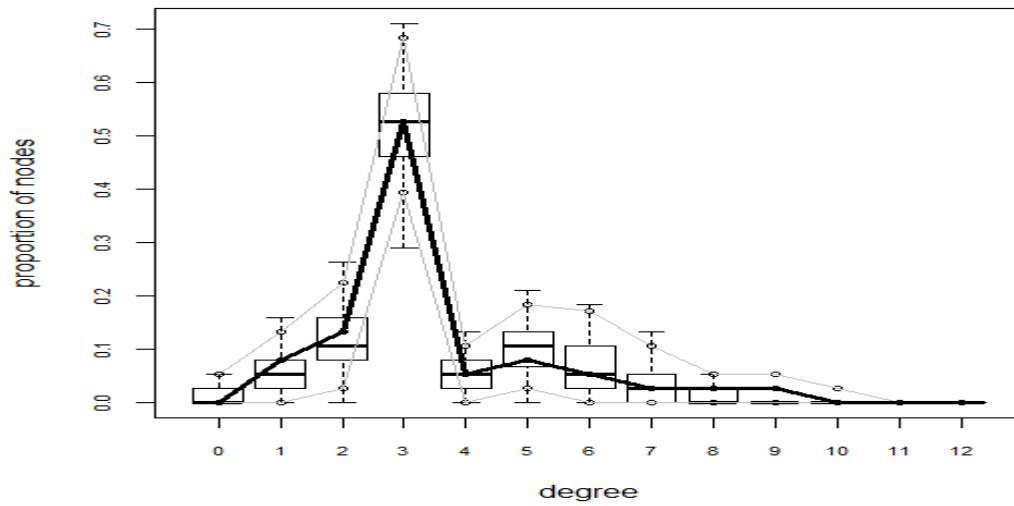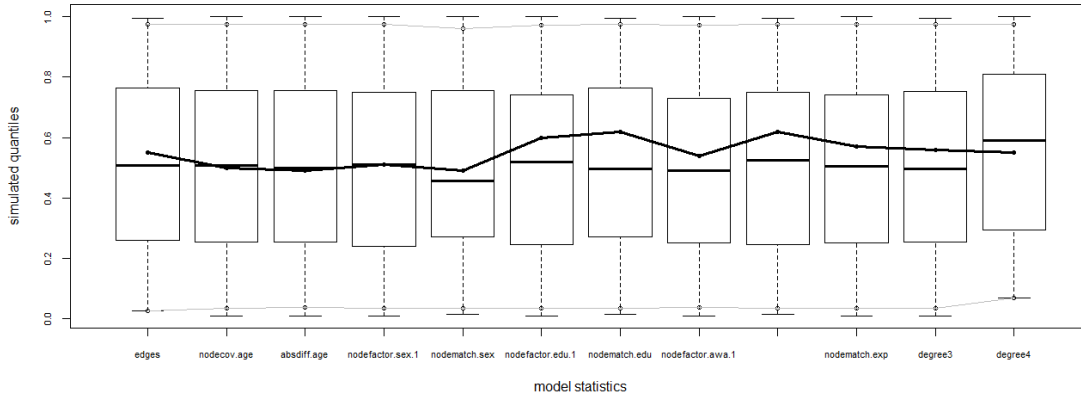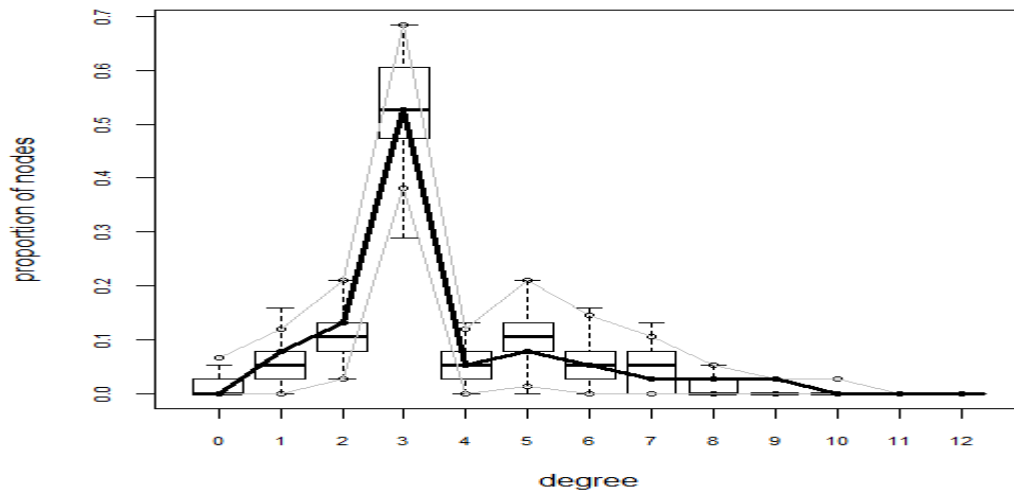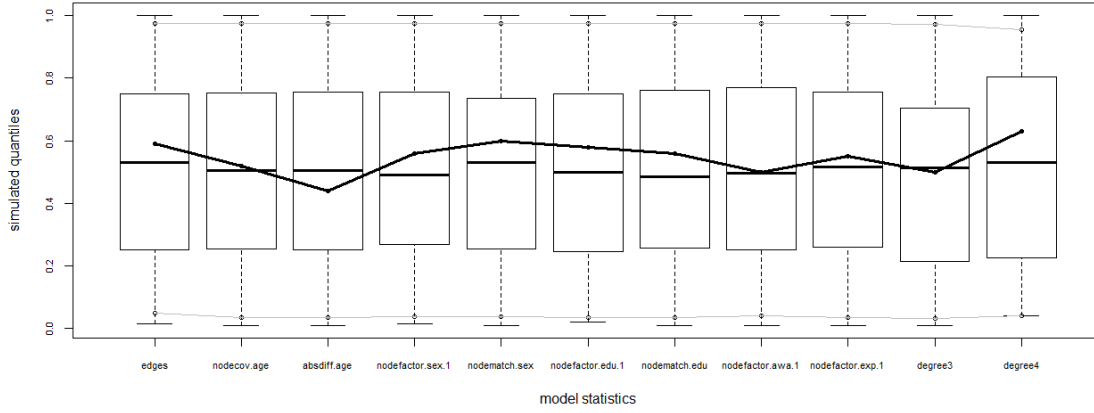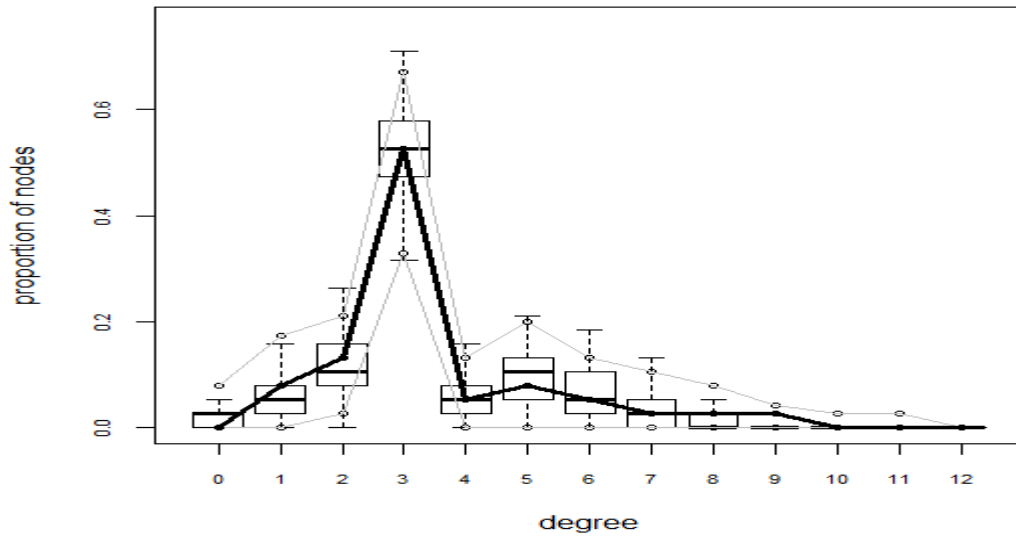
Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

APPENDIX I– GOF DIAGNOSIS FOR MODEL4 AT *THE DAILY MOON*.

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics
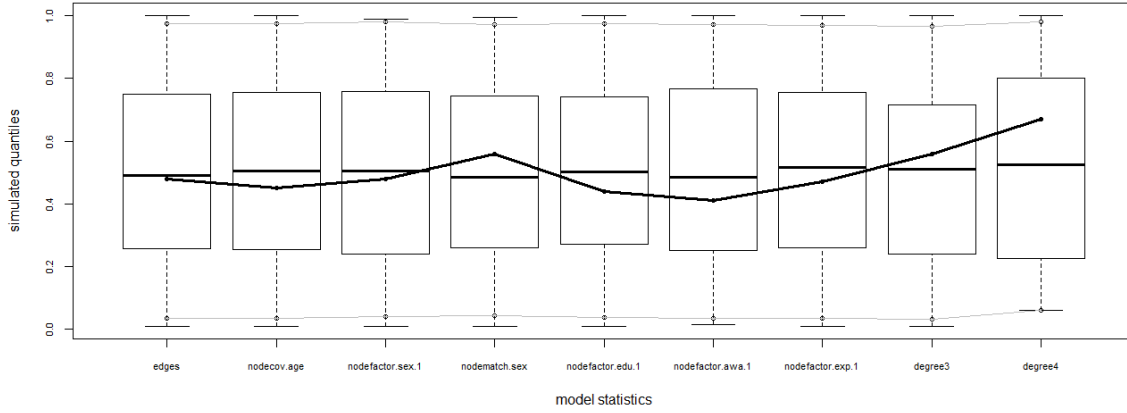
Goodness-of-fit diagnostics

Goodness-of-fit diagnostics
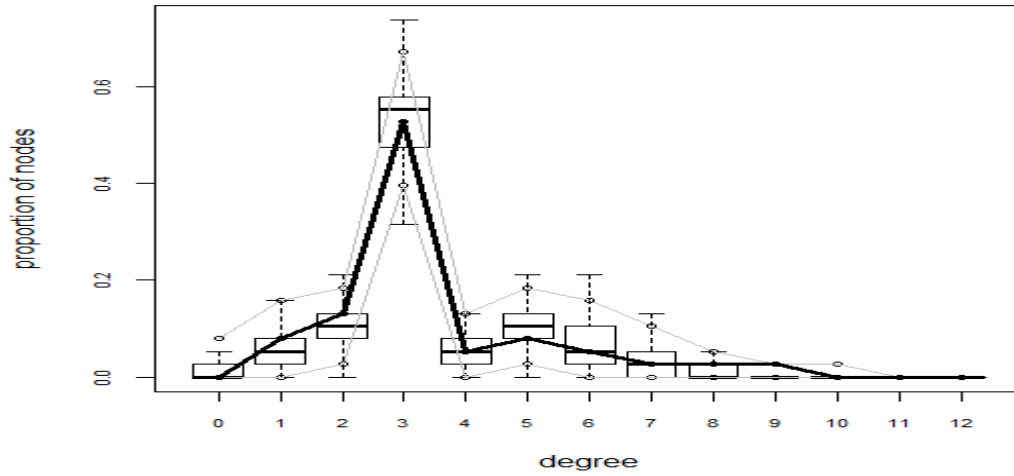
Q1. Do you trust (name) and go to (name) for help or advice on work related matters? List at least three news reporters at the editorial department of your newspaper.

A._____

B._____

C._____

Q2. What is your relationship with a person, A? Please click on 'Yes' or 'No' (multiple answers allowed.)

a. We graduated from same college.   (Yes/No)

b. We are currently assigned to the same department together. (Yes/No)

c. We were previously assigned to the same department together. (Yes/No)

d. We are of the same gender (Yes/No)

e. We started journalism career at the same newspaper at the same time (Yes/No)

Q3. What is your relationship with a person, B? Please click on 'Yes' or 'No' (multiple answers allowed.).

a. We graduated from same college.   (Yes/No)

b. We are currently assigned to the same department together. (Yes/No)

c. We were previously assigned to the same department together. (Yes/No)

d. We are of the same gender. (Yes/No)

e. We started journalism career at the same newspaper at the same time (Yes/No)

Q4. What is your relationship with a person, B? Please click on 'Yes' or 'No'

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(multiple answers allowed.)

a. We graduated from same college.   (Yes/No)

b. We are currently assigned to the same department together. (Yes/No)

c. We were previously assigned to the same department together. (Yes/No)

d. We are of the same gender (Yes/No)

e. We started journalism career at the same newspaper at the same time (Yes/No)

Q5. Do you think that the person A and person B whom you nominated trust each other in   terms of trust in discussing the important work-related matters?" Please click on 'Yes' or   'No'.

a. Yes, they trust each other (Go to Q5-1)

b. No, they distrust each other

Q) 5-1. What is their relationship? Please click on 'Yes' or 'No' (multiple answers allowed.)

a. They graduated from same college.   (Yes/No)

b. They are currently assigned to the same department together. (Yes/No)

c. They were previously assigned to the same department together. (Yes/No)

d. They are of the same gender (Yes/No)

e. They started journalism career at the same newspaper at the same time (Yes/No).

Q6. Do you think that the person A and person C whom you nominated trust each other in terms of trust in discussing the important work-related matters?" Please click on 'Yes' or 'No'.

a. Yes, they trust each other (Go to Q6-1)

b. No, they distrust each other

Q6-1. What is their relationship? Please click on 'Yes' or 'No' (multiple answers allowed.)

a. They graduated from same college.   (Yes/No)

b. They are currently assigned to the same department together. (Yes/No)

c. They were previously assigned to the same department together. (Yes/No)

d. They are of the same gender (Yes/No)

e. They started journalism career at the same newspaper at the same time (Yes/No).

Q7. Do you think that the person B and person C whom you nominated trust each other in   terms of trust in discussing the important work-related matters?" Please click on 'Yes' or   'No'.

a. Yes, they trust each other

b. No, they distrust each other

a. Yes (Go to Q7-1)

b. No

Q7-1. What is their relationship? Please click on 'Yes' or 'No' (multiple answers allowed.)

a. They graduated from same college.   (Yes/No)

b. They are currently assigned to the same department together. (Yes/No)

c. They were previously assigned to the same department together. (Yes/No)

d. They are of the same gender (Yes/No)

e. They started journalism career at the same newspaper at the same time (Yes/No).

Q8. What is your gender?

a.   Male

b. Female

Q9. How long have you been working at the current newspaper that you are working for?

_____

Q10. How long have you been working as a journalist?

_____

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