The Nature of Success and Failure in Television Journalism and the Role of Education

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THE NATURE OF SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN
TELEVISION JOURNALISM AND THE
ROLE OF EDUCATION

by

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ABSTRACT
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This qualitative study used interviews and participant observations of practicing television journalists. The on-the-job successes and failures were studied in order to understand the divide between educational training and professional practice. The findings of this study should help educators better understand the nature of on-the-job success and failure as articulated by working television journalists. In turn, educators can use that knowledge to develop educational strategies that will better prepare students for entry into the profession.

In constructing a definition of success, the informants identified the following elements: success is in all levels; success is relative to a journalist's age; success is never a finale; success is moving forward, working forward; success is being accurate; success is having a positive impact as a professional; and success means avoiding preventable on-air mistakes. Additional individual characteristics were identified. According to the informants, failure means a lack of certain characteristics, such as being factually incorrect or biased, not accomplishing the core purposes of TV news, stubbornness for producers, and not finding the story for reporters and anchors.

The informants were ambivalent about their prior education. They felt it was necessary to learn about the theory of journalism in their educational training. However, they did not feel their education prepared them sufficiently for industry expectations.

The theoretical framework of organizational socialization was used as a lens to analyze the findings. By clarifying the elements of the socialization process, new graduates may have a better idea what to expect in the early stages of their careers. Educators can find ways to enhance their teaching by introducing students to the tacit practices and conventions of the industry. By doing so, interns and new graduates may be better equipped for the transition points in the socialization phases of news work.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

For decades, critics of journalism education have argued that graduates of journalism-related programs are not prepared sufficiently for success in the field (Bales, 1992; Becker, Fruit, & Caudill, 1987; Bullard & McLeary, 1994; Dennis, 1990; Dickson & Brandon, 2000; Dickson, 1996; Lindley, 1988; Medsger, 1996; Porter, 2004). Gardner, Czikszentmihalyi, and Damon (2001) also proposed that the long-term future of the industry relies upon improving educational practices. They and other critics suggest that journalism educators examine effective practices of successful journalists in order to bridge the divide between education and practice or risk further criticism and ultimately obsolescence. The purpose of this study was to interview and observe practicing television journalists regarding their successes and failures in order to understand any variances between the journalism industry and journalism-related education. The findings of this study should help educators better understand the nature of on-the-job success and failure as articulated by working television journalists. In turn, educators can use that knowledge to develop educational strategies that will better prepare students for entry into the profession. Educators will have a clearer understanding of problems identified by journalists and can develop successful strategies for dealing with the issues. That way, students may learn how to deal with job demands before they enter the workforce.

Background of the Problem

The discipline of journalism education is the subject of much scrutiny, debate and criticism. At the center of this debate is how to effectively teach undergraduate students for working in the field of journalism. Journalism educators and scholars have attempted for decades to define the scope and nature of the field, and thus, the body of knowledge that must be taught in order to prepare students for the industry. For all their efforts, research (Bales, 1992; Becker et al., 1987; Bullard & McLeary, 1994; Dennis, 1990; Dickson & Brandon, 2000; Dickson, 1996; Lindley, 1988; Medsger, 1996; Porter, 2004) consistently shows a discrepancy between what is being taught and what hiring managers in newsrooms say needs to be taught.

The findings in the literature (Bales, 1992; Becker et al., 1987; Bullard & McLeary, 1994; Dennis, 1990; Dickson & Brandon, 2000; Dickson, 1996; Lindley, 1988; Medsger, 1996; Porter, 2004) regarding what is taught in universities compared to what is expected of graduates when they enter the field of journalism is worth considerable investigation. Graduates entering the field are expected to write accurately using proper grammar, gather information on routine news stories, write breaking news stories, and edit and rewrite their stories (Frank N. Magid Associates, 1974). Indeed, news directors in hiring positions desire employees who "could do the job from the day they walked onto the job" (Becker, et al., 1987, p. 63). There is little time – or patience – for training novice journalists on the job. Media companies admit a lack of patience in training

inexperienced journalists and have discovered that students with a journalism-related degree are a reliable and inexpensive source of labor (Meyer, 2004).

To some extent, the field of journalism is unique in its expectations of new graduates. The nature of the work – seeking the latest information for quick dissemination – creates an intense, race-against-time environment. Little time is left for proper training of novices, a somewhat different scenario than other types of occupations. In this researcher's experience, novices are expected to learn quickly by listening carefully, observing others and modeling organizational behavior. Unfortunately, most of what a novice must learn is tacit knowledge doled out fractionally by veterans (Schön, 1986). This gap in knowledge for novices creates ample opportunities for them to make errors and mistakes inadvertently. Knowledge related to characteristics and attributes of successful journalists would be helpful to novice journalists. Yet research on this area is distinctly lacking.

Identifying practices that constitute on-the-job success is somewhat ambiguous in the literature and is often referred to as "good work" (Gardner et al., 2001) or "best work" (Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2007). Weaver et al. (2007) found that practicing journalists identified their "best work" as having reflected their personal values and had a strong audience impact, such as coverage of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Gardner et al. (2001) uncovered a surprising finding about the "good work" for journalists. "Good work" in this sense is a product that leads to feelings of success by reflecting socially responsible practices. The findings established the following: "The good work methods

examined are solutions that journalists have worked out either on their own or with peers or mentors. We did not find a single instance of a strategy learned from a school of journalism, a training program, or a book or manual" (p. 205). This powerful finding underscores the significance of studying effective practices for journalists and, in turn, passing on those successful strategies to journalism educators.

While there is no single set of educational or training requirements for becoming a journalist, it is increasingly common for a journalist to have at least a bachelor's degree. A bachelor's degree is "much more the standard educational credential of U.S. journalists than [in 1917], especially for those just entering journalism" (Weaver et al, 2007, p. 37). According to Weaver et al. (2007), nearly 93 percent of television news journalists held a bachelor's degree, and 89 percent of all news media personnel held a bachelor's degree prior to entering the field (see Table 1 for college graduates by media type). Becker et al. (1987) pinpointed the issues in journalism education: a lack of a "typical" curriculum; a debate on the balance between practical training and the broader liberal arts coursework; and the fact that fragmented journalism programs reflect historical changes and developments rather than a comprehensive master plan.

Table 1

Number of U.S. Journalists who are College Graduates by Media Type
(Percentage who graduated from college in 2002)

Media Type	2002 (%)*
Television	92.6
Radio	76.5
Daily newspapers	91.9
Weekly newspapers	79.3
Total sample	89.3

Source: Weaver et al. (2007), *The American Journalist in the 21st Century,* p. 38.

The wider challenges of the journalism industry go deeper than a lack of sufficient educational preparation. As market forces have increasingly shaped current media practices, journalists must sometimes face the choice between conflicting loyalties of truth and profit. Herman (1999) discussed the reasons for the contemporary market-driven journalism: a transition from the wealthy, family-owned newspapers to a publicly-traded media; increased market competition due to the growth of broadcast and electronic media; and companies that are now forced to cater to niche markets to maintain profits. These market forces are important to sensitize the researcher to possible influences on successful practices by the informants.

A 1947 report by the Hutchins Commission tried to address the concerns arising from an emerging commercial press. The Hutchins Commission was initiated to study the status and health of the U.S. press and advocated for

sweeping reforms. It argued that the press needed to turn back to its responsibilities to the public, as the press was originally designed to serve the public (Knowlton and Parson, 1994). In response to the growing concerns, a commitment to ethical standards was taken by professional journalism organizations, such as the Society of Professional Journalists, which issued a formal code of ethics in 1987. The six tenets of the code of ethics include responsibility, Freedom of the Press, ethics, accuracy and objectivity, fair play, and a pledge to abide by the ethics. Schön (1987) added to the dialogue on ethical issues faced by professionals, pointing out that violating ethical standards will effect disapproval and dissatisfaction by outside parties. It is commonly believed that such external pressures influence the health and status of journalism today.

As the range of journalism continues to expand due to technological advances, such as cable news and the Internet, it becomes increasingly important to further investigate the divide between the university and industry. A lack of consensus between the two entities has created distrust, and some have concluded that college education will become obsolete if not revamped to meet the needs of the industry (Meyer, 2004). Yet the majority of new hires for television have a journalism or related degree (Meyer, 2008; Weaver et al., 2007), which demonstrates the integrity a journalism degree still holds. As the professional field of journalism continues to evolve, so too must journalism education in reinterpreting its specific objectives and tasks.

Statement of the Problem

Numerous studies (Adam, 1993; Bales, 1992: Becker et al., 1987; Bullard & McLeary, 1994; Dennis, 1990; Dickson & Brandon, 2000; Dickson, 1996; Lindley, 1988; Medsger, 1996; Porter, 2004) have shown that the perceived gap between college education and existing workforce skills is sizeable. New graduates are entering the field without respectable writing and interviewing skills or the ability to communicate and tell accurate and interesting stories (Bales, 1992; Dickson & Brandon, 2000). While a bachelor's degree is still the accepted educational training, 20% of news directors were disappointed with the quality of recent journalism school graduates, according to Frank N. Magid Associates (1974). News directors were disappointed in five specific journalistic abilities: good grammar, accuracy, ability to gather information on a routine breaking news story, ability to write a routine news story, and ability to rewrite (Frank N. Magid Associates, 1974). Furthermore, "newcomers to any environment are faced with the difficult task of learning the ways of speaking and doing required by that setting" (Chin, 1991, p. 18).

Graduates themselves criticize their inadequate preparation during college. They cite a lack of practical experience, not learning about courts and government, dealing with deadlines, managing the daily workload, developing their reporting techniques, shouldering multiple responsibilities, adapting to journalism as a business, making the necessary personal commitment and sacrifices, dealing with sensitive issues, and fear of making mistakes and failing (Grimes, 2001; Mencher, 1990; Zirbes, 2005). The existing research in the area

adds evidence to this argument; the industry is calling for change in the preparation for journalists (Becker & Kosicki, 1996a; Becker & Kosicki, 1996b; Porter, 2004).

Much remains to be understood in this field. No research has systematically investigated the factors that determine on-the-job success and failure for television news journalists based on their own perceptions. The goal of this study is to investigate success and failure in order to better understand the education-practice gap outlined above. This study will examine journalists' perceptions of their own on-the-job success or failure. The descriptions of success and failure will add to the existing body of literature. Some of the factors identified by journalists may contribute to better educational preparation and to greater understanding of television journalism as a profession.

Goal of the Study

The goal of this study will be to describe the nature of perceived success and failure and the role of prior education for broadcast journalists in their natural setting. Accordingly, this study will use depth interviews and participant observations to generate data on perceptions of success and failure. Then, the data will be analyzed and interpreted. The interviews are designed to allow informants to discuss what is most salient to them within the scope of the theoretical framework. Direct observations will complement the interviews and help to triangulate the assumptions generated during the analysis phase. Observations will allow the researcher to directly witness individual, social and cultural processes that lead to success and failure and to develop an explanation

of those processes beyond what particular subjects may articulate.

As the individual, social and cultural processes leading to success are important to this study, and the research questions and design warrant extensive fieldwork, an ethnographic approach was taken. Furthermore, Smith (2001) recommended an ethnographic approach for studies that aim to understand tacit craft knowledge, such as is the case with the nature of journalism.

One way to align any variances in educational practices with the journalism profession is to gain a deeper understanding of what it means to be successful in the field of television news from the perspective of news professionals. Examining their view of significant factors that contribute to success and failure is also necessary. Gardner, Czikszentmihalyi, and Damon (2002) outlined a basic format for achieving understanding within the profession of journalism: the first phase involves investigating the problem; next comes understanding; and finally, influencing the training and practices of future workers in the profession. To accomplish this, Gardner et al. (2002) suggested developing a set of recommendations about promising practices for journalism-related programs. Schön (1987) stressed the importance of fully integrating professional knowledge into schools in order to prepare students for the real-world demands of an industry.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are intended to respond to the call in the literature for an increased understanding of the nature of success and failure for practicing

television journalists and the role of their educational training. As such, the following study will determine:

1. The primary purpose(s) of television news according to practicing television journalists.

2. How practicing television journalists describe their own professional on-the-job successes and failures in television news.

3. The role formal education played in their preparation for success or failure in the field of television news.

4. The implications of the findings for journalism-related education according to practicing television journalists.

Standards in Educational Training for Journalists

Isolating the standards or qualities of journalism-related education is difficult in that no one body of knowledge is consistently taught. However, the rough historical trends in journalism-related education are helpful as a backdrop for this study. From 1869 through the early 1900s, training was heavily vocational. This vocational training included reporting, copyediting, feature and editorial writing, criticism, history, comparative journalism, and ethics (Lindley, 1975). There was little agreement during this time on how to balance the practical aspects of the occupational training with the theoretical content. In the 1920s, journalism training shifted to a more liberal arts focus, with social science and humanities leanings. There was an emphasis on rural journalism, as schools were intending to train country editors. In the 1940s, it shifted to journalism as applied science. This shift likely stemmed from the division between

communication and journalism schools and the resulting confusion of the place of journalism in a university.

Dressel (1960) asserted two types of education have existed through time: a) professional – in which practitioners of an occupation are prepared for the job; and b) liberal – in which a broad base of knowledge is acquired for cultivating thinking and reasoning skills. A liberal education is not enough in and of itself for practical reasons. The dilemma then becomes how to balance the professional and liberal curriculum to produce graduates for their occupations while also producing citizens to think and act in thoughtful ways to navigate the complexities of a democratic society. Dressel (1960) further asserted that there are three purposes of journalism education: a) to develop students into effective citizens; b) to cultivate a useful, full and satisfying life; and c) to provide basic preparation for becoming a practicing journalist. The first two purposes would be satisfied by a liberal education while the last of the purposes calls for a professional education.

Ideally, a school should prepare graduates for the highest levels of performance in the profession. Moreover, the aim of a journalism school should be "to create educational programs that are so compelling that the most promising future leaders in journalism decide that a professional education is critical to a successful career and life" (Bollinger, 2003). According to Weaver et al. (2007), journalists with a formal liberal arts education valued their training highly. Yet Adam (1993) criticized journalism schools, calling them "little more than trade schools… following industry, not leading it" (p. 8). Adam (1993)

contended that journalism education is too functional and divorced from the higher reaches of authorship by failing to connect journalism coursework to the broader university.

Promising Practices for Journalism Education

While problems are well documented from the perspectives of scholars and newsroom supervisors, there is little recent literature that identifies promising educational practices based on the experiences of successful practitioners. Because problems are poorly understood, there is a need to develop and document promising strategies by those working in the field. The promising strategies identified as a result of this study can be utilized as a means to bridge any gaps between ineffective and effective educational preparation. For the purposes of this research project, promising practices refers to practices that establish fresh and innovative strategies for implementing change in journalism-related education.

In 1960, Dressel attempted to address the promising educational practices by offering a few general recommendations. As administrators at colleges determined the model of journalism education and its relation to the broader liberal arts program, it was suggested journalism schools become independent entities, as they will then have greater incentive and autonomy in developing a strong, integrated liberal arts component. A sequential, integrated approach was needed in the program so the courses would be meaningfully linked to each other. A recommended ratio of 25% professional skills courses to 75% liberal arts courses for a journalism program was put forth.

Professional Standards in the Journalism Industry

Journalists are expected to satisfy the professional standards of the industry, which include ethics, meeting deadlines, good writing, and a journalism degree. Professional ethics for journalists play a role in determining industry standards. The members of the Society of Professional Journalists voluntarily adopted a code of ethics in 1996 for practitioners. The ethical imperatives include the following: seek the truth and report it, which means being fair and testing the accuracy of information; minimize harm to sources and treat them as humans deserving of respect; act independently by avoiding conflicts of interest; and be accountable to readers, viewers, listeners, and each other. Yet, from a practical standpoint, research (Bales, 1992: Dickson & Brandon, 2000; Haroldson & Harvey, 1979) indicates that recent graduates of journalism-related programs are not equipped to handle the intense deadlines or the expected level of writing in the profession. Meyer (2004) explores the concern by some newspaper editors, stating editors do not accept that there is one particular body of knowledge to be learned during higher education courses. These newspaper editors reported that a general liberal arts degree is better suited to newspaper journalism than a journalism degree (Meyer, 2004). However, statistics demonstrate that journalists in television, radio, and daily newspapers were more likely to hold a journalism or related degree than those in other news organizations (Weaver et al., 2007). It follows that television news agencies still turn to journalism-related graduates to fill positions. In 2000, 94 percent of new hires for television journalism jobs held a journalism-related degree; the number dropped to 78 percent for print jobs in

2000 (Meyer, 2004). As stated in Weaver et al. (2007), a degree in journalism or mass communication is "close to a necessary condition for an entry-level journalism job in U.S. mainstream news media" (p. 43). While a degree was found to be a necessity, news judgment was developed during on-the-job training (Weaver et al., 2007).

Reasons for Gaps between Education and Practice

Schön (1983) studied the nature of professions and concluded that any gap between educational preparation and professional practice is a common predicament. He suggested that the reason for the split between higher education and practice can be traced to the Positivist curriculum, a term and approach common in higher education institutions in the U.S. The Positivist approach is known for being the root cause between research and practice in professional schools.

A positivist curriculum includes three main doctrines: a) conviction that empirical science is the only source of positive knowledge; b) intention to cleanse men's minds of mysticism and superstition; and c) extending scientific knowledge and technical control to human society and to make technology political and moral (Schön, 1983). This epistemology meant that the professions were to give their practical problems to researchers in the universities, who would, in turn, give back to the professions new knowledge to apply and test in the discipline. Scholars would research and create theories of knowledge for which practitioners of the discipline would put into action. Today, the threads of this curriculum are well-embedded within the fabric of universities. Schön's (1983) examination of

higher education institutions raises two important questions in bridging the gap between higher education and professional practice: a) What is the kind of knowing in which competent practitioners engage? and b) How is professional knowledge similar and different to the knowledge presented in schools?

Significance of the Study

This study will fill the gap in scholarly literature regarding the nature of the experience of success and failure for beginning television journalists. Once we have a clearer idea of how success is viewed and experienced by practitioners of the field, we can then begin addressing any shortcomings of journalism-related education. Therefore, this study will contribute to an understanding of how perceptions of success and failure relate to issues in educational preparation for the profession.

The research project should be of interest to journalism educators and practicing journalists. Journalism educators interested in the issues and strategies related to successful careers in journalism will benefit from the results of this research project. Educators of English, creative writing, and mass communication will also benefit, as will practicing journalists who are interested in the development of the next generation of journalists. Further, broadcast journalism is not an industry interested in on-the-job training, particularly for entry-level positions (Porter, 2004). Thus, it is in the best interest of the industry to consider what is needed early in one's career to be a successful television journalist. A final audience is comprised of the undergraduate students themselves. Students majoring in journalism or a related program are expected

to benefit from the insights gained in the study.

Theoretical Framework for the Study

Professional broadcast journalists are members of the larger field of broadcast journalism, as well as members of a particular organization. For television journalists, they are organizational members of a news station. Hearne (1991) stated that organizational socialization is a central component of the success or failure of any professional employee. The theoretical perspective selected for this research project will be organizational socialization, asserting that socialization into any profession is an individual, social, and cultural process (Filstad, 2004). As such, it demonstrates the need to study these processes within their natural setting, the newsroom. Likewise, Gardner et al. (2001) point out that "good work" is a result of learning from peers, mentors, and others on the job, reinforcing the social and cultural elements of organizational socialization.

This study will use the theoretical perspective of organizational socialization to capture and address some of the most salient and instructive perceptions of broadcast journalists. According to the literature on organizational socialization, if the individual, social, and cultural processes of organizational socialization are present, then broadcast journalists should perceive themselves as successful (Filstad, 2004). In analyzing the data, success and failure will be considered through the lens of Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) model of organizational socialization. This framework will help identify the perceptions of success and failure and the role of prior education in the context of broadcast journalism. The theoretical perspective will act as a lens to examine the data

collected by comparing with how the data adds to, corresponds, and diverges with the existing literature. Further, it will help in the process of identifying promising practices for journalism-related educators.

At the outset, it should be stated that the previous literature on organizational success focused primarily on objective, measurable indicators of success, such as salary, promotions, records of performance, tests of knowledge skills, and other such assessments (Davies, 1970). While these measures might equate success for some practitioners, based on the investigator's experience, many practitioners will perceive these measures to be inadequate in explaining their own experiences. Rich and complex descriptions of success are anticipated to emerge as a result of this study.

Examining the role of the newsroom in the process of organizational socialization will be central to this study of success and failure as perceived by television journalists. Determining behaviors that lead to success and failure for journalists are important as the behaviors: a) enhance a person's chances for becoming a successful employee; b) helps prevent turnover; c) increase job satisfaction and productivity; and d) increase the organization's chances in being competitive in the marketplace (Kreitner & Kinick, 1992).

Limitations of the Study

This is a qualitative study of the perceptions of practicing television journalists in which their understandings of success, failure and prior education were probed. Observations and in-depth interviews were used as the primary methods for studying their perceptions. While survey instruments are useful in

collecting large amounts of data, this qualitative study used a small sample size of seven informants. This small-scale study was useful in exploring deep understandings of the research questions (Gay & Airasian, 2003; Merriam, 1998; Rock, 2001). The small sample size was limited also by the time and resources available, practical concerns acknowledged by Cassel and Symon (2004). After seven months in the field, data saturation was reached. Yet, as Silverman (2005) cautioned, multiple methods and data saturation do not equate the whole truth or picture. Rather, the informants provided insights on their perceptions of success and failure.

The informants were chosen for their ability to contribute to the research questions of the study. They were selected for their level of experience in the field, ability to speak as a member of the community, and willingness to participate in the study. Purposive sampling was appropriate for a qualitative study directed by an independent, unfunded researcher (Silverman, 2005). The informants and setting chosen for the study reasonably provides access to the information sought. However, it is conceivable that there are individual and institutional peculiarities that may not allow transferability of data.

As this was a study of perceptions of practicing journalists, the specific educational institutions, journalism programs and curriculum components were not included. While all the informants each held a bachelor's degree, they graduated from different universities. The specific elements listed above may limit the transferability of the findings.

The data generated from the interviews and observations were analyzed through the lens of the theoretical framework. The themes that emerged offer descriptions of success and failure for practicing journalists. The in-depth nature of the study and the small number of informants limits the degree to which this study can be generalized to television news journalists as a whole.

The findings in this study depend in part on journalists' reflections of their professional and educational experiences and thus carry the limitations of any self-reported data. Some informants provided subjective narratives of their accomplishments. Accordingly, verification of narratives was sought through participant observations.

Overview of the Dissertation

In the competitive job market of television news and in an industry that is changing the way it works, it is important to investigate the goals and purposes of television journalism and the educational training most effective for new graduates. To this aim, a qualitative study was constructed that sought to examine the experiences of both novice and veteran practicing journalists. This study provides important information for future journalists, journalism educators, and the industry itself in that it will be able to more readily convey its expectations of practitioners.

The background, results and implications of this study are explained in the five chapters of this report. The first chapter introduces the reader to the problem and the significance of the study. The second chapter offers a literature review of salient themes relevant to this study. In the literature review, a theoretical model

is developed, drawing from an organizational socialization paradigm. Central to this subject is what journalism is for and how it should function. Competing definitions and descriptions of journalism are offered in Chapter 2, as are the goals and purposes of journalism. A historical review delineating the changing models of American journalism is also offered in Chapter 2. The third chapter discusses the methods and research design of the study. Chapter 3 also addresses the selection of participants and settings. Chapter 4 offers the results of the study and a data analysis. Connections to the theoretical frameworks are made. Chapter 5 discusses the implications of the results for interested parties and the implications of the findings. A revised theoretical framework of organizational socialization is offered. Chapter 5 also offers recommendations for future studies.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

As identified in the preceding section, this qualitative study will answer the following research questions: What is the purpose of television news according to practicing television journalists? How do practicing television journalists describe their own professional on-the-job successes and failures in television news? What role has formal education played in their preparation for success in the field of television news? What are the implications of the findings for journalism-related education according to practicing television journalists?

The aim of this chapter is to present the literature on the relevant concepts that emerged from the research questions. Salient definitions, descriptions of organizational socialization, the divergence between higher education and professional practice, and the history of journalism and journalism education will be covered. The goals and purposes of journalism and the nature of success and failure will be a central focus of the review of the literature.

The literature is instrumental in providing a wider context for the practice of journalism and understanding some of the issues broadcast journalists may face in their efforts to succeed and their perceptions of success. The literature review aided the researcher in understanding what is being studied, discovering which types of evidence to look for, and identifying helpful ways of discussing the nature of success and failure in this field.

Normative theories of journalism that shed light on the industry's role in the larger culture are important to consider because they may color what the

practicing journalist counts as success. Since professionals will be interviewed within the context of working for a news organization, the literature on organizational socialization is also central to this study. The literature on organizational socialization provides directly relevant parameters within which to carry out the research. As noted in the literature (Ashkanasy, Wilderon, & Peterson, 2000; Boice, 1992; Hearne, 1991), success in any profession is dependent upon a successful socialization into the organization. Organizational socialization is an individual, social, and cultural process (Filstad, 2004) and demonstrates the need for this investigator to study the process within its natural setting.

The body of existing literature can be grouped into six broad categories, including:

1. Definitions of news, journalism and journalists;

2. History and evolution of journalism;

3. History of journalism education;

4. Goals and purposes of journalism;

5. Organizational socialization as a primary influence on the goals and purposes of journalism; and

6. The nature of success and failure for practitioners.

Definitions of News, Journalism, and Journalists

We cannot know what journalism education is for unless we understand the foundation of the concept of journalism itself. Given that no real agreement on specific definitions for news and journalism are offered in the literature,

various descriptions will be explored. Definitions of journalism and news will be treated separately in this section, though the connection between the two can be conceptualized as news being the final product, while journalism is the process taken to accomplish that final product. More thorough descriptions of the terms are offered below.

Defining 'News'

While the term "news" is common in everyday language, news as it is understood today was not conceived until the Jacksonian era (Schudson, 1978). Any definition of news remains fluid, as journalists and researchers characterize it differently.

In 1927, Harwood asked newspaper editors to describe what constituted news and was given this surprising answer: "Anything that made a woman say, 'For Heaven's Sake!'" (p. 37). Anything out of the ordinary or anything the papers print was also found to be news. Harwood (1927) reasoned that no one definition of the news would suit all news agencies because of the regional differences. Which stories made print was dependent, in part, on the location of the newspaper and the interests of the public in that location.

Mott (1962) defined news generally, as "the report of any new thing" but also from the more salient perspective of a journalist: "News is limited to those reports which he thinks his public wishes [to know]" (p. 243). The journalist's definition of news, then, is conditioned by what the public seeks. McManus (1994) takes a basic approach, calling news anything that the public doesn't

know yet. Another essentialist definition of news comes from Rosen (1999): news is "a record of events" (p. 189).

Tuchman (1978) depicts news as "the product of a social institution and is embedded in relationships with other institutions" (p. 5). The emphasis here is on the dependency of news on its social structure. News is a negotiated phenomenon, not the strict application of objective criteria. News can be viewed as a "textual system" with an emphasis on rhetorical form, discursive structure, or its cultural genre (Schudson, 2003, p. 13).

Gans (1979) conducted a content analysis on what is in the news, what is left out of the news, and how the news content is decided. News is about the "economic, political, social, and cultural hierarchies we call nation and society" (p. 284). The content analysis revealed patterns observed in the news and uncovered a structure in the content. Specific findings include values and value implications of news, the organization of story selection, the role of sources, story suitability, complete objectivity as an unrealistic standard, ideological implications, and censorship. While the dominant and ruling ideas of society are expressed by journalists, they may not always realize it. The structure revealed by Gans furthers the centralization of power and results in the marginalization of some members of society. Despite his research, Gans (1979) declined to offer an exact description: "There is no single or simple explanation of news" (p. 28). He does, however, conclude that most news is comprised of the findings related to the nature of external reality, particularly focused on the violation of values.

Fishman (1980) defined news as "the result of the methods news workers employ" (p. 14). This means that if different methods were used by news workers, different versions of news would result. Thus, the public would know the world differently. By methods, Fishman (1980) stated that journalists most often used standard operating procedures of their organization and profession.

News is the final product or the report itself, while journalism is the process enacted to produce the final product. Journalism is the art, craft, trade or profession. Journalists assume the role of storytellers of the final product.

Defining 'Journalism'

The problems facing new graduates in the field are not solely the result of their actions. According to Adam (1993), journalism educators should accept a certain amount of responsibility for the gap between the university and the newsroom. "Journalism educators have failed to define their subject with sufficient clarity and breadth, and the problems of legitimacy and coherence that marked the past and current history of the field were a result of this failure" (Adam, 1993, p. 2). As such, it is important to explore what journalism is and what it does. Any definition of journalism will lend itself directly to an understanding of its purposes and goals.

Agreeing upon a common definition of journalism is a relatively new practice, likely a result of commercialization from corporations. Looking back on journalism's history, it is evident that publications were initially overt in their approach and style of news with front-page editorials, opinions, and slogans.

Citizens chose which publications to read based on the approaches and styles splashed across the front pages of newspapers.

One philosophy is to avoid any definition of journalism, as defining journalism is to limit it and possibly make it resistant to evolving with the times (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001). However, considering the focus of this paper, definitions of journalism must be examined for an understanding of the goals and purposes of the profession. Any definition of journalism will ultimately reflect the current times; and thus, the definition has evolved and will likely continue to.

Schudson (2003) defined journalism as "information and commentary on contemporary affairs taken to be publicly important" (p. 14). This definition hints at a socially conscious press, though it stops short of an explicit inclusion.

An artful definition of journalism is offered by Stuart (1993):

Journalism is an invention or a form of expression used to report and comment in the public media on the events and ideas of the here and now. There are at least five elements in such a definition: 1) a form of expression that is an invention; 2) reports of ideas and events; 3) comments on them; 4) the public circulation of them; and 5) the here and now. (p. 11)

Gans (1979) offered a simple description of "an empirical discipline" (p. 39). Auletta (2005) described journalism as "sifting information, finding different voices, trying to get at the complex truth, offering context" (p. 15). Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001) suggested that the definition of journalism has expanded with

the introduction of new technologies as anyone with a computer and Internet connection can claim to be "doing journalism."

Adam (1993) offered a preliminary definition of journalism: "An invention or a form of expression used to report and comment in the public media on the events and ideas of the here and now" (p. 11). The elements involved include reporting, judging, a public voice, and the here and now. To expand this definition, journalism involves "the application of the values we use to judge things, and those values are reflected in the selection of subjects and in the judgments conferred by journalists" (Adam, 1993, p. 12). The elements of this definition of journalism include news judgment, the reporting method, linguistic technique, narrative technique, and the method of interpretation or meaning.

There can be no understanding of the purpose of journalism education unless the concept of journalism itself is clearly defined. From the above descriptions, we can conclude that journalism is the process of producing a final news product.

Definitions of Journalists

A single definition of a journalist is difficult to ascertain in the literature (Gans, 1979; Weaver et al. 2007) as the conception of a journalist has changed with the advent of new communication technologies, such as cable news and the internet. Weaver et al. (2007) described journalists as "those who have editorial responsibility for the preparation or transmission of news stories or other information" (p. 3). Gans (1979) described journalists as "defenders of a set of

values, they are more than technicians who transmit information from sources to audiences" (p. 205).

There can be only a limited understanding of the purpose of journalism education unless the role of a journalist is clearly defined. The literature (Gans, 1979; Weaver et al. 2007) offered distinct but overlapping definitions, which recognize the role of the discerning obligation of a journalist, whether it is "editorial responsibility" or being "defenders of a set of values." Ultimately, journalists have the task of creating stories about their observations and interviews. Over time, their work can be viewed as a picture of society.

Functions and Roles of Journalists

This section would not be complete without an investigation into the functions and roles of journalists. Roles and functions of journalists are important to this section as they undergird the goals and purposes of journalism. Gans (1979) delineated the ten functions of journalists:

a) Leadership testers: they recruit and test the elected leadership;

b) Suppliers of political feedback: they provide clues as to how the general public feels about their statements and behaviors;

c) Symbolic power distributors: they give individuals or groups publicity;

d) Moral guardians: i.e. "watchdogs" of those in authority and influence;

e) Prophets and priests: influencers of public morality;

f) Storytellers and myth makers; they pass on the myths and legends of society;

g) Barometer of order: "Apprising the audience of the emergence of disorder but at the same time reassuring it through order restoration stories" (p. 295);

h) Agents of social control: they prevent or discourage people from acting and speaking in ways disapproved of by holders of power;

i) Constructors of nation and society: they report the behaviors and statements of those claiming to represent nation and society and in turn, reminding us of the reality of power of these constructs; and

j) Managers of the symbolic arena: they manage the public stage on which national, societal, and other messages are made available to audiences.

Weaver et al. (2007) identified four different roles of journalists:

a) Disseminator – journalists notify their public of information as quickly as possible;

b) Adversarial – many journalists are drawn to hard news topics that create divisions among their public;

c) Interpretive – journalists sometimes analyze the problems of their public and inform them of the implications; and

d) Mobilizer – Some journalists believe in marshalling public discussions of significant issues or to point the public toward solutions to issues.

Interestingly, it was found that a journalist's role often correlated with the

type of work that a journalist deemed to be his/her "best" work (Weaver et al., 2007). Journalists often identify their best work to be of a substantive and serious nature, not an entertaining one.

News is the final product or the report itself, while journalism is the process enacted to produce the final product. Journalism is the art, craft, trade or profession. A journalist, then, can be conceptualized as the occupational role assumed by the storyteller of the final product.

History and Evolution of Journalism

Part of what journalism has become is a product of what it was in the past. The purpose of exploring the history of journalism in this section is to better understand the present problems of the news media and for guidance in facing the future of journalism. The main periods of journalism are addressed in this section, including the birth of journalism in the form of entrepreneurialism and the later models of political partisanship, penny press, independent press, yellow journalism, muckraking, nonpartisan press, social responsibility of the press, and civic/public journalism.

The Roots of Journalism: 1690-1783

American journalism began in the English colonies during the late 1600's. The earliest versions of journalism appeared in the form of occasional letters of news written to merchants and men of power overseas and in other colonies. The newspapers were modeled after the English papers they received from home. The first American newspaper was issued in 1690 under the title *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick*. This newspaper was shut down by

the British government after only one issue. The printing press was regarded as

dangerous by the government, and strict censorship and licensing regulations

were imposed, restricting the content of news circulated (Mott, 1962). It took

another fourteen years for a regularly issued newspaper to be circulated.

By 1765, all but two of the colonies had regular newspapers in circulation.

Most of the newspapers were four pages each and the printing paper was often

imported from England. News from abroad also made up the majority of the news

content, focusing primarily on wars and politics. News regarding the powerful

people of London, court gossip, matters of religion, and society news were also

printed. No formal editorials were included typically.

The Party Press: 1783-1801

During the colonial period in American history, printers were entrepreneurs

first, not journalists. Newspapers were circulated by businessmen in an effort to

make money advertising products. Newspapers began expanding their scope by

including short paragraphs of local gossip and foreign news that came to them.

Local politics edged into newspapers as the conflict with Britain raged on. The

businessmen found it harder to keep a neutral position on politics and began

writing from a partisan view. Politicians soon discovered the usefulness of

newspapers to their causes and enlisted them to help expose the issues between

the new Federalists and the Republicans. Newspapers became mouthpieces for

political parties. The newspapers functioned as a service for politicians and men

of commerce. While news content was increasingly partisan and political, foreign

news was still prominent.

During this time, the daily newspaper emerged. Daily newspapers were motivated by the desire to provide merchants with timely news of the arrival of sailing vessels and the products for sale by the importers (Mott, 1962). Paying wages to reporters to find and write news was not a common practice at this time. In the 1820s reporters began receiving regular wages for the first time.

The Penny Press of the 1830's

Prior to the 1830s, newspapers were expected to be partisan, covering a particular political party. A partisan press was openly biased and favored a certain political party. The penny press was introduced in the 1830s as soon as the daily newspapers were deemed successful. A penny paper cost only one penny rather than the six cents of other papers, reaching new audiences of less prosperous means. Penny papers did not require a subscription; they could be bought directly on the street. Advertising and local, court, and society news were aggressively sought by the commercially-inclined penny press. The connection between political parties and newspapers weakened after the Civil War ended and sensationalism became profitable. The penny papers catered to a different socio-economic class, and therefore, the papers needed to be more sensational.

The four doctrines of the penny papers were occasionally printed, paraphrased in Mott (1962):

1) The great common people should have a realistic view of the contemporary scene, and this in spite of taboos; 2) abuses in churches, courts, banks, stock markets, etc., should be exposed; 3) the newspaper's first duty is to give its readers the news, and not to support a party or a

mercantile class; and 4) local and human-interest news is important. (p. 242)

A shift in the conceptualization of news occurred during the height of popularity of the penny press. Three specific components are included in this shift: a) an increase of local or hometown news; b) greater emphasis on sensational news, specifically crime and sex; and c) the introduction of human-interest stories (Mott, 1962). Interestingly, all three of these particulars were in contrast to the doctrines of penny papers, listed above. The penny press revolutionized the concept of news by including local political news, police and government reports, street and crime infractions, and matters of private domain. Journalists in the 1800s merely reflected the values of the larger society (Thornton, 1995).

The Independent Press: 1872-1892

Readership of newspapers was very high during the late 1800s. During this time, journalists freed themselves from the domination of partisan politics, and independent papers became commonplace. The changing function of newspapers resulted from a widening of news content and a reduced emphasis on editorial comments and politics. Weekly and Sunday editions were circulated with high readership.

Yellow Journalism: 1892-1914

The name most commonly associated with yellow journalism is William Randolph Hearst. Yellow journalism is often considered sensationalist news coverage. It was founded on crime news, scandal, gossip, sex, disasters, and

sports. The additional distinguishing features of yellow journalism included headings in bold type, screaming urgency and excitement, the excessive and sometimes misleading use of pictures, fraudulent and faked stories, comics and superficial articles in the Sunday supplements, and an alignment with the underdog and abuses against the common people (Mott, 1962). Some of the features of yellow journalism are still evident in our modern press, particularly large and bold headlines, the use of photographs, and the Sunday supplement.

Muckraking: 1902-1912

The concept of muckraking emerged in response to the growing sense of professionalism by journalists. Reporters were no longer satisfied merely reflecting the values of the larger society and reporting on events. Instead, they wanted to fix society's ills. Muckraking is defined as "the investigative magazine journalism that swept across America between 1902 and 1912, featuring factual accounts of societal corruption" (Thornton, 1995). In studying articles written during this time, Thornton found the most frequently expressed journalistic standard during this era was public service. Public service was the primary goal of magazine journalism at that time. During this era, public service was described as the willingness to show "real moral courage" and "the right stuff" by educating readers and exposing them to corruption in high places (Thornton, 1995).

Perhaps surprisingly, one magazine editor during this time unapologetically proclaimed money as the primary purpose of the press. "The highest goal of journalism was to follow good business practices and make

money, thus insuring the stability and permanence of the press" (Thornton, 1995).

Political Partisanship: 1920s

The peak of the partisan media is thought to be in the 1920s, when readers expected newspapers to be politically partisan (Thornton, 1995). Barone (1996) goes as far as to say that partisan journalism can be good journalism in that it results in top-notch reporting and analysis of events. Today, any news agency which is partisan must acknowledge openly its partisanship or risk losing credibility among audiences.

The Nonpartisan Press: 1930s – 1940s

In an effort to please mass audiences, radio networks in the 1930's and 1940's and television networks in the 1950's changed tactics and introduced nonpartisan news coverage. Broadcasters were trying to attract large audiences. Further, broadcasters had the additional incentive of maintaining harmony with the government, as the government allocated the broadcast licenses. Broadcast licenses could be revoked if a broadcast station offended the government. Newspapers followed in attitudes and practices soon after this shift toward nonpartisan news coverage in broadcasting. The shift in attitudes was also triggered by the heavily partisan press of previous decades.

Social Responsibility of the Press: 1920s – present

By the 1920's, journalists had developed a code of ethics that included a fairness doctrine. The term "social responsibility of the press" emerged from the 1947 Hutchins Commission report. Fairness in this era was defined as a

willingness to print a variety of viewpoints on any given issue and avoiding

abusing the power of the editorial page. The social responsibility theory believes

that news should contribute to the public's knowledge in order to further

democracy. Public enlightenment is the primary aim, according to the Code of

Broadcast News Ethics, the Society of Professional Journalists, and the

American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Market Journalism: 1960s – present

During the past few decades, the market-driven theory has been

recognized as a leading force in how journalists cover the news (McManus,

1994). The notion of "market-driven journalism" emerged in the 1960's in local

television news in the U.S. (Hallin, 1992). In the market-driven theory, the

audience members are the "customers," and the content of the news is the

"product" (McManus, 1994, p. 1). This theory surfaced when the business side of

journalism overtook the journalists' purpose to serve the public. The market-

driven model caters to the consumers and their needs, allowing economics to be

the driving force in journalism. Research (McManus, 1994) found "the overlap of

market and journalistic norms is too small to generate a sufficient volume of the

quality news that healthy self-government requires" (p. 72). The two are in

conflict because the most significant news is often the most expensive to

discover, as powerful interests may want it hidden (Herman & Chomsky, 1988;

McManus, 1994).

Civic and Public Journalism: 1993 - present

Civic and public journalism are relatively new models of journalism, gaining official acknowledgment in the fall of 1993 (Rosen, 1999). Civic and public journalism are often used interchangeably and are practiced in approximately the same way yet there are nuanced definitions of each in the literature. Civic journalism is defined as pursuing the goal of greater citizen engagement in public life by requesting news agendas from the local community and limiting solutions to those found in the local communities (Dickson, Brandon, & Topping, 2001). Public journalism is defined as civic journalism but goes beyond the local community's social resources by reaching out to other communities (Dickson et al., 2001).

The general aim of both public and civic journalism is "to restyle the work of the press so that it supported a healthier public climate" (Rosen, 1999, p. 4). The purpose of public and civic journalism, then, is "to see the public into fuller existence" (Rosen, 1999, p. 21). The idea behind public journalism is for journalists to play an active role in supporting citizens' participation. Two sets of principles were identified by Glasser and Craft (1996): a) a rejection of objectivity that requires journalists to disengage from community life; and b) call for a shift from journalism-as-information to journalism-as-conversation. Yet Dickson et al. (2001) found little consensus on the definition and primary purpose of either public or civic journalism. The authors found that many journalists who practiced public or civic journalism actually opposed some of the core values of it.

Inadequate or lacking definitions of public and civic journalism may obscure its actual purpose.

Reasons for Shifts in Paradigms

Schudson (1978) offered two broad theories on why the field of journalism evolved to the modern-day approach to news: a) the technological argument; and b) the literacy argument. Technological advances such as the printing press and television changed the delivery format of news. News became less expensive and less time-consuming to produce. The literacy argument stated that as the U.S. population became more literate, the content in newspapers needed to reflect the expectations of the more educated readers. This could explain the rise of civic journalism, according to Schudson (1978).

<center>**History of Journalism Education**</center>

The history of journalism education is important to address in that it allows for a deeper understanding of the reasons for the divide between the university and the newsroom. Bridging the divide between the university and the newsroom is the primary aim of this study.

The history of journalism education can be broken roughly into four periods of time: 1700s – 1860s; 1860s – 1920s; 1920s – 1940s; and 1940s to the present. The need for trained newspaper personnel in the 1800s led to the rise in journalism education. Journalism education has morphed as the industry has evolved.

In 1869, General Robert E. Lee initiated "press scholarships" at Washington College. In the 1870's, Cornell University instigated the first

university instruction in journalism; one certificate was awarded in 1876. The first curriculum in journalism was offered at the Wharton School of Business at the University of Pennsylvania in 1893. In 1903, Joseph Pulizer endowed two million dollars to Columbia University in New York. A long time in coming, the first official U.S. journalism school was introduced in 1908 at the University of Missouri.

These early years of journalism education were heavily vocational, with a focus on reporting, copy editing, feature writing, editorial writing (Lindley, 1975). In some schools, history, comparative journalism and ethics were also taught. As is still true today, educators of journalism in the early years could not agree on the balance of theoretical and practical content of journalism training (Becker, et al., 1987). Criticism of these early programs centered on the fact that specific technical training could be taught in the newsrooms. Critics stated that journalists should "become competent judges of public affairs, not skilled at tricks and machinery" (Dressel, 1960, p. 21).

Around the 1920s, journalism training gave more attention to the liberal arts with social sciences leanings. By the 1940s, journalism education shifted to "applied social science" (Lindley, 1975, p. 3). Journalism split from communication departments around this time, though there remains an alliance of sorts among journalism, English, and the social sciences departments. In the mid-1900s, a trend toward merging journalism under mass communication and society courses was seen, likely due to the view that "both seek to enhance the usefulness of the media to society" (Lindley, 1975, p. 55).

According to Dressel (1960), two types of journalism education exist: professional and liberal. The professional education intends to prepare practitioners of an occupation but grapples with how to also prepare citizens to act intelligently in the broader contexts of their lives and to function in a democratic society. A liberal education offers students a broad knowledge base and cultivates the skills, attitudes, and traits that mark a liberally-educated mind. The intrinsic problem with this type of education, however, is that it is not justifiable in itself for practical reasons. Realistically, most – if not all – graduates must enter the workforce after college, which requires a specific skill set for a vocation.

The goal of journalism education, according to Becker et al. (1987), is "socialization to the profession" (p. 19). Becker et al. (1987) also argued that news workers learn the standards of professional roles during their socialization process on the job. Socialization in this manner refers to the skills, attitudes, and tasks that produce an individual who can effectively and efficiently function in the field.

Since the early years, the number of four-year U.S. journalism programs has grown to 463 (Weaver et al., 2007). The increase in programs likely can be attributed in part to the increase of educational training of all professionals.

According to Adam (1993), journalism educators have failed to define the field of journalism adequately in clarity and breadth, resulting in the problems of legitimacy and coherence that have marred the industry. Further criticism from Adam (1993) stated the need for a wider conception of journalism education, one

that included the broader university and its culture. Specifically, creating connections with other departments in the university and a more systematic teaching of the elements of journalism rather that assuming internships fulfill that need.

Becker et al. (1987) pointed out the lack of a "typical" journalism curriculum, leading to various levels of preparation by new graduates. The fragmented and varying journalism programs likely reflect the historical changes and developments of journalism as a field and educational tradition. Dressel (1960) discussed three additional critical issues in journalism education: the concept of journalism, the place of journalism in the organizational structure of the university, and the nature and amount of liberal arts requirements. The concept of journalism refers to the role and range of activities of a journalist in society. This role and these activities have significant implications for journalism education. The place of journalism education in the structure of the university has implications for the curriculum of the program. Dressel (1960) recommended a 25:75 ratio for coursework requirements: 25% should be professional coursework while 75% should be liberal arts coursework. This 25:75 "rule" is still enforced by the American Council in Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC), which evaluates journalism programs in the U.S.

While the ACEJMC enforces a curriculum that de-emphasizes practical aspects in favor of liberal arts training, new graduates felt overwhelmed with the daily practical demands, according to Grimes (2001). She found that novices faced struggles of dealing with deadline pressures, managing the workload,

developing reporting techniques, shouldering the responsibilities of a journalist, adapting to the business demands, and making personal sacrifices required by the field. For television journalists, learning the equipment of the trade can be time consuming and difficult.

Role of Prior Education

While the research listed above demonstrates dissatisfaction with the current state of journalism education, journalistic training is considered more important than any other single factor in influencing news judgment or the ability to determine what constitutes news (Weaver et al., 2007). The paradox, then, is that while news managers are displeased with the skill set of new graduates, they still rely on new graduates to fill their entry-level positions.

While much of the literature (Bales, 1992: Bullard & McLeary, 1994; Dennis, 1990; Dickson & Brandon, 2000; Dickson, 1996; Lindley, 1988; Medsger, 1996; Porter, 2004) suggests a need for change in the educational preparation of journalists, education serves at least one important function for journalism students. Ritzer and Walczak (1972) identify educational preparation as one means of formal socialization into the profession. As students progress through their educational training, they decide how they will handle various tasks while acquiring professional knowledge. Students become more selective, choosing which values and set of skills are most applicable for them at that time. Students also develop a sense of their professional identity during educational training.

The purposes of journalism should, in part, be reflected in the educational preparation of journalists. Journalism educational programs serve one of two

functions: a) to produce journalists who can write good stories (i.e. trade school approach); or b) to offer intellectual and educational background in order to serve the public by means of the truth, an approach typically found in liberal arts programs (Crawford, 1969). Students graduating from the second type of school may find themselves floundering in the real-world newsroom, where their intent to serve the greater good may clash with the business side of journalism. Meyer (2004) asserted that the next generation of journalists will be successful only if trust and social responsibility prevail instead of business interests. Understanding this debate and the wider context surrounding the journalism industry is useful in recognizing how these external and internal influences may shade the perceptions of practicing journalists about what constitutes success in this environment.

Goals and Purposes of Journalism

The purposes and goals of journalism are sources for much debate. The two main threads of modern journalism are explored in this section: social responsibility of the press and market journalism. Inherent in each model are differing functions of journalism. Thus, the two models are often in conflict. An ideal model is also put forth by Gans. In addition, an exploration of the impact of new communication technologies and the concept of objectivity are put forth.

Worth noting here is research (Schön, 1983) indicating that practitioners in all disciplines face conflicts of values, goals, purposes, and interests. Practitioners of journalism are not unique in their struggle to collectively identify, express, and execute their profession's primary goal(s) and purpose(s). The

influences of external forces can be seen in the changing and sometimes conflicting goals and purposes of professions.

Social Responsibility of the Press

While media scholars do not fully agree on the nuances of the purpose of journalism, many researchers (Gans, 1979; Gripsrud, 2000; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001; MacKinnon, 2005; McManus, 1994; Meyer, 2004; Tuchman, 1978) recognize a component of public service for the goal of self-government. This purpose is supported by the mission statements of newspapers. Every newspaper mission statement on file with the American Society of Newspaper Editors identify furthering governance as the primary goal of news organizations (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001). Citizens need to be informed about the government, its leadership, and relevant current events in order to govern themselves.

Tuchman (1978) declared that "news aims to tell us what we want to know, need to know, and should know" (p. 1). Gripsrud (2000) stated the core purpose of journalism is and should be "about producing and distributing serious information and debate on central social, political, and cultural matters" (p. 294). Gripsrud extended his point to declare that journalists' work is vital to a functioning democracy. Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001) contend the primary purpose of journalism is to provide citizens with the information they need to be free and self-governing. But this purpose does not stand alone; several elements are necessary. The press helps us define our communities, creates a common language and knowledge, and identifies common goals, heroes, and villains.

Gans' (1979) description is inclusive, citing many functions of journalists: leadership testers, suppliers of political feedback, moral guardians, prophets and priests, storytellers and myth makers, barometers of society, agents of social control, constructors of nation and society, and managers of the symbolic arena. This description goes far beyond an essentialist's view of journalism. Journalists are represented as participants and actors influencing the process of producing news.

McManus' (1994) research revealed the purpose is "to orient people to their environment by maximizing public understanding" (p. 120). McManus believes that issues and events that have little or no consequence for the public contribute little to the primary aim of journalism. Indeed, McManus' research discovered two criteria of news that consumers preferred: a) more socially consequential stories; and b) high-quality journalism. MacKinnon (2005) stressed self-government by describing journalism's purpose this way: "To provide people with the information they need to be free and self-governing" (p. 89). Woo (2002) stated the fundamental goal of journalism is to "serve the public trust," which goes beyond reporting and writing stories. In this sense, service to the public trust transcends democracy.

Altshull (1996) called for a return to the original purpose of journalism—one that serves as a breeding place for ideas and opinions, a place worthy of the privileges given to the people in the First Amendment. Yet Schudson (2003) argued that most journalists do not understand what their First Amendment rights grant them. Schudson (2003) was reluctant to include a component of

democracy in his definition of journalism and, in turn, his conceptualization of the purpose of journalism. Rather, he defined it as information and commentary on current events with public importance. Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001) professed that independent journalism, such as the type seen on the Internet, is another threat to the First Amendment. The threat comes from the nature of the Internet's accessibility. If anyone can post "news," then is it still "journalism?" While the two terms are often used interchangeably, they may need to be considered separately.

The functions of journalism are three-fold, as found by McChesney (2004): to act as a rigorous watchdog of those in authority; to ferret out truth from lies; and to present a wide range of informed positions on key issues. Yet not all mediums need to satisfy all three of these functions. Rather, the media system as a whole must fulfill all three if the ultimate goal of journalism is to advance democracy.

Fenton (2005) discussed the power journalists garner by having increased access to information than the general public. The journalists' most vital function is to distinguish issues of importance and then to alert the public to the risks they find inherent in the issues. All journalists, and particularly television journalists, must assume the position of a watchdog, especially during times of crises and war. Journalists must be vigilant in questioning the government and other authority figures for the purpose of protecting the citizenry against harm.

Meyer (2004) was optimistic that newspapering does not have to become outmoded in the Information Age if practicing journalists and journalism

educators uphold the social responsibility function of the press. Using numerical evidence, Meyer (2004) demonstrated that newspapers turn more profits in cities where they are trusted. Trust is paramount to business success. This supports his argument that moral and capable journalists will always have a job. For practicing journalists, this is clearly good news, as some may consider switching to a career in online journalism or leaving the field altogether. For many higher education instructors, this is also good news in that it justifies a theory-driven and liberal arts approach to the curriculum.

Meyer (2004), in his attempt to show how quality journalism is profitable, described the Influence Model of newspapers. The Influence Model asserts that newspapers are not in the business of disseminating news or information but are in the business of *influence*. There are two kinds of influence: societal and commercial. Societal influence is not for sale, while commercial influence is. Societal influence enhances and increases commercial influence, making newspapering a viable business commodity. In other words, content affects profit. High-quality content results in high profits. However, Meyer admits that it is possible that the Influence Model he proposed is backward; it is possible that profit may positively affect quality.

Market Journalism

As mentioned earlier, when business and journalistic rules clash, market logic tends to dominate over journalistic norms (McManus, 1994). This clash in values and norms is helpful in understanding how journalistic perspectives of goals and purposes are shaped and why they may differ. Market journalism

treats audience members as consumers of news, and economics undergirds the journalism process.

Market forces particularly affect television news media. News coverage is impacted in four specific ways: seeks images over ideas; seeks emotion over analysis; exaggerates to add appeal; and avoids extensive news-gathering (McManus, 1994). There are also social impacts to the dominance of market journalism: consumers are likely to learn less from the news; consumers may be misled; news sources may become more manipulative; and the audience becomes more apathetic about politics (McManus, 1994). Conversely, Schudson (2003) argued the benefits of a commercial press, declaring that it encourages quality journalism by making news relevant to the broadest possible population.

Croteau and Hoynes (2001) condensed the two competing models, market and public sphere. See Table 2 for a comparison of the models.

Table 2

Comparing the Competing Media Models of Market and Public Sphere

Central Question:	Market Model	Public Sphere Model
How are media conceptualized?	Private companies selling products	Public resources serving the public
What is the primary purpose of the media?	Generate profits for owners and stockholders	Promote active citizenships via information, education, and social integration
How are audiences addressed?	As consumers	As citizens
What are the media encouraging people to do?	Enjoy themselves, view ads, and buy products	Learn about their world and be active citizens
What is in the public interest?	Whatever is popular	Diverse, substantive, and innovated content, even if not always popular
What is the role of diversity and innovation?	Innovation can be a threat to profitable standardized formulas. Diversity can be a strategy for reaching new niche markets.	Innovation is central to engaging citizens. Diversity is central to media's mission of representing the range of the public's views and tastes
How is regulation perceived?	Mostly seen as interfering with market processes	Useful tool in protecting the public interest
To whom are the media ultimately accountable?	Owners and shareholders	The public and government representatives
How is success measured?	Profits	Serving the public interest

Source: The Business of Media: Corporate Media and the Public Interest by Croteau and Hoynes, 2001, p. 37.

McManus (1994) recommends five strategies for managing the conflict between market and journalistic norms: educating journalists to become professionals, appealing to the social conscience of media owners and

managers; increased government regulation or funding; new technologies to make news coverage less expensive; and reshaping public demand. However, specific tactics to implement these strategies are not offered in the literature.

Meyer (2004) appeals to his readers in an effort to recapture the original purpose of journalism and to prevent market-driven forces from claiming the profession. Journalism was founded with the purpose of serving the public; keeping readers informed should be the goal, not entertainment or pushing an agenda. Practicing journalists must become re-acquainted with that purpose, and journalism educators must sufficiently prepare students for the competing tensions they will face.

An Ideal Model: Multiperspectival Media

Gans' (1978) ideal model of journalism argued for giving under-represented sources greater access to journalists. Gans' multiperspectival approach includes more national news, a bottom-up view in addition to the traditional inverted pyramid format, featuring more output news, more representative of all groups, and with a service emphasis. Gans' multiperspectival news furthers democracy, and, at the same time, undercuts the efficiency in journalists' routines and the power of established sources. Accordingly, this investigator believes that exploring the routines and practices of working journalists is critical to developing a deeper understanding of how and why news is accomplished.

The Impact of Democracy on the Goals and Purposes of Journalism

As stated earlier, a common theme for the purpose of journalism is to serve the public and further democracy (Carey, 1997; Gans, 1979; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; MacKinnon, 2005; McChesney, 2004; McManus, 1994; Meyer, 2004; Tuchman, 1978). Citizens need enough information about the government, its officials, and other current events in order to govern themselves.

For Carey (1997), the profession of journalism is only justified by its commitment to building a democratic social order. Journalism is only redeemable within the context of democracy. He goes as far as to state, "Journalism is usefully understood as another name for democracy" (Carey, 1997, p. 332). In the end, perhaps, "journalism simply means carrying on and amplifying the conversation of people themselves" (p. 235).

Schudson (2003) partially agreed, stating that news is democratic in the sense that anyone can access it. However, Schudson cautioned that news does not necessarily promote active, empowered citizenship. While the press is important to democracy, the press by itself is not a democracy and does not create democracy, as is evidenced by journalism's survival in undemocratic, authoritarian, and repressive regimes (Schuson, 2003, p. 198). Schudson framed his case in the form of a question: "Is freedom best served when government stands aside or when government intervenes on behalf of open, diverse expression?" (p. 204).

McChesney (2004) asserted that citizens need to play a more active role in shaping the policies of the media system in order to serve democracy in a

meaningful way. As he stated, "The media system that best serves democratic values will contribute to generating an economic system most responsive to the genuine needs of the population" (2004, p. 23). Of the different news delivery systems, McManus (1994) argued that television news is the most democratic news media because it is constantly adapting to the requests of viewers based on their opinions and needs.

As stated by Herman and Chomsky (1988), "A propaganda model anticipates a lack of media interest in 'unworthy' victims and an evasion of the U.S. role in its evolution and practices" (p. 75). The propaganda model suggests a multi-level filtering process that prevents certain significant news stories from being told. Rather than advancing democracy, the propaganda model serves a societal purpose by perpetuating the economic, social, and political agendas of the government and the elite.

How much information and what kinds of information self-governance require is not addressed in the literature (Gans, 1979; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; McManus, 1994; Schudson, 2003). This gap in the literature hinders a conclusive stance on whether the media is providing the appropriate amount and type of information for healthy self-governance.

Significance of Objectivity on the Goals and Purposes

Understanding the concept of objectivity is necessary to understand the evolution of goals and purposes of journalism. The introduction of objectivity in the print media changed how political discourse was conducted and thus resulted in cultural shifts in the purpose and goal of the news media. Views on

government, politics, business, education, and religion are all shaped by the media (Croteau & Hoynes, 2000).

As newspapers were expected to print partisan perspectives prior to the 1830's, objectivity was not an issue. The notion of objectivity was triggered by the rise of the Associated Press (AP) in 1848 as the AP needed its news to be acceptable to all its subscribed members. Even then, commercialization was evident and influenced how journalism was done and for what it was used.

In Gans' perspective, the absence of a common understanding of objectivity is the greatest obstacle to achieving it. Gans (1979) defined objectivity as a matter of intent with the freedom to disregard the implications of the news, sometimes, as complete objectivity or nondistortion is impossible. Gans presumed a humanitarian approach in his explanation of objectivity: "Journalists try hard to be objective, but neither they nor anyone else can proceed without values" (p. 39). Gans recognized the personal values each journalist brings to each piece. The more objective a journalist attempts to be, the more likely that journalist will be able to conceal his value assumptions. However, it is impossible for a person to leave his values at home. The best a journalist can hope for is to live up to his own definition of objectivity. Yet this suggestion will inevitably be problematic in that it will be conceived and executed differently.

McManus (1994) concurred, stating that complete objectivity is not possible because it does not account for the perceptions and perspectives of the reporters covering the stories. Rather, journalists should be allowed to weigh and assemble information into a package that produces a "moral certainty about the

convergence of facts" (McManus, 1994, p. 144). While McManus does not offer an explicit definition for objectivity, the requirements of truth, relevance, balance, and neutral presentation should be the cornerstones for realistic objectivity.

Schudson (1978) opposed an objective press, stating that since the press must be profitable to continue, an objective press is not reasonable. Schudson (1978) asserted that objectivity in journalism is also a moral philosophy. Objectivity can function in autonomous professions, such as journalism, and begins with the professionals' educational training. Journalists must separate their own values from the needs of the readers. Tuchman (1978) built on this, asking several pertinent questions: How is objective reporting different than news analysis? How does one distinguish between facts and value judgments? What is the difference between fact and interpretation? What is the difference between hard and soft news? While the questions are abundant, the answers in the literature are not.

Fishman (1980) discussed the questions journalists must ask themselves after hearing news accounts in order to maintain objectivity: How do I know this is so? How do I know this is really what is happening? Fishman (1980) found that journalists sometimes accepted accounts from bureaucratic agencies as facts unless otherwise in conflict with another bureaucracy. Unless the facts were contested, single bureaucratic accounts were sometimes accepted at face value. Officials at bureaucracies were considered in a position to know. However, journalists did not usually accept single accounts of facts from non-bureaucratic agencies. They would seek out additional substantiation.

Whether or not objectivity is reasonable, Gans (1979) proposed ways for journalists to compensate in their efforts to maintain objectivity, such as writing editorials or opinion pieces, creating political cartoons, and offering public commentary on television or radio programs and in private conversations. Even with these outlets for journalists, violations in objectivity do occur. McManus (1994) suggested four behaviors that lead to distortion of news: a) personal bias; b) self-interest in the company or corporation; c) self-interest in the societal elites; and d) human error. Surprisingly, personal bias and human error were shown to have marginal contributions. The distortions due to self-interest in the company/corporation and societal elites were found to be the most significant factors but likely were unintentional.

Impact of Technology on the Goals and Purposes of Journalism

Research by Hill (2005), MacKinnon (2005), McLuhan (1995), McManus (1994) and Meyer (2004) noted the impact of new technologies on the shifting goals and purposes of journalism. McLuhan (1995) identified two main technological revolutions and their effects. First, the mid-fifteenth century promoted linear thinking and arranging perceptions to complement the visual order of the printed page with the invention of printing with moveable. Second, in the late 19th century, the various functions of electricity encouraged people to arrange their perceptions to complement these new technological procedures. As newer technologies are introduced to the public, such as the Internet, newspapers are no longer exclusive gate-keepers. Meyer (2004) contended that newspapers profit because they are the gate-keepers of information.

Croteau and Hoynes (2000) asserted a different approach to the influence of technology. They argued that changes in technology are not the sole determinant of the evolution of the media. Technology is merely one factor that shapes the development and uses of media. Broader social forces have a greater impact on the evolution of the media and, in turn, its goals and purposes. McChesney (2004) offered specifics on these broader social forces, citing political and economic structures and cultural traditions.

Technological determinism. A noted scholar in the field of media and technology, McLuhan (1994) introduced the concept of technological determinism, which stated that people shape the technology tools. As a result, those tools shape people. People have become computer-like in their thinking and behavior. McLuhan believed that media is the extension of man – that all things created by man have come from man's own experience. Technology influences the shifts in how people think and how they perceive events. People become the media that shaped them in their particular culture and time. In other words, society patterns itself after the media while at the same time, media follows society.

The influence of technological determinism is evident in television news in two ways: a) there is a lack of in-depth reporting because viewers have increasingly shorter attention spans; and b) the visual element of television drives the late-breaking news and tragedies. For example, fires are more conducive for television news than print news because of the vivid images that are able to be shown on television.

Effects of online journalism. The research on online journalism has just begun to appear, with differing views of its impact. MacKinnon (2005) believed that online journalism has made it impossible to recreate the golden age of journalism. Both print and broadcast journalism must be reinvented to suit the changing needs of consumers. Current business models of how news work is conducted may not be profitable in the future. Yet Schudson (2003) cautioned that while the Internet allows a place for technology, it does not necessarily provide an audience. Internet technology is relatively inexpensive and may survive a while without an audience. In contrast, television news would not be able to survive without a viewing audience.

Effects of digital technology. Digital technology has drastically changed how television news is covered, produced, and collected (Hill, 2005). Because cameras are of higher quality and are lighter, smaller, more durable, and less expensive, journalists can cover locations that once were inaccessible. Production has changed as less physical space is necessary for editing. Digital editing is done on a computer and is nonlinear, which allows for more graphics, audio, motion, and layering of information. Collection of video from previously inaccessible locations has become easier as feeding video can be done quicker and with less expense than before.

Effects of technology on Americans' attitudes. As newspaper circulation and television viewership are down, it may appear that Americans have a reduced interest in news. Yet a 2000 PEW Report stated the opposite. American's attitudes regarding the significance of news have not diminished.

However, Americans are simply looking elsewhere for their news, such as the Internet and cable news programs. Paradoxically, research (Jones, 2005) has found that while Americans continue to value news, they are less attentive toward public affairs. The presumption is that it is easier to avoid civic participation because there are more options for non-news on cable television and the Internet.

Organizational Socialization as a Primary Influence on the Goals and Purposes of Journalism

News is produced by journalists working for organizations identified as "the press" or "the media." As journalists work within the context of newsrooms, it is important to understand the role of the organizational context in shaping the goals and purposes of journalism. Each newsroom has its own unique culture and set of values, beliefs, attitudes and practices. As such, it is worth noting how different contexts, and in this case, newsrooms, can shape ideas of the purposes of journalism through the process of socialization.

Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) model of organizational socialization comprised three distinct phases: anticipatory, encounter, and change and acquisition. The first phase, anticipatory, occurs before a person enters the organization. The person anticipates the needs, skills, and abilities useful for the position. During phase two, the newcomer encounters the values, skills, and attitudes needed for the realities of the job. The final phase, change and acquisition, the person masters the skills, roles, norms, and values of the job. The result of this process is a socialized insider who possesses both the behavior and affective outcomes of the job. As this model has endured and offers

a detailed model, it has been selected as one of the specific conceptual

frameworks. See Figure 1 for an illustration of the model.

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┌─────────────────────────┐
│ Phases of Socialization │
└─────────────────────────┘
        │
        │              ┌─────────────────┐
        ├──────────────│   Phase 1:      │
        │              │  Anticipatory   │
        │              └─────────────────┘
        │
        │              ┌─────────────────┐
        ├──────────────│   Phase 2:      │
        │              │   Encounter     │
        │              └─────────────────┘
        │
        │              ┌─────────────────┐
        └──────────────│   Phase 3:      │
                       │  Change and     │
                       │  acquisition    │
                       └─────────────────┘
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Behavioral Outcomes:
Performs role assignment
Remains with organization
Cooperates or innovates

Affective Outcomes:
Generally satisfied
Internally motivated
High job involvement
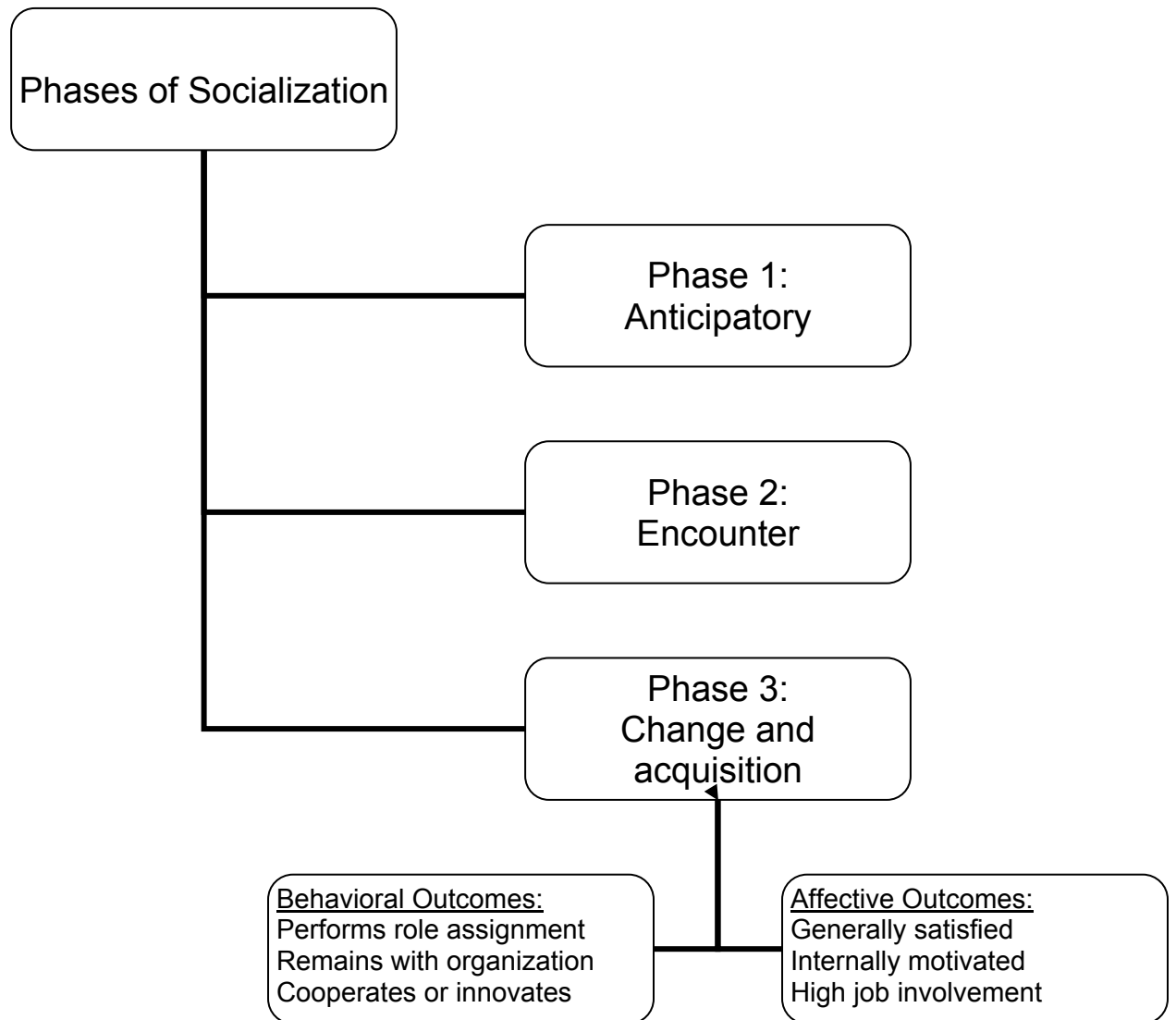
Figure 1. Van Maanen & Schein's (1979) Model of Organizational Socialization

The socialization tactics, according to Van Maanen and Schein (1979),

can be broken into six categories of opposing tactics. Socialization tactics are the

"ways in which experiences of individuals in transition from one role to another

are structured for them by the organization" (p. 230). See Table 3 for descriptions of each type of socialization tactic.

Table 3

Van Maanen & Schein's (1979) Dimensions of Socialization Tactics

Tactic	*Description*
Collective	Grouping newcomers together and exposing them to a common set of experiences
vs.	
Individual	Newcomers are treated individually and are exposed to unique experiences
Formal	Newcomers are segregated from other organizational members during a defined socialization phase
vs.	
Informal	Newcomers are not distinguished from other organizational members and learn through trial and error
Sequential	The new role is a result of a fixed progression of steps
vs.	
Random	The new role is a result of ambiguous or dynamic sequence of steps
Fixed	A timetable for the assumed role is provided
vs.	
Variable	No timetable set for the assumed role and upward movement
Serial	Newcomer is socialized by an experienced member of the Organization
vs.	
Disjunctive	No role model, or experienced member, is used
Investiture	The newcomers' role identities and attributes are affirmed
vs.	
Divestiture	The newcomers' existing sense of self is stripped away in order to be reconstructed in the image of the organization

Cheney et al. (2004) offered two perspectives on describing socialization and has been selected as another specific theoretical framework for that reason. The functionalist perspective defined socialization as "the ways a member of an organization learns the norms, values, and skills necessary for adopting a particular role and performing a particular function within the organization" (p. 98). The symbolist perspective takes this definition one step further by allowing for the social construction of reality phenomena: "While each member entering the organization learns the values, beliefs, and practices of the organization, he or she simultaneously shapes the organization through his or her 'reading' of those values, beliefs, and practices" (Cheney et al., 2004, p. 98). Ritzer and Walczak (1972) support the symbolist perspective, asserting that socialization is not a unidirectional process; newcomers select which attributes to emulate and which to reject, thus simultaneously maintaining and shaping the organizational culture.

Morrison (2002) diverged from the perspectives proposed by Cheney et al. Morrison, taking a social network perspective, stated that socialization occurs through interactions between newcomers and experienced members, or "insiders." Morrison borrows from Van Maanen & Schein to define socialization as taking place when "an individual acquires the attitudes, behavior, and knowledge she or he needs to participate as an organization member" (p. 1149). The key difference in these definitions is "acquires the attitudes" in Morrison as opposed to "learns the values" in Cheney et al. Dr. Sarah Feldner Bonewits (in-class notes, September 27, 2006) stated that Morrison's definition is analogous

to assimilation into a culture, which goes beyond socialization. Assimilation occurs when newcomers internalize and adopt the values and beliefs of the dominant culture. All three perspectives are useful in understanding the multiple realities of socialization.

Kreitner and Kinick (1992) described organizational socialization as "the process by which a person learns the values, norms, and required behaviors which permit him to participate as a member of the organization" or "turning outsiders into insiders" (p. 278). Fisher (1986) explained socialization as a learning and changing process for the newcomer, which includes adopting organizational values, goals, culture, work group values, norms, friendships, necessary skills, knowledge to do the job, and personal change relating to identify, self-image, and motive structure. The function of this perspective is to instill in employees the skills, knowledge, attitudes, and values specific to the organization. Pavalko (1971) describes socialization into an organization this way:

> The process by which men become social beings—adopting a culture and taking on that culture's characteristics. It can be unintentional and implicit or explicit and intentional... conformity to shared values, norms, and expectations about role behavior. The process by which someone learns the ways of a given society or social group well enough so that he can function within it. (p. 81)

As noted previously, socialization is an ongoing process for newcomers. Socialization in work settings can be completed during three stages: anticipatory,

encounter, and metamorphosis (Cheney et al., 2004). The anticipatory stage is everything learned about the job prior to the first day of work. Individuals tend to develop unrealistically positive expectations about the job due to biased literature, videos, and interactions with other members of the organization. During the encounter stage, the newcomer is confronted with more realistic experiences and depictions of the organization. Policies, rules, and practices are generally taken very seriously in this stage. During the final stage, metamorphosis, the new member learns and adapts to the organization's expectations. The newcomer then seeks to creatively find ways to individualize and shape his role in the work setting, which is consistent with the symbolist perspective of socialization. Cheney et al. acknowledges that these stages may not always be distinct and can overlap.

Morrison (2002) conceptualizes the socialization process in the form of completing three tasks: 1) learning the organizational information; 2) learning the job information; and 3) learning the role information. The first task includes learning about the organizational norms, policies, relationships, terminology, goals, history and politics. The second task includes learning about how to perform specific work tasks and achieving task mastery. The final task includes learning about role expectations, responsibilities, and constraints. It should be noted here that the tasks do not automatically occur in order, nor are they fully distinct entities.

The assumption for the reader here may be that those three tasks are completed relatively seamlessly and self-sufficiently. However, that is far from

reality. The primary means in achieving the information necessary in each of the tasks were the social supports of more experienced journalists. Accordingly, Morrison (2002) recognized friendship networks as an indispensable part of a newcomer's socialization and notes that socialization happens when newcomers interact with insiders and develop relationships. A social support is a friendship or caring relationship which provides either emotional reassurance, information, or help in coping with stressful work situations (Fisher, 1985).

The type of organizational structure—rigid or loose—can affect the socialization process. According to Cheney et al. (2004), an organization with a rigid structure—that is, one with a well-established and firm hierarchy—will not yield much for new members. Newcomers can expect a low degree of change to occur to the culture as a result of joining that type of organization. Following that logic, an organization with a loose structure can be expected to allow new members to alter the beliefs, values, norms, etc. of the organization as a result of the socialization process.

Nature of Success and Failure for Practitioners

The term success is easily understood as a colloquial term. However, the term is much more elusive from a scholarly perspective. The documented literature to date on occupational success traditionally focused on objective, measurable indicators of success, such as salary, promotions, records of performance, tests of knowledge skills, and other such assessments (Davies, 1970) or combined objective with subjective measures, such as job satisfaction (Lucas and Buzzanell, 2004). While objective measures might equate success

for some practitioners, based on the investigator's experience and research (Cleveland, 2005; Festinger, 1954; Heslin, 2005; Ng, 2005; Ritzer & Walczak, 1972; Stott, 1950), many employees will perceive these measures to be inadequate in explaining their own experiences.

Describing the Concept of Success

Stott (1950) distinguished between the terms occupational success and organizational success. Occupational success is an inclusive term referring to an entire career, while organizational success, the focus of this project, refers to on-the-job success.

Defined broadly, success can be simply "upward movement" (Ritzer & Walczak, 1972, p. 179). According to Ritzer and Walczak (1972), an individual will evaluate the degree of success in his career through consideration of three factors: his personal aspirations, his peers' progress, and the ideal career pattern in his occupation. Determining what is meant by progress is dependent upon abstract occupational norms as well as members of the individual's reference group. If an individual does not reach his occupational goal according to his pre-determined timeframe, he may shift his priorities, scale down his ambitions, find new benefits of his current job, or place new emphasis on other areas of his life, such as family and social relations (Ritzer & Walczak, 1972). These three factors help inform the researcher about the personal significance aspect of notions of success.

Described more narrowly, Judge, Higgins, Thoresen, and Barrick (1999) defined career success as "the real or perceived achievements individuals have

accumulated as a result of their work experiences" (p. 622). The working

journalists' perceptions of professional achievements will likely act as the primary

subjective measure of their success. This definition is aligned with the nature of a

qualitative investigation and is instructive in its use of "perceived achievements"

in describing success.

Stott (1950) outlined subjective components of occupational success that

include progress, competence, satisfaction, fitness, and adjustment. She

challenges the conventional objective measures by suggesting that one cannot

measure success unless one first understands the informant's personal ideals

and ambitions. Finances and promotions, while indicative of success, may not be

essential to one's idea of success. Stott's perspective is useful to the research

project in that it points to possible specific criteria that informants may identify as

contributing to their on-the-job success.

In studying journalists, Gardner et al. (2001) conceptualized success as

"good work." Good work has two dimensions: The work product is high-quality

and created in a way that reflects socially responsible behavior and practices.

While the specific criteria for good work may not be identical to the literature on

occupational success, the overlapping themes are evident. Gardner's research is

significant to this project because it helps broaden and deepen the understanding

of career triumphs.

Orr (1996) added to the discussion of good work by stating that good

employees are easy to identify by observing who other employees seek out for

assistance. Good employees are those that are expected by others to know what

to do and to be good at it. In the simplest of terms, good employees have a positive organizational reputation.

Beyond these definitions of success are several theories which contribute to a deeper understanding of individual perceptions of success. Social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) is particularly useful in understanding how an individual may account for his success by relating to the relative success of his co-worker. People compare themselves to someone they believe to have reasonable similarity to their occupational, social and/or economic standing. While Festinger's theory falls short of presenting guidelines for determining what is successful and what is unsuccessful, it does offer an insight for this project. Festinger introduced the notion of using co-workers as a starting point for comparisons of success. Heslin (2005) expanded the social comparison theory to propose a reconceptualization of the criterion for occupational success. He suggests that subjective career success is typically measured in terms of self-referent criteria, such as a person's career goals. Buunk and Mussweiler (2001) proposed new directions for this theory, suggesting that individuals give quicker responses when they are allowed to judge themselves against others and that social comparison theory is a way for individuals to improve their self-esteem. This theory is helpful in understanding that reference groups may be used as a starting point for descriptions of success during the interviews with informants.

As Hughes (1971) distinguished between concepts of lay and professional ideas of mistakes, it must follow that there are differences between lay and professional ideas of success or good work. An interesting point here is that

outsiders will not have the same notions of what constitutes success for journalists. This distinction may become clear during dialogue with practicing journalists. The literature will inform the reader of the differences.

Describing the Concept of Failure

Defining failure is as elusive as defining success in the literature. While the literature does not offer a definition for failure, notable research (Hughes, 1971; Orr, 1996) advised the reader in how to study failure and mistakes. Defining professional failure relates directly to the research questions, and it also serves a dual purpose by lending greater clarity to its inverse concept, the definition of professional success (Reeves, 1970). The investigation of failure in journalism will shed light on other disciplines of a similar nature, those disciplines which operate under high-pressure deadlines and have work products open to public scrutiny.

Hughes (1971) recognized that failures and mistakes are a common theme in all human work and that the conclusions apply to all disciplines. Opportunities for error are created when professionals are forced to act before all uncertainties are resolved (Bosk, 1979). Clearly, the inflexible deadlines of journalists present many opportunities for employees to take action while uncertainties remain. Bosk (1979) argued further that certain types of errors are desirable, as errors allow novices to develop the judgments and techniques necessary to become autonomous professionals.

As the literature on failure in journalism is remarkably sparse, this researcher has looked to other disciplines for insight into the phenomena. In

studying surgeons, Bosk (1979) found four primary sources of errors: judgment, the application of techniques, normative role obligations, and the interpretation of norms. Judgmental errors occur when an individual chooses an incorrect strategy of treatment. Technical errors happen when an individual performs his role adequately, but his skills fall short of what the task requires. Technical errors are expected to happen to everyone, but infrequently. Errors in normative role obligations occur when an individual does not execute his role obligations well, and working relations are violated. The interpretation of norms, or quasi-normative errors, occurs when the arbitrary rules of supervisors are not followed. In mocking the authority of the supervisor, the individual's reputation is put at risk. Other, more secondary, sources of error include support staff error and machine malfunction. The errors identified in studying medical surgeons seems to parallel the types of errors occurring in journalism. Both disciplines experience errors related to judgment, application of technique, role obligations, and the arbitrary rules of supervisors. A finding of Bosk's (1979) research was that while errors of a moral nature are punished by peers and supervisors, technical errors are not. Accordingly, technical proficiency is "a rather indifferent indicator of success… normative compliance is weighted more heavily" in determining success (Bosk, 1979, p. 164).

As with success, failure varies from person to person as well as at different stages in of their careers (Reeves, 1970). This makes a fixed definition of failure difficult to isolate. A colleague-group, which is comprised of individuals who are subject to the same organizational risks, has the right to define mistakes

(Hughes, 1971). Outsiders do not hold that same entitlement. This group of colleagues also retains the right to determine whether a mistake was made. Contrarily, colleagues are sometimes hesitant to identify members of their group as being deficient, especially in talking with outsiders. Orr (1996) concurred, adding that while members of a group may talk privately about a co-worker who falls short of the work expectations, there is little public reproach, as it is generally perceived that there is nothing to be done about the deficient co-worker. Individuals are more forthcoming in identifying weaknesses of distant colleagues. Correspondingly, weaknesses of members of the in-group or sub-teams are tolerated better than distant colleagues.

Identifying underachieving employees or behaviors that lead to failure are difficult to verify (Orr, 1996). Furthermore, there are no observable patterns of behavior to determine how and why an incident is categorized as an error (Bosk, 1979). A researcher of failure can, however, examine the factors that determine the extent of an error and how individual employees understand the rules for labeling error (Bosk, 1979). In observations of weak or offending employees, as identified by colleagues, Orr (1996) concluded that these deficient members were no less professional than other employees. Hughes directs researchers to reveal the "fundamental psychological and social devices by which employees are able to [handle mistakes]" (p. 341). This strategy will reveal how mistakes and other deficiencies are handled for members of a group. Bosk (1979) found that mistakes of moral performance are punished through social control in several ways: public humiliation, dressing-downs, sarcastic and mock-ironic remarks,

and pointed ignoring of the guilty party. These tactics helped sensitize the researcher as to the overt means of recognizing errors of a moral nature.

As noted in the previous section, definitions of mistakes are different for lay people and practitioners. This difference stems from epistemology: lay people think an occupation is a means to an end, while practitioners conceive of their occupation as an art (Hughes, 1971). For occupations with ill-defined ends and inevitable risks, such as is true in the field of journalism, individuals develop rituals within the work setting. One of the common rituals found in work is the practice of telling narratives or "war stories" (Orr, 1996). These rituals allow practitioners to stay informed of the changing nuances of their work, to celebrate their membership in the discipline, and to challenge new members of the organization. Listening to the telling of narratives will be valuable to this project in discovering what information is learned in the field and how individuals triumphed over obstacles. Insights on the significance of telling stories will also help inform the interview sessions, as narratives are expected to emerge.

Demotion as a Response to Failure

Individuals who are deemed incompetent in an organization are rarely fired; rather, they are gently demoted, which makes failure socially acceptable (Ritzer & Walczak, 1972). Interestingly, members of an organization will not expose or expel underachieving individuals. Most organizations will shift these individuals to positions that cause the least amount of destruction to the organization. Organizations may choose to demote rather than fire because firings can pose a threat to the organization's morale.

Ritzer and Walczak (1972) identify four commonly-used methods for enacting a demotion: a) the demotion is obscured, so that the underachieving individual is not exposed to the social stigma of outright demotion; b) an individual may be transferred to a less desirable geographical location while retaining the same basic title and position; c) an award is included with the demotion; and d) the demotion may be followed with a promotion.

While the social stigma of a firing is removed when an organization chooses demotion, demotion is not without its consequences. Individuals may react to a demotion in a number of counter-constructive ways, such as increased negativity, bitterness, resisting organizational direction, displaying a defeatist attitude, absenteeism, illness, turnover, or abusing privileges (Ritzer & Walczak, 1972). Individuals who receive a demotion may also exhibit traits that are constructive to the organization, including working harder to regain previous status, becoming realistically self-critical, or feeling relief to not be in the position that was too demanding (Ritzer & Walczak, 1972).

Clearer definitions of organizational success and failure in journalism will emerge as a result of this investigation. Indeed, descriptions of success and failure for working journalists are central to the research questions. The literature previously mentioned will sensitize the researcher to language and behavior that will indicate signs of success and failure.

Summary

Finding an absolute, shared understanding of the goal(s) and purpose(s) of journalism is not apparent in the literature. However, the majority of the literature (Gans, 1979; Gripsrud, 2000; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001; MacKinnon, 2005; McChesney, 2004, McManus, 1994; Meyer, 2004; Tuchman, 1978) agreed on at least one goal/purpose of modern journalism: self-governance of its citizens. This self-governance is discussed in a number of ways in the literature, though, which might cause a nuanced understanding of it.

Schön (1983) indicated that practitioners in all disciplines face conflicts of values, goals, purposes, and interests. Practitioners of journalism are not unique in their struggle to collectively identify, express, and execute its primary goal(s) and purpose(s). The influences of external forces, such as technology, notions of objectivity, and organizational socialization structures, can be seen in the changing and sometimes conflicting goals and purposes of professions. Other external forces include economics, family systems, education, and cultural shifts.

The historical review of American journalism is useful in appreciating the functions of journalism and how it has evolved. Understanding the background of journalism is helpful in addressing current issues facing the field and envisioning how the future might be affected, particularly our democratic values. If journalism's primary purpose is to advance democracy, how will that be achieved if market forces are dominating newsrooms?

The expectation that the media should be absolutely objective has resulted in the continuous and inevitable failure of achieving it. The news reflects

the values and perceptions of journalists, which leads to questions regarding the legitimacy of the media itself. And if the media is not advancing democracy, then what purpose is it serving? This study will explore the goals of TV news, which will address this important question.

Success in any profession is dependent upon a successful socialization into the organization (Ashkanasy et al., 2000; Boice, 1992; Hearne, 1991). Organizational socialization is an individual, social, and cultural process. Accordingly, the process illustrates the need to study these processes within the natural context of a newsroom. The research of Ashkanasy et al. (2000) contributes to successful socialization by focusing on the role of social supports and relationships. Pavalko (1971) and Feldman (1988) distinguish phases within the organizational socialization process for an understanding of the multiple elements in the socialization process. Feldman (1980) and Fisher (1985) theorized that social supports follow rather than precede successful socialization.

The literature also offered several secondary perspectives that contribute well-respected research in the field as well. The social comparison theory exposed the researcher to an understanding of the motivation of some journalists to measure their success based on the relative achievements of others, particularly by using their ages as benchmarks for success. The social learning theory points out the modeling behavior of some novice practitioners, which may help explain certain actions by inexperienced employees. Stott's five components of occupational success offer indicators of success that may be stated by informants during interviews or suggested by their observable behaviors.

Implications for Study

Based on the review of the literature, several implications for the study of professional journalists can be gleaned. Successful socialization is essential to the triumph of any employee (Ashkanasy et al., 2000; Boice, 1992; Hearne, 1991). It would follow logically that unsuccessful socialization can lead to perceptions of failure. Organizational socialization is an individual, social, and cultural process (Filstad, 2004) and demonstrates the importance for this investigator to study the process within its natural organizational setting, a newsroom.

Other implications for this study include a thorough examination of what constitutes success and failure, as both concepts are problematic to define. Taking a subjective approach, as appropriate for a qualitative study, an employee will evaluate the degree of success in his career through consideration of three factors: his personal aspirations, his peers' progress, and the ideal career pattern in his occupation (Ritzer & Walczak, 1972). This definition aligns with Judge et al. (1999), who defined career success as "the real or perceived achievements individuals have accumulated as a result of their work experiences" (p. 622). Both definitions are helpful to the researcher for discovering how perceptions of success may be formed and how to look for signs of success in a qualitative study.

The literature surfaced alternate language used to compensate for the term "failure." Indeed, the terms of "mistakes," "errors," and "deficiencies" are more common and will aid the researcher in crafting suitable interview questions.

In addition, the literature points to the unwillingness of professionals to expose individuals who are deficient; rather, deficient individuals are often demoted and protected by other in-group employees (Ritzer & Walczak, 1972). Evidence of demotion will be an area for the researcher to investigate, as that may be a sign of failure.

A final implication for the inquiry is the role of prior education in professional practice. As the literature (Bales, 1992: Bullard & McLeary, 1994; Dennis, 1990; Dickson & Brandon, 2000; Dickson, 1996; Lindley, 1988; Medsger, 1996) stated, higher education is not sufficiently preparing graduates for the journalism industry. The research (Gardner et al., 2000; McManus, 1994) indicated that part of the discrepancy might be caused by differing perspectives on the goals and purposes of journalism. By delving into the perceptions of the goals and purposes of journalism, this study may shed light on the discrepancy, which is at the core of the study.

The issues raised and conclusions drawn by these researchers suggest that journalism educators need to look at successful practices and behaviors in the industry in order to bridge the divide or risk further criticism and ultimately obsolescence. Gardner et al. (2001) also proposes that the long-term future of the industry is reliant upon improving educational practices. While problems are well documented from a supervisor's perspective, there is little literature that identifies promising educational practices based on the experiences of practicing journalists. Because problems are poorly understood, there is a need to develop and document strategies by working journalists. Promising practices developed

as a result of this study can hopefully be utilized as a means to bridge the gap between ineffective and effective educational preparation. This investigator supposes that academic research examining professional knowledge can lead to strategies for a more effective journalism-related education.

The findings of this study should help educators better understand the nature of on-the-job success and failure as articulated by working television journalists. That knowledge can, in turn, be used by educators to develop educational strategies that will more adequately prepare students for entry into the profession. Educators will have a clearer understanding of problematic issues that are identified by journalists and can try to replicate successful strategies. Furthermore, students may learn how to deal with job demands before they enter the workforce.

Chapter 1 presented an overview of the study and a statement of the research questions. This chapter reviewed the literature to date related to the research questions. The following chapter contains a description of the methods used to investigate perceptions of working journalists in newsrooms.

Chapter III

METHODS

Chapters 1 and 2 presented an overview of the study and a review of the literature. Chapter 3 contains a description of the methods used for the study. This chapter presents a description of the research problem, purpose of the study, significance of the study, theoretical framework, rationale for the design of the study, data collection methods and analysis procedures, and the plan for presenting the results. As the choice of methods is warranted by the research topic and design, these elements will be addressed at the start. Data collection methods include depth interviews and participant observations and these methods will be described in subsequent sections. The setting for the study was one television newsroom, located in a mid-sized, Midwestern city. The section on analysis procedures discusses dependability, transferability and credibility and how to interpret the findings. The final section on presenting the results includes the intended audiences for this study and a plan for presenting the findings.

Goal of the Study

The goal of this study is to describe the nature of perceived success and failure and the role of prior education for broadcast journalists in their natural setting, utilizing an organizational socialization framework. The aim is to discover patterns and themes that emerge from thorough documentation by observations and interviews. As the study explored perceptions and viewpoints, no specific

hypothesis were tested. Rather, the interviews were designed to allow informants to discuss what is most salient to them within the scope of organizational socialization. The observations complemented the interviews and help to triangulate the assumptions generated during the analysis phase. Observations allowed me to directly view individual, social and cultural processes that lend to success and failure and to develop an explanation of those processes beyond what particular subjects may articulate.

Research Questions

This study assumes that academic research examining professional knowledge can lead to developing strategies for a more effective journalism-related education. With that aim in mind, this study addressed the following research questions:

1. What is the purpose of television news according to practicing television journalists?

2. How do practicing television journalists describe their own professional on-the-job successes and failures in television news?

3. What is the role that journalists say their prior education played in their preparation for success or failure in the field of television news?

4. What are the implications of the findings for journalism-related education according to practicing television journalists?

Rationale for Qualitative Design

This study has value as there is insufficient qualitative literature that identifies promising educational practices based on the experiences of

successful practicing journalists. Eliciting the views and experiences of journalists is best garnered through interviews and observations, rather than questionnaires that measure forced categories. Rich descriptions of success and failure rely on emergent and complex explanations, requiring in-depth questions and direct observations. Questionnaires ask for conventional responses and cannot probe for depth or complexities. Accordingly, qualitative research methods for this study are most appropriate. Interviews and observations allowed me to explore the authentic descriptions and experiences of informants.

Research Paradigm

A research paradigm is commonly considered a basic set of beliefs that function to guide the researcher's actions. Guba (1990) suggested using a research paradigm as a representation of the epistemological and conceptual foundation for the project. I adopted a naturalistic approach, assuming that the knowledge gained is best gained in the natural setting. Accordingly, I presume the results of this research will expand the base of professional knowledge on journalism.

This research project is designed to generate a thick description of how television news journalists describe success and failure. 'Thick descriptions' are those layered enough to draw conclusions and uncover the intentions of a given act, event, or behavior (Goldman-Segall, 1992). Thickness, in this sense, will come from articulating the meaning of what is said during interviews and what is seen and heard during observations beyond a commonsense understanding. As Geertz (1983) stated so elegantly, the goal of thick description is understanding

and is more aligned with "what a critic does to illumine a poem than what an astronomer does to account for a star" (p. 10).

In-depth interviews and participant observations were used to generate data, as both methods support the purpose of this study and result in detailed descriptions. Interviews and observations, over a long period of time, are essential in uncovering the processes by which a person becomes socialized into an organization. Accordingly, I spent seven months in the field, observing and conducting interviews.

Ethnographic Approach. Ethnography is a qualitative approach that studies informants and their perspectives in their natural setting or context. While the roots of ethnography can be found in anthropological studies, it has emerged as a legitimate approach in other social sciences (Silverman, 2005). As I studied the informants in their natural setting with the intention of identifying and categorizing perceptions and attitudes for the purposes of developing a content-rich understanding, an ethnographic study was the most appropriate style of research (Gay & Airasian, 2003). The approach of ethnography advanced the research questions in light of its theoretical perspective. This was accomplished by focusing on the socio-cultural and individual processes that lead to success or failure in broadcast journalism. Specific behaviors, practices and perceptions of broadcast journalists are important at the individual level. The socio-cultural processes include the norms, attitudes, and values of the organization.

Ethnography calls for a variety of data collection techniques, and both interviews and observations were chosen for this study. Conventional

ethnographic procedures were followed, such as not drawing conclusions early in the study or judging the informants involved. The ethnographer's task, according to Morley and Silverstone (1999), is to use observations and interviews to "attempt to describe—and inevitably interpret—the practices of the subjects in their cultural context, on the basis of his or her first-hand observation of day-to-day activities" (p. 153). Specifically, the ethnographic researcher's duty is to produce detailed descriptions of the experiences, social rules, and patterns of the informants within their particular culture or organization (Morley and Silverstone, 1999).

According to Rock (2001), "Ethnography is intense, lengthy, and 'data-rich,' and it cannot and should probably not embrace too many people and too wide a field of activity. Many ethnographers will spend a considerable time studying the doings of only a handful of people," (p. 33). Indeed, it can be overwhelming and counterproductive to study too many informants or too wide a setting. Accordingly, I focused my efforts on seven informants from a cross-section of positions and backgrounds. Five of the seven informants had been employed by at least one other station.

Multiple Methods. Silverman (2005) recommended using multiple methods to corroborate findings and to achieve triangulation of data. Several ground rules apply when triangulating: a) begin from a theoretical perspective or model; b) choose methods and data that give an account of structure and meaning from within that perspective; and c) do not claim that multiple methods reveal the "truth" or the "whole picture" (Silverman, 2005). Rather than promising

too much, the researcher should understand the limitations of the findings and appreciate those findings. Silverman (2005) directed the researcher to integrate the methods logistically and intellectually. As such, I made sure that the data from the observations and interviews continuously fed into each other and addressed the research questions. Corroboration was also achieved by using different data sources (in this case, using multiple informants during different times).

Setting and Informant Selection

The following section describes the procedures taken to choose the setting and informants. The descriptions offered in the following section will allow the reader to become familiar with the contexts and types of individuals involved with the study. More detail on the physical characteristics of the setting and the backgrounds of the informants will be presented in Chapter 4.

Setting

The natural setting is the most likely place for the researcher to discover information about the phenomena because "personal meaning is tied to context" (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p. 45). In choosing the number of sites to examine, Cassell and Symon (2004) recommend that smaller, tightly controlled samples are likely to reveal more than information discovered in a large-scale quantitative survey. To satisfy this small, tightly controlled sample, I conducted interviews and observations at one television news station in the Midwest.

Maykut and Morehouse (1994) strongly urge the qualitative researcher to resist choosing how many individuals or settings to study before the study

begins; rather, the researcher should continue to jointly collect and analyze data in an ongoing process until little new information is forthcoming. While this is sound advice, for practical reasons and to satisfy the standards of the governing university ethical board, at least one station was proposed for study with a maximum of two.

Station Selected. The specific television news station was selected in order to meet the following criteria: Will I likely find what I am looking for (e.g. a range of personnel and experience levels); is this station typical of the phenomena being studied; and whether personal and professional contacts to gain access can be utilized (Cassell & Symon, 2004). The station chosen was in a mid-sized market, yielding both experienced and novice journalists. Mid-sized markets are likely to employ the three groups under study: new college graduates in the entry-level positions, journalists with experience at other stations, and experienced, veteran journalists. The parameters of the three groups are offered later in this chapter. Full descriptions of the station and the informants, including the levels of experience, are detailed in Chapter 4.

Access to Settings. As newsrooms are controlled by gatekeepers, they are considered somewhat closed and private settings. These settings can pose problems for the researcher in gaining access. Silverman (2005) recommended taking the following actions in order to alleviate potential problems of access: the researcher must give an appropriate impression; the researcher should obtain access from both superiors and subordinates; and be non-judgmental in tone and manner.

As a former member of the television news community, I gained access to the station relatively easily by requesting permission from a supervisor and former colleague at the station. See Appendix B for the letter sent to the News Directors. Gaining permission and access to this site was not a significant barrier to the study. However, in trying to secure a potential second site (if it had been warranted for additional study), I encountered resistance. The market for a potential second site was larger and perhaps more wary of outsiders. I sensed that the economic downturn also played a factor in the resistance. How the economic downturn affected the television news industry will be covered in Chapter 5.

Formal access was obtained after the News Director gave informed consent (see Appendix C), a list of possible informants was generated by identifying employees who were recent graduates, experienced but new to the station, and experienced and veteran to the station. Both on-air talent and producers were included on the list as these are the most common positions sought by news workers. Both females and males were eligible for the study as both genders hold positions in television news. See the following section and Figure 2 for more details on the classifications.

Informant Selection

The selection of specific informants must be guided by the theoretical requirements of the project. Snowball sampling is appropriate for research studies intending to explore social networks, such as the case for this project (Johnson & Weller, 2002; Warren, 2002). Characteristics of ideal informants

include expertise of at least one year full-time experience or three to four years part-time experience, current and active membership in the field, enough time to participate in the research phase, and the ability to speak as a member of the community using the conventional language of the community. Informants were selected on the basis of the above characteristics and for their ability to add to the understanding of the research questions.

The challenges of selecting and locating informants are alleviated because television journalists having a natural setting in which to congregate, the newsroom. Johnson (2002) cautioned that not all potential informants are equally valuable. Informants vary in intelligence, knowledge, and the ability to reflect on their personal experiences. The best informants are those who are deeply entrenched within the setting. The best informants can provide "thick description" but stop short of analyzing or theorizing about their descriptions. Informants may be chosen for their ability to narrate their perceptions or for special access to information. Warren (2002) recommended choosing informants based on their capacity to produce narratives. Interestingly, individuals who are considered to hold marginal membership status within the setting are also often desirable informants; their status often allows these individuals to reflect on social phenomena around them (Johnson, 2002). Naturally, independent verification of perceptions of these informants must be sought.

Types of Informants. The informants and the setting were carefully chosen based on the possibility that each informant and the setting will expand the variability in the sample, generally referred to as purposive sampling (Maykut

& Morehouse, 1994). Purposive sampling allows the researcher to use her

judgment to select the sample she believes will provide the data sought, based

on the purpose of the study and prior information (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). As

such, the informants will include producers and on-air talent of reporters and

anchors. Producers and on-air talent make up more than half the staff of the

average newsroom and are the most common positions sought by traditional

journalism-related graduates. The three main groups added to the variability of

the research by allowing for different people in diverse places in their careers.

Patterns of behaviors, practices, and perceptions among the informants were

sought. The group including the "experienced but new to the station" helped

control for station-specific peculiarities. The "experienced but new to the station"

group may also experience a similar learning curve of a novice employee in

attaining the values, norms, and specific practices of other members of the

organization (Schein, 1987). Gardner et al. (2002) supported studying journalists

at different stages of their careers for unique perceptions of the profession. Both

genders were considered for selection. The variety of perspectives and

educational backgrounds allowed for rich and diverse data that were relevant to

journalism-related education. Furthermore, Davies (1950) asserted that success

needs to be judged from several points of view. However, the small sample size

cannot be considered as representation of the full picture, according to Silverman

(2005). Accordingly, those selected were from three groups: 1) new and

inexperienced journalists; 2) experienced and a veteran of the station; and 3)

experienced but new to the station. See Figure 2 for a breakdown of the groups

to which the informants belong.

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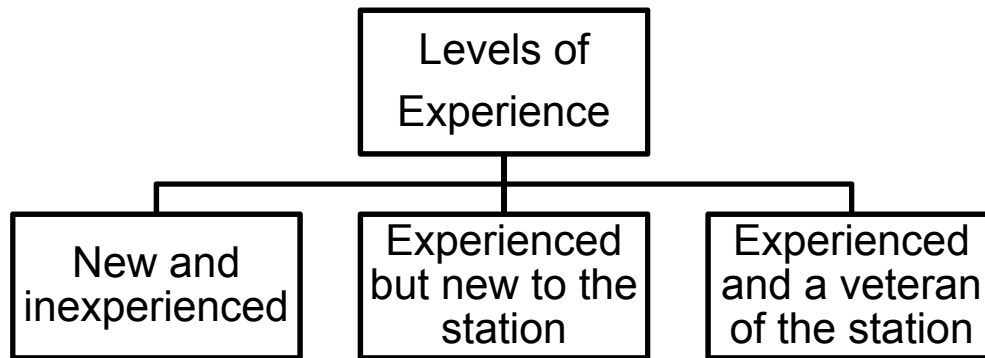
Figure 2. Groups of Informants by Levels of Experience

Informants may be chosen as the process progresses and/or in advance

(Cassell & Symon, 2004; Gay & Airasian, 2003; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994).

Cassell and Symon (2004) directed researchers to use a three-pronged

approach to choosing informants. First, researchers must first get a general

overview of the organization. This may include a half-dozen "orientation"

sessions to learn about the history and present function of the organization.

General observations of the work being done during these orientation sessions

will help the researcher pinpoint prospective informants. Second, the researcher

needs to finalize the research protocol and then choose the specific informants

based on the orientation sessions. Finally, the researcher must be disciplined

and meticulous in data collection. Gardner, Czikszentmihalyi, and Damon (1997)

selected their sample of journalists mostly based on the advice of trustees (that

is, senior individuals "in the know" in the field who are regarded by their

colleagues as "good workers"). Gay and Airasian (2003) recommended the

researcher recruit individuals "who can explain their thoughts and ideas clearly, who are familiar with the study's context, and who are open to exploring new perspectives on their experience" (p. 196).

Informant Recruitment. I first entered the field and tried to get a sense of the general overview of the organization via initial orientation sessions. Then, based on the research protocol, advice of senior individuals, and recommended recruitment strategies, prospective informants were selected from the three different levels of experience, as previously identified. I selected at least two informants per level of experience. All informants were assigned an alias in both my field notes and this paper.

As journalists are a fairly open group of people, I was able to meet a number of the newsroom crew in my first sessions at the station. A number of them introduced themselves to me, telling me a little about their backgrounds. During these conversations, I was able to determine whether they might add to my sample. I made notations in my field notes on whether they fit my criteria and into which group they belonged. I did not ask anyone to be my informant during the first couple weeks of observations. Rather, I allowed time to get a feel for the station and its key members. About the third week into my observations, during a conversation with a novice journalist, he mentioned that he had had a superior education background for television news. I asked him if he would be willing to be interviewed, and he agreed.

The recruitment process went along in a similar fashion for four other informants. During conversations with the members of the newsroom, depending

on their backgrounds and ability to articulate themselves, I invited them to be interviewed. All that I invited agreed to serve as informants.

There were two exceptions to this recruitment process. One of the producers turned to me in the middle of a newscast one day and told me that she and another producer had talked about me over lunch. They had discussed my topic during lunch and felt they should tell me their stories. I had previously noted in my field notes that this producer would make an excellent informant and invited her to be interviewed. She accepted. I did not ask the other producer mentioned in this conversation, as I was unsure about her ability to be forthcoming. She had not spoken to me during my observational sessions other than brief greetings. I was concerned about our rapport during an interview and her level of trust in divulging information to me. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) recommended, while it is normal for informants to select themselves, the researcher must maintain control over the selection process to avoid missed or misleading data.

The other exception was from another producer, the mid-level manager who helped me gain access to the station. He approached me one day and asked when I was going to interview him. I had also tagged him in my notes as a potential informant but wondered if he would be too busy for the interviews, as he carried a heavy workload. He accepted my invitation to be interviewed.

Interestingly, several other members of the organization offered to become informants without being asked. I did not formally interview these as they did not fit the stated criteria for the study, such as the News Director, Assignment

Editor, and technical crew. However, I made sure to listen to their remarks about the industry and asked them questions for deep background related to my project. The News Director added to my observational sessions on many occasions, and his insightful comments are included where appropriate in Chapters 4 and 5.

Educational Background of Informants. Typical education for a journalist includes a degree in print or broadcast journalism, mass communication, communication, English, or nonfiction writing. While it is common for practicing journalists to hold a journalism-related degree, informants without a traditional journalism-related degree were included in the project as well. They can offer their perceptions of the educational preparation necessary to succeed in the profession. For this project, six of the seven informants had a journalism-related bachelor's degree. One informant earned a bachelor's degree in political science. More details on each informant will be outlined in Chapter 4.

Sampling Methods

Determining the appropriate sample size and number of informants helped maintain the integrity of the research project. Silverman (2005) stated that most qualitative researchers use purposive sampling techniques rather than random ones. Indeed, the individuals and settings are chosen deliberately, having been sought out for where the processes being investigated are most likely to occur. Researchers should sample based on whether the informants add to the scope and range of the information sought (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The seven informants in this study added to the multiplicity of views for the three levels of

experience. Whereas sampling one informant for each level could have resulted in selecting an exception, two and three informants for each level can offer meaning. Furthermore, Silverman (2005) suggested that independent, unfunded researchers seek settings that are accessible and will provide data reasonably quickly.

The number of informants a researcher should have remains elusive in the literature (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002), but Gay and Airasian (2003) asserted that qualitative research studies will have 20 or fewer informants. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) advised waiting until data saturation occurs before deciding to finish the study; the researcher will not know the exact number of informants until the fieldwork is well underway. The researcher's time, money, informant availability, and other factors will influence the final number (Gay & Airasian, 2003). Cassell and Symon (2004) acknowledged that the amount of time and resources available to the researcher play a critical role. Two general indicators help researchers in the field determine the sufficient number of participants: a) whether the participants represent a range in the setting; and b) the redundancy of the information gathered from the participants, or data saturation (Gay & Airasian, 2003). Fischman and Lam (2000) studied the "good work" of journalists and used 11 informants. Filstad (2004) also conducted qualitative research using organizational socialization on 11 informants. Both research studies used depth interviews and observations in data collection. Seven informants were selected considering the multiple methods, goals of the study, previous studies, and time and resources available, and ability to add to the scope and range of information

sought. The small sample size of seven can result in enhanced descriptive and sensitive data, as opposed to a large-scale study (Merriam, 1998).

The news station chosen for the study provided the information sought and allowed full access to the informants and setting. The station is an affiliate with a network; network affiliations are typical of most television news stations. The station employs the different groups of journalists sought as informants and follows conventional journalism practices. Furthermore, five of the seven informants had prior experience at other news stations. These five informants would have undergone their initial occupational socialization at a different station, which increases the likelihood of their ability to add to the scope of the information sought.

Each potential informant was initially approached in-person either during a conversation or during a lull in the news day. As journalists work under intense deadlines, it was important to respect these deadlines by not bothering them during particularly hectic times.

Informed Consent

To satisfy the university's Office of Research Compliance requirements, informed consent must be obtained from each participant in the study. Informed consent is the act by which potential informants are informed about the research project, ensuring that participation is obtained through voluntary consent and written documentation. The informed consent for this study included the guarantee of confidentiality and the right to withdraw from the study at any time. I clarified my honest intentions while articulating the research problem to potential

informants in order to avoid any ethical dilemmas during the process of obtaining

consent. Each individual who was willing to participate was given an informed

consent document to sign prior to being included in the study. A copy of the

informed consent form is included in Appendix A.

Selection of Data Collection Methods

Gubrium and Holstein (2002) offered several imperatives to substantiate

the use of interviews in qualitative research. The overarching goals of qualitative

interviewing are to derive interpretation of some social phenomenon and to

understand the meaning of the informants' experiences. Interviews help the

researcher to become informed about the nature of social life for a particular

group and to "learn what people perceived and how they interpreted their

perceptions" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002, p. 9). Ascertaining the goals,

successes, and failures of practicing television journalists—the very core of the

research questions under investigation—was dependent upon the journalists'

perceptions as articulated during interviews. Additionally, questions regarding

perceptions of the role of education in journalists' success or failure dictate

perceptual data, which was obtained best through depth interviews.

Goals and Purposes of In-depth Interviews

Johnson (2002) advised that the nature of the research question(s) is the

determining factor in choosing in-depth interviewing as an appropriate method for

data collection. As deep understandings and multiple perspectives on the

research questions were sought, in-depth interviewing was the type of interview

appropriate for the research project. The deep understandings may reveal how

commonsense explanations comprise personal interests and how they are understood. Deep understandings allow the researcher and reader to grasp multiple perspectives, meanings, and interpretations of the phenomenon under study. In this case, the informants were asked to explain their experiences with the research questions, such as the goals and purposes of journalism as they understand them and the role of education in journalism training. See Appendix E, F, and G for the interview guides.

Pilot Study. Prior to the actual study, I asked a former co-worker—one who was not involved in the study—to test the interview questions. I practiced the in-depth interview format using the interview guide developed for the study. The interview lasted 70 minutes and was digitally audio-recorded. The audio recording was supplemented with notes taken during the interview. This testing allowed me to practice my depth interview skills and resulted in rephrasing a few of the questions on the interview guide.

Conducting In-depth Interviews. Proper procedures for conducting in-depth interviews are essential in order to maintain the integrity of the project. A general progression is offered by Johnson (2002). The interviews in any project should follow the interview protocol or guide, opening with small talk and then explaining the purpose of the research project. The informants were asked to sign an informed consent document before continuing. I then asked several simple questions followed by five sections of questions that addressed the main issues. Each of the three main groups of informants – novice, experienced but new to the station, and experienced and a veteran of the station – had a separate

interview protocol, with a few questions slightly modified for their level. For example, with the novice informants, I asked a question such as whether they sought the advice of more experienced members of the station. For the experienced but new to the station, I asked a question about how this station was different than their previous station(s). For the veterans of the station, I asked about habits they've developed over the years and whether new journalists seek their advice.

While I initially directed the flow of the interview, it was not done so quickly as to jeopardize the trust and rapport necessary for a quality interview. Occasionally, I asked for clarification and expansion on questions.

Role of Social Supports in Interview Questions. As the theoretical framework posits that organizational success relies heavily on social supports, it is important to address this as a strategy for inquiry. Social support is defined as "the support and assistance individuals might need from their social networks in various situations" (Johnson & Weller, 2002, p. 503). Johnson and Weller (2002) recommend using an integrated approach to interviewing "to discover cultural models for social support" (p. 503). Accordingly, I explored the concept of social supports at the organizational level in order to identify and describe its significance locally. In particular, I noted who the informants talked to, how often, and for what reasons. During follow-up conversations with informants, I was then able to probe for insight regarding their social networks. For example, I noted that Jeff rarely conversed socially with his co-workers, except for one. He also rarely sought the advice of more experienced members of the newsroom. Based on

these observations, I asked Jeff about whether he believed he felt a part of the "family," a term the other informants used to describe their co-workers.

Elicitation Techniques. Industry and institutional knowledge of practitioners may be tacit and, therefore, difficult to verbally communicate during interviews. Elicitation techniques are helpful in discerning tacit knowledge, which is the type of knowledge that is not easily articulated by informants because an act or behavior has become second nature (Johnson & Weller, 2002). Elicitation techniques can be applied at various points in the research process. They function to counteract any researcher bias and increase the dependability and transferability of the findings.

Eliciting narratives from practicing journalists includes strategies such as asking the right questions, displaying sympathetic listening and holding back other questions so the informants can shape their own stories, responding to informants' questions and entering into a reciprocal dialogue, and being flexible and ready to follow the path set by the informants (Narayan & George, 2002). As informants relied on their memories to recall information regarding their prior education, these elicitation techniques were useful during the interview sessions. One elicitation tactic I used was silence. I would also say I wasn't familiar with their practices. I did this so they would not assume I already knew how something was accomplished, considering they were aware of my former status in their profession. Another elicitation tactic I discovered was bringing the interns into the discussion with the key informants. The interns, by nature of being

students, were there to learn. When they were a part of the discussion, the news workers would sometimes explain their practices in clear and simple language.

Types and Ranges of Reluctance. Two types of reluctance are identified in the literature (Adler & Adler, 2002): access and resistance. An informant who acts withdrawn and reticent when the interview is requested is blocking *access*. An informant who agrees to the interview but then avoids opening up is displaying *resistance*. In overcoming issues of access, Adler and Adler (2002) offered five strategies: researchers could cast the interviews as temporary and not as an in-depth association; avoid rushing informants into interviews too soon; exploit common relationship networks to gain trust; take the time to get to know potential informants and develop relationships; and obtain a membership role in the setting. Overcoming resistance can be accomplished through set-up issues, such as finding overlapping demographic characteristics between the researcher and informants (Adler & Adler, 2002). Demographic characteristics include age, gender, social class, ethnicity, and general appearance.

Increasing the comfort level of informants is important for a smooth interview process. The location of the interviews, especially interviews of a sensitive or private nature, should be conducted in private places. A general rule is that the location is dependent upon wherever the informants feel comfortable. Newsrooms are typically noisy, open spaces with little privacy for interviews. As such, most of the interviews were conducted at off-site locations affording more privacy, such as coffee shops, restaurants, and the station's conference room.

Maintaining Cross-comparisons of Informants. To ensure the fairness of drawing comparisons across informants when using open-ended questions, it was important for me to ask all informants the same skeleton questions. Additionally, each informant must have the same understanding and interpretation of the questions in order to compare responses across individuals (Johnson & Weller, 2002). I asked various follow-up probes to explain a question in terms relevant to different informants, mostly in follow-up conversations during their normal working hours.

Maximizing Transcription Quality of Interviews*. Following each interview, I manually transcribed each audio recording. Issues related to transcribing audio recordings of interviews into written documents present several challenges. Poland (2002) identified four major technical problems faced by all interview researchers, including run-on sentences, failure of transcripts to indicate when respondents are paraphrasing or repeating someone else, accidental omissions of words due to the technology used, and mistaking words for similar-sounding words. Poland (2002) recommended using strategies for maximizing transcription quality in nine ways: use high-quality tapes and recording devices; use a consistent notation system and note pauses, laughter, interruptions, and vocal inflections; carefully select transcribers; thoroughly prepare transcribers; review transcription quality; member checking; flagging ambiguous material; using field notes and observational data to cross-check interviews; and report on the transcription quality. I transcribed all of the tapes myself. I found that any issues related to transcribing were minor ones. I

attempted to transcribe the tapes within a few weeks of each interview, which allowed me to remember any words that were hard to understand due to the technology. I enacted a word-for-word transcription strategy, noting every filler word (e.g. um), long pauses, and interruptions. Run-on sentences were common, but careful reading of the transcriptions allowed for meaning to be discerned.

Determining the Saturation Point. Knowing when to finish the interviews is not an exact science, as pointed out in the literature (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). However, most researchers (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002) agreed that a saturation point is the place to stop. A saturation point is the stage when the researcher is not learning anything new, and thus, the interviews can be concluded. Theoretical saturation is determined by the observer answering these questions: a) will this interview or observation add significantly to what I already know? and b) am I reasonably certain there is no disconfirming evidence in the organization?

Ethnographic research dictates that the investigator spends a substantial amount of time immersed in the field, gaining a deep understanding about the people, the organization, and the broader context in which journalists work. Prolonged engagement in the field ensures a level of trust and learning the culture of the organization (Gay & Airasian, 1992). Data saturation is important to the anticipated total time spent in the field as well. As experienced scholars (Gay & Airasian, 1992; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) advised, the researcher should collect and analyze data in an ongoing process until the saturation point is reached; this will only be known once deep into the fieldwork. Bernard (1994)

stated a typical study will last between a few weeks to one year. Berkowitz (1989) spent two months of forty hours per week studying television journalists inside a newsroom. Considering the design of this research project, the research questions, practical considerations of time and resources, previous research in this area, and achieving saturation, I spent seven months total in the field. During these months, I interviewed each informant one or two times, depending on the informant, and supplemented the interviews with observations. In order to access the informants, observe their activities, and become immersed in the settings, I spent about 120 hours as a participant observer in the newsroom. As this study centered on the practices and behaviors leading to success and failure for practitioners, the best area to observe them was their natural work setting. The specific environments inside the station included the newsroom and its related environment, such as the producer pod, anchor pod, control room, conference room, break room and edit bays. The newsroom and surrounding common areas provided the best locations to observe work activity.

Saturation point was reached in this study after seven informants total were interviewed and approximately 120 hours of observations were conducted. The best strategy in leaving the field, according to Cassell and Symon (2004), was to "ease out" or "drift off" the field. This prevented an abrupt ending and possibly any uneasy feelings. I also brought baked goods and other treats each time I went to the station, which helped me to contribute to the station. After I left the field, I mailed thank-you cards to my informants and the News Director.

Relationship between Interviews and Observations

Interviews alone are not sufficient in yielding a "*complete* record and understanding of *events*" (Atkinson & Coffey, 2002, p. 804). Observations serve to put events into context and lend insight into organizational behaviors of practitioners. Observations make it possible to check information as presented by informants during interviews and note any discrepancies. Further, observations can provide the researcher with clues as to distortions made by individuals during interviews. The combination of interviews and observations allows triangulation of methods to ensure quality research. As acknowledged by Atkinson and Coffey (2002), triangulation functions to maximize the transferability of fieldwork by playing different methods off each other. It must be noted that true triangulation is contingent upon my skills, the setting of the study, and the theoretical perspective (Atkinson & Coffey, 2002).

Goals and Purposes of Observational Methods

Observational methods consist of being immersed in a research setting and systematically observing dimensions of that setting, along with noting interactions and behaviors of the informants in their natural setting (Mason, 1996). Mason (1996) suggested observational methods to satisfy the ontological and epistemological perspectives of the researcher and the nature of the research questions. The ontological perspective is when the researcher believes interactions, behaviors and their interpretations of them are central to the study. Observational methods fulfill the epistemological position of the researcher when the knowledge or evidence is seen to be generated by observing natural settings

rather than laboratory settings. Observations are useful also when the data required of the research questions is not available in other forms or when retrospective descriptions would be insufficient. Direct observation is significant in giving context to what informants say during interviews; their responses may not be fully understood or there may be distortion to explore during observations (Platt, 2002). Simply put, observation of activities generates a more complete account and understanding of those activities than interviews alone.

Role of the Researcher in Observations. The researcher must choose an appropriate role to assume during observational sessions. Common roles of an observer include complete observer, participant observer, and complete participant. Gans (1979), in studying practicing journalists, assumed the role of a participant observer, with the emphasis on observation, not participation in the work product itself. The participant observation is more reliable in some ways than other methods because it doesn't manipulate artificial situations for informants (Filstead, 1970). A participant observer shares in the daily activities in the natural setting, must attain both detachment and personal insights, and requires a social role that is determined by the research design and the structure of the sub-culture (Filstead, 1970). Accordingly, the most appropriate role for this study was that of a participant observer.

The participant observer should allow for a brief acquaintance period during initial visits to the setting. I was invited to visit the station and attend an afternoon meeting about six months before I started observations. After beginning the formal observations, I spent a couple weeks trying to meet the

majority of the newsroom and get acquainted with their daily activities. This acquaintance period allowed me to be observed by others and to become accessible by engaging in non-threatening activities, such as familiarizing myself with the physical setting and informally talking with members of the community (Filstead, 1970). During this period, members of the newsroom became used to me, which lessened the possibility of them acting differently for my benefit. The only times when I sensed that people were acting differently toward me was the tendency of the News Director to curse loudly and then turn to me and tell me not to write that down.

Strategies for Observations*. The types of activities, behaviors, and interactions recorded during observational sessions must be linked to the research questions. The research questions will guide the researcher in what to look for in the field, whom to speak to about what behaviors, what specifics need to be recorded, and what needs to be followed up on (Mason, 1996). Silverman (2005) advised researchers to write down what is seen and heard, how the researcher is behaving and being treated, and to expand field notes beyond the immediate observations.

In studying practicing journalists, Gans (1979) offered several suggestions on observational techniques, including informing everyone possible about the reason for being there, observing during intermittent sessions, and staying out of the way when work processes became hectic. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) agreed with observing at intermittent times of the day as it allows for exploration of diverse patterns of activity. As stated earlier, I scheduled my observations for

intermittent times of the day and days of the week. However, after approximately

a month of this, I came to recognize that certain times of the day yielded little to

no data, particularly during the morning and early afternoon hours prior to 1:30

pm. I also observed the day after major holidays, such as Thanksgiving,

Christmas, and Easter, though they operated on a skeleton staff and there was

little activity to record. The content of the newscasts were scaled back,

presumably as there were fewer resources and fewer viewers during holidays. As

a participant observer, I believe it was important for the members of the

newsroom to view me as "in the trenches" with them, as opposed to showing up

only when it was convenient to do so. Whenever I showed up on the day after a

holiday, at least one person would comment positively about my presence.

During the observational sessions, I typically sat at a desk, watched,

listened, and took field notes. On occasion, I shadowed the informants, asking

them to describe their work processes (McManus, 1994). However, as noted

earlier, it is important to the researcher-informant relationship to stay out of the

way during particularly busy times, particularly during spot or breaking news

activities. I tried to be sensitive to their deadlines and only sought them out when

they looked reasonably relaxed.

McManus (1994) suggested avoiding ratings periods and summer months,

as typical work is not done then. However, I found that sweeps generated

insightful data. Even though "typical" work is not being done -- stations increase

their promotions and work load – they are instructive in that these are the times

when their work counts most. The energy invested by newsroom staff during

sweeps months increases. I was able to view them during their busiest times. I was present for the ratings periods of November and March and the first part of May.

As mentioned earlier, the researcher should leave the observational session after three to four hours in the field in order to write detailed notes immediately (Emerson et al., 1995). Limiting the observational sessions to a few hours lessens the chance of forgetting specifics of descriptions and helps decrease the overwhelming nature of observational methods. Writing notes directly following the session preserves the details and the immediacy of events. However, for practical reasons of a long commute and taking advantage of my days off, I stopped following this advice after a month. Furthermore, I was able to jot down most of my field notes during the observational sessions themselves and did not have to rely on my memory as much.

In studying more and less successful practitioners of news, it is important to listen to interactions where relevant labels of success and failure are given and how the labels are applied to specific workers (Emerson et al., 1995). Those in different institutional positions will evaluate others according to different criteria, making evaluations subjective. These labels will likely not hold up across institutional positions but rather, reflect positions and concerns worth noting. After something was identified as noteworthy, I followed it up to discuss the informants' interpretations and to look in the future for patterns and regularities.

Field Notes*.* Useful field notes are an essential ingredient to an ethnographic study. In observational work, the researcher should write down

what is seen and heard, how the researcher is behaving and being treated, and expand notes beyond immediate observations (Silverman, 2005). Silverman (2005) prescribed the researcher to make four separate sets of field notes in order to maximize the utility of them: a) short notes made during the observational sessions; b) expanded, detailed notes made soon after observational settings; c) a field work journal to record problems and ideas that arise; and d) a provisional running record of analysis and interpretation. Keeping four separate sets of notes helps to systematize the process, and in turn, improve the dependability of the field notes. Detailed field notes serve multiple purposes, including identifying and following processes in witnessed events, understanding how members characterize and describe activities, events, and groups, conveying explanations by members and to elicit their theories of the causes of happenings, and identifying the practical concerns, conditions, and constraints people confront in their everyday lives (Silverman, 2005).

Field notes should be written to reflect the nature of the project and the degree of detail needed (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2001). As this project studied the daily routines, behaviors, and practices of practicing journalists, their day-to-day activities became the bulk of the field notes. The ethnographic research, however, must be careful not to overstate "reality" constructed through the slices of life observed. A researcher is limited by what is within her senses and her access to the members of the community.

Emerson et al. (1995) acknowledged the subjective nature of observational field notes, describing the process as not merely capturing a

subjective reality, as there is no one or best way to write about what is observed. Thus, different descriptions of the same situation are likely. They suggested jotting down key words or phrases to be translated as soon as possible, developing a private system of symbols and abbreviations to ensure privacy and quick writing. I developed a short-hand system of sorts. The short-hand system became essential when taking notes in the control room and using a notebook. When in the newsroom with my laptop, I did not need to rely as much on the short-hand system. Researchers should be overt in their note-taking to avoid feelings of betrayal and mistrust (Emerson et al., 1995). I found that if I waited for the busy times of the day, particularly the hour before a newscast, I could write without being noticed at all. During lulls in the news day, I would stop writing to join conversations, ask questions of informants, or wander around the newsroom.

Observers should develop an "open sensitivity to what those in the setting experience and react to as significant or important" (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 28). A researcher should watch for what is meaningful to the participants. What do they stop and watch? What do they talk and gossip about? What produces strong responses? What kinds of problems occur, and how are those problems dealt with and interpreted? Field notes should include description of scenes, dialogue, characterizations of main individuals, organization of field note descriptions, and strategies of analysis (Emerson et al., 1995). Accordingly, my notes contained detailed descriptions of the physical scenes, interactions and characterizations of informants, and ideas for strategies of analysis.

Ethical Considerations. Observational methods present ethical issues. Judd, Smith, and Kidder (1991) identified at least two important concerns: a) identifying oneself as a participant when observations are the true goal; and b) concealing the names of informants in both the field notes and in research reports to protect their identities. Both concerns were satisfied by an honest claim to being a researcher in the newsroom and using aliases for the informants. I was publically introduced during the first couple of observational sessions by one of the mid-managers. Whenever someone asked me what I was doing there, I would explain my project at the level of detail they requested.

An additional ethical consideration is whether my inquiries could be potentially damaging. All informants signed informed consent sheets (see Appendix A), as well as non-participants who were observed as they interacted with the informants (see Appendix D). I received approval for these informed consent forms from the Office of Compliance at Marquette University. Several safeguards were taken to protect the informants, such as aliases were used, all identifiers were removed from the results; and field notes were kept locked in a private drawer. Additionally, the research for this study was concerned with patterns of behaviors and processes, not content of individual contributions.

Data Collection Procedures

The type(s) of data collected must be derived from the specific research questions and the design of the study. As the research questions warrant deep answers, depth interviews and participant observations satisfy what is commonly referred to as "thick description" (Goldman-Segall, 1992) of the social

phenomenon under study. As this study asked multiple research questions, multiple types of data collection are recommended, particularly depth interviews and participant observations (Filstead, 1970; Silverman, 2005). Depth interviews of journalists are essential for the detailed descriptions of their experiences, while observations are necessary for cross-checking statements made orally during interviews and triangulation of data.

Conducting Interviews

While it is recommended to interview an informant away from the workplace setting, that protocol was not practical for two of the informants (see Chapter 4 for a description of the background of each informant). The first informant, Jeff, was a brand-new employee and did not feel comfortable leaving for lunch, dinner or even coffee during his work day. He also did not want to be interviewed on his day off. We compromised, and I interviewed him on a weekend day when there was less work for him and no managers around. Since Jeff was the producer in charge the day I interviewed him, we set up in one of the glass-walled manager's offices. This allowed Jeff to be visible to anyone who might need to talk to him (which happened three times during our interview) and he could likewise keep visual tabs on the crew.

Ann also requested that the interview take place during her regular work shifts so as to avoid "giving up" her off days. While this may not be ideal, there is some benefit to being in the workplace while the interview is taking place. One, there are always private and semi-private areas in a workplace to conduct interviews. Two, the statements of the informants can be immediately double-

checked by observations when the interview information is fresh in the investigator's mind. I used the conference room for the interviews with Ann. The conference room worked well because it was private, and yet anyone could easily find Ann if she was needed, as turned out to be the case. The conference room was separated from the newsroom and had only one wall of glass.

Don, Marie, Andrew and Jason were interviewed at nearby restaurants, where I treated them for lunch. I interviewed John at a coffee shop. This worked reasonably well. The only drawback to public locations is the background noise. Andrew, Jason, and John's interviews were completed in one long session. As I was a regular participant observer at the newsroom, I was able to ask follow-up questions during their normal working hours. Don, Ann, and Marie's interviews required two sessions and were completed at the station at later times. Don had his own office, so we met early one morning to complete the interview in his office. Marie and I utilized the conference room to finish her interview.

The interviews lasted one-and-a-half to three hours each over one to two sessions. Each interview was audio recorded and transcribed at a later time. For the interviews, I followed the protocol guide listed in Appendix B, C, and D, depending on the level of experience for each informant. In following-up with questions that emerged during the interviews, I asked more pointed questions of the informants. For example, during the first interview with Ann, she brought up the extra workload expected of anchors during ratings periods. The next time I observed her at work doing an extra task related to the ratings period, I asked her for more details on how that affected her ability to accomplish her regular

duties. I was also able to conduct a series of continuing conversations with the informants during observational sessions.

An interesting personal observation is that even though the interviews at the station were interrupted by co-workers and supervisors for various reasons, no one seemed to mind that I was taking the informants away from their work duties. Speculatively, I believe that interviews are part of their everyday work life as journalists and, therefore, are an accepted activity at work. On the other hand, perhaps it was assumed that I would need private access to individuals as part of my study, and since I had permission to be at the station, it became an acceptable activity at work. During the first four or five months of the study, I felt quite comfortable talking to the news workers. Talking, interviewing, and taking notes are a part of their every day routines and they seemed responsive to my questions. During the last two months or so of the study, I sensed tentativeness in their willingness to talk openly about their jobs. I attribute this shift in openness to the layoffs and firings at the station, which I will describe in more detail in Chapter 5.

Conducting Observations

Observations allowed for placing informants' oral statements in context for proper understanding of their descriptions. I began the observational sessions in early October 2008 and completed them in early May 2009 for a total of 29 sessions. During those seven months, I logged about 120 hours of observations. Relying on the advice of other ethnographers in the field (Emerson et al., 2001), I initially limited my sessions to three to four hours. However, due to the long-

distance commute to the station and trying to take advantage of my limited days off, I increased the session times to four to six hours per session when possible. I tried to vary the times I was present and was successful at that during the first couple months. However, as I became more aware of when relevant activity was likely to happen, I tended to be present for the late afternoons and early evenings. I would typically arrive around 3 p.m., though I made it to the station for the 2 p.m. afternoon meeting a dozen times. I usually left sometime after 7 p.m. after the early evening newscasts were over.

I initially varied where I would sit in the newsroom, but after a month, I realized that some seats were not conducive to being close to the action. The action in this newsroom, control room, break room, conference room, and other common areas consisted of specific behaviors, practices and interactions of the informants. I noted conversations and practices related to what their news is for, who is it for, labels of success and deficiency, how conflict was socially controlled, and comments about their educational and on-the-job training. As noted earlier, I was also able to talk with the key informants about their behaviors and practices and check my interpretations of such processes. After the first couple sessions, I realized that having my research concerns easily accessible helped me to focus on relevant information. To that end, I kept the list of research concerns as a window on my laptop.

On the advice of Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), I brought my laptop with me to take notes during observations, as a newsroom is the type of setting where writing is an unremarkable activity. In the age of computers, it would have

looked out of place to be without one in a newsroom. Each day, I would set up my laptop at an open seat and try to take notes inconspicuously. At times, I would stand, stretch, or talk with someone in the newsroom. I also spent time wandering around the newsroom and surrounding areas, though not much was ever gleaned from those wanderings, as my informants mostly stayed in the newsroom. The only exception to this is during the newscasts themselves, when the producers went into the control room, the anchors went to the set, and the reporters were either live in the newsroom, the news set, or in the field. I did not have the opportunity to go with a reporter into the field because of the insurance liability concerns. However, this does not appear to strongly affect the observations of live reporters as I was still able to observe them on the monitors in the control room before and during their live shots. Also, the lack of live resources often resulted in most reporters staying in the newsroom for their live shots, where I could observe them fully.

When I went into the control room, I did not bring my laptop. I did not feel it would be appropriate there, as it is a small space and I would have had to conspicuously type with my computer sitting in my lap. Also, unless there was a crisis, the director and producer need to have quiet in order to concentrate and hear the roll cues and communicate changes. I did not want to jeopardize my standing with the sound of keys clacking. Instead, I would bring a notebook and set it next to me on another chair. I would only jot quick notes if no one was paying attention to me. Because of the small space of the control room, it was

obvious when I was taking notes, and I did not want anyone to become self-conscious or perform for my sake.

Interestingly, the only people in the newsroom who expressed concern with my field notes were my informant Don and the News Director, both of whom originally granted me permission to study the newsroom. They would sometimes ask what I wrote that day or what I was learning. I offered several times to let them see my notes but they did not take me up on my offers during those moments (on occasion, the informants did look over specific sections of my notes to check for accuracy in my perceptions). At first, I felt uncomfortable about them asking but quickly realized they were asking in the spirit of learning about their work as well. The News Director in particular expressed genuine interest in my data and whether it would be useful for the profession.

Data Analysis Procedures

In qualitative research, the aim of data analysis is to reduce transcripts to categories and patterns and eventually put forth findings regarding the research question. For this study, the transcripts consisted of typed interviews, notes from observations, and any other field notes. The theoretical perspective of Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) organizational socialization model was the focal lens through which to analyze the data.

Data analysis consists of multiple, sequential phases: data reduction, data display, conclusion drawing and verification (Silverman, 2005). Data reduction is the process by which the researcher focuses on raw data and makes decisions about which data chunks provide the initial direction of the analysis. Data display

is the procedure in which the researcher assembles the data into symbolic displays that clarify the main direction of analysis. Conclusion drawing is when the researcher decides the significance of things and notes patterns and explanations. Finally, verification occurs when the researcher tests provisional conclusions by cross-checking information. I used member checks to test the trustworthiness of the provisional conclusions, building and refining the working theories.

The process for analyzing the data began with transcriptions of the audio tapes of the interviews. I transcribed each audio tape verbatim. This took many, many hours but resulted in preservation of all the raw data. I did not want to prematurely judge which sections of the interviews might hold relevance for my study by editing out sections.

The field notes from the observational sessions were nearly all typed during the sessions themselves. The only exceptions to this were the notes I took while in the control room during the newscasts. I typed my hand-written notes from the control room sessions either immediately following the newscasts or within a couple days of the sessions in order for my memory to be fresh.

Grounded Theory Method of Analysis

Grounded theory method of analysis was first developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). The aim of grounded theory is to generate or discover theories that begin to explain or describe a concept, process, or social phenomenon (Miller & Salkind, 2002). Grounded theory methods offer flexible strategies for focusing and advancing data collection and analysis (Charmaz, 2002). This

method allows the research to go from the concrete realities of the informants to a more abstract, conceptual framework of them. Theory is generated during the research and is based on comparative analyses between or among people. Comparative analysis is a significant feature of grounded theory and is sometimes referred to as the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). This manner of constant comparison allows the researcher to pinpoint patterns and relationships between those patterns for a rich understanding of the subject. Using the constant comparative method, data analysis began while I was still collecting data in the field. Observations of events and routine activities, such as live broadcasts, were compared at different times of the day and year. The primary purpose, then, was to generate exploratory models of social processes that are grounded in the data itself (Morse & Field, 1995). Grounded theory can also be used to modify existing theories. However, it does not seek to verify pre-existing theories of human social processes. Grounded theory builds theory about social phenomenon rather than testing it.

Grounded theory is an inductive process for analyzing qualitative data and is appropriate for ethnographic methods of data collection, such as the depth interviews and participant observations used in this study (Bernard, 2002). As this study seeks deep, rich descriptions of the research questions, grounded theory was further suitable in that it allowed theories to be developed from the data. The theories become grounded in the data, developing new understandings of success and failure for practicing television journalists and the role of the education. Grounded theory ethnography allows the researcher to prioritize the

phenomenon or process under study rather than the setting itself (Charmaz,

2006). More significance is attributed to the actions and activities of the members

of the community instead of the physical characteristics of the setting (in this

case, a newsroom). "Grounded theory method moves ethnographic research

toward theoretical development by raising description to abstract categories and

theoretical interpretation" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 23).

A significant amount of the analysis is done while data collection is still

taking place, creating a simultaneous, cyclical process (Gay & Airasian, 2003).

Maykut and Morehouse (1994) point to two characteristics of qualitative data

analysis: a) it is ongoing and the design is emergent; and b) it is primarily

inductive. Several researchers (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985;

Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) suggested the constant comparative method as one

way to conduct an inductive analysis of qualitative data. The constant

comparative method of data analysis allows the researcher to categorize and

code units of meaning to develop a set of categories. The set of categories will

provide a reasonable reconstruction of the data in order to understand the

meaning of the data. The theory generated or discovered is presented in the form

of narrative descriptions in Chapter 4.

Unlike quantitative research, in qualitative research, there are no

predefined variables to focus the analysis in this research project (Gay &

Airasian, 2003; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). Themes emerge from the data

itself, as identified by the researcher during data analysis. The literature provides

clues regarding variables that may emerge and helps to sensitize the researcher

to them. However, as Gay and Airasian warned (2003), it is important for the

qualitative researcher to resist bringing in her preconceived ideas and predefined

variables of what the data will show; rather, the research should allow the data to

guide her in the analysis. This strategy of data analysis aligns with the study of

good work in journalism by Gardner et al. (2000).

Steps in the Coding Procedure

When using grounded theory data analysis, "the central idea of coding is

to move from the raw text to research concerns in small steps, each step building

on the previous one" (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003, p. 35). I started with the

theoretical framework of organizational socialization and looked to build larger

theories related to the research concerns. The steps in the coding procedure

include reading through the raw text, eliminating any raw text that does not

appear connected to the research questions. This first step leaves the researcher

with the relevant text. The next step was to identify the repeating ideas, which

are the same or similar words or phrases used to express the same idea. Then

the themes were discerned, which were topics that organized a group of

repeating ideas. The next step was to build theoretical constructs, which

organized the themes into more abstract, larger ideas. Finally, the research

organized the theoretical constructs into a theoretical narrative. This multi-step

procedure for coding bridges the raw data to the research questions. Auerbach

and Silverstein (2003) put these six sequential steps into three distinct phases.

Table 4 shows these six steps in the three phases. As this was my first

qualitative research study, I coded and analyzed the data manually.

Table 4

Steps for Constructing a Theoretical Narrative from Text, Adapted from Auerbach

& Silverstein (2003)

Phase 1: Making the Text Manageable

Step 1: State the research questions and theoretical framework.

Step 2: Read through the raw text and select the relevant text.

Phase 2: Hearing what was Said

Step 3: Record repeating ideas by grouping together related passages of

relevant text.

Step 4: Organize themes by grouping repeating ideas into coherent

categories.

Phase 3: Developing Theory

Step 5: Develop theoretical constructs by grouping themes into more

abstract concepts, aligning with the theoretical framework.

Step 6: Create a theoretical narrative by retelling the informants' story in

terms of the theoretical constructs.

The necessary step to tie all these steps together is referred to as memos. Memos are running notes the researcher keeps about the coding process. It helps the researcher to see new directions for research and develop potential hypotheses that are rooted in the data. While some scholars do not use memo-writing (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003), I used it as a way to capture my thoughts, make connections across data, and increase the level of abstraction during the

coding phase.

The interview transcripts and observational field notes were coded by what Charmaz (2006) described as "incident to incident" (p. 53). This is comparing the specific activities in the interview transcripts and the observational field notes. While line-by-line coding is sometimes used in grounded theory, the line-by-line coding process was not useful or practical in this study. The data collected focused on specific activities and behaviors, and the field notes were already written in the words of the researcher. Both of these characteristics make the data more suitable for incident-to-incident coding. Thus, the unit of analysis becomes a category generated from the incident-to-incident coding process.

I highlighted the relevant incidents in the raw text. In particular, I searched for incidents and descriptions that related to my research concerns. I kept my four research questions on my computer screen for easy review, much as I had during my observational sessions. I highlighted any passages in the raw text that related to my research questions. Some passages were explicitly related while others were less so. The relevant text was next grouped into repeating ideas and then further grouped into themes. The themes were sorted into theoretical constructs and finally a theoretical narrative, which will be presented in Chapter 4.

According to Glaser (1992), grounded theory is sound when it meets four criteria: fit, work, relevance, and able to be modified. It is fit when it aligns with the realities – albeit subjective – of the informants and researchers. It works when it can explain the variations in the informants' behavior. If the theory both

works and fits, it is relevant. When new data are obtained, the theory should be modified.

One of the dangers of qualitative research is the potential for biased findings. Researchers can become so immersed in the field and the data that their own perspectives rise above the perspectives of the informants. Using an initial coding of incident-to-incident, the researcher is forced to go beyond her own perspectives to begin to understand the perspectives of the informants. To this end, I would occasionally ask an informant to look over my field notes on a particularly relevant incident. I asked whether that was how they would describe something. On a couple occasions, one of the informants read my field notes without asking. While the informant did not appreciate that I had recorded his sharp comments to his co-workers, he agreed they were accurate. Grounded theorists (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Bernard, 2002; Charmaz, 2006) recommend staying close to the language in the data in order to establish the categories and, eventually, the abstract theories in them. Another safeguard is to report counter cases, which I do so in Chapter 4 (Patton, 2002).

Dependability

Dependability emphasizes the need to account for the ever-changing context of the research setting. The investigator must be responsible for describing the changes that occur in the setting and how they change the approach of the study. In qualitative research, the data must be presented in a way that is convincing in that the data was not misconstrued or misrepresented (Mason, 1996). One such way to satisfy this is to follow and document the rules

and conventions of field notes, such as using separate sets of field notes, as described in a previous section. I kept two sets of field notes throughout the field work to help systematize the process. One set was the actual observations and the other was memos.

The researcher's interpretations must be justified. This can be achieved through transparency of the steps taken to reach the interpretation. The data analysis procedures must be explained. The interpretations must make sense, using the words of the informants in interpretations. The interpretations must also be coherent; all the theoretical constructs must fit together in a story (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003).

A qualitative approach may study a small number of informants over a large number of instances (Judd et al., 1991). "Representativeness is secondary to the participants' ability to provide the desired information about self and setting" (Gay, Mills, & Airasian, 2009, p. 135). The specific aim of this study required depth rather than breadth. Accordingly, this study used seven informants and covered seven months in the setting, yielding a small sample size studied for a significant duration. During the seven months, I spent about 120 hours as a participant observer. I also conducted the interviews during this time.

Due to the small number of informants, an extra measure was taken to strengthen dependability. Three additional interviews of practicing journalists were conducted who were not employed at the station under study. These interviews were performed to find out how anomalous the station was compared to the station under study. These three additional television journalists were

interviewed but they were not considered key informants as they were not members of the station under study. The extra interviews demonstrated certain commonalities among all news workers, not just the informants at the one station under study. My intent was to compare statements against the existing categories, not generate new data. This was accomplished as the findings were aligned. The additional interviews were conducted after the data was collected and analyzed. Each interview lasted between one-and-a-half to three hours. I used modified interview questions that reflected the emergent categories from the existing data. For example, the informants described success as being in all levels of their careers. I asked the non-informants if that were true in their professional experiences.

One further measure was taken to strengthen dependability. After I initially coded the data into categories, one of the co-advisors for this project independently coded the data. Areas of divergence within the categories and themes were discussed. Based on these discussions, I shifted three repeating ideas to different themes. For example, I initially coded the repeating idea of "you have to be a team player" under the theme of "individual characteristics needed for success." After discussion, it was decided that being a team player was more supportive of the theme of "understanding conventions and practices of the newsroom." The informants' descriptions of team work were more closely aligned with a practice the news workers learn on the job, as opposed to having it as an individual characteristic. In deciding where this repeating idea best fit, we went back to the relevant text on being a team player and looked carefully at the

language used by the informants.

Transferability

Qualitative researchers (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) used the phrase "transferability" in lieu of the traditional criteria of generalizability. In this definition, transferability refers to finding abstract patterns in other sub-cultures (e.g. service industries) or research samples. The specific context will not be the same, but the abstract patterns will be similar. Lincoln and Guba (1985) stated that transferability is the direct function of the similarity between two contexts, or "fittingness." If there is a degree of fittingness present, the working hypotheses from one context may be applicable to another context. The reader must know about both contexts in order to make a judgment about transferability. Silverman (2005) advocated that "qualitative research uses extrapolation, demonstrating that the analysis relates to things beyond the material at hand" (p. 136). Safeguards for ensuring extrapolation are suggested: purposive sampling guided by time and resources and assuming that transferability is present in any given case (Silverman, 2005). Transferability in this study relates to the notion that the experiences of working journalists in the TV newsrooms have happened, and they could happen again. The identified processes and characteristics may be useful lessons for journalists in other stations, particularly those located in mid-sized, Midwestern markets. In turn, these lessons can have relevance in framing issues for journalism-related educators.

The results of this study broadly relate to journalism education and to

issues of connecting professional practice with educational training. Studying practicing employees of any profession can offer insights into how work is done and, in turn, developing promising strategies for educators. Whether the findings have value for others will be determined by the specific time and context of the readers. The description of the findings should be thorough and vigorous to provide sufficient information for readers to make the decision of whether this study has usefulness for them. Journalism-related educators may find applicability in that mid-sized markets are a staple among graduates seeking positions.

Credibility

Credibility is as close to conceptions of "truth" as qualitative research ventures. Credibility in qualitative research refers to the extent which an account accurately describes the social phenomenon under investigation. Any judgments about credibility are really conclusions reached about whether I explained what I claimed to explain in this study. In order to study the experiences of working journalists to identify characteristics of success and failure, I must report the experiences of working journalists in an accurate way.

Researchers need to overcome the temptation of anecdotalism by critically investigating all the data—even the deviant cases—and not depending on a few select examples. Credibility is not satisfied when only a few instances are reported, the criteria for including some instances are provided but not for others, or when the original form of the materials is unavailable (Silverman, 2005). As such, credibility in this study was satisfied through careful reporting of

all instances, including the deviant cases, and checking interpretations with the informants. In order to corroborate interpretations, I shared my perspectives with the informants to verify information and also examined the findings against the literature.

Interpreting the Data

As the analysis phase involves describing what is in the data, the next step is then to interpret the data. Interpretation involves making sense of the data. It will be the researcher's task to answer three questions: What is important in the data? Why is it important? What can be learned from it? (Gay & Airasian, 2003, p. 245). As Maykut and Morehouse (1994) instructed, "a qualitative report characterized by rich description should provide the reader with enough information to determine whether the findings of the study apply to other people or settings" (p. 47). For this study, the objective was to identify underlying characteristics of successful and unsuccessful broadcast journalists. Furthermore, descriptions of perceptions of prior education and promising practices for journalism-related education are offered.

Presenting the Results

The primary audience for this study is other journalism-related educators or any educator desiring to connect professional practice with educational training. Additionally, those in hiring positions in journalism may find the information relevant. A secondary audience is students of journalism, education, or sociology. Students may find the nature of the problem, the methods used, and the analysis of the data useful in designing similar studies or for research

purposes.

The presentation of the results includes narrative description, direct quotes, and figures to illustrate the categories of data that emerged (see Chapter 4 for the results). The findings are presented in an organized manner, indicating the themes, patterns, and categories of data developed during the data analysis. The format used in reporting the results begins with an overview of the findings, followed by an analysis of each separate finding, supported with direct quotes and narrative descriptions. Particular description is used to indicate what was done or said during the interviews, while general description is used to explain how the experiences of the informants fit into the context of the data as a whole. A discussion of the results follows the descriptions, which provides the context for understanding both the particular and general descriptions. References to the literature are incorporated, noting where this study's findings converged and diverged with the literature.

Ethical concerns for presenting the results of this study include maintaining the informants' right to confidentiality. To the best of my ability, I acted in the spirit of the informed consent which I received from the participating informants. Rather than use the informants' real names, I used aliases in my notes and in the results. Additionally, the informed consent documents were kept in a locked and separate place from my notes. I transcribed the audio tapes myself, and thus was the only person with direct access to the taped interviews.

Researcher's Perspective

My personal experience with this study is as a former television journalist

turned journalism-related educator. I entered the workforce as an entry-level television news producer following college graduation. The reality shock of the expectations of a practicing journalist was overwhelming. After being promoted several times and becoming burned out in the process, I chose to leave the field. I pursued a master's degree in education to prepare myself for teaching at the collegiate level. As a current instructor of journalism-related courses, it is my intent to understand how the divide between education and the discipline of journalism can be bridged. My experiences have not created a barrier to conducting this study but rather, have provided foundational knowledge in this area as well as the time to reflect on the problems facing journalism education. Indeed, this study has allowed me to further understand the complexities in these problems and to continue to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of journalism-related education.

Summary

This chapter outlined the methods used in this study. Participant observations and depth interviews were used. In particular, about 120 hours of observations and 1-2 interviews for each of the seven informants were completed. Three additional interviews of non-informants were used to strengthen dependability and to control for station-specific idiosyncrasies. This study drew from three types of news worker positions: anchors, reporters, and producers. Informants were selected on the basis of three levels of experience: new and inexperienced; experienced but new to station; experienced and a veteran of the station. The constant comparison feature of grounded theory was

used to analyze the data. The unit of analysis was categories generated during an incident-to-incident coding of the data. A theoretical framework of organizational socialization was offered.

The findings of the study are presented in Chapter 4. A glossary of terms used in Chapter 4 is located in Appendix H. While journalism educators and practitioners may be familiar with the jargon used by the informants in Chapter 4, other readers may benefit from the glossary.

Chapter IV

THE PERSPECTIVES OF TV JOURNALISTS

The purpose of this study was to interview and observe practicing television journalists regarding their successes and failures in order to understand any variances between the journalism industry and journalism-related education. The findings of this study should help educators better understand the nature of on-the-job success and failure as articulated by working television journalists. In turn, educators can use that knowledge to develop educational strategies that will better prepare students for entry into the profession. Educators will have a clearer understanding of problems identified by journalists and can develop successful strategies for dealing with the issues. That way, some students may learn how to deal with job demands before they enter the workforce.

There is considerable agreement in the literature (Bales, 1992: Bullard & McLeary, 1994; Dennis, 1990; Dickson & Brandon, 2000; Dickson, 1996; Lindley, 1988; Medsger, 1996) that educational strategies employed in journalism and journalism-related programs are not sufficient to prepare future journalists. While descriptions of success and failure and the role of prior education are rare in the literature, these descriptions are essential in order to identify effective and ineffective practices for journalism-related education.

The methods used in this study included participant observations and depth interviews of practicing television journalists. The observations were conducted at a station in a mid-sized market in the Midwest. The seven

informants were selected from this station. Three additional interviews were completed of TV news practitioners from different stations to help control for station-specific idiosyncrasies and strengthen dependability.

This chapter begins with a description of the setting and the key informants. The results of the data analysis are presented as the bulk of the chapter. A summary of the findings is listed at the end.

Organization of Data Analysis

The research design guided the data analysis by identifying meaningful patterns that emerged to address the research questions. Accordingly, the data in this chapter are organized around each of the research questions. The data are presented in narrative form. Direct quotes and paraphrased incidents from and observations of informants are used to expand and clarify the analyses. Figures are used to illustrate the results as appropriate.

In order to present the data in narrative form, a multi-step process was used to reduce the data and generate repeating ideas, themes and theoretical constructs. Using Auerbach and Silverstein's (2003) model for qualitative data analysis, the raw data were first reduced to relevant text by looking for any passages that related to the four research questions. The relevant text was grouped into repeating ideas and then further grouped into themes. The themes were grouped into theoretical constructs and, finally, a theoretical narrative, which will be presented as the bulk of this chapter. Appendix I lists the repeating ideas, Appendix J categorizes the themes, and Appendix K presents the theoretical constructs.

Description of the Setting: A Local Television News Station

The television news station in this study was located in a mid-sized city in the Midwest. The market size of the city is considered medium or medium-small by most people. It is small enough that it regularly hires entry-level practitioners to fulfill the reporter and producer positions. The station is large enough to warrant having experienced practitioners for the anchor and management positions. The reporters and producers are a mix of novice and experienced practitioners. Of the informants categorized as experienced, all have had at least two years of prior work experience at a different television news station.

Description of the Organizational Hierarchy at the Station

A newsroom, similar to many work settings, follows an organizational hierarchy or chain of command. At the station under study, the General Manager is at the top of the chain of command, though the General Manager did not normally get involved in the daily decisions of a newsroom. It is common practice for a General Manager to oversee major personnel issues and all the departments at the station. The News Director is responsible for overseeing the news of the day. The Assistant News Director and Executive Producer positions are held by the same person at this station. At larger stations, these positions are typically held by two different people. The Executive Producer/Assistant News Director is a key leader in the newsroom and often is involved in writing and producing. Producers are assigned to one or sometimes two newscasts per day. They are responsible for selecting the story order, scripting, writing, and timing the newscasts. Anchors help write stories as needed and read the stories on air

during the newscasts. They also serve as public relations spokespeople in that they do personal appearances at community events. Reporters go out into the field, secure interviews, and write packages and voice overs for at least one or more newscasts per day. All the positions must work together to create the newscasts. An organizational chart is offered in Figure 3.

Anchors, producers, and reporters are depicted as equal in this chart. However, in an unofficial capacity, that was not always the case. One of the novice producers, Jeff, relied on the anchors to write stories and make factual and stylistic corrections to his writing. When Jeff produced a newscast, his anchors shifted to leaders and the organizational hierarchy was informally altered. Furthermore, on days when both the News Director and the Executive Producer/Assistant News Director were absent, one of the senior anchors was put in charge.

Beyond these news positions, there are the news workers that focus on the "technical" side, such as director, audio, master control, graphics, and camera operator. These positions are not included in the organizational chart as they were not studied directly during this project. I did not formally interview them. However, they contributed indirectly to a richer description of certain themes, which are covered in a later section. I observed their interactions with informants and work processes during newscasts. On occasion, they volunteered insights to my projects by commenting on events and processes under study.

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┌─────────────┐
│   General   │
│   Manager   │
└──────┬──────┘
       │
┌──────┴──────┐
│News Director│
└──────┬──────┘
       │
┌──────┴──────┐
│Assistant News│
│Director/Executive│
│  Producer   │
└──────┬──────┘
```
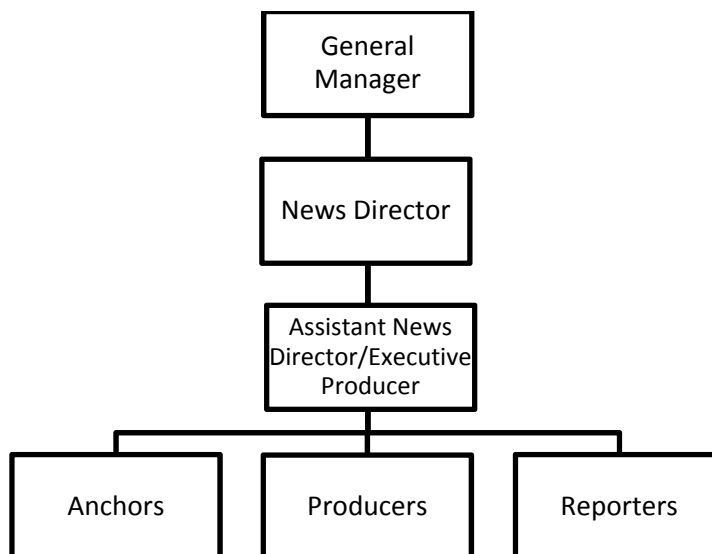
Figure 3. Organizational Chart of the Key Employees at the Station under Study

Description of Characteristics of Informants

The key informants were selected for multiple reasons: their level of

professional experience; current and active membership in the field; willingness

and availability to participate in the research; and the ability to speak articulately

and openly as a member of the newsroom. Other members of the station were

observed, and their interactions with the key informants were recorded to check

emerging categories. Three additional television news practitioners from other

television stations were interviewed but not observed. These additional

interviews strengthened the dependability of the station under study.

Jeff is a novice in the television news industry. He recently graduated from

college and secured his first job as a producer at this station. He majored in

broadcast journalism at a large state university. Jeff was only a television

journalist for four weeks when he was interviewed for the first time for this

project.

Jason is a novice television journalist. He is a new reporter at the station with less than a year at this station when interviewed. He had previous experience for less than one year as a reporter at a smaller market in a different state. He holds a journalism-related degree from a small, liberal arts university.

Marie is an experienced television journalist but is still considered new to the station. She was a producer for less than two years at this station when interviewed. She had two years of prior experience as a producer in a smaller market in a different state. She graduated with a degree in journalism-related education from a large state university.

Ann is an experienced television journalist but is new to the station. She co-anchors the evening weekday newscasts, a prominent position for an anchor. She worked at the station for four months when interviewed for the first time. She had previous experience as a producer, reporter, and anchor at two other stations in smaller markets. She took a break from television journalism and worked for a year in corporate communications. She returned to television news six months ago after realizing she missed it. She graduated with a journalism-related degree from a medium-sized state university.

Don is an experienced television journalist and a veteran of the station. He held a supervisory role in mid-management but regularly line produced as well due to personnel shortages. These dual responsibilities allowed him to have one foot in management and keep one foot in the rank-and-file group. When interviewed, he had been at the station for more than four years. He had previous experience as a producer at seven other television stations and one radio station.

Two of the TV stations were in larger markets. It is common for television journalists to step down in market size in order to advance in rank. He holds a degree in journalism-related education from a medium-sized private university. As I was finishing my field research at this station, Don was fired for "bad news judgment" regarding his decision about a specific story, meaning he was let go for a performance-based reason. Bad news judgment would be considered a part of role obligations (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979) as news judgment is first introduced during journalism-related education and later honed as a profession. However, by nature of the term "judgment," there is room for interpretation. What would be considered bad news judgment at one station and according to one manager may not be considered as such at another station and according to a different manager.

Andrew is an experienced television journalist and a veteran of the station. He is a reporter several days per week and co-anchors on weekend nights. He had been working at the station for more than four years when interviewed. Andrew had previous experience as a reporter in another, smaller market for two additional years prior to coming to this station. He holds a degree in journalism-related education from a state university.

John is a very experienced journalist and veteran reporter of the station. He has been a reporter for 23 years at this station. He was a reporter for six additional years at two previous stations. He is deeply respected by his peers at the station. His advice is often sought by others, particularly the novice journalists and the experienced but new to the station journalists. John is the only informant

who does not have a journalism-related degree, though he holds a four-year degree from a liberal arts university.

As identified in Chapter 1, there were three primary groups of informants for this project. New and inexperienced journalists had less than two years total experience as news practitioners. Experienced but new to the station journalists had less than two years at the current station but have had additional time at previous station(s). Experienced and a veteran at the station journalists had more than two years at the current station plus two years previous experience. These groups are not units of analysis; they are meant to show diversity in the positions and level of professional experience held by the informants. The reader may also find this breakdown helpful in recognizing that the varying levels of experience may affect the informants' perceptions. Figure 4 shows a breakdown of the groups.
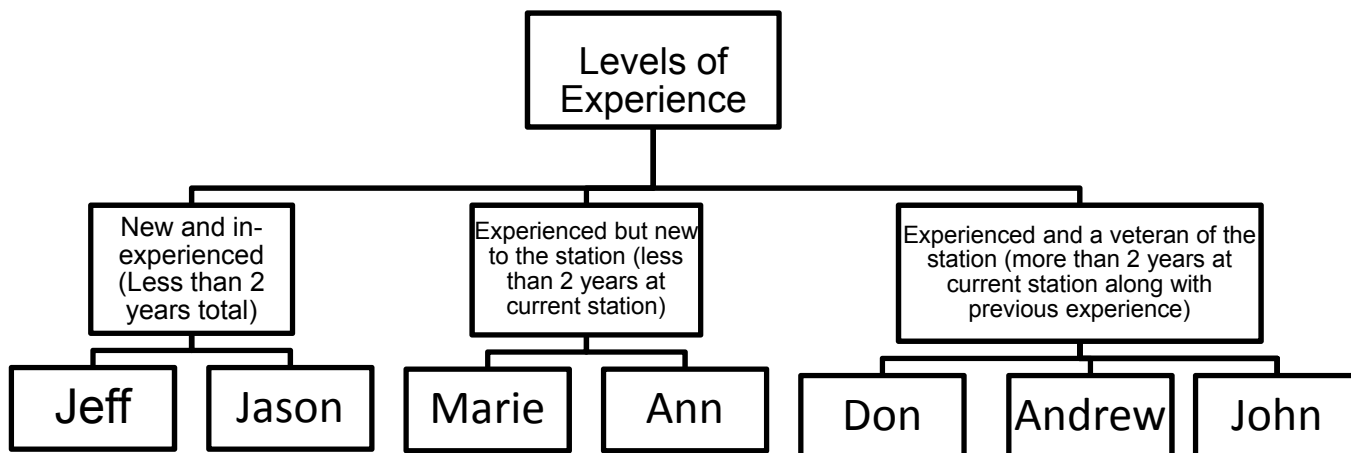
Figure 4. List of Informants According to their Experience Level. Three levels of groups were studied: New and inexperienced; experienced but new to the station; and experienced and a veteran of the station.

Research Questions

The research questions that guided this study are as follows:

1. What is the purpose of television news according to practicing television journalists?

2. How do practicing television journalists describe their own professional on-the-job successes and failures in television news?

3. What is the role that journalists say their prior education played in their preparation for success in the field of television news?

4. What are the implications of the findings for journalism-related education according to practicing television journalists?

Presentation of the Data

As aligned with qualitative methods, the data will be presented using narrative description, direct quotes, and figures where appropriate. The theoretical framework of organizational socialization (Figure 1, Chapter 2, p. 59) served as a focal lens for the findings. As noted in Chapter 2, the literature (Ashkanasy et al., 2000; Boice, 1992; Hearne, 1991) stated that the nature of success in any profession is dependent upon successful socialization into the organization. Organizational socialization models are important to understanding the influence and impact of the socialization process on news workers.

An overview of the findings will be presented first, followed by the detailed findings. Each of the four research questions will be addressed separately in the detailed findings. In order to answer each question, the patterns that emerged during data analysis will be discussed.

Overview of the Findings

Following the steps in data analysis (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003), 59 repeating ideas (see Appendix I), 11 themes (see Appendix J), and 5 theoretical constructs (see Appendix K) were generated. Each theoretical construct organizes the themes into more abstract ideas in order to build a narrative for each research concern. The five theoretical constructs yielded during the data analysis include: *Purposes of TV Journalism*; *Constructing a Definition of Success*; *Constructing a Definition of Failure*; *Functionalist Organizational Socialization*; and *Symbolist Organizational Socialization*. These theoretical constructs bring the research study full circle as they directly connect the research concerns by using the lens of organizational socialization. Additionally, they expand on the literature review in Chapter 2.

Research Question #1: Purposes of Television News

The first research question addressed is: What is the purpose of television news according to practicing television journalists? The beliefs of practicing TV journalists may clarify and deepen existing literature (Carey, 1997; Gans, 1979; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; MacKinnon, 2005; McChesney, 2004; McManus, 1994; Meyer, 2004; Tuchman, 1978) on the topic, particularly since the purpose of TV news is treated as disputable. Some of the dispute has focused on how the news media has morphed into a market-driven business in which socially responsible coverage is dwindling (McManus, 1994; Herman & Chomsky, 1988). The perceptions of journalists regarding this research question act as a starting point for the implications for journalism education.

In this chapter, each research question will be addressed by identifying one or more theoretical constructs that emerged during the data analysis. A theoretical construct organizes the themes into larger, more abstract ideas (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003). The theoretical construct of *The Purposes of TV News* offers an appropriate and straightforward way to shed light on the first research question. Three support this construct: helping people, service to the community; journalism's role is to inform the public in an accessible way; and the medium of TV dictates the purposes of TV news. (See Appendix K for a list of theoretical constructs, Appendix J for the themes, and Appendix I for a list of repeating ideas.)

Helping People, Service to the Community

When asked about the goal of television news, all the informants responded with "helping people" and "service to the community," which Weaver et al. (2007) referred to in the literature. Don, an experienced producer and manager, phrased the purpose of television news this way:

> It's to provide a service to the community they are in and not just a news service, not just information services but as a community member. Um, news departments and TV stations on the whole need to be a huge part of the community providing, you know, volunteer situations, helping non-profit organizations, getting their message on the air without having to spend money. Um, you know, we're given public airwaves for a reason. We're supposed to fulfill that goal.

Andrew, one of the experienced reporters/anchors, offered specific examples of

how their work helped people:

> I mean, you can find isolated incidents of when we help restore someone's
>
> credit history or any- or when we, we got someone, we know, kept a roof
>
> over their head or whatever. Um, we make a difference really in the bigger
>
> picture and I don't know if there is any way to gauge that. You just, you do
>
> it hoping you will honestly.

Ann, an anchor new to this station but with prior experience, discussed the goal

of television news as serving the public by providing them with information and

being "watchdogs of our government," a commonly-held belief by practitioners in

the literature (Gans, 1979; Gripsrud, 2000; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001;

MacKinnon, 2005; McChesney, 2004; McManus, 1994; Meyer, 2004; Tuchman,

1978). She stated:

> We're a public servant, I mean, we are. We serve the public, we offer
>
> community service, provide a public service, so I think that's probably the
>
> number one goal of television news is to provide that service to the public
>
> and inform and be watchdogs of our government and of our money, public
>
> taxpayer money, and also, bring a lighter side to the day, too, a lot of bad
>
> things in the world, I think that we can offer some of those moments where
>
> it's not all bad… Knowing that we provide a service to the community, we
>
> let them know what dangers lurk in their neighborhood, we let them know
>
> when something is wrong, going on with a toy or a certain product that a
>
> child might use, just knowing that we can provide some information that

might possibly save a life, change a life, inform someone, I think is amazing, that we have the opportunity to do that. The opportunity also to touch people's lives, whether it's someone we've interviewed by helping them share their story about something that's happened to them that hopefully then will avert it from happening to someone else.

Marie, an experienced producer but still relatively new to the station, spoke about the purpose of television news in terms of the viewers receiving information and resources:

The more informative and the more relevant I can make every story, every newscast to any viewer, I mean, that's the whole point is to tell them something they didn't know when they sat down whether it's that you know, the 911 center isn't doing its job or that you can get, you know, 25 extra dollars by doing these three things when you go to the grocery store. You know, it's, as long as it's helping… to make our viewers and the citizens of any community more informed about their world…It's giving tools to everyday people who might not otherwise know how to find them or have the resources to find them.

John, a veteran reporter, recounted a specific example when his reporting helped the viewers by confronting a business about negligence, which resulted in preventing future similar accidents from a local company. The story ran and resulted in helping the person. He said:

I followed up on the story and tried to get more information on what caused the issue and it turned out that her reserve [para]shoot didn't meet

certain specifications and that the sky diving business had had issues with previous customers where there had been injury and risk so we obtained videotape of her training on the ground from that day, exclusive video tape, we went into depth, we confronted the owners of that business, and ultimately, that business went dark.

I encountered this goal of helping people many times during observational sessions. During one newscast, one of the producers and the director cheered aloud after they aired a story that ended up helping one of their viewers, or the "little guy," as they referred to him. By cheering aloud when they helped the "little guy," the news workers were expressing their satisfaction at fulfilling the purpose of TV news: to help people in service to the community. While the producer and director who cheered for the "little guy" fulfilled different roles at the station, had different backgrounds, and were different genders, they still agreed on this purpose.

Journalism's Purpose is to Inform the Public in an Accessible Way

Six of the seven informants believed the role of television journalism was to inform their viewers in an *accessible* way. The job of a television journalist is to find and share information that the viewers need and want but may not have easy access to, as purported by several researchers (Fenton, 2005; Tuchman, 1978) as the essential purpose of journalism. As Jeff put it, the purpose of television news is "giving people the information they would not have access to otherwise."

Marie described tangible ways she incorporated information into her
newscasts in order to give her viewers access to helpful resources and
information:

Not only are we giving people the information that they need but we're
doing it in a way that's accessible to them and every single time we've
done [a phone bank on the economy], I think three now, and every single
one I get done and I'm like that's just, that's what news is, that's like, the,
the stuff that I want to do.

Even Jason, a novice reporter, believed the purpose of television news was to
inform the public in an accessible way:

To inform the public, to offer information that they wouldn't normally get
otherwise. We try to make sure to include critical information, like where to
vote or a product recall, to let the public know about something. So
definitely public service, serving the greater good.

Andrew concurred, also describing the purpose of journalism as a way for
workers to create access to certain types of information:

Because if we are not teaching people anything what is the point in doing
what we are doing? I always believed people need to know as much as
possible about anything and everything because otherwise how do you
make an informed decision? And so it just goes back to even before we
make the decisions by policymakers, um even before we try to uncover
dirt, we gotta inform people about life in general and everything in life.

Don summarized the purpose of news as "making sure the people who watch us go away feeling that they have gotten something from the newscast they just watched."

Despite the criticism of television journalism, as detailed in Chapter 2, the informants in this study took the purpose of journalism and their role in it very seriously. Don expressed this: "[Television journalism is] a desire to find and tell stories that mean something to people. It is not to go out and cover an event and write something haphazardly and collect a paycheck and go home." This passage implies that high-quality journalism is a desirable commodity, which Meyer (2004) described as important to defining the purpose of journalism.

The informants universally described the purpose of TV news as finding and telling stories that are meaningful to people. Yet, observations demonstrated they did not fulfill this purpose universally. As is true for many occupations, the purpose can be overtaken at times by tedious details. The informants spent time each day entering scripting cues for the director, answering phone calls from viewers, writing blogs, writing and shooting promotional teases, and doing promotional radio spots. Anchors at this station were required to make personal appearances on a regular basis as well. The mid-level manager was required to write quarterly Federal Communications Commission reports, create schedules for the personnel, and assist in many other paperwork activities. All of these routine activities added to the informants' responsibilities. At some times, these activities overshadowed their expressed purpose as TV journalists. Informants described the purpose one way, but their other responsibilities sometimes

infringed on the purpose. While the activities mentioned above may draw more viewers, they do not necessarily mean they will tell meaningful stories.

By way of example, during an observational session of a newscast, the producer was busy running both the teleprompter and re-writing a script simultaneously. The script was being re-written for one of the anchors. The News Director, also watching the newscast, pointed out a missing element in a reporter's story. The producer apologized, said she didn't have time to read his script as she was re-writing a different script and running the teleprompter. The missing element in the script caused the story to have less meaning for viewers. The producer is ultimately responsible for everything in a newscast.

The Medium of Television Partially Dictates the Purpose

All news media tend to be grouped together when discussed by the layperson. The nature of the medium of television, however, is different from print, radio, and online news sources. Television news is the most visual of all the media. It is also more immediate than print news. "Breaking news" is a hallmark attribute of television news, distinguishing it from print. Most newspapers only print daily, while most television news agencies have several daily newscasts. The station under study produced four hours of news per weekday, plus maintaining an online news site and sharing resources with a sister station. The sister station was affiliated with the same network and located in a larger market in the state, which helped the station under study cover other parts of the state. The never-ceasing news cycle in television allows viewers to get their news very quickly.

Andrew focused on the medium of television to explain the purpose of television news:

It has to do with what's the news of the day. It has to do what really matters to you. And, and the whole public service about weather, if there's a disaster and all that. I mean, all of those are purposes of TV news but any, as simple as it, its, well what's the medium? It has the medium difference and it's to be more immediate to get as up-to-date information as you can and to provide the pictures if the pictures are indeed relevant.

He also highlighted the unique characteristics of television to differentiate it from other news media:

My colleagues would say it isn't enough just to give you the news of the day because the newspaper can do that, radio can do that, the internet can do that now. That it has to be about exposing the really bold, exposing wrong-doings and trying to fix them because they are of the opinion that people still mostly get their news from TV so we supposedly have this higher status than other mediums do. Um, and there's just something about putting someone's picture on TV which is more powerful than putting it on the newspaper. You know if you are exposing someone who's lying on camera or whatever, that's just, that's more powerful and my colleagues, some of them at least, the ones I am thinking of, you know, that is the higher power that we should all be aspiring to.

It was not enough to be merely informative; one must consider the medium of television and create products that are appealing, which partially

aligns with the findings of Croteau and Hoynes (2000). The news workers often used the words "boring," "dry," and "lame" in reference to stories that they deemed did not fulfill the purpose of television news. John touched on the appealing factor inherent in television news:

> I think TV news is a very practical medium because people can digest it in smaller doses and more frequently and not only plan their day but their life, longer range. Television news' niche is a little bit more immediate and more recyclable and I think its purpose is to provide sound information. I think television news should be appealing so it kind of gets into the discussion of entertainment versus information but I think that television news can be appealing and engaging without being vacuous.

This passage would seem to support the influence of technological determinism that McLuhan (1994) offered. The influence of technological determinism is evident in television news in two ways: a) there is a lack of in-depth reporting because viewers have increasingly shorter attention spans; and b) the visual element of television drives the late-breaking news and tragedies. Technology has shaped and has been shaped by the purpose of TV news as it is more "immediate" and "recyclable" and "appealing," as John stated above. The informants all agreed that television news is partially a byproduct of its medium. The images needed in TV storytelling are important to the purpose of television news.

Additional Interviews Support the Findings

After the research phase was completed, I interviewed another three practicing TV journalists in order to check for any anomalies at the station under study. These journalists were all experienced and still currently working in TV news but not at the station under study. The three additional interviews suggest an alignment with the perceptions of the informants. Specifically, the additional interviewees expressed the core purpose of TV news as informing the public in an accessible way, within the scope of the visual medium. As one of the interviewees phrased it, "The goal is still to inform, but to inform you about as much as possible in a half hour." They also discussed the role of serving the community as part of their work.

Summary

The research question addressed in this section is what is the purpose of TV news according to practicing television journalists? The informants agreed that the purpose of television news is to help people, which is a service to the community. Along with that, the purpose of television journalism is to inform the public in an accessible way. The informants, with the exception of one, touched on the medium of television to demarcate the purposes of television news from other forms of media. TV news is inherently more visually appealing and immediate than other forms of news media. This creates a tailored vision for the purposes of TV journalism. The medium itself shapes the delivery of the news product and, therefore, influences its purposes.

The position, age, level of experience, and gender of the informants did not seem to have any bearing on the responses for this section. Speculatively,

this may be due to early indoctrination during their journalism-related education. The informants were introduced to notions of the purposes of TV news as students and they have carried over these early lessons to their professional work.

Research Question #2: Descriptions of On-the-job Successes and Failures

The second research question for this study asked how practicing television journalists described their own professional on-the-job successes and failures in television news. Descriptions of success and failure for television journalists are sparse in the literature, with Gardner's et al. (2001) concept of "good work" being the most applicable to studying journalists. By probing practicing journalists for their perceptions of success and failure, educators will have a clearer understanding of them. In turn, educational strategies can be developed in order to enhance the students' learning. Educators and students alike may learn how to deal with job demands before they enter the workforce.

Two theoretical paradigms are needed to respond to this research question: *Constructing a Definition of Success* and *Constructing a Definition of Failure.*

Within *Constructing a Definition of Success*, two themes were found: conceptions of success or "good work" and individual characteristics needed for success. The theme of conceptions of success or "good work" includes the following repeating ideas: success can be achieved in all tiers and levels of your career; success is relative to a journalist's age; success is never a finale; someone who is continually moving forward, working forward, is successful; success means being

accurate and unbiased; journalists should have a positive impact as a professional; and TV journalists should avoid preventable on-air mistakes.

Constructing a Definition of Success

Defining success in any profession is a complex endeavor. As previously mentioned, it cannot be confined to salary, though that can be partial indicator for some practitioners (Davies, 1970; Lucas & Buzzanell, 2004). All of the informants in this study shied away from salary as an indicator of success, which is consistent with a preponderance of the literature (Cleveland, 2005; Festinger, 1954; Heslin, 2005; Ng, 2005; Ritzer & Walczak, 1972; Stott, 1950). As Jeff confirmed, "I mean, if you are promoted to a higher pay range that's nice but you can't measure your success in dollar signs in journalism." The reader must consider that this station regularly hired entry-level journalists, who typically make low salaries. It is feasible that journalists working in large markets or the networks may rely more on salary benchmarks as an indicator of success.

Success is in all tiers and levels of your career. Success was described by all the informants as multi-layered, with many tiers and levels. Ann, an anchor, described perceptions of success in her career:

> I went from intern to the ten p.m. anchor, that was successful, that was great. When I got the next job, going to morning and noon show, that was successful. So it's all in tiers, it's all in levels, categories of your career.

She spoke of the minutia in describing success for an anchor:

> In broadcast journalism you can succeed every second of a newscast and you can fail every second of a newscast, so, in a broad sense of

answering that question, you know, you can succeed every second and you can fail every second, which, some days, it flops back and forth (laughs).

She added to the conception of tiered success: "This business is very ladder-goal oriented so you always want to reach that next high market, or the next anchor position in the ladder of notoriety." Andrew, a reporter/anchor, discussed the tiered system within the station itself:

Even if you're not moving market to market -- although that's another way to gauge it too -- um are you moving up internally within your station… the only other way would be where are you in the newscast? Are you the first or second story every night or are you always dogging into the third block? When I was general assignment for five days a week, I was up near the top every day and I figured that's a good sign, that I'm doing something right.

Internal promotions are important steps for all television journalists in terms of success. Newscasts with the highest ratings (and thus, most viewer visibility), usually the weekday evening ones, are coveted by producers, anchors, and reporters. The weekend shifts are considered the least desirable as they have lower ratings than weekdays and can infringe on lifestyles, such as sleeping at night. Marie said, "When I was promoted from weekend mornings, which is just the worst shift ever, to I got promoted to weekend evenings, which was really great." These sentiments support Ritzer and Walczak's (1972) finding of "upward movement" as a sign of success for workers.

Success is relative to a journalist's age. Because of this tiered system for success, age becomes one tangible measure for news workers to gauge their level of success. Five of the seven informants used their age in comparison to their peers and current market in order to gauge their success. Jeff, a novice, stated, "For my age and only being out of school for a couple years, this is a great market to be in." Jeff's first station – the station under study – was in a medium-sized city, which is only a somewhat common entry-level market for a novice journalist. It is more common for producers to move up in market size quickly than reporters and anchors, as there is increased competition. He also said:

> As a college student who got a job in a field where the majority of the people are on their third jobs, I'd have to say, from my standpoint at this time, I'm probably successful at this point just because I was able to start out where others work up to.

John also isolated his age when trying to determine success:

> When I was hired for my first on-air job in [city] in radio, that was a measure of success that my resume of material was strong enough to age 23, 24 to qualify to be on the air at a station that had a relatively strong tradition of news.

Success for a journalist becomes relative to his age and the market he works in. Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory discussed this measurement of age in understanding how an individual may account for his success by relating to the relative success of his co-worker. People compare themselves against someone

they believe to have reasonable similarity to their occupational, social and/or economic standing.

Success is never a finale. It follows that if success can be found in all tiers and levels of a journalist's career, then conceptions of success are endless, according to four of the informants. As Jeff said, success is "unaccomplishable." Ann, who had previously worked in corporate communications, likened the infinite possibilities for success in journalism to success in other disciplines. She said, "In any business, career, there's always room for growth, so success is never a finale… you can never reach the end of success. There's no end to it. You can always continue to improve." In her perspective, journalism was not unique to the tiered, layered system of upward movement. Success, in this sense, was gauged over a lifetime career, not at the daily level.

Success means moving forward. In trying to pinpoint the type of person who exemplifies success, journalists described that person as someone who is continually "moving forward" and "working forward." Moving forward often meant moving up in position and status at the station and moving up to larger markets. Moving up in position and status can be the newscast a journalist is assigned to, the position in that newscast, or the title of the position. These descriptions are consistent with Ritzer and Walczak's (1972) finding of "upward movement." Ann said, "That's definitely a key of success, a notch on your board, if you will, when you can make those jumps, from market or from anchor chair." Marie described the type of person who is considered successful by her peers:

Obviously the top national networks, [the news workers] are at the top of

their game, they are obviously good enough, they've put in the work, put in the time, shown they can do it, and they've been promoted to the very top, so as long as someone who is continually moving forward, working forward, is successful.

Many entry-level journalists set goals for themselves to reach a certain market ranking (e.g. top twenty) by a certain age or after a certain amount of time in a market. These goals become benchmarks for journalists as they try to gauge whether or not they have achieved success to date in their career. However, these goals are not always met. Andrew struggled with not reaching his personal goals and questioned whether not reaching his goals meant he was not successful. He reflected on his struggle with not meeting his personal goals:

> I kind of set up a plan for myself of first market, finish that in two years and next market be out by four years. Two, three more years in your next market and then your final market. Well, I'm still in market, my second market, and here I am in my sixth year now and I should have been in the next one up and I'm not there yet and for a while, I really struggled with that. I'm like, am I not good enough? …but what I found out is that you can't consider yourself a failure just because you are not meeting your goal because there could be so many other factors into another station's hiring decisions.

Marie described the relationship between outside recognition and conceptions of success in this way:

I think [industry awards] are very valuable when you are trying to move forward. I think that industry awards can make you feel more successful and they can help you, you know, if you're going up against a two-time Emmy winner, you know, Merrill Award winning journalist for that same job, they're probably going to get it because they know what they are doing and the industry has recognized that they know what they are doing. It's, it's success within your industry. Maybe it doesn't make you feel, it doesn't make you any more money, it doesn't make you more famous, but it does prove to you that you're successful in telling people what they need to hear and being what a journalist should be.

The informants agreed: success means moving forward or working forward. Depending on the position sought, a journalist may consider the market size, newscast, place in the newscast, title change, or industry award to be moving forward.

The importance of accuracy to success. It is important to highlight how seriously journalists take their responsibility to be factually accurate. Factual accuracy was included as a critical element in the informants' conception of success. John expressed this: "Because I think there is critical responsibility you carry as a journalist to be accurate, an honest broker with the people you deal with, to be fair, and you understand that you've been entrusted with this." The informants also discussed the role of accuracy in the context of failure, which will be discussed in a later section.

During many observational sessions, the informants debated the specific language used in scripts. The managers and the anchors would often question specific words and phrases in the scripts. Some managers and anchors checked the information independently through phone calls or online sources. In one instance, while Don was reading scripts, he questioned whether the state's university's marching band was suspended and could not play at away games *for the rest of the season* or just *for the time being*. No one seemed to know the answer as no one offered a response. Don announced that he would leave the script as is but said he felt uncomfortable with it and wanted it corrected before the newscast. A minute later, one of the anchors voluntarily looked up the information online and was able to find the answer to make the script factually accurate.

The concept of being "factually accurate" has a direct connection to the literature regarding objectivity (Fishman, 1980; Gans, 1979; McManus, 1994; Tuchman, 1978). While no scholar shared the same notion of objectivity, they all espoused the importance of it for healthy journalism. Key elements in objectivity are accuracy and fairness, as discussed by John and Don previously. Objectivity is an overarching ethical principle with four cornerstones: truth (factually accurate); relevance (filtering out details that do not fit with the story line); balance (offering multiple perspectives on the story); and neutral presentation (fairness to those impacted by the story by avoiding bias), according to McManus (1994). Because all four cornerstones are needed to satisfy objectivity, it is possible for stories to be factually accurate but unfair. Balanced stories may

include irrelevant information. The informants seemed to weigh truth more heavily than the other three cornerstones. Truth, or factual accuracy, garnered the most discussion in the newsroom.

Fishman (1980) pointed out that journalists sometimes accept single accounts from bureaucratic agencies as factually correct. However, single accounts from non-bureaucracies usually resulted in journalists requiring further substantiation. This was the case for these informants on most occasions. They seemed to internalize the institutional and organizational ideology that officials in bureaucracies were in a position to know. The informants and others at the station would compare information provided by non-bureaucratic agencies with bureaucratic agencies. The informants tended to accept the bureaucratic accounts as facts unless they were contested.

There was one clear example of this phenomenon during the course of the research, which will also be covered in a later section to discuss the ethical dimensions. The News Director expressed his concern regarding using a local official's sound bites one day. The News Director said he did not believe the official's statements were factually correct because of the official's political agenda. The News Director referred to the official as a "slimy bastard." Even though the News Director did not accept the official's statements as facts, he made the decision to air them anyway because no other official would go on the record that day. This demonstrated the power of bureaucratic sources for journalists. The journalists may tend to gloss over the complexities of their daily

practice when faced with the practical constraints of the work. This will be discussed in more detail in a later section, titled, "Deadlines force short-cuts."

Success means having an impact as a professional. Conceptions of success are not merely self-serving ones, as may be the case when discussing internal promotions and moving up in markets. All of the journalists in this study strived to make positive contributions to the industry in general. They expressed professional pride when their work had an impact. Stories that have an impact are sometimes referred to as having "legs" by journalists, meaning the story has weight and significance for viewers. They discussed respect from their peers and news consumers as being earned. John, who has more than 25 years experience in the industry, stated, "Successful would be if people look at your work -- broadcast, print, web -- and there's a general acknowledgement that you're doing it properly, you're doing it well. So I guess that translates into having some level of respect." Journalists take pride in being able to cover a story or produce a newscast that receives accolades from their peers. As a specific example, Marie recounted a time when she felt successful by making an impact and receiving praise:

> We were in the A block and I was going to do a story right after weather with snow totals- ridiculous amounts of snow all over the area and [the weather anchor] did snow totals RIGHT before he was done so I had to drop the story and then our News Director at the time came in and I dropped the story and we got through everything and it looked great and it felt great and the News Director came in and was like 'THAT is how you

produce a SHOW!' and he was... Everyone was like 'That was really awesome' and it felt so good not only to feel like I put this together and it went off the way that I wanted it to go but everyone else recognized that.

The goal of television news is not forgotten by journalists when describing success. Don said, "I think to be successful in this, you should know that you've accomplished something for who you are providing the service to." This statement corresponds to the public sphere model proposed by Croteau and Hoynes (2000), in which success is measured by serving the public interest. The informants, the rank-and-file journalists, believed in the public sphere model. Yet, it would be interesting to hear the perspectives of the station owners and General Manager on this issue. Would they agree with the public sphere model or the business model?

Success means preventing avoidable mistakes. A less explicit conception of success is when a journalist learns how to avoid an on-air mistake. On-air mistakes can sometimes be prevented by foreseeing potential errors and fixing them prior to air or having a back-up plan. Five of the informants, the ones with the most experience in news, discussed this. As veteran Don stated, "Because if I wasn't able to correct [an on-air mistake] before it happened, that's my fault." During an observational session in the control room, one of the experienced producers was able to smoothly avoid an on-air mistake by drawing on her skills. While a reporter live in the field was talking over video, the reporter's live shot died, yet the reporter's audio could still be heard. The script called for the live reporter to be seen on camera after he finished reading his

story over video. If they had followed the script, the screen would have been black, a clear on-air mistake. Instead, the producer made the quick decision to not use the camera that was on the live reporter but to go straight to the anchor in the studio. The producer saw the potential mistake and calmly communicated the change to the entire crew within a matter of a few seconds. After the news block was over, the crew joked about the close call and pulling together to avoid the on-air mistake.

Novice journalists sometimes have trouble avoiding on-air mistakes because they lack the necessary work experience to navigate the pitfalls of live television. Novice journalists sometimes blame their "trial by fire" training for mistakes, which will be discussed in a later section. More experienced journalists have previous experience with live newscasts and all the potential problems of being live. However, mere experience with live television is not enough to foresee all potential problems or the ability to fix them. Even experienced news workers can fail to avoid an on-air mistake. Sometimes the intense deadlines, technical problems or simple forgetfulness cause mistakes to air that could have otherwise been avoided. As an example, during an observational session, the wrong information ran on a full screen graphic. Marie said regarding the mistake, "Oh, shiiiit. I wrote three but I meant to change it to four." She had been busy inserting breaking news into the top of the newscast, and the detail on the full screen went unchanged.

Individual Characteristics Needed for Success

Journalists pinpoint certain innate qualities needed in order to be successful, such as being passionate, being extremely detail-oriented, calm, having a strong work ethic, inner drive and motivation, and tenacity.

Passion. The informants universally identified passion as an essential trait for successful broadcast journalists. Passion for the profession will help compensate for the shortcomings of it. Ann stated, "You're not going to make a lot of money, you're going to work long, weird hours, you're going to have to love it, be passionate about it to really make it in the business." Don agreed:

> You either breathe and live news or you don't. You have to do that to be successful to do that in this business. You have to want to get up in the morning, turn on CNN and watch the news to know what's going on. You have to want to know what is happening everywhere at all times and be on top of current events at all times. You have to want to [have] certain knowledge about other things in the world so you know when you have to do certain stories.

Don stressed the balance between personal and professional goals in being successful. He said, "Yes, I think if you can balance both, you know, still love what you're doing, have a passion for what you're doing, but still have a family, that makes you successful."

Attention to details. Two of the three producers in this study used the term "anal" (extremely detailed and organized) to describe an essential characteristic needed to be successful. As producers plan, supervise, and time

whole newscasts, they are responsible for nearly everything in their newscasts. They shoulder much of the accountability for mistakes, even some originating from a team member. Because of this, producers must pay attention to the details of each newscast and individual stories in the newscast. Marie described the virtue of being extremely organized:

> I'm organized almost to a fault. They would probably say that my anal retentiveness makes me a successful producer. The fact that I take copious amounts of notes… you have to be able to manage your time, you have to be able to manage, you know, 18 different things at once.

Jeff, the only producer who did not use the term "anal" or mention being detail-oriented as a characteristic of success, may have been too new to the industry to recognize the importance of being attentive to details. Another explanation is that Jeff was not suited for producing, as may be evidenced when he quit a few months after securing his first job in news.

News workers should remain calm. Remaining calm is vital for producers, anchors, and reporters. Jeff said:

> [I'm] calm under pressure. I'm tempered like a veteran even though I am a rookie is the best way to put it. I don't let it faze me so I don't end up making a rookie mistake because I'm rushing too much to get something done or getting too worked up or worried about it.

However, observations of the journalists revealed a certain ebb and flow to their levels of calmness. During the hectic times, typically 45 minutes before a newscast, the producers and reporters did not always remain calm. When

something was going wrong or a deadline was in jeopardy, producers in particular were sometimes observed showing signs of tension, anxiety, and stress. Walking turned to running, voices became louder, comments were less polite, and profanity became commonplace. By way of example, just 45 minutes before a newscast that was to include breaking news, one of the producers literally ran back and forth between her desk, the edit bays, and Don's office. Don had to explain three times how he wanted all the elements of the breaking news story to run in the newscast. The producer appeared very confused and flustered and she was not able to explain to the editors how to put together the elements Don had requested. Don finally had to explain to the editors directly his requests.

Jeff was the exception to this norm. He rarely showed visible signs of tension, which is not to say he appeared relaxed and comfortable. He remained calm but did not appear at ease. Anchors, however, showed visible signs of remaining calm during the hectic times. They do not have the luxury of showing frustration or agitation on air and must find undetectable ways to cope with the stress.

News workers need a strong work ethic. Another trait universally identified in order to be successful was a strong work ethic. Marie said, "Start in a low market and work your ass off. Never say no to overtime. Never say no to learning how to do an extra job."

Their work ethic was evidenced regularly during observational sessions. Even though the informants were sometimes scheduled to work on their off days and in one instance, I heard a reporter's day off being cancelled at the last

minute, few complaints were vocalized in the newsroom. During sweeps months, the main anchors were required to work extra days for personal appearances with no extra pay. Anchors and reporters also had to tape additional promotions, write extra stories and packages, and work longer hours during sweeps for no additional pay. Most journalists arrive at work a half-hour before their shift starts in order to get ready for the day. If there is ongoing breaking news or someone calls in sick, journalists must stay beyond their scheduled shift. Few journalists work the typical nine-to-five or eight-to-four weekday shift. Most journalists work abnormal hours, including early mornings, evenings, and weekends. Moreover, the coveted anchor position is for the evening newscasts, requiring the anchor to work from about 1:30 to 10:30 p.m.

News workers need inner drive and motivation. Earlier it was stated that the informants felt passion for news was necessary for success. Along a somewhat similar vein, all of the informants talked about the role of inner drive and personal motivation to their success. Inner drive and motivation overlaps with passion but is differentiated as the former qualities relate to their personal ambitions while passion relates to their love of news. Inner drive, motivation, and passion are all intrinsic characteristics and are not easily taught. However, inner drive requires self-discipline, while passion is a strong emotional desire. Jeff said, "I think it's all inner drive. You really have to personally want it. If you feel you that are going to be successful, then you'll have the drive do whatever it takes to become successful." Marie said, "I think the people who are most successful in

this industry are the ones who are driven and the ones who have a true belief that what they are doing is right."

Tenacity. Tenacity is a trait valued by journalists. It pushes them to "keep digging" for the story, as they sometimes refer to it, when others would just give up. They pride themselves in not giving up and not caving in when others try to deter them, especially public officials. They believe the media is a watchdog of those in public office and aim to uncover any wrongdoing. Marie expressed the connection between tenacity and success the best of the informants:

> They all seem to be very tenacious, very- they know what they need to get and they just go after it and they don't give up, you know which is constantly pursuing what they want and what they know is out there and what they know is being hidden or should be brought to light um, it's just that, that tenacity, it's a huge quality that I think every journalist should have.

Complications to Definitions of Success

As previously mentioned, many elements comprise success. Yet this section on describing success would not be complete without acknowledging the complications in constructing this description. In particular, learning about success from workers who did not see themselves as others did. For example, Jeff considered himself to be successful because he was able to start in a mid-sized market following college graduation. He believed his college experiences of working at the campus television station and internship prepared him sufficiently for the industry. He pointed out his veteran temperament and the ability to learn

from mistakes. He described himself as the "golden child" of his university, where he set the standard for his peers. Yet his colleagues expressed concerns about his abilities. Ann, Don, Jason, and Marie all identified him during interviews and observations as someone who struggled with performing daily tasks. When asked, Jeff attributed his mistakes as a natural part of the learning curve. Indeed, he did not define his short-comings as mistakes, errors, or failures. Rather, he described any short-comings as the following:

> I'm too, too fresh to have anything to really be worried about. As for the most part, if I notice something wrong, I sit there and try to figure out after the show what's wrong or why it happened and what I could have done differently. For the most part, it's just stuff I that attribute to still learning the system, still learning everything else.

Another complication to describing success is that while a news worker may be praised for "good work" on one aspect, it does not necessarily mean the worker will be successful at that station or in her career. For example, during an observational session in the control room one evening, the director said, "This is a good package" in relation to a reporter/anchor's package running live on air. Interestingly, I had just been thinking the same thing. The reporter took trouble to show us something in her stand up, use natural sound, and had good photography. Yet, this very same reporter/anchor had earned the label of "hokeyiness" from the News Director a few weeks prior. A few days after her good package ran on air, she was fired for performance reasons. According to Don, the "final straw" to her demise was when she did not shoot any video or

interviews on a weather story to which she had been assigned. Don stated this was not the first time she had been a "story killer."

Summary

The characteristics and elements of success deepen the understanding of how perceptions of success and failure relate to issues in educational preparation for the profession. In constructing a definition of success, the following elements were identified: success is in all tiers and levels; success is relative to a journalist's age; success is never a finale; someone who is continually moving forward, working forward, is successful; the importance of accuracy to success; having a positive impact as a professional; and avoiding preventable on-air mistakes. Additionally, individual characteristics were identified. They include: passion; attention to details for producers; being calm; strong work ethic; inner drive/personal motivation; and tenacity. These individual characteristics were touted as being important to success for TV journalists. Interestingly, many of these individual characteristics are not taught, at least easily. This section also discussed the complications to defining success when perceptions of success were self-described but did not match the perceptions of co-workers.

Constructing a Definition of Failure

Failure, like success, is a relatively elusive term for practicing journalists. Studying failures at the station was a fascinating and complex endeavor. There is no one definition or description for what constitutes failure. Failures were most often described as mistakes, errors, or deficiencies, which is consistent with the

works of Bosk (1979) and Orr (1996). The informants would nearly bristle at the word failure except when discussing news workers who lacked certain characteristics, as described in the following section.

The theoretical paradigm needed to answer the second part of the second research question is *Constructing a Definition of Failure.* The themes that support this construct include news workers who lack certain characteristics, being factually incorrect or biased, not accomplishing the core purposes of TV news, stubbornness, and not being a "story killer." This section includes examples to illustrate the themes.

Failure means lacking certain characteristics. During interviews, most of the informants had trouble identifying a journalist who would be considered a failure and why. After deeper reflection, they concluded that being a failure means lacking certain characteristics that were identified earlier as contributing to success. The specific characteristics pinpointed by journalists include passion, writing skills, storytelling, hard work, being able to take constructive criticism, inner drive, passion, calmness for producers, and having natural and smooth delivery for on-air talent. As Jeff said: "There are some people who get into this business who are honestly just incompetent… they don't have the qualities that I've said would make them a success. They're just not dedicated enough honestly." Jason, a reporter, phrased it this way: "a lack of hard work as contributing to failure."

During an observational session, a lack of calmness for producers became very apparent as a deficiency. One of the producers was trying to get all

the IFB (earpiece) checks plus was making last-minute changes to the font a few minutes prior to the start of the newscast. The producer loudly gave directions to the crew members working on that newscast. After the last-minute directions were given, the producer turned off her headset and whispered to another producer in the room, "I am so fucking pissed!" She talked about how the information on the phone bank scheduled for the newscast had been relayed to her. Don came in, leaned on the producer's table, and firmly but professionally told the producer how to better interact with the new photographer, who was shooting the phone bank. The new photographer had no experience with phone banks. Don said, "You're going to have to direct [the photographer] but not *loudly*." The photographer was upset at how she had been talked to by the producer and had complained to Don. She defended her interactions with the photographer but then agreed with how Don wanted her to interact via IFB. She used a calm tone of voice the rest of the newscast when talking via IFB. It seemed the producer's earlier interactions were perceived negatively by the photographer because the producer was upset about the phone bank in general. This lack of calmness was noted by both the photographer and Don. Even though she was initially defensive while talking with Don, she calmed down quickly and was able to follow his directions, demonstrating that calmness is a key trait for producers.

The importance of a strong work ethic was also observed during observational sessions. One evening, both Ann and Marie teased the new reporter for wanting to leave right after his live shot was finished. Even though

their tone of voice was light-hearted, I felt it was a form of social control. Their joking seemed to be a way of drawing attention to the reporter's habit of leaving immediately following his part in the newscast. It should be noted here that while the reporter was not scheduled to stay later than his live shot, it was still a sign of a lack of work ethic to leave before the end of the newscast. Even when news workers are not technically "on the clock," they will often stay to help with the next newscasts and in that way, show support to co-workers. Bosk (1979) found that mistakes of moral performance – in this case, a deficient work ethic – are punished through social control in several ways: public humiliation, dressing-downs, pointed ignoring of the guilty party, and sarcastic and mock-ironic remarks, as was the case in this instance with Ann and Marie making jokes to the new reporter about him leaving after his piece aired.

Failure means being factually incorrect, incomplete or biased. The informants in this study took seriously their responsibility to disseminate factually accurate information, despite the criticism of the integrity of the journalism industry, as cited in Chapter 2. Indeed, not getting the facts right is an example of failure. Ann said, "Getting the facts wrong. If you got the facts wrong then you've obviously failed at doing your job to inform people of what's actually going on." For journalists, being factually accurate is not enough; they must remain neutral or objective about news stories (Gans, 1979; McManus, 1994; Tuchman, 1978). Being biased is a form of failure for journalists as it violates objectivity by anyone's standard. Jeff said, "Letting your own personal beliefs affect the product

you put out. Journalistic integrity, in my opinion, is obviously being unbiased. Reporting what's happening, not what you feel is the situation."

These responses may seem self-serving or disingenuous to the reader. After all, the journalism industry is facing scrutiny and criticism of its practices for justifiable reasons. Yet, observational sessions consistently demonstrated that facts were treated seriously by the journalists under study. Many conversations centered on specific words written in scripts. For example, Ann asked Jeff a question about a script, and he said it would be "fixed" before the show. Jeff came up to the anchors' pod a little later and reported that he changed the script to reflect his understanding of the story. Ann continued to question the details and said it did not make any sense to her. Jeff replied, "That's straight from [the official's] mouth." The conversation stopped after that, as Ann had her back facing the computer, away from him, and did not respond to him. Jeff lingered for a moment and then walked back to his desk. Ann was clearly not satisfied with the script. Right after Jeff left the anchors' pod, Ann turned to her co-anchor and said quietly, "This is driving me nuts. How do I explain it better to him?" The co-anchor did not respond and she eventually turned back to her computer. She looked up the story online and made a call about it but did not ascertain the specific piece of information she sought (she was trying to verify the correct process to file a claim for foreclosure help with the state). She changed the wording of the script to reflect the truth as she was able to find out in time for the newscast. However, she did not find the nugget of information she originally sought from Jeff. She simply changed the wording to be technically accurate,

though she was missing the information that explained the correct process in a manner that would be helpful to viewers.

Not being able to verify the full details of stories is common in television news. This is partly because of the deadlines. However, on-air mistakes regarding a lack of information or incorrect facts cannot always be attributed to time constraints. Indeed, McManus (1994) addressed human error as one of four possible behaviors that may result in the distortion of news. One evening, Don came in the control room and asked for clarification on information Andrew had provided live on air. Andrew had left out an important word in the story, altering it. Don's tone of voice was very firm. Don told Marie, the producer for this newscast, to "get in his ear and correct it because people are calling." The reporter's omission of the word was particularly egregious because it changed the facts of the story, and the veteran reporter should have known better. The deadlines were not a factor in this mistake, and the reporter was reprimanded accordingly.

Failure is not accomplishing the core purposes of journalism. As mentioned in the section regarding the purposes of television news, the purposes are to help people and serve the community. Likewise, journalists stated that failure results from not accomplishing the core purposes of journalism. The core purposes do not include financial incentives. Andrew said, "I think that you would be a failure if you were striving the whole time to make a lot of money. Cause if your goal is to make money, you have completely failed what the goal of journalism is, which is not to make money. It's to be a watchdog for your

community." Fame and personal ego were mentioned also as outside the core purposes of journalism. Jeff said, "A person who is solely in it just from the ego standpoint. If you're just solely in it so you can get your face out, so people recognize you, then you're in it for the wrong reason and I suppose that is what's most deficient about it." Interestingly, the pursuit of money was not considered a legitimate purpose for individual journalists but was accepted as a legitimate purpose for institutions. TV stations must gain a certain amount of public fame in order to make profits, even though the individual practitioners do not believe in pursuing a journalism career for money or fame.

Stubbornness. Stubbornness was identified by three of the informants, all producers, as an undesirable trait for journalists. As Marie said, "Stubbornness. Being stubborn, well, it can, you know, it can be you know, you're sticking up for what you believe in, sometimes you really just have to let go and do what the [executive director] or News Director tells you to do because it's how you're going to keep your job."

Perhaps paradoxically, the label of "stubbornness" is considered a deficiency, but "tenacity" is considered a successful attribute. These two labels hold similar dictionary meanings but seem to be applied very differently to television journalists. I observed that when the news workers talked about reporters trying to get an important story or an exclusive interview from a source, the term tenacity was applied and was considered an admirable quality. But when discussing working together as a team on a final product, tenacity became stubbornness. As an example, during an observational session, Marie was

talking to Don about whether a story should run in her show. She said it was "old" but Don said, "No, it's not." She walked out of his office, seemingly slightly annoyed. It seemed Don won this issue until a moment later. I heard Don say, "For God's sake, don't make it harder… this is the day before Thanksgiving. It's okay to run a five-and-half-minute package on [specific content of package] from [a sister station in a different market]." Marie disagreed with him, explaining why it should not air, saying she was just finding out now a few hours before the newscast that she had to air it. Don said he went out for lunch and was now telling her. Marie ran the exceptionally long package but expressed displeasure at doing so, which caused Don to call her stubborn.

Find the story - always. Journalists are storytellers. Television news journalists strive to gather information and assemble them into clear, interesting, and visually-appealing stories. Because of the time constraints and for-profit business structure of news agencies, it is imperative for journalists to find a story in any assignment. Failure to find a story will earn the label of "story killer." Andrew explained the term:

> That was a really good way of actually preparing us for what the real world was like and one of the things [my professor] said was, 'don't become a story killer' and I thought that to this day because I have worked with people who go on story safari every day because 'oh a story died and look here's the next story and that one died too, I can't get anyone to talk to me' and I almost never go through that because I have in the back of my head to this day 'don't be a story killer.'

This quote highlights the importance of journalists finding the story, no matter what. At the station under investigation, one reporter/anchor was fired after she neglected to find a story on several assignments. She came back to the newsroom without having shot video or interviewed anyone. Don discussed this problem:

As a journalist, you have to keep thinking: story, okay, well, we were told this is a story, it's not a story, how can I make it a story? Anything is a story; you can make anything a story. But if you don't do it, and consistently come back and expect to be, expect your hand to be held, you'll lose your job.

Additional Interviews Support the Findings

In order to account for any station-specific peculiarities, three additional practicing TV journalists were interviewed. The three additional interviews suggest an alignment with the perceptions of success and failure described above. They described success as never-ending. A journalist who is continually moving forward at different levels in her career is successful, even if she has reached a certain level of success in some people's eyes. One of the interviewees was able to elegantly describe the idea that success is in all levels, success takes a strong work ethic and journalists need to tell meaningful stories:

On the outside, I think people would look and say I'm successful, because I've made it to the network. You make it to the highest level, climbing the ladder. But in my mind, success is someone who does their job right and works really hard at it every day. I think someone who is breaking stories

in a mid-sized market in the Midwest is just as successful as someone who – or more successful – than a network sideline reporter. Twenty-second fluff reports. To me, that's not success. It's difficult, but not overly difficult. Lisa Ling, Peter Jennings. They had a way of evaluating stories in a different way.

The interviewees agreed with the informants that a successful journalist is not in it for the money or fame, but rather, to tell stories that impact viewers' lives in a positive way. As one of the interviewees stated, a journalist who makes a lot of money but does not contribute in a positive way to the industry has obtained only "smoke and mirrors success." One interviewee, a veteran reporter/anchor of more than ten years in the industry, expanded on the complexities of success:

Someone gave me the advice: Be the kind of person who wants to be *in* television, not *on* television. There's a difference. You are just a different kind of journalist on TV. A really, truly successful journalist is one who wants to tell the story. You don't care if you are in a piece, if your face is on TV for ten minutes or ten seconds. You're proud of the piece, something you discovered or someone you helped or a message that you got out. A truly good journalist wants to speak for those who can't speak for themselves. Isn't that what you're supposed to do if you are a really good journalist, to be the voice for those that are voiceless?

The additional interviewees agreed with the informants regarding failure. The interviewees added the word "lazy" to describe failure, a reference to a lack of work ethic and dedication by some journalists. They identified failure as not

accomplishing the core purposes of journalism and being factually inaccurate, incomplete or biased. As one of the interviewees said:

> I think you fail when you're wrong. You have an obligation to your audience to deliver accurate information. By not telling both sides of the story or being opinionated or talking off the top of your head and saying something completely wrong.

Summary

There is no one definition or description for what constitutes failure in TV journalism. The informants often described failure by using terms such as mistakes, errors, or deficiencies, which is consistent with the literature (Bosk, 1979; Orr, 1996). According to the informants, failure means lacking certain characteristics, being factually incorrect, incomplete or biased, not accomplishing the core purposes of TV news, displaying stubbornness for producers, and not finding the story. The informants took seriously these types of failures, as any one of them could result in being fired if violated repeatedly.

Influences that can hinder successful or "good work" journalism

The second theme to address the research question is the influences that hinder successful or "good work" journalism. As is the case for all professionals, journalists do not work inside a vacuum. The informants sometimes referred to successful journalism as "good work," which is consistent with the findings of Gardner et al. (2001). Certain influences affect their ability to perform their jobs. Journalists cited morale, lack of resources, deadlines, and not understanding their station's values as influences impacting their performance.

Morale affects the work product. All of the informants stated that morale can result in positive or negative influences on their work. The positive influences included industry awards for individuals and stations. Industry awards are not a day-to-day motivator but help boost overall morale after the fact and are a tangible example of success for a station or journalist. Negative influences included seeing less competent journalists rise in position and market size, a toxic newsroom atmosphere, feeling overworked, firings of co-workers, and layoffs due to the economic downturn.

The economy was noticeably on the minds of the journalists during this research project. Don said it was important for journalists to remain positive despite the economy:

It's difficult too in this day and age with the economy and people losing their jobs and budget cuts and stuff to come into the newsroom and have good morale. But you have to force yourself, because if not, that will be reflected on the work that you do.

During an observational session on the day it was announced that three employees were laid off or fired, the atmosphere in the control room was quite tense. Marie, the producer, said during a commercial break, "I feel like my head is going to explode." The audio person said, "Join the club." The rest of the newscast was unusually quiet and projected an aura of negative energy in the control room. Ritzer and Walczak (1972) found that organizations may choose to demote rather than fire because firings may pose a threat to the morale. However, in this study, at least three employees in the newsroom were fired, a

seemingly large number for the size of the station. To my knowledge, demotions were not given during the time of this research.

A lack of resources affects the work product. Six of the seven informants repeatedly cited during interviews that the station did not enough resources, particularly people and live trucks, to accomplish their goals. As novice reporter Jason said:

> The broken live trucks (laughs), the times when you have to one-man-band it, that sucks. And now, with the layoffs and the furloughs and no overtime, it's hard to put together a quality package. It seems to have gotten a little harder to get a package on air recently with fewer people around to help.

Marie spoke of the lack of resources that affected her sense of good work as a producer:

> Resources, you know, when all three live trucks are unavailable not being able to do the walk and talk with the reporter who shows you, you know, this is where the water main broke and this is where it froze and this is where the car, you know, not being able to do that sometimes makes me feel like I haven't been able to do my job correctly, um, or to the best of my ability.

During observational sessions, the lack of resources came up regularly. In one meeting to plan for the weekend, the small group discussed the lack of reporters for the weekend. The News Director said Jeff would have to run vo/sot's and national packages to compensate for the lack of reporters. Jeff

made a mild comment about the workload of producing all shows on a weekend

day without any reporters. The News Director nodded, but said nothing. Another

time, the News Director came into the newsroom and explained to the anchors

and a reporter how they were going to cover the snowstorm to "try to make it look

like [they] weren't down so many live trucks." One time, Don, the Assistant News

Director/Executive Producer, had to edit the entire six o'clock newscast – an hour

show – to compensate for the lack of photographers available. Don noted that

this amount of editing was a very unusual task for him.

Jeff, however, rejected the notion that a lack of resources was a hindrance

to good work journalism. He stated, "You can still put out a good product with the

bare minimum, that you don't need everything extra to really make the newscast

sparkle." His comment is instructive for the fact that it contradicts the others'

theory on the effect of resources to their work product.

Deadlines force short-cuts. Journalists live by the clock. Everything they

do must be completed within a certain time frame. In local television news, it is

common for journalists to have many deadlines throughout their day. These

deadlines can "force" journalists to take shortcuts at times. Marie, who produced

the entire six o'clock newscast, said, "So there are days where you know, there's

just not enough time in the day because I, you know, my deadline for 6:30 is

really the same deadline as it is for my 6:00 so sometimes that hurts." During an

observation of the five o'clock newscast, the News Director asked the producer

to use a picture with a particular type of graphic. The producer said she could but

then explained it was easier to use the template for the graphics when time was

short. The News Director nodded, seemingly understanding. During another newscast, the director remarked, "When we're doing it on the fly, it's just kinda … get it done." The font he and the producer selected at the last moment was not ideal, but the average viewer would not notice this or perhaps even care. The station standardized the fonts to create consistency in the overall look of their graphics. Deadlines fall under Bosk's (1979) description of opportunities for error that are created when professionals are forced to act before all uncertainties are resolved. However, it seemed the informants enjoyed the intense deadlines at the same time because of the adrenalin rush. The anchors were the only news workers that seemed relatively unfazed by the intense deadlines, perhaps because their on-air persona must be calm and smooth.

Ambiguity over the station's values affects the work. The purposes of television journalism are undergirded by the values of a station. The specific values of a station are driven by the management in the newsroom, particularly the News Director and upper-level management. They change slowly and somewhat ambiguously when the management changes. Specific values can be obscure to the members of the newsroom; they look to slogans to identify the station's values. This can cause confusion for news workers in trying to determine the direction of their news content. Therefore, it becomes an influence that can hinder successful journalism. As Don said:

Stations can have lots of slogans and branding and [named a slogan of a station]… I don't even know if they are still [slogan] anymore. Um, when I was there, what was it? Did it mean anything? Was that a station's

values? No, that was a newsroom's values. I don't really know what a station's values are. A station is supposed to be involved in the community, I guess. So, by that rationale, then, our going and telling this community what was going on, I guess we followed that, our station's values, but that's such a broad comment, I really don't know what a station's values are.

Andrew echoed this sentiment:

We went through that 'making a difference' slogan for like three years and I thought that really hit what we were about at the time. And then we got rid of it. And now, I don't know what we are anymore because I, I think that's showing because our news doesn't seem as directed with the, the stand-up-for-the-little guy as it used to be.

These comments are noteworthy because they highlighted the elusiveness of a station's values for the news workers. Since values undergird the purposes of television news, it stands to reason that the purposes may be somewhat ambiguous to the news workers as well. News workers may begin to look to slogans, their prior news training, and their formal education to piece together the purposes of their profession. Yet, research (Schön, 1983) indicated that practitioners in all disciplines face conflicts of values, goals, purposes, and interests. Practitioners of journalism are not unique in their struggle to collectively identify, express, and execute the primary goal(s) and purpose(s).

During an observational session, John's package ran on air. It was investigative, hard-hitting, and in-depth. The graphics used were more

complicated than usual. The News Director noticed this as he said, **"**That was kick ass! Press kicks ass!" The content of the package is important to this discussion as it uncovered wrongdoing from a local politician, which directly affected taxpayers. While the values of this station may have been ambiguous, this type of story seemed to transcend the uncertain values of the station. This story fulfilled the overarching purpose of the industry by helping people in an accessible way. In times of transition in the status of journalism, as is clearly the case today, news workers will likely reflect the values of the larger society (Thornton, 1995).

Descriptions of Mistakes and Errors

The third and final theme is descriptions of mistakes and errors. As mentioned previously, the term failure is not used readily by news workers. However, terms such as mistakes and errors are used frequently. Mistakes are often contexted as relative to the pressures of television news. For example, mistakes during a breaking news story would be more easily forgiven than during a regular news story. Furthermore, a mistake may be viewed as relative to the market size. What is seen as a mistake in a large market would not necessarily be seen as a mistake in a smaller market. While errors and mistakes in facts and judgment are treated seriously by the informants, Hughes (1971) recognized that failures and mistakes are a common theme in all human work, and Bosk (1979) argued that errors can even be desirable in some scenarios to foster professionalism.

Types of on-air mistakes. A journalist's level of experience gives her a sense of what constitutes failure at the station and the industry. As it is common for news workers to take a step down in market size in order to take a step up in position, it is common for all levels of professional experience to be under one station's roof. This can create disagreement in what constitutes failure and likewise, success. The experienced worker will likely have different standards for "good work" and success than an inexperienced worker. To simplify the types of mistakes, they can be broken down into several main categories: technical, factual, and judgment. Bosk (1979) found four primary sources of errors: judgment, the application of techniques (technical), normative role obligations (factual), and the interpretation of norms (another form of judgment).

Technical errors are most visible during the newscast itself, when substandard video or audio, incorrect graphics, and live shots die on air. One common example of a technical error observed was when the wrong font was used on a graphic. The average viewer would likely not notice the font as being wrong.

Normative role obligation errors are sometimes caught before they air live. Other times, erroneous information makes it into the newscast. During one newscast, one of the co-anchors made a face after he read two consecutive scripts. He questioned them during a commercial break. Marie apologized, saying that she did not get to see what Jeff had reprinted. Marie said the stories did not make sense at all because of the errors (the errors were nonsensical

information). The co-anchor had had to cold read them and thus did not catch the obvious errors before reading them.

Errors in judgment are less explicit and not necessarily agreed upon by the news workers involved. Judgment errors may be related to how the news story was covered or not covered or by the elements included or absent. In the control room during a newscast, the News Director asked Marie if there was a stand-up (physical presence) by the reporter in the package. Marie shook her head no. The News Director shook his head as well, clearly indicating that it was not acceptable to not have a stand-up in a package that also lacked a live shot. While the lack of a stand-up was likely considered a judgment error, this is also a debatable error. Andrew mentioned independently of this incident that sometimes the management at the station was too ingrained in the "old school style," meaning that they never "think outside the box" or allow the reporters to be creative. Andrew made the point that not all packages need to have a stand-up.

Even if an observer was not knowledgeable about the technical aspects of television, that person would be able to pick up on the errors by the language of the news workers. Bosk (1979) contended that while there are no observable patterns of behavior to determine how and why an incident is categorized as an error, a researcher can examine the factors that determine the extent of an error and how individual employees understand the rules for labeling error. News workers often make surprised expressions, curse, or loudly comment on the technical error when one is made. For example, during an observational session in the control room, Don asked no one in particular, "Did a monkey edit the

show? Why would we use that picture when it is clearly shitty?" The picture of a person was somewhat distorted when it ran on air. As previously mentioned, a supervisor may say something publically about an error or mistake, labeling it as such.

Failure can be pointed out directly by a supervisor or someone else, but the person who makes the mistake is not always made aware of it. If a mistake is identified, one of two results happen: a) it is pointed out directly to the news worker by a supervisor or peer; or b) it is pointed out to someone else but not to the person who made the mistake (which was the case in the previous example with Don belittling the editor who wasn't present). If the first result happens, the news worker is likely to learn from that mistake. If the second result happens, the news worker does not know it is a mistake and continues to do it. Bosk (1979) argued that certain types of errors are desirable, as errors allow novices to develop the judgments and techniques necessary to become autonomous professionals. However, if the error is not pointed out and appropriate strategies for future handling of that type of error are not discussed, the novice may not learn the necessary skills to advance.

Mistakes and last-minutes changes can lead to a ripple effect. One change or error in a newscast can lead to a ripple effect, or "train wreck," as described by the news workers. For example, Marie recounted one of her least proud moments as a producer, which resulted in a "train wreck" newscast:

I was running behind so I didn't have time to check all the live shots and

for whatever reason two live shots were put on the same transponder and

they were back to back. There's no way that they were going to be able to

get them switched because I didn't see it before you know, I was doing six

other things before the show. I didn't see it and so we go to one and that's

the wrong one so we try to switch it and by the time we got anything it was

a train wreck like it was the top of the show, we couldn't picture one and

the anchor was, like I was trying to move things and prompt at the same

time and the anchor is like what are we doing? Where are we going next?

On the air.

This "train wreck" outcome was evidenced many times during observational

sessions. During one such session, Jeff came in the control room to tell Marie

that the local politician being interviewed by the reporter in the field had not

shown up yet. This was the lead story, and it was just a minute before the

beginning of the newscast. The audio person said there were problems with the

live shot anyway, indicating the whole live shot was in jeopardy. The person

working in Master Control came in to say they were having transmitter problems

with the live shot. Marie said it was only a minute to the show, thereby forget the

live shot for now. Calmly, she instructed the anchors via IFB– and the director

and audio person by way of headsets – to skip over the lead story entirely and

begin the show with the second story in the lineup. As the show's open was

running live on air, Don came in the control room to ask why they couldn't run the

story anyway without the live shot. Very tensely and without looking at Don,

Marie explained she had *nothing* without the reporter. Don asked when she had

found out the problems with the live shot and if it was being worked on. One of

the cameras – the one currently on air—panned in the wrong direction, away

from the anchors. The director said, "Shit." The person working audio, who

doubled as the camera operator, said, "Shit! Motherfucker!" and then slapped his

hand loudly on the table top. Marie did not react; she stared straight ahead at the

monitors. Don lingered for a moment, then left to stand in the hallway just outside

the control room. The glass wall made it easy to see and hear that Don was on

his cell phone, loudly talking to the live reporter (the one whose live shot had not

worked just a minute ago). Don asked him why he did not have his live interview

with the public official when he could see the public official talking live on air to a

different station (this was viewed on a monitor in the control room). Don was

clearly agitated and directed the reporter to *"get that interview!"* Don was

obviously upset because they were being scooped by a competing news station.

Marie could also overhear this conversation and started making arrangements to

go to the live shot. The technical problems were supposedly fixed at this point, as

indicated by Master Control. The live reporter could be watched on one of the

monitors. His cell phone was against his ear as he was being yelled at by Don,

Marie talked to him via IFB in his other ear, all while he was trying to physically

grab the public official who was nearby but just out of camera shot range. The

reporter was trying to talk on the cell phone with Don, listen to directions from

Marie, and secure the interview simultaneously without being able to leave his

spot in front of the camera. In the next moment, the anchors tossed to the live

shot, and the reporter began speaking, only to have the live shot die right on air

due to technical reasons. Interestingly, two seconds before the live shot died,

Don said, "We're losing it," though I could not tell how he knew this, as the picture looked fine on the monitors. The live shot came back up again, and the anchors tossed back to the reporter, only to lose it again on air. Nearly everyone was swearing in the control room and the atmosphere was very tense. Everyone was completely focused on the two monitors (the live on-air monitor and the monitor for the live shot). The tension and anticipation levels were reminiscent of a championship sports game between rival teams. The director asked himself quietly, "Where am I?" It was hard to fathom how the anchors could keep the show going, not knowing what they were supposed to do or say next when even the director was lost. This newscast was later referred to as a "train wreck" and an "unmitigated disaster" by members of the crew.

Mistakes are relative. Errors in judgment receive considerable attention from news workers, perhaps because there is a lack of agreement on them. But internal mistakes are treated dismissively, particularly the types of mistakes that most viewers would most likely not notice. A mistake in journalism is not the same as a mistake in the health care field, according to some of the informants. For example, during one newscast, the wrong open ran for the five o'clock newscast. The producer commented: "With all these shows, it's like so what if we run the wrong open? I make mistakes, you make mistakes… if you miss it in one show, oh well, you've still got the other shows," she said nonchalantly. The crew responded with mild laughter. "This isn't brain surgery... it's not like we're up for an Emmy… we're not saving lives, well, except for a [story related to a consumer report that could be harmful to people]." As was the case in this example,

mistakes are sometimes trivialized by framing it as relative to the rest of the workload or to the nature of their work, which isn't "brain surgery."

During another newscast, a minor mistake occurred on air but would not likely have been noticeable to viewers. Marie said to Ann via IFB, "It's Friday, who cares," and they chatted a bit about their weekend plans. This cavalier attitude may be troubling for readers of this paper if it were in regards to factual or judgment errors. I suspect that in larger markets, this type of mistake would not be shrugged off so easily, even though the mistake was an internal one not easily spotted by viewers.

Judgment and factual mistakes are verbally admonished. Certain types of mistakes, particularly the ones falling into the judgment and factual categories, are often recognized verbally by supervisors and sometimes by peers. This is consistent with a finding by Bosk's (1979) research; while errors of a moral (judgment and factual) nature are punished by peers and supervisors, technical errors are not. Accordingly, technical errors are a weak indicator of failure (Bosk, 1979). Not surprisingly, experienced journalists are comfortable reprimanding a novice journalist but not vice versa. The types of mistakes that occur commonly are usually reprimanded soon after the event and sometimes in front of co-workers. It is not typical for a supervisor to quietly pull aside a news worker to privately reprimand a mistake unless the error was egregious. As mistakes and errors occur in television news, it is worthwhile to note how supervisors deal with the problems. Types of comments from supervisors following a mistake or error included: "That's not good;" "Be very careful about

that;" "I wish you hadn't done that;" and "You need to be very, very cognizant of this." On occasion, Don or the News Director would privately admonish a news worker for his mistake.

"That's not good" was a common statement by Don following a mistake or error. He often said, "That's not good," in front of others. By way of example, during one newscast in which a brand-new producer was being trained by an inexperienced producer, the traffic reporter called in to say they were having trouble with their cameras. The inexperienced producer advised the new producer to drop traffic altogether. Don barreled into the control room a moment later and said loudly, "Let me be certain here." Then, Don asked both producers why traffic had been dropped and what were the specific words used to determine whether to drop traffic. Don then told them in an angry tone of voice that they should never cancel traffic, especially on a Friday afternoon with people traveling. They should just use a generic camera shot from the station if they are having camera issues. "That's not good," Don said, and left the control room. In this example, Don made sure the mistake was identified in order to prevent this kind of mistake again. As noted in an earlier section, it is important for mistakes to be pointed out directly to the person(s) making the mistakes so workers may learn from them.

News workers sometimes accepted responsibility for mistakes. During interviews, all the informants were quick to accept full responsibility for mistakes and errors. As Jason said, "I think that no one can make you fail at anything; if you mess up, then you need to accept responsibility for it." Don, a

veteran journalist, went so far as to take responsibility for not being able to prevent mistakes: "No… all failure I put on myself. Because if I wasn't able to correct it before it happened, that's my fault."

Interestingly, during observational sessions, the informants were *not* quick to accept full and automatic responsibility for their mistakes. During the observations, mistakes were sometimes attributed to someone else, a technical reason or an intangible influence beyond their control, such as an "election hangover." When the wrong name of a person in the news ran on air for the second time in the day, Marie said she did not know it had not been fixed, and that no one had told her whether it had been fixed. The implication here is that someone else, presumably the five o'clock producer, should have fixed the name for her or explicitly pointed out the error to Marie.

When a minor mistake happened, it seemed the news workers would most often accept responsibility for it. Minor mistakes include ones that either the viewers would not likely notice or ones where there would not likely be consequences from their supervisors, such as Don's public announcement of "That's not good." For example, during one newscast, a small on-air error occurred that was not necessarily noticeable by viewers. All three of the crew members in the control room – producer, director, and audio – took partial responsibility for the error. Marie finally said, "Whatever, we're past it," in a dismissive tone. These types of errors are common in TV news; everyone on the show knows it was a mistake, but almost no one viewing the show at home would be likely to notice it or deem it an error. This division between professional

and lay notions of mistakes is addressed by Hughes (1971). Practitioners in any discipline view mistakes differently than lay people. Members of a profession feel entitled to define mistakes while rejecting non-members definitions of mistakes.

Summary

In offering a fuller description of failure, the influences on successful or "good work" journalism were offered. The influences include morale issues, a lack of resources, deadlines, and ambiguity over a station's values. Additionally, the types of mistakes and errors common at the station were explored in this section. While the informants took full responsibility for their mistakes during interviews, this was not always the case during observations. Informants sometimes blamed technical reasons, other people, or intangible forces for mistakes while they were "in the moment."

Research Question #3: Role of Prior Education

The third research question addressed is: What is the role that journalists say their prior education played in their preparation for success in the field of television news? This research question is significant to the literature (Bales, 1992; Becker et al., 1987; Bullard & McLeary, 1994; Dennis, 1990; Dickson & Brandon, 2000; Dickson, 1996; Lindley, 1988; Medsger, 1996; Porter, 2004) regarding the gap between what is taught in universities and what is expected of graduates when they enter the field of journalism. This gap in knowledge for novices creates abundant opportunities for students to make errors and mistakes unintentionally. Clarifying the role of prior education is needed in order to

highlight the expectations of the industry. In turn, promising practices can be developed to strengthen or modify journalism-related programs.

One theoretical construct is needed to address this question: *Functionalist Organizational Socialization.* This construct links to the literature on functionalist models of organizational socialization (Cheney et al., 2004; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). The functionalist perspective defined socialization as "the ways a member of an organization learns the norms, values, and skills necessary for adopting a particular role and performing a particular function within the organization" (Cheney et al., 2004, p. 98). Three themes support this construct, including what educational training does well, what educational training lacks, and learned skill sets. These three themes illustrate the role of the informants' prior education in preparing them – or not preparing them – for the field.

What Educational Training does Well

The seven informants were ambivalent about their college education in terms of preparing them for the industry. Their knee-jerk reaction was to say that their education did nothing to prepare them. Most informants initially downplayed the value of their formal education but upon deeper reflection, they conceded some value in their education. They cited the necessity of learning about ethics and news judgment. Six of the seven informants in this study agreed that while the "theory" of journalism is necessary to achieve the purposes of journalism, theoretical aspects should be condensed, and practical aspects should be expanded. The only informant who did not declare this sentiment was John, who did not have a journalism-related degree. Cheney et al. (2004) and Van Maanen

and Schein (1979) referred to the educational training phase as the anticipatory stage, which is everything learned before entering the organization. It is common for employees to enter the organization with unrealistic expectations, as they are influenced by literature, videos, and interactions with other members of the organization (Cheney et al., 2004). These unrealistic expectations may have contributed to the informants' initial negative reactions.

As stated, the informants touted the importance of learning the theory and ethics of journalism. Don offered an example of a story he produced. The coverage of this story resulted in a positive change in the way developmentally disabled children were treated at a local elementary school. He cited the story as a reflection of his educational training: "Yeah, that was the story… the theoretical story that they tell you to do every day in reporting [class]. I think if you have one of those in your entire career you've made it." The pride in Don's voice was evident as he recounted how the reporter covered the story and the changes implemented after the story ran. While Don spent considerable time telling me how journalism-related education should be changed, this was the type of story that was encouraged at his college and one in which he took visible pride. I found the paradox in this example intriguing. On one hand, Don had down-played his education. But when asked to speak about a piece he was proud of, he cited a piece that reflected his educational training.

Hire professors with professional journalism experience. When the informants were asked specifics on what prepared them for the industry, the

ones that came to mind were professors who had professional experience as journalists. Ann said:

Having someone who actually worked in the business beyond your professional staff I think is really helpful for the students to really get a taste of what it's like, and get the real kind of gist of the business. And be able to look at that professor, I looked at that professor, and said, wow, he knows because he was there.

Internships help prepare students. Internships, a common requirement in journalism-related college programs, are an invaluable source of preparation for the industry. "If you don't have an internship, you're never really gonna get it," Don said. But the journalists also identified the shortcomings of internships: "I kind-of knew what to expect from my internship. But I don't know how you can really ever know what a live shot feels like until you have to do it," Jason said. Cheney et al. (2004) and Van Maanen and Schein (1979) would categorize this internship learning as the encounter phase, where a newcomer is confronted with more realistic expectations of the organization. The interns are introduced to the values, skills, and attitudes needed for the realities of the job.

The learning in internships comes when the interns have opportunities to do hands-on tasks, albeit tasks with low-level responsibilities. During one observation session, John asked the intern what she had on her plate today and if could she help him out with something when she got caught up writing scripts. The intern nodded. A few minutes later, John asked her to compile contact lists of local colleges' editors. A few minutes after that, a reporter approached the

intern and asked if she wanted to go out with him in the field. Marie said it was okay if the intern could not finish the script and said she would take care of it. John said she could finish the contact lists another time. "Going out on a live shot is way more important than writing a graphic script," Marie laughed. While writing is an acknowledged important part of the news process, the writing will always be there. Going out into the field with a reporter is a less common opportunity for interns.

A campus TV station helps prepare students. The informants also identified working at a college campus television station as a great learning experience. Jeff said:

> We did have a TV station. We did a daily newscast. It wasn't live and we recorded it. We still ran through the motions. We had to record it and put it on air at ten. So, you know, just like I said, a normal day, as far as a newsroom, only on a much smaller scale.

However, not all colleges have campus television stations. Ann said, "If you do have a television station on campus, get involved. If there's no television station, just do it, if there's a newspaper, just get any sort of media ties experience as you can." This quote underscores the perceived importance of college-level news experience to the preparation of a news worker.

One possible result of not gaining this news experience during college is the concept of "reality shock." Reality shock for inexperienced news workers is more visible to the experienced journalists. Inexperienced ones may not have

enough wherewithal to understand all that they do not yet know, as described by Don:

> I've had at least three reporters that have come right out of school, two
> reporters right out of school and maybe two producers, that after the first
> week, just broke down, broke down, crying, can they do this? For some
> reason, they think it's easy and it's not.

> This passage suggests that it was common for newcomers to this station

to struggle with the third and final stage of Van Maanen & Schein's (1979) socialization model: change and acquisition. In this stage, newcomers master the skills, roles, norms, and values of the job. The result of this process is a socialized insider who possesses both the behavior and affective outcomes of the job. Cheney et al. (2004) referred to the third stage as metamorphosis, where the newcomers learn and adapt to the organization's expectations.

Mentors are helpful. Mentors were another helpful factor in being prepared for the industry, according to three of the informants. Mentorships were initially cultivated during the informants' internships in college. Don said:

> Internships and mentors were the most helpful. The internships gave me
> an idea if I really wanted to do this or not and the mentors, once I was in,
> to guide me to make certain decisions. They didn't show me the ropes, but
> they showed me how to get things done in certain ways to get ahead. I
> think everyone needs to find a mentor in this business, someone who has
> been in it longer than them, who can show them the ropes.

Mentors were so helpful, in fact, that some journalists used mentors even after they landed full-time positions in the industry, which means that mentors were helpful in all three stages of socialization. Ann, an experienced anchor, said:

> I do have a mentor, that I for a few years would send tapes to, and have conversations, critiques, and feedback from her and so she really was critical at that time of my career, helping change how I read, how I looked, you know, that type of thing, so… mentors are great.

Summary

The informants discussed the value of their prior educational training. In particular, they cited ethics and news judgment. However, while the informants agreed that learning the theory of journalism is necessary to achieve the purposes of journalism, the theory should be trimmed down to make room for learning the practical work processes required of practitioners. The informants found educational value in studying under professors with professional experience, having one internship or more, working at the campus TV station or other media connections, and using mentors.

What Educational Training Lacks

The second theme supporting this construct is what educational training lacks. The informants were able to pinpoint four areas lacking in educational training: live training, real-world experience, the daily grind of news, and the "trial by fire" training. As mentioned, journalists sometimes decry their educational training. Marie said to me one day, "School did *nothing* for me." We talked about how we went to supposedly good schools, but they did not prepare us at all for

the industry. The intern, who was running the teleprompter at the time, looked surprised and crushed.

Educational training lacks live training. Because of the equipment and resources required for live television, very few colleges have the capacity for live shots. Andrew said, "It would be nice to have live training. You know, if there was ever something that was on-the-job training it was have them do a live shot… live shots. How do you prepare for that? Until you do it, it's just one of those, you gotta do it." Some schools have campus television stations, but they are not live. Marie said, "I had broadcast classes but we didn't have a working TV station at the time. We would, you know, do live-to-tape but live-to-tape is not the same." Live-to-tape means taping a newscast and then airing it at a later time.

The lack of live training was very apparent when observing a brand-new producer during one of his first newscasts. The supervising producer training the brand-new producer was inexperienced himself. The supervising producer told the new producer not to use a full screen that was about to go live on air, but the new producer was frozen. He did not respond except to nervously touch some buttons – ones that allow producers to talk to the anchors via IFB. The supervising producer repeated the directive loudly. The director heard him and did not take the full screen. The new producer said quietly to the supervising producer, "What a disaster." The supervising producer said, "You just get used to it, it slows down after a while."

Educational training lacks real-world experiences. The informants unanimously called attention to the lack of "real-world" experience in their college

education. Don blamed the professors for this: "A lot of academics will spend a lot of time discussing theory but then not take it to the next level and that's, that's where the disconnect is when you go into the real world." Marie underscored the difference between the classroom and the real world: "I think there are a lot of people who come out of school thinking they are totally prepared and because they did it in Broadcast 200 they know exactly what it's going to be like in the real world and its there's been some reality checks where all of a sudden it's like 'Oh, this is not what I thought it would be.'" These two passages suggest the leap between the second and third stages of Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) socialization process. The third stage results in a socialized insider who possesses both the behavior and affective outcomes of the job as he is able to successfully navigate the values, skills, and attitudes needed satisfy the second stage.

Educational training lacks the daily deadlines of professional practice. The real world was often described as a "daily grind" by five of the informants. Marie said, "It's just the daily grind, getting to, you know, you can learn how to write, you can learn how to shoot, you can learn how to edit. You can't learn what it feels like to be under a daily deadline." The informants compared their previous experiences in classes, internships and campus TV stations to the "real world" and found that their previous experiences fell short. Jason said, "Maybe only in the sense of it becoming a daily grind. You have to do this every day, not just once a week like for my classes or twice a week for my internship."

At the station under study, the reporters said they felt lucky if they were given six hours to produce a package. During ratings periods, the reporters and anchors were assigned added responsibilities, such as personal appearances, promotions, and writing blogs. The "daily grind" can be considered a result of the market interests on the work of journalists. In order to meet the obligations of this grind, the informants would create routines in their work, such as relying on bureaucratic sources for information, which is consistent with Fishman's (1980) findings.

New graduates felt unequipped to handle the on-the-job skills. Journalists in new positions, even if they have had previous experience at a different station, were somewhat critical of the "trial by fire" approach to on-the-job training. Jeff said, "It was very much trial by fire. I personally like how that was, but at the same time, it would have been nice to at least have a week set aside where it was, literally, nothing but training just so I could assimilate before I step in." John spoke of the lack of formal training at his first job: "I accepted the job and it was a tough sled for the first six months because I had not had an extreme amount of formal training in news writing and news production so I got a lot of that on the job in that first stint."

New journalists sometimes feel overwhelmed by their lack of experience and training. During one newscast, a brand-new producer said to his supervising producer, "It's getting worse." The supervising producer asked how yesterday went, the new producer said okay, better than this. "Did they just throw you to the wolves like this?" the new producer asked. The supervising producer did not

respond; he was very inexperienced himself. The new producer seemed to attribute his mistakes to a lack of proper training. The new producer was likely embarking on the second stage of Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) socialization model: encounter. Here, the new producer encountered the skills needed for the realities of the job, for which he felt unequipped.

Learned Skill Sets

The final theme that supports this construct is learned skill sets. Whether journalists learn certain skills on the job or during their educational training, the informants agree on a handful of qualities: writing, storytelling, talent must be smooth and natural, recognizing ethical dilemmas, and having a trained eye. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) and Cheney et al. (2004) would categorize these learned skills in their second and third stages of socialization, encounter and change and acquisition, respectively.

On-air delivery is imperative for anchors and reporters. The skill or quality of being natural and smooth applies to journalists with positions in front of the camera, such as anchors and reporters. Journalism students who plan to specialize in broadcasting must learn these qualities, whether they are learned during broadcast delivery classes, internships, or their professional on-air positions. Ann said, "I'm natural, I am who I am on the TV set than I am in the newsroom than at home and in the supermarket. I am who I am and what you see is what you get and I think that's a great quality because I'm not acting." Journalists with positions behind the camera, such as producers, do not need this skill.

Anchors need to carry the newscast, no matter the chaos in the control room and the field. Remaining calm under pressure is a key ingredient to their on-air personas. During breaking news or major technical problems, anchors and sometimes reporters need to recover quickly and not show visible signs of distress. This is so vital that sometimes the News Director at the station would coach the anchors on being more natural and smooth. One day, during the afternoon story meeting, the News Director told the anchors and producers to make the tosses between physical areas (the phone bank and the news set) as "seamless" and "natural" as possible. He then did a caricature impression of how he *did not* want them to look and sound.

Anchors and reporters that come across as phony or insincere on camera do not seem to be considered likeable by viewers, according to the informants. Marie mentioned that Katie Couric, a successful CBS evening news anchor, appeared "fake" on air.

Strong writing skills are necessary. Writing scripts in broadcast journalism receives much time and energy from the news workers. John spoke of the importance of writing skills: "I think in all the coursework, even though I didn't have formal news writing, I had to do a lot of writing, and again, I feel that writing is the cornerstone of all journalism…I always tell the interns that their writing is critical." Writing clear and crisp broadcast copy is different than other kinds of writing, as Don pointed out to me: "You know what you should teach? You need to teach writing for conversation. They need to write non-cop speak. I always tell them, 'Tell it like you're telling your grandma.' I spend weeks beating it out of

them. I have to be on the new producer (Jeff) all the time – he just writes like wire copy. And it's crap." He meant that broadcaster's writing has to sound conversational, not like a police report or stilted Associated Press wire copy.

Strong storytelling skills are necessary. Journalists strive for clear, crisp, and objective writing, and yet they do not sacrifice the elements of storytelling. This was a consensus by the informants. Jason explained his approach to storytelling for broadcast journalism: "I try to find stories that you couldn't tell as well in just a newspaper format, with powerful video and sound… compelling from the standpoint of both visual and audio." Emotional impact in stories was singled out by the News Director during an informal conversation with me. The News Director told me a successful package was one that created an "emotional reaction." The package "could be informative but if it was boring, it sucked," he added. These comments would seem to support the informants' statements earlier about the medium of television dictating the purpose of it. TV news is not merely assembling facts and disseminating them; it is about crafting stories that are visually appealing.

Journalists walk a fine line in telling stories. They want to be relevant, compelling and informative, not "dry" or "hokey." One day, a fairly new reporter was writing a package for Ann to later track. The reporter and Ann went over to Ann's desk area and she pulled up the script on her computer and began reading it over. The reporter said Ann would probably want to change it for how she reads, as she reads differently than he does. Ann started to make changes and verbally report them to the reporter, but after a moment, he said she could make

any changes and left the anchors' pod. Five minutes later, the reporter came back and asked her how it was. Ann laughed and said she was re-writing it. She said she got that way sometimes. She asked him a question about whether they had certain video to include for a "nice nat pop" (natural sound taken in full) in the package. More changes were made to the script, while the reporter leaned over her shoulder. After a couple minutes, he said she could turn it in to the editor and left.

News workers need to be able to recognize ethical dilemmas. Journalistic ethics are a central guide for news workers, however incongruous that may sometimes seem to viewers. Ethical dilemmas are a source for debate inside newsrooms, perhaps because of the changing variables in any given story. Being able to recognize ethical dilemmas was an aspect identified by news workers as a skill they learn. Five of the informants said they initially learned the foundation of journalistic ethics in college and then the applications of them on the job. Don stressed the importance of recognizing ethical dilemmas in news work: "Asking yourself ethical questions before you do a story or you know, what is news and how to develop that sort of gathering of news information in your head."

On many occasions, ethical dilemmas created serious debate in the newsroom. During one such occasion, Andrew and Don talked about when it is permissible, technically versus ethically to tape record a conversation and use the recorded information. They did not share the same idea of when it was ethically acceptable, but Don firmly stated his position, and Andrew eventually

went along with that. The reporters and producers at this station did not seem to be required to know how to solve the ethical dilemmas, only to recognize their presence and ask for advice from supervisors.

New technologies have created avenues for discussion surrounding ethical issues. During an afternoon story meeting, the Assignment Editor overviewed stories potentially to be covered for later in the day. There was a tape of a graphic 911 call – just one element in an ongoing story -- that the News Director said he would absolutely not run. He said, "It had no news value." A reporter asked if it would be put on the web, and the News Director said he was still thinking about that. Ann said it was a good debate but asked the News Director if he was going to listen to the 911 call before making a decision whether it should run during a television newscast. She said she did not want to sensationalize the story but that it proved the larger problem related to the story. They briefly discussed what the 911 call was supposed to include. They debated whether posting it on the web was any different than running it on air. The News Director and Assignment Editor said yes, it was different, because if someone wants to go to the web and look it up, they can do that by choice, as opposed to just passively listening to it on TV.

Judging what is ethically sound is sometimes limited to the availability of key sources on a given story. One day, John interviewed a local public official on a major developing story, but the News Director expressed his concerns over airing this particular official's statements. The News Director said, "I'm not confident about his moral motivation for this." He was referring to the official's

incentive for doing something that on the surface may seem socially conscientious but was very suspicious when considering his political agenda. The News Director referred to the official as a "slimy bastard." He joked to Ann that she should call the official a bastard on air. She said no, that that would be her last day on air. The News Director said they were still going to air his sound bite because at least someone was talking to the media that day on that story.

John discussed the ethical dilemma of conflict of interest. He spoke of the seemingly innocent conversations between reporters and the people they encounter:

> [Reporters] should be prepared for… they want to positively engage people and develop a nice relationship and that's one of the tougher parts is that you recognize from the get go that there often needs to be a healthy distance between yourself and the people you engage in journalism. You're always civil, you're always professional, you should take a positive outlook into your encounters but you have to understand you have a job to do. Goes to the conflict of interest on a grander level. The day you have a friendly chat with someone and then three weeks later you have to follow up with some unflattering information with them, but that's your job.

News workers scrutinize stories differently than the average viewer. Journalists have a "different eye" than the consumers of news, which is a result of professional journalists' learned skills. Journalism students begin learning the principles of the field during their education, the first phase of the functionalist

organizational socialization theory (Cheney et al., 2004; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). During this phase, students are introduced to some of the necessary skills needed to become a professional. This "different eye" separates them from non-news workers and creates the foundation for becoming full-fledged members of the profession.

Andrew described the "different eye" implications: "Obviously I'm watching news with a different eye than the average person does. But I do see that photography and I wondered what does the average person think about this? Is it so bad that it's actually hurting the product overall?" The "different eye" seemed to allow news workers to let them off the hook in some instances. On occasion, a producer would dismiss a minor on-air mistake as being one that viewers would likely not notice, and therefore, one not worthy of reflection or regret.

Additional Interviews Support the Findings

Three additional interviews were conducted to check for any anomalies at the station under study. The additional interviewees agreed with the informants that securing internships, working at the campus TV station, studying under professors with professional experience, and utilizing mentors were the most salient features of their educational training. They purported that while their education was valuable in teaching them about the foundation and theory of journalism, the practical demands of the daily work tasks overwhelmed them when they first entered the workforce. One of the interviewees admitted a form of reality shock when she first entered the profession, which was not consistent with the findings. The informants pointed out *other* news workers who experienced

shock but never identified themselves. The interviewee said about her reality

shock:

> The deadline, that was a shock. Shoot two stories, run back to the station,
>
> edit the tapes, try to look somewhat decent, run to the set, you're so
>
> exhausted. When you're an intern, you stroll in, maybe shoot some sound,
>
> there's always someone to hold your hand. But you have to remember
>
> everything as a professional.

They would have liked to have more hands-on training and real-world

experiences to prepare them for the industry. In school, they were taught the

basics of writing and storytelling but refined these skills quite a bit on the job.

One of the interviewees agreed with the value of internships and writing skills,

but believed a liberal education was valuable for future journalists. She said:

> I think it's totally underrated. It should be emphasized that you are more
>
> well-rounded cause shouldn't you be… if you are delivering the current
>
> news, if you are trying to explain to the average person what's going on in
>
> Iran, or what's going on in Pakistan, shouldn't you be smarter than the
>
> average person, so you can simplify it for them, accurately and correctly?
>
> Not so much your journalism classes, but the classes that surround it.

Summary

The role of the journalists' prior education was addressed in this section.

The informants were ambivalent about their prior education; on one hand, it did

not prepare them sufficiently. On the other, they felt it was necessary for the

theory of journalism. Some of the perceived deficiencies in their education

include a lack of live training and a need for more real-world experiences. The informants also wanted their education to prepare them for the daily grind of news and the trial-by-fire training. TV journalists need certain skills for success in the field. As such, the informants expounded the following necessary skills: talent must be natural and smooth on air; writing skills; storytelling skills; recognizing ethical dilemmas in a news story; and TV journalists have a different eye than the average viewer.

Research Question #4: Implications for Journalism-related Education

The fourth and final research question addressed is: What are the implications of the findings for journalism-related education? This question extends the elements identified by journalists into tangible suggestions that may contribute to better educational preparation. Gardner et al. (2002) and Schön (1986) suggested developing recommendations about promising practices for educational programs in order to prepare students for real-world demands.

One theoretical construct is needed to respond to this question: *Symbolist Organizational Socialization.* This construct bridges to the literature of Cheney et al. (2004), Morrison (2002), and Ritzer and Walczak (1972). The symbolist perspective takes the functionalist perspective further by allowing for the social construction of reality phenomenon: the newcomer simultaneously shapes and is shaped by her interpretation of the organization's values, beliefs, and practices (Cheney et al., 2004). Morrison (2002) stated that socialization occurs through social interactions between newcomers and experienced members. Ritzer and Walczak (1972) asserted that socialization is not a linear process as newcomers

select which attributes to emulate and which to reject. The newsroom under study regularly hired novice and experienced but new-to-the-profession journalists, or newcomers. Newcomers will not only be shaped by the organization but will also shape it. Two themes support this construct: the learning curve and understanding practices and conventions of the newsroom.

The two themes are instructive to implications for journalism-related education in that they make explicit the tacit knowledge sometimes doled out fractionally to novices. In making the following themes explicit to students and novices, the anticipatory and encounter phases of organizational socialization may be less obscure and/or shortened. Journalism educators may be able to make their students aware of realistic expectations for the profession (the anticipatory phase). Educators can prepare interns to understand the value of the unspoken practices and conventions as they experience them in their internships so as to shorten the encounter phase.

The Learning Curve

Every new position requires a certain amount of time to adapt to the culture of the work environment. For news workers, this adaptation includes becoming familiar with the system, learning from mistakes, accepting constructive criticism, and working faster, all of which takes about a month's time, according to the majority of the informants. It is unrealistic to teach students of journalism the specifics involved in individual newsrooms, as the systems and equipment used will vary. However, the learning curve also comprises elements that transcend station variances, such as learning from mistakes and accepting

constructive criticism. Journalism educators may find it useful to be able to articulate the specific elements of the learning curve, even if they can only teach a couple of them.

Elements of the learning curve. Learning a newsroom means learning about the specifics, such as the computer and phone systems, where things are located, how to use the technologies, and how the station's brand (or identifying feature) affects their daily decisions. Journalists must also learn about their external environment, such as where major landmarks are located in their city, who the major local officials and spokespeople are, how to get in touch with the local police and legal contacts, and many other aspects. Don put it this way:

> On-the-job training, you have to learn their computer system, you have to learn their formats for the news product. You have to learn, um, the players in each city when it comes- the newsmakers in each city when it comes to gathering the news and gathering the information.

A journalist with both institutional and market knowledge is very valuable to the newsroom. This person has contacts and knows what works in that station and market. As John said, it takes time to become familiar with everything: "As much as I tried to prepare for the market, you aren't going to know much of a lot on your first day."

Becoming familiar with the market has a downside. It can result in all the stations treating stories similarly and not providing diverse coverage of news. For example, on a significant national election day, the News Director asked Don what he thought the other stations in the market would be doing for their evening

shows. Don responded by detailing which reporters would be out in the field doing what. He had tremendous knowledge of the other stations in the market. He listed names of reporters and their likely angles. "We're all going to look the same. It's election day," Don said. He said they could "separate themselves from the pack" if they pushed a particular package that was special to that station. Don then called the News Director a "consultant," a disparaging term in this instance. The News Director responded very sarcastically, "No, I'm journalistically pure." Even though the News Director was a rank above Don, he sought him out for guidance, as Don was a veteran at this station while the News Director was fairly new. This exchange is an example of what Morrison (2002) addressed in the social network perspective, stating that socialization occurs through social interactions between the newcomers and experienced members of the organization.

Each new position has a learning curve. Television journalists expect to have a learning curve in each new position they hold, even if they have had previous experience at other news stations. All of the informants saw this as a potential for growth. Don, a veteran producer and manager, said, "Every day should be a learning process when you are in a newsroom. You should learn something new every day." Ritzer and Walczak (1972) support this notion with their symbolist perspective, asserting that socialization is not a linear process as newcomers select which attributes to emulate and which to reject. Even Don, with his many years of experience, continued to find opportunities to learn and grow, however selectively.

Journalists seem to have a particular open-mindedness and patience for the learning curve, as Jeff, a novice producer, noted:

It's just stuff I that attribute to still learning the system, still learning everything else. I really haven't been here long enough or been in it long enough to necessarily say I've had any failures. You know I am still learning and part of that has to be some kind of learning curve…I don't think there's anything I don't do well. There's stuff I can do better, but that's the case for everybody. Is there something at this point I feel I do badly? No, I know I can improve, and I will improve, but that's just the name of the game.

This self analysis is of interest because Jeff's self-image did not match the image his co-workers held of him. One day, Marie mentioned to me how Jeff, normally the weekend producer, is still struggling during the week. She had been sick a couple weeks earlier and Jeff filled in for her. When she came back to work, several people came up to her and said they were grateful for her to be back. She said the weekend crew liked him because he cared about the show but that there are somewhat different crews for weekdays and weekends (and perhaps lesser expectations on weekends). This aligns with the findings of Reeves (1970) in that failure varies from person to person as well as at different stages in of their careers. Jeff, a very new journalist, did not consider his shortcomings to hold the same weight as his peers.

The learning curve is often bridged by the more experienced journalists advising the less experienced journalists, which is behavior consistent with

Morrison's (2002) social network perspective. One of the newer reporters asked the News Director what to do about a necessary contact (and necessary interview) who had hung up the phone on him. The contact, a public official, refused to comment on the reporter's story, even though he was about to be criticized on air. The reporter called this official a "douche bag." The News Director told him how to deal with the refusal of the interview and said he would read his story and help him write around the lack of the interview. The News Director was a former anchor and thus knew how to handle difficult sources.

Completing the learning curve means working faster. A sign of effectively completing the learning curve is being able to "work faster," according to all of the informants. Jason, a new reporter, said he is able to work "much faster for sure. I don't need to spend as much time writing packages as I used to." Andrew, a veteran reporter, also recognized the ability to work faster: "It doesn't take me as long to find a story or contacts. I have people who e-mail or call me with story ideas. I think that's just part of being here for four years. People start to know you and they start to trust you and they call you with story ideas."

Learning a newsroom takes about a month. "Working faster" and being "familiar with everything" does not happen right away for journalists. The informants estimated that it took a couple weeks to a month for novices and experienced alike to learn the newsroom. "It doesn't happen very quickly for most people. I think it probably takes everybody a month at least to feel like they are part of an organization when they go from place to place," Don said. Don's

passage underscores the difference between "familiarity with everything," which is learning the systems, and feeling a part of the newsroom.

Learning the newsroom and becoming familiar with the systems, station, and market is one thing, but feeling a psychological sense of belonging to the newsroom is another. Ann was interviewed when she was employed by the station for four months. At that time, she said she did not feel like she belonged. Two months after that initial interview, it became apparent she felt a greater sense of belonging. She chatted much more with her co-workers, particularly about after-work life. She seemed much more socially connected to her co-workers and displayed a more "sparkly" personality to them.

Mistakes are inevitable but learn from them. As previously mentioned, there is a certain open-mindedness and patience for mistakes, particularly ones that happen during the learning curve and especially during a journalist's first job. Ann expressed a common sentiment among journalists: "Don't be afraid to make mistakes, cause you're going to make them, but you learn from them." As with other professions, certain kinds of mistakes are valuable, but other kinds are detrimental (Bosk, 1979). Also, it is expected that these certain types of mistakes will only happen once. Repeat mistakes are undesirable.

Even experienced journalists make mistakes. Yet, these experienced journalists reflect on the error in such a way as to reduce the likelihood of it reoccurring. John, a veteran reporter, spoke of a common type of mistake:

I would say the most common manifestation is missing slot, not having your work prepared in time for its scheduled place. That's a whole matter

of time management, of prioritizing. And there's a whole list of factors that goes into that. But you've got to manage those factors. I'm not immune; I'm not talking from a high pulpit. I've certainly missed slot. There's got to be an examination of what went wrong in the news gathering process, where did things go awry.

Novice journalists are allowed to make certain types of mistakes. Yet, their peers do not automatically stay silent about such mistakes. They sometimes use humor to deal with the mistakes of peers. Half-joking comments permit colleagues to acknowledge the mistakes without making them a major concern. After the five o'clock newscast one day, Ann made a comment to Jeff regarding the lack of names on the scripts. The lack of names meant Ann and her co-anchor had to ask during the newscast itself who was supposed to read which stories. Ann made a small joke about how not to let it happen again. She did not complain to others after the show about the mistake. Hughes (1971) addressed this social phenomenon of how colleagues are allowed to define mistakes. Orr (1996) added to this vein. While members of a group may talk privately about a co-worker who falls short of the work expectations, there is little public reproach, as it is generally perceived that there is nothing to be done about the deficient co-worker.

News workers must be able to take constructive criticism. Part of the learning curve in journalism is developing a capacity for constructive criticism. Criticism is often verbalized in front of others. Most journalists acquire what is called a "thick skin" early on in the business. This thick skin can be a helpful

shield against external pressures, such as angry viewers or contacts, and also for internal pressures, such as constructive criticism from supervisors and peers. "If you cannot take criticism, you shouldn't be doing this," Don said.

Journalists often see constructive criticism from supervisors as a means to grow in their skills. Constructive criticism is seen as a valuable tool to enable them to move up in position and market, and it should not be taken personally. Ann said:

> Hopefully [supervisors] offer you feedback so that way you can continue to grow. That's one thing I think we need to make sure we have in this business, is that we get constructive feedback. Otherwise you don't know, if no one is telling you that something is not quite right or – but it's subjective in this business, too …You have to be able to take constructive criticism, not take it to heart.

The News Director believed that self-esteem played a role in whether journalists were able to accept constructive criticism. He told me one day, in front of several news workers, "Some reporters avoid me like the plague." He said he thought it was due to self-esteem: reporters with high self-esteem sought him out to read over their scripts. Those with high self-esteem sought out tough critics, as they want to be the best and to achieve at the highest level they can. Conversely, those with low self-esteem were the ones who avoided him as they could not take the constructive criticism he might offer.

News workers should not expect to make money in early stages of career. The informants all agreed that the lack of money in the industry can be

very difficult. Journalists often refer to the first few years in the profession as paying their dues or putting the time in before becoming successful financially. Jeff spoke about having to pay his dues: "Being the fact that this is my first job, I'm not making much at all, next to nothing, and part of that is being able to come to terms with that, knowing you have to put your time in, prove yourself, pay your dues, before the money would come along with it." Don concurred: "Journalists should not be in this for the money, you're never going to make it, and a lot of kids think cause they see this high anchor salaries, ooh, we're going to make lots of money and it's just not gonna happen."

Paying dues also refers to the type of positions and size of the market most entry-level television journalists tolerate willingly. As previously mentioned, the industry is particularly ladder-oriented, creating a tiered system at each station, market, and the industry as a whole. An entry-level journalist may be thrilled to hold a position as a weekend reporter in a small market, even though the salary is barely above the poverty level. They will learn the general ropes of the industry at their first jobs, and mistakes are more accepted. After a few years in the business and moving up through internal promotions and external market jumps, their first job becomes a badge of honor. They share their "war stories" with each other, which is consistent with Orr's (1996) findings. Experienced journalists often boast about their first jobs, as many reporters were forced to be one-man-bands. Some anchors not only produced their own newscasts but also ran their own teleprompters. They joke about how little money they made, some taking second jobs just to make ends meet. Because many television journalists

travel this route, it is expected of the younger generations to also traverse this path. The rare television journalist that is "discovered" by an agent and bypasses this traditional course is sometimes viewed with less esteem than other television journalists because they have not paid their dues to the industry.

Understanding the Practices and Conventions of the Newsroom

The final theme of understanding the conventions and practices of the newsroom supports the theoretical construct of symbolist organizational socialization. Part of becoming a professional means understanding the conventions and practices of the workplace, such as jargon and social norms. This is true for news workers as well. The communication, jargon, humor, the roles and expectations of individual journalists, pitfalls, and the sense of psychologically belonging to the newsroom are all part of the conventions and practices of the newsroom. Journalism students would benefit from increased exposure to the common practices and conventions, as this knowledge may shorten the duration of the encounter phase of organizational socialization

Practices of news workers. The practices or procedures in this section are ones not clearly articulated in the literature. Novices typically learn tacit practices by listening to more experienced members and/or through trial and error. By explicating these categories, journalism-related educators may be able to develop strategies that introduce and/or expose students to these practices.

Verbal directions are more efficient than written ones. In some workplaces, written documentation (e.g. email) of specific directives is efficient and necessary. Intra-office email was used at the station under study for long-

term planning and discrepancy reports. However, due to the tight deadlines and

fast-paced nature of a newsroom, verbal announcements were often more

efficient than written directions. Indeed, formal channels of communication during

hectic times in a newsroom may hinder the final product. During one

observational session, a reporter took a phone call from a viewer regarding

breaking news. The breaking news was related to the election process, which

temporarily increased the level of communication among the newsroom staff

immediately following the phone call from the viewer. Within a span of three

minutes, most of the newsroom became informed of the breaking news through

conversation and by overhearing the information. There did not appear to be a

formal channel for spreading this kind of information quickly. Email or other kinds

of formal channels might have hindered the process, as speed and efficiency are

imperative for communicating the details and directions. Informal, verbal

channels seem to serve this kind of communication well.

News workers consider themselves as one part of a larger system.

News workers commonly used the metaphor of "cog" to describe their individual

roles in the newsroom. Andrew explained, "How do you fit as a cog into a

working newsroom? Learning how you fit into a working newsroom when not

everybody knows the tasks of everybody else." Jeff added:

> Becoming a cog. Actually feeling like you are a part of the machine, you're
>
> a working part, you do your job, you know you're job, and you blend in,
>
> you know, you don't have to be taught how to do things all the time, you

don't have to have someone leading you around by the hand, just blend

in.

Each individual journalist plays a part, or is a "cog," in the newsroom. Even

photographers are considered to be a cog, as Don pointed out:

And photographers – I don't know what their goal is, to be quite honest.

They're crucial, they're the most-biggest cog that gets ignored in a

newsroom, um, cause without them we'd be radio but I would assume the

photographers' goals are to make sure the pictures they're shooting will

match what the reporter wants to say.

This metaphor of cog is interesting in that it opens the discussion of the

individual versus institutional theme in the findings. The individual practitioners

perceived themselves (cogs) as part of a larger system (the newsroom). The

informants saw themselves as just one small component in the entire

organization. It was common during the research to hear the informants reduce

their role to the individual level and de-emphasize the larger context of the

newsroom.

Each newscast is a puzzle. Similar to how news workers see individuals

as cogs in the newsroom, they see newscasts as puzzles. Marie learned on the

job that each newscast is a puzzle:

You didn't really learn, you know, how to put, how to fit everything

together, how to make a puzzle one big finished product, you just kind of

learned, well this is, this is the definition, this is the job description. It

wasn't really this is how you do it.

During afternoon story meetings, the producers outline each story that will appear in their newscasts. During one such meeting, the five o'clock producer overviewed each story and the corresponding elements in the newscast. The Assignment Editor and web master mentioned an international story that was not included in the show. The producer said she had not checked the international wires and had not seen it. She said she could add it but asked where it would it fit into her show. Don gave a suggestion of where to put it. The News Director questioned the placement of a different story. The producer said she could move it but then explained why it was there. She hung around for several minutes after this conversation fizzled – an unusual behavior – and asked again a few minutes later where the two stories in question would fit into the newscast.

Producers often refer to the story selection and order for the newscast as "stacking." Stacking is a form of conceptualizing the newscast as a puzzle. Producers initially choose, and then receive supervisors' approval, on which stories go in what order. During one newscast, Marie expressed major irritation over the local newspaper that cancelled its on-air story at the last minute (as the local newspaper often assigned one of their reporters to appear live on air to preview a story that would appear in the next day's paper). This left the newscast with a large time hole with just a few minutes before the start of the newscast. This caused changes to the show and uncertainty on whether the chosen replacement story had received approval from the supervisors. Ann, co-anchoring that newscast, questioned Marie on some of the stories in the

newscast. "One more complaint about how the 6:30 is stacked and my head is going to explode," Marie said.

The role of teamwork in the success of the work products. Like many professions, teamwork is critical to the success of television news. Being a team player can be equated with the metamorphosis stage of Cheney's et al. (2004) symbolist perspective of socialization, where the new member learns and adapts to the organization's expectations. John spoke of the importance of teamwork to a journalist's success:

> Contributing on a news level is paramount. But the other thing is being a team player. Developing the relationships with your co-workers and to me, the best way to do that is to be constructive. To be willing to help, willing to work, to take direction, to be friendly. I think it's like many other work places. To be someone who shows from their approach that they are willing to be a contributing member and they are a team player and they want the operation to succeed, to have consideration for your co-workers and your managers.

> Effective teamwork is often used to better the final product, the newscasts. Observing the hours leading up to the five o'clock newscast one day, the brand-new five o'clock producer asked Don to write his teases (teases are enticing previews of full stories to appear later in the newscast). Don hemmed for a while but then appeared to agree to the task. At 3:40 p.m., the new producer came over and said he was running behind. Would one of the anchors do him a favor and write a bit of the lead story? The anchor said he would not mind at all. The

producer started to walk away and then added, "If you could write the cold open, too," and co-anchor said okay. A few minutes later, the new producer came over and thanked the co-anchor for writing the lead and cold open. The co-anchor said, "No problem, anytime."

As teamwork is often used to improve the final product, it stands to reason the absence of teamwork can have a detrimental effect. During one newscast, the five o'clock producer asked the director why a certain font was not taken. Her palms were turned up and her voice was clearly irritated. The director began to respond slowly, but the producer cut him off and said loudly, "I'm *asking* you how long they need to be on camera – 30 seconds?" The director started to respond and she cut him off again, "How long! I'm just asking. Calm down! I'm *asking* you. I don't care what happened; I want to know for the future." He started to respond again only to have her cut him off. He mumbled his final answer, and the producer mimicked his answer in a snippy voice. The person running the audio was trying to mediate and get them to move past it because they were only in the beginning of the A block. The audio person was ignored. The rest of the show had some preventable mistakes, likely because the director and producer were so agitated. After the show, the producer re-told the argument to two other producers in the newsroom, only she changed some minor details of the exchange. Her version of events included the director yelling at her but omitted her yelling at him. A couple days after this incident, this producer switched positions in the newsroom. She no longer had to work with this director.

One complication to the ability to be a team player is the "revolving door syndrome" in newsrooms. News workers rarely stay for more than a few years at a time, sometimes much less, and it can be hard to build camaraderie and feel a sense of stability on the team. Furthermore, vacation days, sick days, furloughs and changing schedules caused the teams to be in constant flux.

Teamwork can be related back to the metaphor of "cog" in an earlier section. The informants discussed their role as individual practitioners to the larger system of a newsroom. In that metaphor, the informants framed the discussion as individual versus institutional. In addressing the idea of teamwork, the practitioners must find ways to navigate their role responsibilities by relying on each other. Teamwork caused the individuals to create linkages to their co-workers in order to benefit the larger organization.

Socialized news workers contribute to the decision-making process. Being a full-fledged member of an organization can mean different things in different industries. For television journalists, it means being a part of the decision-making process. This aligns with Cheney's et al. (2004) third stage of metamorphosis, when the newcomer creatively finds ways to individualize and shape her role in the work setting. The decision-making process is quite visible during the story meetings, which take place twice a day at many news stations, including the station under study. Decisions also take place at the individual level as journalists write stories, decide which sound bites to use, cover breaking news, and many other times. Feeling competent to make those types of decisions is psychologically significant to journalists, as expressed by Don:

You are part of the decision-making process, and not necessarily that your

ideas are always chosen, but you are taking an active role in how the

news is covered during the day. They ask for your opinion whether or not

what you think is right happens and the way you feel valued is when

someone says, 'oh, well good job.'

It was evident during the story meetings which members of the newsroom felt like

they were part of the decision-making process, as they were the ones who

continually spoke up and offered ideas or dissent. It was most often the news

workers who had been a part of the station for at least a few months. On

Wednesday afternoons, staff members would hold their weekend planning

meeting. The Assignment Editor turned to Jeff, who was very new to the station

at this point, and asked him if there was anything he'd like to see in his weekend

show. Jeff pitched an idea, but the News Director vehemently opposed it. The

News Director said they were absolutely not going to cover it. The Assignment

Editor asked why, and the News Director said the story was not true. He then

pitched his own idea, and discussion followed on how it could be covered. The

Assignment Editor and Don said they liked the idea. Don, the News Director, and

the Assignment Editor brainstormed on that idea and other stories to cover. Jeff

was very quiet, and hardly said a word after he pitched his idea. Don and the

Assignment Editor made final choices on which stories would be covered during

the weekend.

Being part of the decision-making process calls attention once again to the

individual versus institutional distinction. The journalists worked together to make

decisions that affect their work product and process. The journalists who did not contribute to the decision-making process may have been questioning their roles in it, such as seemed to be the case for Jeff. Jeff was either unable or unwilling to contribute regularly to the decisions, both during story meetings and the rest of the work day. Journalists who do not contribute at the individual level do not fulfill the role expectations at the institutional level.

It should be noted that even though an experienced news worker may contribute to the decision-making process, that worker may not feel valuable to the organization. During an afternoon story meeting, the Assignment Editor, a veteran journalist, pitched several story ideas. She said they would offer good natural sound and offered cultural and religious diversity for the upcoming holiday season. The News Director responded flatly, "They all suck." The Assignment Editor replied, "Should I bother with my ideas? Because I'm relentless in my optimism, I cannot be dissuaded." She was half-laughing as she said this, so her tone was light, but there was an underlying current of frustration. A few weeks later, the Assignment Editor quit.

Producers' concerns shifted from content to technical, especially time. Another convention in the newsroom is the strict orientation to time. All journalists live and breathe by deadlines and race against the clock to meet these deadlines. Television journalists have very tight deadlines, as they have multiple newscasts per day. Producers must time their shows down to the second, as they have exact times to start and end a newscast. Prior to the newscast, during the planning and writing phases, producers concern

themselves with the content of their newscasts. They decide what stories to cover and how. They choose sound bites and video. They write scripts and order graphics. As soon as the producers enter the control room – typically five to ten minutes prior to the start of a newscast – their concern shifts to timing and technical aspects. The planning for the show is complete, unless there is breaking news. The language of the producers reflects this concern: they use terms such as "over" or "under" to denote whether they are "heavy" on content or "light" on content, respectively. If a producer learns of changes in time while in the control room, that can create a "hole" in their newscast or give them much-needed time back.

The five o'clock producer communicated disapproval over last-minute changes in timing in expressive ways. One evening, John was live in the field, interviewing a local official. The producer told John twice to wrap. "Oh my god! Shut this guy up! *Shut him up*!" She shouted in John's IFB. The live interviewee finally finished and the producer said, "Holy crap, [John]. Thank you very much. Goddddddddd." A second later, to no one in particular, she said, "Oh my god, we're almost a freakin' minute heavy." She dropped two stories as she classified them as "old" to make up the time.

Conventions of news workers. The conventions or customs of news workers can be another area of ambiguity for novices. The categories in this section refer to how practitioners talk and what it may mean in terms of their work processes. By bringing these categories to light, novices may be able to have a sense of belonging more quickly to the organization.

Understanding the talk of news workers. Part of understanding a newsroom means appreciating the social conventions of how news workers talk. Orr (1996) found that it is common for employees to need to learn the conventions of talk in any organization. TV journalists speak in quick bursts, sometimes without a clear beginning or end. Anyone is welcome to join in; conversations are not exclusive to those who initiated them. Their conversation is often humorous and social during slow or smooth times of the day. During hectic times of the day, the conversations become serious, even frantic, and functional in nature. Niceties and pleasantries are rare during hectic times. Newsrooms typically become hectic about 45 minutes prior to a newscast and during developing and breaking news. Slow or smooth times of the day usually occur at the beginning of a shift, mid-day, or immediately after a newscast.

It is not rude to cut off a conversation to answer a question from someone else or to take a phone call. It is socially permissible to interrupt a conversation to ask a question related to the newscast. It is also permissible to walk away from a conversation to deal with a work-related issue. News workers do not bother with saying things like "talk to you soon" or "see you later" or "excuse me for a moment" to end or suspend a conversation. If a conversation is interrupted by a question or phone call, the conversation is sometimes picked up later, without any preamble. Those in the conversation just pick up the conversation as though there was no interruption, giving a very fluid feel to conversations.

The language choices of news workers might surprise some people who work in other professional settings. It is acceptable for news workers to use

insulting terms to refer to people in the news, especially public officials. As previously mentioned, a reporter referred to a local official as a "douche bag," and the News Director referred a different local politician as a "slimy bastard." It is acceptable for all news workers to swear, particularly if things are going wrong on air or could potentially go wrong. Indeed, a non-news worker would know when something is going wrong on air just by listening for the swear words of the crew in the control room.

Making fun of people in the news was common*.* Humor can be used to soften a reproach over a mistake, and it can be used as a way to reconcile their personal attitudes about the news stories. It may also be a much-needed tension reliever for some. Don had a daily habit of standing just outside his office door in a busy part of the newsroom and announcing the "fun" or "wacky" or "stupid people" story of the day. The stories can be heard by everyone, but it is usually the most senior members of the newsroom who respond, such as the anchors, veteran reporters, and the News Director. The senior members typically laughed at the stories and often added to the humorous aspects of them.

During a newscast one evening, Marie told everyone to brace for the next round of stories. When they were read – and one was indeed a bit shocking as it discussed the problem of horses getting venereal diseases – the crew in the control room laughed loudly. Marie said, "I can't make this shit up!" The anchors joked about it during the next commercial break. One of the anchors said he had trouble not breaking up while reading it on air.

News workers in a station were described as a family. Television journalists sometimes refer to their co-workers as family. This could be because they often work on holidays, weekends, and nights, when other people usually go home to their families. Also, the high stress levels at work can create a sense of bonding with each other. Ann described her perspective on the time it takes to feel like part of the family:

> Everything takes time, to get to be part of the family, if you will. Sometimes, I think of my-my last station I was at, I think of that because I was there almost five years. It became a pretty close-knit family. Sometimes it can take longer to get into that family, if you will, but it's so situational. It depends on the newsroom's kind of dynamic and the make-up of the newsroom and who's there and the age (laughs)… it comes with time, it comes with experience, what you bring to the table, um, you know, how long you've been in the business, what your background is, to what kind of elements you bring to that family.

This psychological sense of belonging enlarges Morrison's (2002) acknowledgment of friendship networks as an indispensable part of socialization. Socialization happens when newcomers interact with insiders and develop relationships with them, as stated by the informants in this study when describing co-workers as "family." The informants were somewhat ambivalent about the members of their "family." On one hand, they craved a psychological sense of belonging to their co-workers. On the other hand, they competed for the same limited amount of internal promotions, creating division among certain workers.

Furthermore, the informants were not as protective of each other when faced

with internal conflict. Their family bond did not appear as strong when expected

practices and behaviors were breached. For example, during one newscast, Jeff

placed updated scripts into the wrong bin for the director. The director said

something to Marie, who was the producer for that newscast. These same scripts

caused the anchor to make a face and cold read nonsensical information. Marie

did not protect Jeff's actions in any way. Rather, she acknowledged them and

added dissatisfied commentary. The teamwork between the workers on this

newscast should have resulted in a strong final product, but it did not.

Additional Interviews Support the Findings

In order to account for any station-specific peculiarities, three additional

interviews were conducted of practicing TV journalists. As each of the three

interviewees were experienced news workers and had worked in at least two

different stations each, they were able to reflect in depth on their own learning

curves. When asked about the learning curve and the practices of a newsroom,

they were able to see how each new station and each new position contained its

own socialization phase. One practitioner illustrated the elements of the learning

curve plus the practices of a newsroom in the form of advice to students:

> If you really want to work in this business, don't be afraid to work really,
>
> really hard. Don't say, 'I don't want to move to Yakama, WA because I
>
> don't know anyone.' Move to Yakama. Know what it's like to lug your own
>
> camera so that when you're setting up, you know the dynamics that go
>
> into it. Start at a crappy station, making $6-7 per hour and start at the

bottom. Don't expect to have things handed to you. People will respect

you for knowing what it's like to lug your own camera, shoot your own

stand-up.

The advice above is instructive in that there is value to the demands of the

industry, especially for novice journalists as they learn the industry from the

ground up. While students and novice journalists may express initial dismay at

having to shoot their own stand-ups, a veteran reporter is able to reflect on the

merit in working hard.

Summary

In order to answer the research question regarding the implications for

journalism-related education, the informants described their lessons from the

field. Specifically, they described the elements in the learning curve and the

practices and conventions of the newsroom. By clarifying the learning curve,

novices may have a better idea what to expect in the early stages of their

careers. Similarly, the practices and conventions of the newsroom are instructive.

Educators can find ways to enhance their teaching by introducing students to the

tacit practices and conventions of the industry. By doing so, interns and new

graduates may be better equipped for the transition points in the socialization

phases of news work.

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter described the informants, the news station, and the detailed

findings of the study. Categories emerged from the analysis and were offered as

a means to describe the purposes of television news, the on-the-job successes

and failures, the role of prior education, and the implications for journalism education. Each research question was addressed separately. Data were presented in the words of the informants.

The conclusions and discussion related to the analysis of the data is offered in Chapter 5. A revised theoretical framework is presented for the context of a TV newsroom. Additional discussion on what success and failure constitute in the industry is offered. Suggestions for future research and promising practices for journalism-related education are discussed. Chapter 5 also describes the unique status of the journalism industry during the research phase of this study. The status of the industry directly affected this study and highlights the need for additional discussion of the core purposes of news.

Chapter V

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to learn about the perceptions of success and failure and the role of prior education for practicing television journalists in order to understand any disjuncture between the journalism industry and journalism-related education. The findings of this study should help educators understand the nature of on-the-job success and failure more completely, as

articulated by working television journalists. In turn, educators can use that knowledge to develop educational strategies that will better prepare students for entry into the profession. From this, students may learn how to deal with the demands of the industry.

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, the findings of the research, as detailed in Chapter 4, will be examined through the lens of the organizational socialization framework. The phases and outcomes of Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) organizational socialization model will be explored. As additional outcomes emerged during the study, a revised theoretical framework will be presented. This chapter will also present more conceptual detail about what success and failure mean to television journalists. In doing so, more insights are provided on specific dimensions of organizational socialization tactics. This will feed into a discussion on designing more effective strategies for journalism-related education. This chapter examines the issues that surround this discussion, such as images of professionalism in journalism, perceptions of objectivity, the effect of market interests on a socially-responsible press, individual and organizational factors, and the impact of the economic recession on this study. The chapter ends with ideas for future research.

Statement of the Problem

Research (Bales, 1992; Becker et al., 1987; Bullard & McLeary, 1994; Dennis, 1990; Dickson & Brandon, 2000; Dickson, 1996; Lindley, 1988; Medsger, 1996; Porter, 2004) consistently showed a discrepancy between what is being

taught in journalism-related education and what hiring managers in newsrooms say needs to be taught to future journalists. This suggests that journalism educators need to look at successful practices and behaviors in the industry in order to bridge the divide or risk further criticism and ultimately obsolescence.

Overview of the Methods

The informants for this study were drawn from one television news station in a medium-sized city in the Midwest. All seven informants worked at this station. Three additional practicing television journalists, who worked at other stations, were interviewed to cross-check statements made by the informants. Due to the nature of the qualitative design and limitations of access, purposive sampling was used to identify informants. Informants were selected on the basis of their position, amount of professional experience, ability to add to the data, and willingness to participate in the study. Depth interviews and observations were used. Several ideas and themes emerged during the data analysis. The theoretical framework of organizational socialization (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979) was used to focus the analysis. An ethnographic approach advanced the research questions in light of the theoretical perspective by focusing on the socio-cultural and individual processes that lead to success or failure in broadcast journalism. Grounded theory was used as a method of analysis, as it allows theories to be developed from the data (Bernard, 2002; Miller & Salkind, 2002).

Findings

As the goal of journalism education is socialization to the profession, and considering that news workers learn the standards of socialization on the job (Becker et al., 1987), the theoretical framework selected for this study was organizational socialization. The organizational socialization model developed by Van Maanen and Schein in 1979 was used as the primary theoretical framework. This model includes the following sequential phases: anticipatory, encounter, and change and acquisition. The result of this three-phase process is a socialized insider who possesses both the behavioral and affective outcomes of the job. According to the model, the behavioral outcomes include: (a) performs role assignment; (b) remains with organization; and (c) cooperates or innovates. The affective outcomes include: (a) generally satisfied; (b) internally motivated; and (c) high job involvement. See Chapter 2, p. 59 for a fuller description of the phases and outcomes.

Expected Outcomes

The final strategy of grounded theory is to integrate the categories into "a theoretical framework that specifies causes, conditions, and consequences of the studied process" (Charmaz, 2002, p. 677). Accordingly, a revised theoretical framework of organizational socialization is offered in this chapter. In order to propose the revised framework, the existing framework is examined first. In this study, two of the three behavioral outcomes were found to be reflected in the existing theory: (a) performing the role assignment and (c) cooperates or innovates. The three affective outcomes in Van Maanen and Schein's (1979)

model were found: (a) generally satisfied; (b) internally motivated; and (c) high job involvement.

Performing the Role Assignment *Faster*. While the anticipated outcome of performing the role assignment was corroborated, this study showed that for television journalists, successful socialization meant performing the role *faster.* The informants revealed that being socialized meant "working faster." It was not enough to merely learn the role expectations; a television journalist must perform quickly and meet the intense deadlines. Brand-new journalists believed that it was enough to complete the role obligations. Journalists with some experience, however, believed that tasks needed to be completed quickly in order to be deemed successful. At times, they relied on short-cuts to work faster. The informants felt this socialization of role assignment and becoming familiar with the elements of the learning curve took about a month.

Cooperates or Innovates. The outcome of cooperates or innovates was substantiated with the findings of this study. To the informants, cooperation was interpreted as being a team player. The notion of innovates can be seen in aspects of their conceptions of success or "good work" journalism, most notably when the informants spoke of industry awards as a form of recognition for ground-breaking work.

Generally Satisfied. The outcome of generally satisfied was confirmed with three repeating ideas: morale will be reflected in the work you do; newsrooms are described as a family; and having an impact as a professional. These repeating ideas evoke a worker's sense of general satisfaction.

Morale is an essential influence affecting successful or "good work" by television journalists and, therefore, their general sense of satisfaction. The informants agreed that morale will be reflected in their work. The layoffs and firings led to a decreased morale at the station. Other influences affecting successful work include a lack of resources, intense deadlines, and ambiguity over a station's values. However, these influences did not seem to affect the informants as heavily as morale. The lack of resources caused a lack of quality, according to the informants, but they found creative approaches to compensate for the lack of resources. The informants were ambivalent over the deadlines: on one hand, they created problems and forced short-cuts; on the other hand, they thrived on the adrenaline and fast-paced environment. The ambiguity over the station's values was another influence, yet informants were able to draw on their educational training in order to identify the underlying purposes of their newsroom.

Journalists rely on teamwork to accomplish their daily tasks. As such, fluctuations in morale may have a larger impact on news workers than workers in self-directed positions. Workers in team-based organizations may be more sensitive to positive and negative consequences resulting from changes to their co-workers' status. Consequences for their co-workers directly affect them with increased workloads and concerns over their own job security. The morale for self-directed workers may not be as heavily influenced by layoffs, firings, and other changes, as they may be somewhat more protected from consequences.

Being part of any family implies a sense of psychological belonging. The informants in this study used the term family with a positive connotation. They wanted to be more than workers; they wanted to feel a sense of belonging to the newsroom. The informants also described having an impact as a professional in a positive light. They saw praise for their work as a sign of a positive contribution to the profession.

Internally Motivated. The outcome of internally motivated was confirmed with the repeating ideas of work ethic and inner drive/personal motivation. Informants talked of "living and breathing news" and "loving" what they do. Most of the informants were initially drawn to the field for internal reasons, such as being "news junkies." Passion for news may also compensate for some of the drawbacks to TV news: low pay, long hours, and high stress levels.

High Job Involvement. High job involvement was confirmed with the theme of understanding the conventions and practices of the newsroom. There are many supporting elements comprising this outcome: understanding how an individual journalist fits as a cog in the newsroom, a newscast is a puzzle, and the importance of paying dues as an entry-level journalist. The informants also stated it was important to be a part of the decision-making process in the newsroom and understand the talk of news workers. The producers' concerns shift from content to technical during a newscast, verbal announcements are best during hectic times, and making fun of people in the news is a way to relieve tension and reconcile personal beliefs about the people covered in the news. These elements are often implicit and obscure to the novice journalist. The more

experienced members of a newsroom socialize the newcomers into the

profession by example. These elements are outside formal training. Rather,

novice journalists tend to learn these on the job and over time.

Outcome Partially Reflected in the Existing Theory

The behavioral outcome of (b) remains with organization was partially

reflected in the existing theory. To account for the many tiers and levels of

success described by the informants, a modified outcome was found: remains

with organization *for terms of their contracts.* A consistent finding of success for

the informants was the notion that journalists should be continually moving

forward. Yet, journalists do not want to break their contracts with the station.

They want to stay for the length of their contracts unless an opportunity should

arise in a larger market. It is common for anchors, reporters, and producers to

sign contracts with the hiring stations at the beginning of their employment. The

contracts typically keep an employee for one, two, or three years with the option

to renew.

Additional Outcomes

An additional behavioral outcome of *ability to move up in position and

market* emerged during this study. This is related to the previously-mentioned

outcome of remains with organization for terms of the contract. The informants

believed that success could be found in all tiers and levels of their careers.

Achieving success at certain levels creates the ability to move up in position with

internal promotions and eventually external market jumps. Television journalists

do not have the same sense of loyalty to their station as workers in other types of

occupations may have to their organizations. The informants referred to small markets and entry-level positions as paying their dues to the industry.

One additional affective outcome is needed to more fully describe the socialization process for TV journalists: *navigate ambiguity.* The informants identified many forms of ambiguity during this study, such as not understanding the values of their station, figuring out their role as a cog in the station, learning that each newscast is a puzzle, trying to recognize ethical dilemmas in stories, lacking formal training; having a different eye than their viewers, which creates subjectivity in the perceptions of their final product; and determining when tenacity is warranted and when it crosses over into stubbornness. All of these were identified in terms of ambiguity involved in their work. The informants at each of the three levels – veterans, experienced but new to the station, and novices – were able to recognize these ambiguities as an important part of their on-the-job organizational socialization.

Revised Theoretical Framework of Organizational Socialization

Dimensions have been added to an already strong organizational socialization framework presented by Van Maanen and Schein (1979). These dimensions strengthen the organizational socialization framework for the context of television newsrooms. The framework can show where the particular transition points of socialization can be expected to occur, which is especially helpful to novice journalists. The socialization process, according to the revised framework, is also helpful for academics. Specifically, it can create more realistic expectations in the anticipatory phase, which occurs during educational training.

In the original framework, Van Maanen and Schein (1979) presented the following behavioral outcomes: a) performs role assignment; b) remains with the organization; and c) cooperates or innovates. Based on this study, the behavioral outcomes that can be modified or added to Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) model include: performs role assignment *faster*; remains with the organization *for the terms of their contracts*; and is *able to move up in market and position.*

The affective outcomes in the original framework are as follows: a) generally satisfied; b) internally motivated; and c) high job involvement. These three outcomes were reflected in the data analysis findings. The affective outcome that has been added to Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) model is *navigate ambiguity*. The elements of ambiguity expressed by the informants include: not understanding the values of the station; creating the puzzle that is a newscast; trying to determine what the individual journalist's role is as a cog in the newsroom; recognizing ethical dilemmas; lacking of training for the demands of the job; determining the difference between being tenacious and stubborn; and understanding how journalists will have a "different eye" than their viewers. The behavioral and affective outcomes stated in Figure 5 apply to all three groups of news professionals (novices, new to the station but experienced, and veterans). For journalists with previous experience at a different TV station, the second phase of encounter will be shorter in duration than for novices. This is due to some commonality of norms among all news workers, such as being able to take criticism and learning from mistakes. Another norm is understanding the talk of

news workers, which is described in Chapter 4. The revised framework is

depicted in Figure 5.
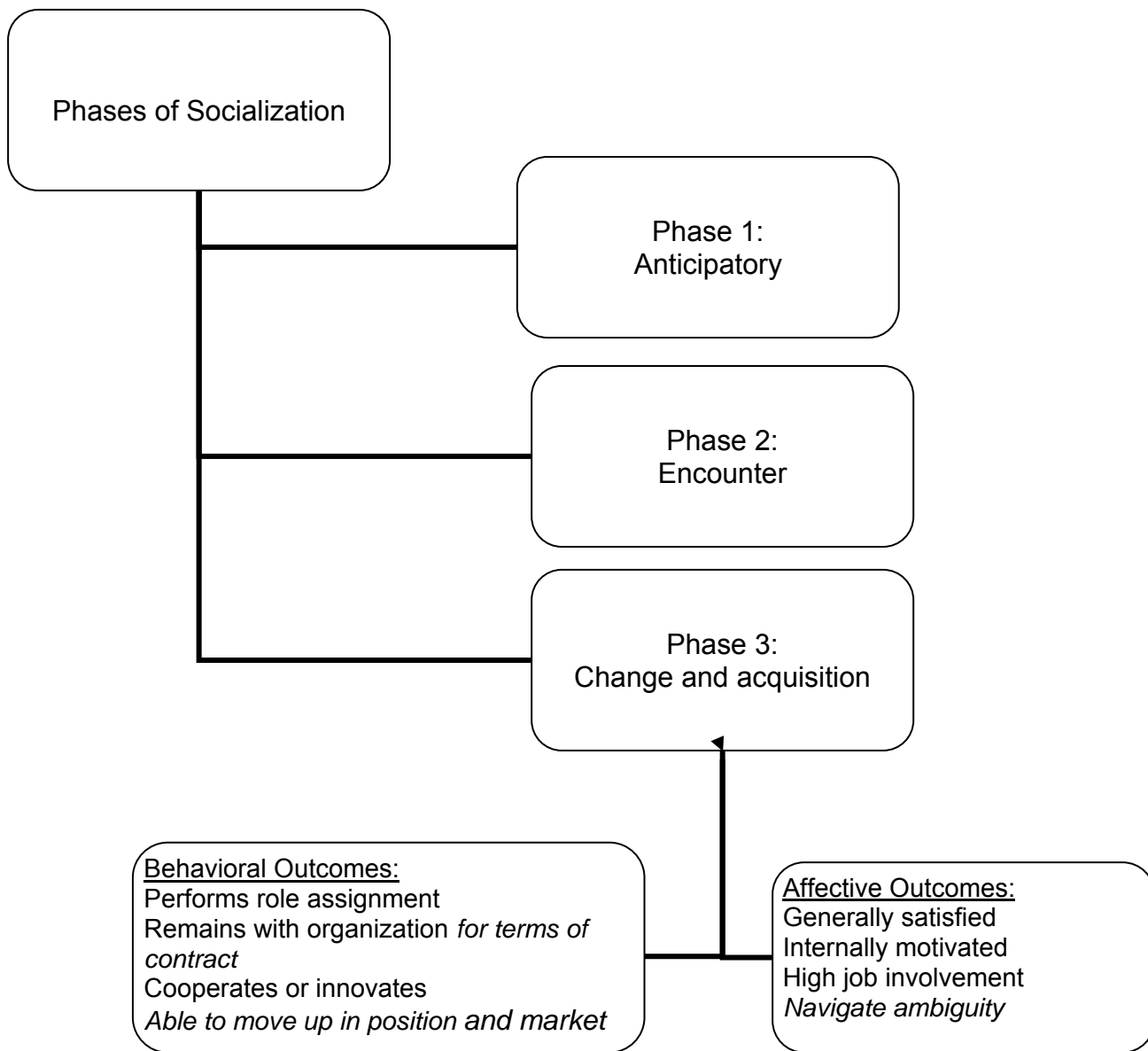
Figure 5. Revised Theoretical Framework of Organizational Socialization. Note:

Adapted from Van Maanen & Schein's (1979) Organizational Socialization

Model.

The Relationship between the Revised Framework and the Expectations of Educational Training

As stated throughout this paper, critics of journalism education argued that graduates of journalism-related programs are not prepared sufficiently for success in the field (Bales, 1992; Becker et al., 1987; Bullard & McLeary, 1994; Dennis, 1990; Dickson & Brandon, 2000; Dickson, 1996; Lindley, 1988; Medsger, 1996; Porter, 2004). The critics suggested that journalism educators examine effective practices of successful journalists in order to bridge the divide between education and practice. This research project aimed to accomplish this. The revised theoretical framework helps to connect the results of this study with realistic expectations of journalism-related education.

The three phases of organizational socialization include anticipatory, encounter, and change and acquisition. It is not reasonable for journalism-related education to satisfy the expectations of the final phase, change and acquisition. There are too many unique features of individual newsrooms to account for novices to be fully socialized to this phase prior to entry into the field. However, the first and second phases of anticipatory and encounter may be shortened by applying the findings of this study. In particular, this study has clarified realistic expectations of the profession. It has made explicit some previously tacit practices and conventions of a newsroom. With this increased understanding present, educators may be able to introduce and expose students to the more authentic expectations that they might be confronted with in the workforce. Additionally, educators can sensitize students to the transition points in the socialization phases, thus shortening the phases with the awareness of them.

The novices may experiences less "reality shock" or surprise at the expectations of the industry if they are armed with knowledge about transition points.

The Relationship between the Revised Framework and the Nature of Success

The behavioral outcomes in the revised model may help to explain why three news workers at the station were not considered successful by their bosses and/or co-workers. During the research phase, one informant and another newsroom worker were fired, both for performance-based reasons. The informant, Don, was given the reason of "bad news judgment" for being fired. He used his news judgment to cover a story in a certain way, resulting in a lack of resources for another story. His boss did not agree with this decision. The person in charge of this firing decision may have perceived Don as not cooperating with the expectations of his decision-making position, which constitutes two behavioral outcomes: cooperates and performs role assignment. Likewise, the other news worker fired during this study was perhaps perceived as not cooperating repeatedly with the expectations of her role assignment. This news worker used her news judgment to disregard story ideas on several occasions, even when the story ideas were assigned to her.

Another informant quit suddenly. Jeff informed his supervisor that this business just was not for him. He was a novice journalist and had been working at the station, and in the industry, for only a few months. During his interviews with me, he expressed confidence in his abilities and a positive attitude toward the learning curve. Yet, his co-workers were quick to identify him as someone

who struggled with performing the role assignment, much less performing it quickly. Additionally, observations revealed that he did not conform to the conventions of conversations, such as making fun of people in the news and swearing during hectic moments.

These three examples are intriguing in that they demonstrate a link between socialization and conceptions of success. Based on the literature (Ashkanasy et al., 2000; Boice, 1992; Hearne, 1991), the revised theoretical model and the examples from this study, it is reasonable to conclude that the concept of success is intertwined with the socialization process and desired outcomes. Success in journalism may be the point where a person is fully socialized. If that news worker is able to complete all three phases and demonstrate the desired behavioral and affective outcomes, the news worker is likely to be considered a success in the business. Naturally, perceptions are an important lens to judge in whether a worker has been socialized. For example, a news worker may perceive himself as performing a role assignment quickly, while his supervisor may not agree. The news worker may not understand his full role assignment yet or how to accomplish it quickly. The newcomer may be oblivious to the expectations of supervisors and more experienced co-workers, as much of the socialization process is obscure and ambiguous.

What is Success?

Success is an imprecise term for TV journalists. As the literature review indicated, there is no one common definition for it. This study begins to focus the concept of success for TV journalists, based on the perceptions of practicing TV

news workers. The informants in this study identified the following elements: success is in all tiers and levels; success is relative to a journalist's age; success is never a finale; someone who is continually moving forward, working forward, is successful; being factually correct is important; having an impact as a professional; and preventing avoidable on-air mistakes. As discussed in the previous section and literature review, success may also be ascribed following a demonstration of the desired outcomes of the socialization process. The nature of success in any profession is dependent upon successful socialization into the organization (Ashkanasy et al., 2000; Boice, 1992; Hearne, 1991).

Success and Ethical Behavior and Practices

Gardner et al. (2001) conceptualized success as "good work" comprised of high-quality products that reflect ethical behavior and practices. Ethics, however, can be hindered by market interests. As a result, market interests can undermine the purpose of journalism. This study did not target ethical behaviors and practices of the informants, yet many of them introduced ethical issues during interviews and observations. As Gardner et al. (2001) proposed, good work in journalism is intertwined with ethically sound behaviors and practices. Paradoxically, the informants in this study expressed pride in socially-responsible products but jokingly acknowledged when their work did not meet that standard. There seemed to be a passive resignation that they would not be able to meet the "good work" standard every day at the station. They felt rewarded during the occasional times they were able to fulfill their expressed purpose as journalists. Some talked about opportunities to pursue more socially

responsible stories once they moved up in position and market. They felt they

had to pay their dues to the industry first by working in small markets with fewer

opportunities.

Differences among Positions Sought

It should be noted that specific qualities that lead to success are

somewhat relative to the position a worker seeks. The variety in news worker

positions – anchors, reporters, and producers as the most commonly sought –

create differences in specific signs of success. For example, an anchor must be

smooth and natural on air, while a producer would not need to be concerned with

on-air delivery. However, the informants discussed some desired characteristics

of success are universal for news workers, such as work ethic and passion.

Role of Social Supports

Another theory of success suggested that workers are successful in an

organization if they have social supports (Boice, 1992; Ashkanasy et al., 2000).

Based on the findings of this study and the literature (Feldman, 1980; Fisher,

1985), it may work both ways. Workers may develop social supports, such as

friendship and professional networks, *after* they have gained some level of

perceived success from co-workers. Social supports may follow success as

much as it precedes success. If a worker is able to offer value to an organization,

he will likely gain respect from his peers. In effect, a worker must earn social

support by demonstrating appropriate role behaviors and attitudes. If those

behaviors and attitudes are not perceived by co-workers, he may not develop

social supports. By way of example, one of the informants, Jeff, was not able to

build social supports easily. He was only observed as being sociable with one other news worker at the station. He rarely contributed to the decision-making process during the news day, even when directly asked, and was identified by others as struggling to fulfill his responsibilities. It is possible he was not able to build social supports easily because of deficiencies in role obligations. In this theory, success and social supports have a symbiotic relationship in which they influence each other. Success is not the linear process suggested by Boice (1992) and Askhanasy et al. (2000). A worker's success may result in social supports as well as cultivate them.

Levels of Success

Based on the informants' conception of success occurring at all levels and tiers, it can be concluded that the industry is structured on four primary levels: micro, station, market, and career.

The micro level. The micro level consists of each individual newscast for producers and anchors. For reporters and sometimes anchors, the micro level consists of story packages. The micro level consists of the day-to-day activities of a newsroom and therefore receives heightened scrutiny from the news workers. Producers strive for what they referred to as "clean show" as an indicator of success at the micro level. Clean show means a newscast is free of technical and content errors. News workers sometimes take some latitude in determining a "clean show."

The station level. The station level is somewhat relative to the personal goals of individual practitioners. It includes but is not limited to internal

promotions to higher positions within the station and specific positions at the station, as the informants described. Anchors felt successful if they were promoted or hired for higher-rated newscasts in the evening. Reporters felt successful when they were promoted to an anchor position, even if only for a couple days per week. Producers felt successful when promoted to weekdays instead of weekend or morning shifts.

The market level. At the market level, news workers consider how they compare to other stations in the same market. This was evidenced often during observational sessions as they speculated on the stories to be covered by the competing stations, whether the reporters landed the scoop and exclusive interviews, and respect from outsiders. Market success for television journalists can be considered relative to their age and prior experience in the industry. It was common for informants to mention their age in relation to their position and the station's market.

The career level. At the career level, news workers consider success to be earning a position in a large market or a network, achieving their individual and professional goals, and outside recognition for their work. Outside recognition may be an industry award or general consensus of having a respectable reputation as a journalist.

See Table 5 for a visual representation of the four primary levels.

Table 5

Four Levels of Success and Descriptions for TV Journalists

Level	Description
Career	Advancement over time; achieving personal and professional goals
Market	Station success compared to competing stations in the same market; the market in relation to a journalist's age
Station	Internal promotions; position at the station and "where you are in the newscast"
Micro	Each newscast or package or personal stake in the day's tasks

Age and levels of success. If success comes at all levels, it is unlikely that novices will understand the many levels unless they have been socialized to it via training or during conversations with experienced members. Age was used as a signpost for early career accomplishments of the informants. Age was de-emphasized as a benchmark during later stages of their careers. The experienced members are able to reflect on the connection between age and the levels of success because of their personal experiences.

The Ripple Effect of Mistakes or Changes at the Micro Level

Informants discussed and observations confirmed the ripple or "train wreck" effect during newscasts. The "train wreck effect" occurs when the workers involved in a newscast are not able to recover from a mistake or change at the

last moment. Not being able to recover from the change or prevent an on-air

mistake is considered failure at the micro level. If they are able to recover from

the change or mistake, it is success at the micro level. By way of example, a live

shot dying on air could cause the director to lose his place in the newscast. Then,

the camera operator would not know which camera to go to next, causing the

wrong camera shot to air. The anchors would not know which story to read,

causing confusion on story order. See Figure 6 for an illustration.
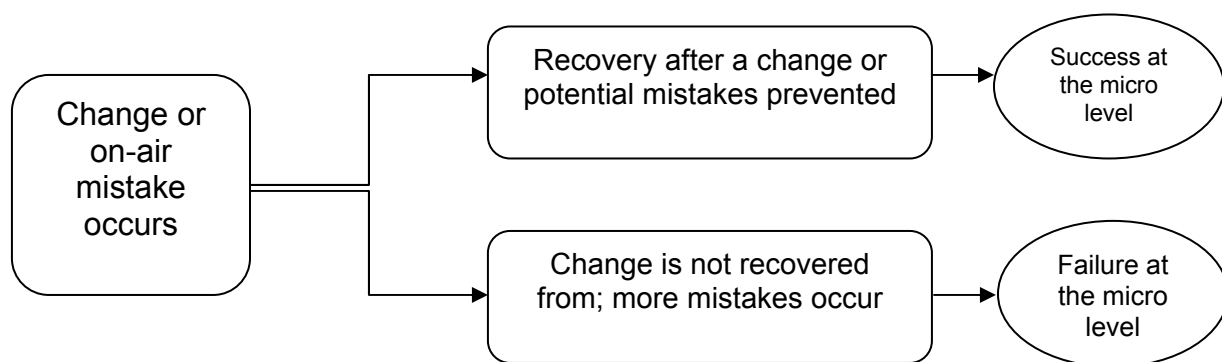
Figure 6. The Cause-Effect Results of Success or Failure at the Micro Level

Heightened Sense of Upward Movement

Most careers have a sense of the ladder of success. Organizations are

typically arranged in a hierarchal power structure to foster this sense of ladder-

oriented success. Ritzer and Walczak (1972) termed this "upward movement."

Yet, TV journalists seem to have a heightened sense of upward movement in

their industry. It was commonplace during the research phase of this project and

during my professional experience in TV news to hear comments suggesting the

workers considered the ladder of success on an everyday basis. Commonplace comments were along the veins of "This isn't an audition-tape day," "We're not getting an Emmy for this," and "We're the only station to have this; it's an exclusive." News workers were quick to point out to each other whether a package or newscast would be good enough for some level of success, including the micro, station, market, and career. At other times, the informants pointed out the deficiencies in the products at all levels: micro, station, market, and career. The informants in the study spoke of their career aspirations most openly with their social supports during informal conversations at the station and with me during private interviews. In these contexts, they often spoke of the next phase of their career. The informants discussed their personal ladder of success, which usually included two or three years at the station under investigation as a "stepping stone" for their career. Their current position at the station was not enough, either. They intended to move up in position at the station as well. With the exception of one informant, they planned for this upward movement. They spoke of how their current position was a form of preparation for their future position.

What is Failure?

Failure, like success, is difficult to isolate. The informants were able to discuss failure in relation to what is lacking in a successful news worker rather than an explicit description of what it is. The terms mistakes and errors were more easily used than failure. The informants identified the following: being factually incorrect or biased; failing to accomplish the core purposes of

journalism; being stubborn; and failing to find the story when assigned to do so. Failure may also be the lack of demonstrating behavioral and affective socialization outcomes to supervisors and co-workers.

Of particular importance to this study is the second element in this list, failure is not accomplishing the core purposes of journalism. It stands to reason, then, that success may be conceptualized as accomplishing the core purposes of journalism. Informants cited the core purposes as helping people in service to the community and informing the public in an accessible way. The informants stated the medium of TV partially dictates the purpose of TV news.

Failure for Individuals vs. Institutions

Individual informants were able to pinpoint errors and mistakes at the individual level. They were quick to identify co-workers struggling to meet role expectations and examples of errors. But the context of the newsroom was de-emphasized or ignored in describing mistakes and errors. The informants did not call attention to the institutional environment, which likely influenced their capacity for success or failure. By way of example, the newsroom under investigation did not have a formal training program for novice journalists. The novices at this station were expected to work somewhat independently within a few days of beginning their professional careers. The novices referred to this lack of formal training as "trial by fire" training. The novices' mistakes were considered to be their individual responsibility, even with an acknowledged lack of formal training. The responsibility of the institution to provide novices with clear and sufficient role expectations was not taken into account.

Failure and Socialization

The socialization tactics used most regularly by news managers are informal, which will be discussed in detail in the following section. In informal socialization tactics, workers learn through trial and error and are not necessarily closely supervised. Socialization tactics relate to this section because mistakes and errors are considered more costly during informal socialization processes than formal ones. This is because the workers are doing real work in the newsrooms, not merely practicing the role assignments as is the case during formal socialization. Experienced workers acknowledge that mistakes happen. However, Van Maanen and Schein (1979) argued there is added pressure for novice workers to demonstrate certain competencies and attitudes during their initiation period.

Types of Errors

Bosk (1979) identified four categories of error among surgeons: technical (worker performs role requirements but skills fall short of the task); judgmental (incorrect application of techniques); normative role obligations (breaches of etiquette that have moral implications); and quasi-normative (interpretation of norms; arbitrary rule of supervisors not followed). Technical and judgmental errors indicate a lack of training or a natural part of the learning curve. Normative and quasi-normative errors, however, indicate a deficiency in the worker, not the training. These types of errors arouse much stronger responses of social control. These four categories of errors offer insight into disciplines that have a formal and collective socialization process but need to be modified for journalists.

Journalists are subjected to an informal and individual socialization process, as will be discussed in the next section. The nature of journalism as work is also somewhat different than the nature of surgery as work, in which doctors privately diagnose and treat patients.

Based on the findings from this study and modifying Bosk's (1979) classifications, errors in TV journalism can be broken into three primary categories. The first category is *technical* in nature, which is when news workers use the incorrect application of techniques, such as sub-standard video, audio, etc. The second category is *normative role obligations*, which is related to when news workers claim erroneous, incomplete, nonsensical, or biased information. The final category is *judgmental* or the interpretation of how a story will be covered and codes of conduct. While Bosk (1979) separated this final category into two (judgment and interpretation of norms), the categories are collapsed here. Journalists are allowed a fair amount of personal judgment in how they cover stories. As such, they select the strategies for covering stories, which can result in covering a story differently than anticipated by the supervisors. These categories of errors will be discussed in detail below.

Technical errors. Technical errors are the most forgivable in that there is an expectation that they will occur, if rarely. These types of errors do not seem to affect the standing of a news worker unless they happen repeatedly. As long as a news worker learns from these types of mistakes, they are easily absolved. Technical mistakes, often being very visible, are usually identified and treated immediately. The origin of a technical mistake is not always immediately

apparent and news workers sometimes chalk it up to faulty equipment, even if the individual workers are in control of the operations of the equipment. These kinds of mistakes are sometimes classified as unavoidable. Certain kinds of technical errors, such as incomplete scripts (no anchor's name attached to a particular story) were socially controlled by co-workers through half-jokes. They were also reported in the discrepancy reports distributed via email following each newscast. The majority of technical errors were considered non-serious by the informants, perhaps because of the lack of consequence to the viewers.

Normative role obligation errors. Normative role obligation errors are less forgivable unless they are caught before they air on television. Factual errors that are caught before they air are corrected, and the offending news worker is usually made aware of the mistake. There was a system of double-checking information at the station under study. The managers and/or senior anchors would be put in charge of reading through the scripts written by reporters and producers. This system of pairing experienced workers with less experienced workers offered a safety net to cross-check information. However, during particularly hectic or breaking news times, this system was vulnerable. Anchors were sometimes forced to "cold read" scripts (no time to look at scripts before reading them on air) and read incorrect, incomplete, nonsensical, or biased information. In these cases, the offending news worker was typically talked to about the error, usually in front of others. The more experienced members of the newsroom would socially control the error by confronting it. Factual errors that were considered serious may be classified as such because of the

consequences for the viewers. Factual errors that were considered unavoidable may not be socially controlled by co-workers. For example, a reporter may offer incomplete information live on air because the key source was unwilling to go on the record with the reporter.

Judgmental errors. Certain kinds of judgmental errors were considered the most serious and least forgivable. These would include being a repeated "story killer" and using questionable news judgment in how a story would or would not be covered. These kinds of errors are often avoidable and undermine the very purpose of journalism. Codes of conduct are also covered under the judgmental type of error, such as work ethic, teamwork, and stubbornness, though these were not considered quite as serious, perhaps because there is greater uncertainty surrounding them. These types of errors were initially given public dressing-downs and sometimes were followed-up with private reprimands by supervisors. Repeated offenses that are considered avoidable may be grounds for firing, likely because there is a level of certainty about certain industry knowledge. For example, journalists are expected to exercise sound news judgment and know how to cover stories properly, even if the interpretation of these will change with the station and market. The supervisors at the station under study were accepting of reporters who called with questions related to their stories. The managers seemed to prefer the "no surprise" rule that Bosk (1979) discussed. Reporters who did not call their supervisors with important questions about their stories and then made a judgmental error violated this "no surprise" rule.

Blameworthy failure is sometimes rationalized. The significance of the mistakes above – technical, normative role obligations, and judgmental – are not always cut and dried. What is punished with dressing downs or half-jokes one day may pass without remark the next. Certain newscasts received less scrutiny and social control, such as the weekends and morning newscasts. The weekday evening newscasts received the most scrutiny. Mistakes were often seen as being relative to other external influences. Most noticeably, mistakes of all types were more easily forgiven during breaking news. Producers, reporters, and anchors were quick also to forgive mistakes that could be chalked up to working extra hard, particularly during ratings periods and increased workloads. Mistakes were sometimes excused by citing intangible forces, such as an "election hangover," a major holiday, or "it's Friday; who cares." Mistakes during holidays and Fridays may be excusable to news workers because viewership goes down, creating less impact on the viewers. It is possible also those news workers were less mentally engaged on Fridays and holidays and were rationalizing their decreased effort.

A Continuum of Failure

Drawing on the conclusions posited in describing failure, it is possible to place dimensions of failure on a continuum (see Figure 7). Naturally, there are limitations to the continuum. During the seven months spent in the field, I was not able to observe directly all instances of failure. Some were recounted to me after the fact. Different organizational cultures and the size of the market may dictate different responses to types of mistakes. This continuum should not be pushed

too far; it cannot predict the types of mistakes that will be disciplined in a newsroom. Rather, it offers a general arrangement for distinguishing features and responses of error in the station under study. Journalists and educators may find it useful by adding to their understanding of possible features and responses to failure in television news.

Forgivable	It's relative	Socially controlled	Unforgiveable
Video, audio scripting, graphics, etc. (technical)	Breaking news, intangible forces (all types)	Writing, teamwork, work ethic, stubbornness (role obligations)	Repeated story killer, bad judgment (judgmental)
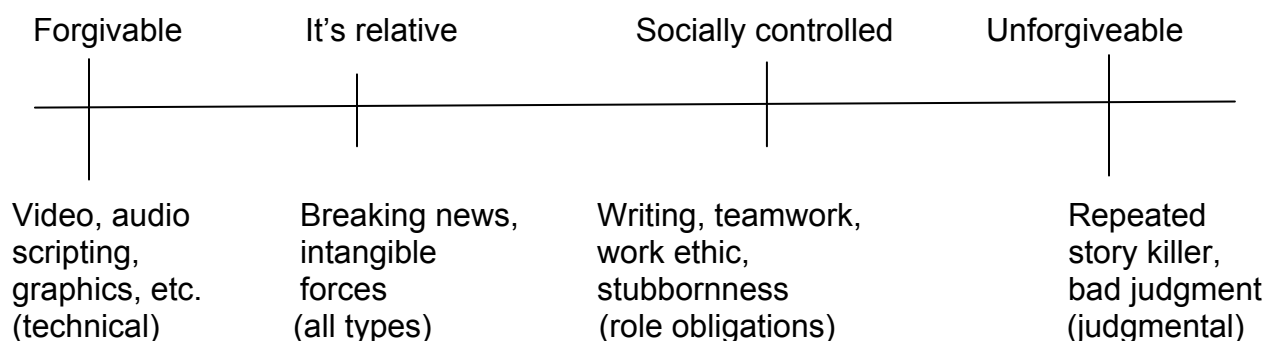
Figure 7. A Continuum of Failure for a Television News Station

Failure may Influence Career Paths

It is possible that journalists may be "sorted" into their career paths not because they sought this path but because of their deficiencies in the early stages of their careers. Bosk (1979) spoke of this phenomenon with surgeons; surgeons may be successful but not necessarily in their chosen specialties or at their chosen locations. Instead, their supervisors identified them as being deficient and guided them elsewhere. The News Director at the station discussed his own "mediocre" skills as a former news anchor. He explained that he switched to management because of this mediocrity. One of the informants, Andrew, spoke of his concern that his reporting and anchoring skills were not

considered good enough to move up in market size. Andrew was a respected reporter at that station, but he questioned whether he fell short of the role expectations in larger markets. As an intern, I was gently guided toward a producer's career path when I was unable to deliver the desired traits of an on-camera reporter.

Conclusions on the Tactical Dimensions of Organizational Socialization

Van Maanen and Schein (1979) offered six tactical dimensions of organizational socialization, as presented in Chapter 2 (p. 60). To review, they include the following: collective vs. individual; formal vs. informal; sequential vs. random; fixed vs. variable; serial vs. disjunctive; and investiture vs. divestiture. Based on the findings from the interviews and observations and my own personal experience, preliminary conclusions may be drawn on the socialization tactics commonly employed in television newsrooms. The tactics commonly used are individual (newcomers are treated individually and uniquely), informal (newcomers learn through trial and error), random (role is learned ambiguously or with a dynamical sequence), variable (timetables are not set for upward movement), and investiture (newcomers' identify and attributes are affirmed). As Van Maanen and Schein (1979) proposed, these types of tactics likely result in role innovators, with the exception of variable. See Table 6 for the likely responses to the socialization tactics used on TV journalists.

Table 6

Van Maanen & Schein's (1979) Socialization Tactics Applied to TV Journalists with Likely Orientation Responses

Tactic	Description	Likely Response
Individual	Newcomers treated individually and uniquely	Innovation
Informal	Newcomers learn through trial and error	Innovation
Random	Ambiguous or dynamic sequence to learn role	Innovation
Variable	No timetable is set for upward movement	Cooperation
Investiture	Newcomers' identity and attributes are affirmed	Innovation

Whether these common tactics are by design or accident, the informants in the study were quite aware of them. They referred to their on-the-job training as "trial by fire." Other disciplines might be familiar with the "sink or swim" phrase for socialization, which is the same phenomenon.

Role Innovators

At first glance, it may seem counterintuitive for TV journalists to be role innovators. After all, journalists typically begin their careers in small markets and "pay their dues" to the industry. They are expected to learn the ropes that have already been established in the profession. Yet upon deeper consideration, TV

journalists do need to be role innovators in an important realm: they must continually adapt to the rapid changes in technology. Technology has changed how news is gathered and delivered. Journalists who refuse to learn new technologies are considered dinosaurs and are weeded out. As a pointed example of this, on my second day observing the newsroom, the News Director commented that journalists need to be flexible in order to keep pace with the way technology is changing the field. He said he could point to the news workers at the station who would not be in the industry in two years for a lack of such flexibility.

TV journalists must also be innovators while threats are posed by the current economic recession. The layoffs due to the recession are making newsrooms leaner, with fewer practitioners to accomplish their work. Furthermore, the viewers seem less prepared for and interested in serious, in-depth news coverage. In this culture of instant information, TV news must find a way to stay relevant.

Designing Socialization Tactics

Knowledge of these tactical dimensions makes it possible for news managers to design socialization tactics that maximize the likelihood of certain responses by newcomers. However, as Van Maanen and Schein (1979) cautioned, there is no formula for behavior or one set of prescribed tactics that will work for all, as that will inhibit the unique qualities of individuals. Rather, organizations can increase the likelihood of certain desired responses. In general, news managers should make available some form of support to

newcomers, including substantial contact with their supervisors and/or veterans of the station. Mentorships between experienced workers and novices might be helpful as well. Managers may consider encouraging several newcomers to start at a similar time to offer emotional support to each other.

On a more specific vein, if news managers seek role innovators, they should continue the trend of the "trial by fire" tactics common in news. If they seek cooperators or custodial employee responses, they should re-evaluate the current tactics used. In particular, they should design tactics that are sequential, variable, serial, and divestiture. News managers who seek content innovators should consider the tactical dimensions of collective, formal, random, fixed, and disjunctive. However, these tactics only work in a stable industry. Another disclaimer about the effectiveness of these tactics is partially dependent on the attitudes of insiders. These socialization tactics may not be effective in and of themselves; the attitudes toward the tactics by insiders influences their effectiveness (Slaughter & Zickar, 2006). The degree to which the tactics are supported by the experienced members creates an environment for the tactics to be effective or ineffective. Employers have a responsibility to train new hires, particularly in formal organizations interested in creating stability and predictability. "In general, the more an organization depends for its survival in innovation and adaption to a changing environment, the more essential its interest in organizational learning" (Schön, 1983, p. 327).

The responsibilities of the employers in helping new journalists transition into their jobs is worth expanding here. Institutional supports that are designed

thoughtfully may help novices learn their roles more deliberately than the "trial by fire" training that was mentioned by the informants. Novice journalists would benefit from the more experienced members of the organization by hearing them "think out loud" as they carry out tasks, as Schön (1983) suggested. The very act of an experienced practitioner describing his understanding of it can sometimes enable the novices and interns to re-create it. In this way, novices and interns may be able to gain insider information on role obligations. This manner of reflective practice can lead to a "demystification of professional practice" (Schön, 1983, p. 345) and allow novices to learn from the experts.

While reflective practice is one possibly helpful socialization tactic, it requires further discussion. Practitioners know much more than they can articulate. They learn to execute complex tasks without necessarily being able to offer an accurate verbal description of them (Schön, 1986). This tacit knowledge can be problematic when trying to verbalize the process of task execution to a novice. Institutions would need to encourage and foster reflective practice in order for experienced members to become more adept at it.

Promising Practices for Journalism-related Education

The traditional method for teaching students about newsroom organizational factors is usually left until students enter the newsrooms as interns. At that point, interns may not be prepared for what they observe and may be unable to navigate with ease. Interns typically learn through trial-and-error without much guidance from educators on what they are learning, why it is valuable to their future work, and how it leads to successful socialization into the

occupation. Learning the occupational culture is an essential part of a novice journalist's socialization process (Frith & Meech, 2007). Internships were widely cited as the primary learning tool in the informants' educational backgrounds. Indeed, many informants recommended getting as many internships as possible. Furthermore, several informants declared the usefulness of learning real-world applications during their education. The informants' recommendations provide insight in developing journalism-related education to account for both internships and real-world experiences.

Journalism educators should also be aware of what they are doing correctly. The theme of "what educational training does well" is supported by four repeating ideas: hiring professors with professional experience as journalists; requiring internships; having a campus TV station; and encouraging mentorships with more experienced journalists. Not all universities have campus TV stations. In that case, university journalism-related programs should encourage or require students to get involved in other media experiences, such as the campus newspaper or radio station. Another option is to encourage or require students to volunteer at local TV stations, newspapers, online news agencies, and/or radio stations.

A Co-op Educational Model

Based on the categories that emerged in the findings, a co-op educational model is proposed as a solution to the identified deficiencies in journalism-related education. The informants described the need for more real-world experiences while still learning about the theory of journalism during college. Real-world

learning may be strengthened through a co-op model of educational curriculum, similar to what is used in undergraduate engineering programs. Students would receive two or three years of coursework related to the mechanics and ethics of journalism. During the first two years in the program, students would study courses such as ethics, reporting basics, journalism law, writing for television (and/or print or new media), shooting and editing, and the general core courses required by the university. The last one or two years in the program would be a joint collaboration with the university and news organizations. Students would spend some time in the school studying advanced journalism, courses in the minor, and a one-credit course regarding Journalism as Work. A class on Journalism as Work would allow students to learn about journalism as a profession while simultaneously doing journalism for their internships. Emphasis would be placed on learning by doing in newsrooms and reflecting on their learning in related coursework. There is a greater possibility for students to recognize the behavioral and affective outcomes needed for successful socialization if they are exposed to the work itself while simultaneously analyzing what it is they are exposed to. Students should be made aware of the transition points during the socialization process so as to navigate them more easily.

This shift in educational paradigm would be difficult on several levels. First, educators may be resistant to such a large change for academic, practical, and personal reasons. Academia would be required to recognize the value of such a co-op program and even embrace it, which requires a shift in the culture of academia. A time for psychological buy-in would be necessary. Second, a co-

op model necessitates closer relationships between universities and news agencies. Both parties would need to invest their time and resources to develop these relationships for more productive outcomes. There is an uneasy alliance between faculty and news organizations that would need to be strengthened before such a program could function effectively. As was evidenced during this study, members of news organizations do not always respect the work of university faculty. The personal reasons may include the extra work required to make all these changes. Faculty may not be willing to invest their time and energy into such changes.

The innovative educational model might be easier to implement at schools already looking to make changes to an existing program or those trying to start a new journalism program. Universities with a long history of teaching journalism from one educational model may have the most difficulty in switching to a co-op model, as certain infrastructure and resources are already in place. History demonstrates that while the industry has been in a continual state of change, the universities have been slow to adapt educational training to the needs of the occupation (Bullard & McLeary, 1994; el-Nawawy, 2007). It stands to reason that this attitude of resistance may continue.

The advantages to both universities and news organizations are numerous. Most critical is bridging that divide between educational training and the profession. News organizations would have to spend less time, resources, and money training new graduates as they would become more familiar with the job's role assignments and on-the-job socialization outcomes during the co-op.

News organizations would also have more help available to them with the students enrolled in the co-op. Universities would benefit by regaining their status as respected training grounds for competent and trained journalists. Universities would also indirectly benefit by not needing the funds for expensive equipment for campus TV stations. One constraint of schools has been the lack of funds to build campus TV stations in order to train students in the practical aspects. Schools with small budgets may find that they can compete with larger, more established schools by using the co-op model. If students were engaged for two years at a working TV station or other news organization, the lack of a campus station would not be as great a disadvantage.

Universities should teach students about the larger system of a newsroom by instructing how all the pieces of a newsroom interact to form the puzzle that is a newscast. The informants described the importance of understanding how each individual position in the newsroom (such as producer, reporter, anchor, photographer, editor, graphics, audio) all need to understand how each works in order to do their own jobs correctly. Mistakes are sometimes attributed to technical difficulties or intangibles, and yet, some technical difficulties can be avoided if everyone understood the reasons for them. As was demonstrated in Chapter 4, the news workers needed to know certain details about the technical aspects in order to be effective at their jobs. For example, it was important for producers to know what a transponder was, how it worked in general, and how it could negatively impact live shots during newscasts.

Additional Promising Practices

Several other promising practices can be gleaned from this research project. A natural place to look is in the theme of "what educational training lacks." Universities looking to enhance their programs could consider teaching live shots, modeling the real-world by going beyond the theory of journalism, and introducing them to the daily grind with intense deadlines. If the three items listed previously were taught, novice journalists may not describe their on-the-job training as trial by fire. However, this is not to assume that this type of training will still be relevant in the future. As the industry changes, the training may need to change as well.

Live training in universities was of particular importance for the informants in this study. As television news is always presented live on air, it seems natural and obvious for schools to teach this. However, it is not common. It is likely that schools do not offer live training for reasons such as a lack of equipment, resources, and faculty know-how. Universities looking to teach live shots may consider ways to simulate live television to go beyond the live-to-tape approach. It may be possible to simulate live television by using existing technologies in clever ways. For example, some universities have closed-circuit television systems for announcements and video feeds. It may be possible to use the closed-circuit TV channel for live news reports by students. If live-to-tape is the only realistic option for some universities, educators could allow only one take for the newscast. Educators could heighten the live experience by regularly incorporating breaking news into the newscasts with minimal supervision.

This study found that mistakes were sometimes created by last-minute changes, due to breaking news or other factors, which sometimes led to success or failure at the micro level. It would be important for educators to allow students the opportunity to reflect upon their successes and failures at the micro level in order to learn from them. When I was a producer, we referred to this time of verbal reflection after newscasts as "post- mortems." At the station under study, structured post-mortems were not employed. Discrepancy reports for each newscast were filed and sent to the staff via email in lieu of discussions. However, I suspect that the learning potential of such written reports is reduced. Novices in particular would benefit from hearing first-hand the more experienced members and supervisors identify and dissect mistakes. The news workers could discuss ways to avoid future failures at the micro level during post-mortems and also the successes that should encouraged for future newscasts. Journalism-related educators could schedule a short time after the news product is completed in order to discuss the students' success and failures. Students would learn about the processes and behaviors that lead to success and failure. Another benefit of post-mortems is teaching students how to take constructive criticism, which was identified by the informants as an important quality for news workers.

Universities should prepare students for the broader journalism experiences, especially the intense deadlines. The informants referred to the "daily grind" of their work. Each day, practitioners are expected to produce news products within a tight timeframe. If universities were to set frequent and

inflexible due dates for assignments, they may give students a glimpse of the "daily grind" in any kind of newsroom, whether it is television, newspaper, magazine, or online. By doing this, new graduates may experience less reality shock during the encounter phase.

Theory vs. Practical Debate: Consequences for Student Learning

Most informants initially downplayed their formal education, but upon deeper reflection, they conceded some value in their education. They cited the necessity of learning about ethics and news judgment. Most informants in this study agreed that while the theory of journalism is necessary to achieve the goals of journalism, it should be condensed while the practical aspects need to be expanded.

Perhaps the theory espoused in education remains essential, but educational programs are not doing enough with the practical how-to of tasks that overwhelm a journalist's daily responsibilities. The functionalist perspective discussed by Cheney et al. (2004) defined socialization as "the ways a member of an organization learns the norms, values, and skills necessary for adopting a particular role and performing a particular function within the organization" (p. 98). The informants in this study relied on the values taught during their education to expand on the values of their current station. But if the norms and skills must all be acquired on the job, it is reasonable to conclude a divide is created between the education of journalism and the craft of journalism. As stated in Chapter 2, there is no typical curriculum taught in universities, which deepens the divide (Becker et al., 1987).

The recurring request of the informants to have had more hands-on training requires deeper consideration. On the surface, regretting a lack of practical, hands-on training may seem valid and addresses the concerns of the informants. However, this assumes that a hands-on training will ensure that students learn the same lessons the practicing journalists espouse. This is not necessarily the case. The tendency is to assume others will gain the knowledge and experience of some aspect needed for the job. This tendency is flawed on two levels: a) not all students will learn what is needed from the lessons in order to function at the same level of an experienced practitioner; and b) the lessons taught may not mirror those needed for that particular position, station and market. The implication for journalism educators, then, is to help students draw lessons from their internships and other practical experiences, such as the campus television station.

While no informants in this study acknowledged a reality shock for themselves, they were quick to point out that they saw others experience it. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) define reality shock as the surprise workers initially face in the new working context and is part of phase three of organizational socialization. They argued that there is always a period of adjustment while the workers' existing understandings change to match the new role, even for experienced workers taking on new assignments. Novice journalists who secure jobs in medium or large markets immediately following college graduation might find themselves unequipped to handle the daily pressures of a newsroom, even if they feel pride at being able to secure the job. They might feel a heightened

sense of "trial by fire" training as they may not be able to demonstrate the role competence and social customs expected in medium and large markets. Reality shock may be partially mitigated by securing multiple internships, college media experiences (campus TV station), and starting at a relatively small market after college. From a socialization perspective, adjustment may be easier if newcomers have social supports with helpful insiders (Fisher, 1985).

"Trial by fire" training may also be addressed through employer assistance at the institutional level. Employers may want to encourage interactions among the various experience levels of workers. This kind of institutional support was noted by Orr (1996) as helpful for socializing novices to the expectations of workers. One of the common rituals found in work is the practice of telling narratives or "war stories," which functions in part to inform and challenge the new members of the organization (Orr, 1996). Novice journalists may learn from the war stories of the more experienced members by listening to how they overcame the obstacles of the field. War stories often arise unexpectedly during informal conversations among employees. Employers might take advantage of this natural inclination of experienced members by encouraging contexts for these narratives to occur, such as during decision-making moments in the newsroom and after-hours social events.

Considering the discussion in this section, there are several recommendations that can be made for journalism education. The informants discussed the importance of theoretical knowledge to their field but felt overwhelmed by the practical concerns of their jobs. In response, journalism

educators and administrators could re-evaluate their curricula and the teaching methods used. The informants also discussed the value of learning from instructors with professional experience. Perhaps administrators of journalism schools could encourage more professional development for educators, if they are not currently doing so. Additionally, administrators and educators need to re-evaluate their assessment practices. Are they assessing adequately for the development of future professional journalists? Are assessments designed to test for the skills needed for the industry?

Where the Findings and the Literature Depart

The Media Models of Market and Public Sphere put forth by Croteau and Hoynes (2001) in Chapter 2 (see p. 49) are framed as competing paradigms. The market model's purpose is to generate profits. The public sphere model is to promote active citizenship. These two models clash with one another. Yet, the informants helped to shed light on a seemingly more symbiotic relationship between the public and market spheres. The models are not automatically in direct conflict. Croteau and Hoynes (2001) posited that the market model measures success by profits. The public sphere measures success by serving the public interest. A theme revealed in the data analysis was that the purpose of TV news was supported by three repeating ideas: helping people, service to the community; journalism's purpose is to inform the public in an accessible way; and the medium of TV partially dictates the purposes of TV news. The first two of these repeating ideas clearly supports the public sphere model. Yet the informants also discussed how morale – particularly firings and layoffs – and a

lack of resources affect their ability to fulfill the purposes of TV news. The layoffs

and lack of resources reflect market influences. Drawing all this together, it can

be reasonably concluded that the informants in this study would call for a

both/and relationship of the public and market models of the media. They were

affected and driven by both market influences and public service interests.

McManus (1994) argued that when business and journalistic rules clash,

market logic tends to dominate over journalistic norms. The informants'

responses partially supported this assertion. However, the informants would

seem to take issue with this finding in one way, as it does not recognize their

independence with daily decision making. They still retain control over the

content and products of news, even if they are suffering from low morale and/or a

lack of resources. The informants spoke most commonly about live trucks as a

specific example of resources. Live shots in the field that require live trucks make

a story more visually interesting, which fulfills the repeating idea of how the

medium of TV partially dictates the purposes of TV news. A lack of live trucks

does not necessarily undermine good work just as working live trucks do not

guarantee good work. A television reporter may just as well inform the audience

about a story from the studio as from live in the field in some instances. In these

cases, success can be seen in both profits – and a lack of them – and in serving

the public interest.

Role of Innovation

Croteau and Hoynes' (2001) model conceptualized the role of innovation

differently than the informants in this study. The model stated that "innovation

can be a threat to profitable standardized formulas" (Croteau & Hoynes, 2001, p. 37). The informants conceptualized innovative work as award-winning work, which would not threaten a station's profitability. TV stations tend to promote their awards to advertisers and viewers as tangible examples of their good work. Granted, the time and resources needed for award-winning products were sometimes hindered by the cost constraints on news workers.

Individual characteristics

The individual characteristics needed for success that emerged from the analysis, such as tenacity, attention to details, and calmness do not appear in the literature. Rather, the preponderance of the literature takes a results-oriented approach to success, defining it as an outcome rather than describing the key ingredients to achieving it. Particularly absent in the literature are descriptions of individual attributes needed for success in a profession, especially journalism. Gardner et al. (2001) discussed the role of ethical behavior and practices in good work journalism but did not identify specific characteristics needed to achieve that.

Identifying and Labeling Success

Ritzer and Walczak (1972) defined success as "upward movement," which is a result or measurement of success but not a key ingredient to achieve success. Judge et al. (1999) defined success as a result or outcome as well: "The real or perceived achievements individuals have accumulated as a result of their work experiences" (p. 622). Gardner et al. (2001) conceptualized success as "good work" for journalists, which results in high-quality products that reflect

ethically sound behavior and practices. Orr (1996) found that good employees have a positive organizational reputation, which begins to demonstrate the identification of a successful employee. Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory and Heslin (2005) posited subjective criteria for success, which is based on a worker's peer reference group. All of these definitions have something in common: they do not answer what it means to *become* successful in an industry, only how to identify it and label it after the fact. This study explored perceptions of the nature of success for practitioners, which included specific characteristics needed for success in field.

Interpretation of the Findings

As stated in Chapter 3, the informants may be like other television journalists in some aspects. It is possible that the informants' descriptions of success, failure, and the purposes of news may resonate with other journalists in some respects. Accordingly, it is worthwhile to discuss in greater detail my interpretation of the findings. Journalists and educators may then be able to make a more informed decision on whether certain aspects of this study relate to their work in some ways. My interpretations are presented in the form of assertions in this section.

The Informants Internalized the Occupational Ideology on the Purposes of TV Journalism

The informants were in agreement that TV journalism is to help people, serve the community, and inform the public in an accessible way. The informants took pride in helping "the little guy" and making a positive difference in the community. Yet, most of the informants acknowledged that the expressed

purposes were not always present in their work. They made casual and sometimes humorous comments about the lack of quality journalism at the station and during their careers. They seemed resigned to wait for occasional opportunities to do good work. During story meetings, I heard many discussions about how their choices in news coverage could help people. In practice, I believe they tried to fulfill that purpose but did not always do so. The reality of scarce resources, personnel, and time sometimes overshadowed their intentions for good work. From this finding, I will assert that the informants relied on occupational ideology in order to answer questions about the purposes of TV journalism. They learn the occupational ideology in college and through interactions with others. The informants seemed to have internalized the belief that journalism is to help people and for service to the community, which aligns with some of the literature (Fenton, 2005; McManus, 1994; Thornton, 1995).

Inner Drive, Motivation and Passion Keeps Journalists Working toward the Next Level of Success

Additional training and continuing education for journalists is usually self-directed and sporadic. A few of the informants with experience discussed their additional instruction through the Poynter Institute, a respected journalism training organization. Training and education are not built in to the professions; journalists must seek out these opportunities. Teachers, on the other hand, are required to take continuing education credits for re-certification, promotions, and increased salary. Teachers receive clear extrinsic rewards for furthering their education and skills. I contend that journalists must rely on intrinsic gratification in order to move up in the levels of success. The informants agreed that inner drive,

motivation, and passion for news were needed to be successful in television journalism. The extrinsic rewards in journalism are variable. As mentioned in Chapter 4, it is common for television journalists to take a step down in market size in order to move up in rank. While their salary may increase with the move, it is not guaranteed. Salary becomes a less motivating factor for success than perhaps other rewards.

College Education is only one Part of Professional Preparation

The research concerns of this study assumed that college education is a primary means of professional preparation. But considering the findings, I must modify that assumption. College education is only one part of professional preparation. The informants touted their previous education for its emphasis on theory and ethics, which are foundational to journalism. But current journalism-related education programs do not teach students to become reflective practitioners once the students enter the workforce. As previously stated in this chapter, reflective practice plays a critical role in professional preparation. When experienced practitioners describe their understanding of the work process, they can sometimes enable novices and interns to re-create it. Novices and interns may be able to gain insider information. While journalism-related education is important to future practitioners, it cannot be the sole means of professional preparation.

TV Journalists are not Inferior to Print Journalists

It is common to hear that television news offers less depth than print news, thus making it an inferior news product. However, as the informants

described, the medium of television dictates its depth. The informants also expressed that TV is more accessible than other forms of media. Greater accessibility increases the usefulness of TV news for all members of the community. The informants discussed the strength of exposing wrong-doing via television. They said it was more powerful to air a picture of a criminal on TV than to merely mention his name in a newspaper.

The educational background of television journalists is not significantly different than the training for newspaper journalists. Most of the informants held bachelor's degrees in journalism-related fields, and one held a political science degree. The educational background of TV journalists is fairly consistent with contemporary newspaper journalists. Television journalists spend the majority of their day writing stories, which is the same primary task of newspaper journalists. Thus, I will assert that any differences in news products are more likely a result of the medium, not educational training or skill sets.

'Factually Correct' is a Complicated Term

At face value, factually correct should not be a contentious notion. Yet, in journalism, it can be. The deadlines and sources can cause news workers to air information that is later deemed erroneous, unfair, or incomplete. News workers make decisions on a regular basis about which information to air and which sources to use and trust. Veteran journalists may be able to more easily navigate these decisions, as experience may have taught them hard lessons about trusting sources implicitly. Novice journalists may be more trusting of the information available to them.

Furthermore, viewers at home may have a different conception than news workers of what is deemed factually correct information. News workers regularly take phone calls from upset viewers regarding why a story was covered a certain way or why certain information was not provided in a story. The narrow focus or angle of a story is sometimes unapparent to viewers. Other times, certain information was not provided to the news workers by sources and therefore did not make it into a story. Certain sources may refuse to go on the record or provide complete access to information, causing the news workers to have to write around the missing quotes or information. This practice was referred to by the informants as having a different eye than the average viewer. The subjectivity in factually correct information was a source of ambiguity for news workers. Journalists have a "different eye" than the average consumers of news, which is a result of their training. The average news consumer may not understand the complications of achieving accuracy in journalism.

In Chapter 4, the issue of factual accuracy was linked to issues of fairness and objectivity. Factual accuracy received quite a bit of attention from the informants. However, the failure to meet all four cornerstones of objectivity (truth, relevance, fairness, and neutral presentation) in their daily activities was glossed over at times. The informants took facts seriously but were accepting of one-sided information at times, particularly when a key source would not go on the record or was not accessible. This example shows how the informants accepted a narrow construction of objectivity. Failure to fulfill all four cornerstones of objectivity was acceptable if key information was not accessible.

Perceptions of Objectivity Differ for TV Journalists and Viewers

A question that arises from this discussion is whether the values of a station and a newsroom can create an obstacle to objectivity, as perceived by viewers. A profession cannot have purposes without undergirding values. In the case of news agencies, the values may be directional in nature but often result in moral implications. For example, the moral implications of the values of the station under investigation used to be helping the "little guy" or the "average viewer." By helping the little guy, other people are pursued for wrong-doing, such as high-profile members of the community. To the high-profile politician and her family, this creates the perception of an unfair disadvantage in which stories will be covered. To the average viewer, this exposes wrong-doing of those entrusted with public funds.

To take this point further, another question arises: To what extent should television news stations cater to the perceptions and expectations of viewers? In most industries, the customers are always right. The very nature of the news media seems at odds with this attitude. Moreover, it is not possible to satisfy the perceptions and expectations of all viewers, as viewers themselves vary greatly. The perceptions and expectations of viewers occur on an individual level, and there is little consensus among viewers about what should and should not be covered. This question was framed by Croteau and Hoynes (2001) by outlining how audiences are addressed in the public versus the market sphere of the media. Are audiences consumers or citizens?

Varying Images of Professionalism for TV Journalists

Also resulting from this study are the varying images of professionalism, as described by the informants. Several images of professionalism were offered: having a positive impact on the community, making positive contributions to the industry in general, and being in position for upward movement. Trying to isolate one common conception of what it means to be a professional eludes this researcher. As John, a veteran reporter, stated, "Successful would be if people look at your work – broadcast, print, web – and there's a general acknowledgement that you're doing it properly, you're doing it well. So I guess that translates into having some level of respect."

Perceptions of professionalism are assorted and somewhat vague for journalists. This may be attributed in part to the lack of a standard curriculum in journalism-related education. Becker et al. (1987) pointed out the lack of a "typical" journalism curriculum, which leads to various levels of preparation by new graduates. Naturally, disciplines with differing training backgrounds produce graduates with differing views of the industry. Adam (1993) extended this vein, arguing that the field of journalism has not been defined adequately in clarity and breadth. This resulted in the problems of legitimacy and coherence that have marred the industry and offers implications for images of professionalism. Informants spoke of varying representations of what it means to be a professional journalist.

Individual Characteristics vs. Organizational Factors

Interestingly, the informants discussed two different and perhaps competing issues in their work: individual characteristics and organizational factors. The individual characteristics include passion, tenacity, attention to details, calm, strong work ethic, and inner drive and motivation. These types of characteristics are not easily taught. News workers often possess these before entering the profession. However, they may be honed and strengthened after they enter the profession as the more experienced members of stations may encourage them. The organizational factors include understanding the conventions and practices of the workplace, figuring out how a news worker is a cog, learning that each newscast is a puzzle, relying on teamwork, having a lack of money in this career is really a form of paying dues, being part of the decision-making process, understanding the social conventions related to conversations, feeling like a part of the family that is a newsroom, shifting away from content to time as producers get closer to the newscast, and making fun of people in the news is a way to relieve tension. These organizational factors are learned on the job and are often unspoken.

As intimated previously, individual characteristics and organizational factors may be in competition with each other. On the individual side, a news worker must be tenacious, passionate, and internally motivated. On the organizational side, a news worker must be a team player. The clash between these was most visible during the decision-making process, particularly when a producer did not understand or agree with a decision by his supervisor.

Producers in this study said it was important to be detail- oriented, yet, their concerns shifted away from the content of stories to time management as the newscast got underway.

On a more general note, the desirable individual attributes are mostly ingrained in the news workers before they accept their first news position. However, when they enter the workforce, they are required to learn a new set of tacit norms, values, and attitudes, or organizational factors. This complicates the socialization process as the desired individual attributes may clash with the desired organizational factors, particularly since the organizational factors are often left unspoken. Novice journalists must discover the majority of organizational factors as they work. Even if comprehensive on-the-job training was common in news – and the informants said it was not – the training would likely focus on the aspect referred to as "becoming familiar with everything." Structured training is likely to introduce a new worker to the systems of the workplace but not the underlying norms, values, and attitudes. Speculatively, this may be a result of a changing culture in news and among different stations. What may be the norm at one point in time or at one station may not necessarily be the case at a different point in time or at a different station, as news workers influences the culture as they enter it, according to the symbolist perspective of organizational socialization (Cheney et al., 2004; Ritzer & Walczak, 1972). While this study used informants with backgrounds at other stations in other parts of the country, it should not be assumed that this completely controls for station-specific and time-specific variances.

The Effect of Market Interests on a Socially-Responsible Press

Croteau and Hoynes (2001) compared the two competing models of market driven and public spheres model or socially-responsible press (see Table 2 in Ch. 2, p. 49). In the public sphere model, the primary purpose of news media is to promote active citizenship via information, education, and social integration. The media functions to serve the public. Indeed, success by this model is measured in terms of serving the public's interests. Conversely, the purpose of the market model is to generate profits for owners and stockholders. The media is a private company functioning to sell products.

The informants in this study worked somewhat independently from the business infrastructure in an important realm. The business infrastructure of the news station, including the General Manager, and advertising and promotions departments was not involved in the daily news decisions and activities. Decisions about which news stories were covered and how were typically left to the rank-and-file news workers. The advertising department, which fulfills a vital role in the news station, was not present during decisions regarding news content. The advertising department sold commercial time regardless of what was or was not covered by the station. There were exceptions to this, such as airing packages to fulfill contractual obligations to a sister station and a lack of resources affecting how stories would be covered. The packages that were contractually obligated to air were not necessarily anathema to a socially-responsible press, however. They simply were deemed "boring" and "horrible" by the news workers. Boring and horrible were labels of deficiency for the

informants. Further study on whether these labels of deficiency are mutually exclusive of a socially-responsible press could shed light on this.

While the business infrastructure seemed independent from the decision-making of news workers, it does affect the news workers in tangible ways. In particular, it is seen in the amount of resources available. The informants often made humorless jokes about the broken live trucks and shortage of personnel. The News Director spent considerable time trying to make the newscasts look like "they weren't down so many live trucks." Furloughs and decreased overtime during this last part of the research phase also contributed to the personnel shortages. The news workers were held to the previous standard of television news without the benefit of enough resources to which they were accustomed.

The influence of bureaucracy was evident at times. The informants tended to believe single accounts of bureaucratic agencies as factually accurate. They did not often contest the information unless there was a compelling reason to do so. This reliance on bureaucracy seemed to be ingrained in the informants, likely reinforced by both the organization and profession.

The mission for journalists is to fulfill the basic societal need of an ethically responsible press (Gardner et al., 2001). Specifically, journalists' mission is to inform the public, empower the powerless, support democracy, and promote social change. This study used the term purpose rather than mission and success rather than good work, but the terms are intersecting concepts, strengthening the findings of Gardner et al. (2001). The informants in the study under investigation described the purpose of journalism as helping people,

serving the community, and informing people in an accessible way. The medium of television partially dictates the purpose as well. The informants also took pride in helping the "little guy," which alludes to Gardner et al.'s (2001) notion of empowering the powerless. Promoting social change did not come up in this study, except indirectly with the station's value of "helping the little guy."

McManus (1994) argued that market-driven journalism seeks images over ideas, seeks emotion over analysis, exaggerates to add appeal, and avoids extensive news-gathering. This was partially supported. One of the purposes of television news, according to the informants, is dictated by the medium of television. Images play a large role in the news-gathering process and product. The informants would defend any such claims that the visual appeal must be present. Extensive news-gathering was not encouraged at this station. Between the deadlines and the lack of personnel, reporters were given about six hours to put together a package. During sweeps or special assignments, reporters sometimes were given a little more time for the news-gathering process. At other times, the management added to their workload during sweeps with extra packages, live shots, radio spots, blogs, and personal appearances.

It is fair to say that a television news station is a business first. A TV news station could not exist as we know it without the potential for profit. The General Manager, advertising and promotions department are likely to measure their success in terms of profits. But the rank-and-file journalist does not measure his success by profit margins. The average news worker is not concerned with the profits yet must make certain concessions because of them.

The Impact of the Economic Downturn on this Study

The journalism industry is changing. At a time when the banking, housing, and automotive industries collapsed in 2008 and 2009, television journalism also suffered. It is commonplace to read of more layoffs being announced at television stations, radio stations, newspapers, and other news agencies. Investigative departments appear particularly vulnerable to layoffs (Stock, 2009). The news reports (MacMillan, 2009; Stock, 2009) agreed; layoffs and other cutbacks in the field of journalism can be blamed primarily on the economic downturn. In the past, television journalists have been able to turn to other markets for employment opportunities, seeking advancement in positions and market sizes. However, with fewer positions to choose from, many former television journalists have sought employment in related but outside industries, such as media relations, marketing, and new media. The industry is changing and shrinking, and news organizations seem unable to acclimate themselves to economic current realities fast enough.

Journalism is in a transition from the old models of doing news, such as television and print, to the new models, such as Internet-based news. The industry is being ravaged during this evolution. While waiting for new business models to emerge, the question becomes: What can be done in the meantime to protect what's left of the industry? Some have asked whether the government should get involved by offering taxpayer money. Others argue that public money would compromise journalistic values and goals. It is difficult to imagine journalists satisfying the watchdog role of the very people from whom they

accepted funding. MacMillan (2009) argued for help from the government but not a bailout as arranged for the automotive and financial industries. Options for government help include changes to the anti-trust laws, tax breaks for profit losses over a long period of time, and help for news agencies transforming into nonprofit or low-profit status.

Print journalism has been hit especially hard during this economic downturn. According to News Cycle (May, 2009), nearly 8800 layoffs were publically reported between January and April 2009. Some of the layoffs included not only the producers of news, such as editors, and staff reporters and writers, but also the revenue generators of newspapers, such as advertising executives. Some newspaper staff has been offered buy-out options and attractive packages to ease the transition.

Radio has also been devastated during this economy. Many stations have shifted into formats that are inexpensive to produce, such as "jack in the box" formats, in which the station uses very little personnel to operate. Music becomes the focus, not the deejays. News radio has been forced to downsize, letting go significant numbers of employees around the country. Advertising revenue for radio has dried up, creating this hole in programming.

Layoffs and cutbacks affect more than just the members of news organizations. During this time of uncertainty, the larger society is affected by the reduction in critical information available. If there are fewer journalists fulfilling the role of watchdogs of government and community matters, it stands to reason there will be fewer stories exposing wrong-doing. As investigative reporters are

the most vulnerable to layoffs due to the expense involved in their work (Stock, 2009), who is covering these types of stories? Political corruption and abuse in the system could go unchecked while the journalism industry discovers how to recover from this economic crisis.

New Complications in Defining Success and Failure

The concepts of success and failure for television journalists seem to gain new importance in light of the current status of the industry. Being dismissed from a news agency in this economic climate carries less social stigma than perhaps a decade ago. It has become merely a sign of the times. Yet, the impact of ascertaining success and failure becomes critical for practitioners remaining in the field and for students of journalism. Understanding success in an industry where the future is uncertain is fundamental to the survival of those remaining and those who wish to enter the field.

What it means to be successful or a failure in television news has become even more complicated during these economic times. Descriptions of success and failure are likely to shift as the larger context in which journalists work. A few short years ago, journalists may have perceived getting laid off as failure in their line of work. Now, with layoffs commonplace, it may be perceived as a symptom of the economy, something out of their control and therefore not a sign of failure.

New Importance for the Purposes of Journalism

Ascertaining the purposes of journalism is another component of this research study. What is journalism for, anyway, in this era of rapid change? The perspectives as goals of journalism may change as new models emerge. If the

purposes change, it may be years into the future before it is widely accepted by the average practitioner. It is also possible that the ultimate purposes will not change at all. Perhaps the survival of the journalism industry is merely a matter of reconceptualizing the packaging of news.

The Impact on Journalism Education

If this economic downturn results in new perspectives on the purposes of journalism and/or different descriptions of success and failure in television journalism, it will likely lead to modifications in journalism education. However, at this point in the economic crisis, it is difficult to say precisely what turns are ahead for the journalism industry, and thus, journalism education.

Speculation on the impact of this economic crisis on journalism education may come in the form of responding to any reconceptualization of packaging of news. For example, educators of journalism may find they need to learn new technologies to prepare students for shifting models of news delivery. They may need to teach for a field that may continue to evolve. Clearly, this will present challenges on many levels in the classroom.

Implications for Research Study

The unstable economic climate and its affect on television journalism became palpable during the course of this project. Layoffs and other cutbacks marked a troubled turning point for the station while I was immersed in field work there. In 2009, the station under study laid off about seven full- or part-time employees. In a small station, this was quite significant, both to morale and to the decreased amount of human resources. This station is a microcosm of the larger

economic problems within the television news industry and in the U.S. as a whole.

Due to these circumstances, field work became gradually more complex. Rather than becoming more comfortable as a researcher as the field work progressed, the tensions surrounding the layoffs created an uneasy atmosphere in the newsroom. The remaining newsroom staff became more careful with their words. Whispered conversations around the newsroom became commonplace as the uncertainty mounted. I sensed a new hesitancy from the members of the newsroom in divulging information to me. Previously, I had open conversations with people about their work and the station. I was regularly approached by people in the newsroom to discuss the day's work activities. Speculatively, this could be out of fear that any work-related communication with an outsider could be seen in a negative light. Fortunately, I had gained a fair amount of trust with the key informants and I could rely on them to provide information when asked directly. I was also still welcome to observe at the station; I was never asked to leave a room or a meeting. Furthermore, I was not overtly or subtly excluded from conversations of which I was already a part.

The difficulty in gaining access to a second station was a direct byproduct of the changes in the industry. Using my contacts from previous employment in news, I requested access to several additional stations. I was not successful during the second round of requests. Reasons for denied access ranged from the uncertainty of station ownership in the near future to doubts of my contacts about continued employment at that station. The stated reasons appear to indicate that

all levels of the newsroom were affected to some extent by the economy, including the decision-makers. Due to the difficulty in gaining access to a second station during these troubled times, I reframed my work as a case study of one station. I scaled back the number of anticipated informants in light of having access to only one station.

Insider and Outsider Status

This study held particular importance for me. Following college graduation, I secured a position as a television news producer in a medium-sized market. I absolutely experienced surprise over the daily demands of that station, even after having completed two college internships there. I regularly questioned my college preparation for the industry. It took me nearly a year of trial-and-error before learning how to comfortably piece together a newscast. Four years later, I felt burned out and quit the field to pursue a career in higher education. My background sparked my interest in the education-industry gap in journalism.

As a former TV journalist, I held partial insider status at the research site. After all, I used to be a television news producer. I made early connections with some of the news workers, as we knew the same people. Our undergraduate educational backgrounds were similar. I understood the ups and downs of the news day and when to back off. I knew the jargon of the station. I knew how to blend in with conversations. I knew to bring food to share. I believe the insider status allowed the informants to speak openly to me about their work. They felt comfortable using the language of the profession with me.

I was also an insider as I could empathize with the informants when they expressed negative emotions. A few times, the producers turned to me during rough newscasts to express their frustration. Several times, after newscasts, the news workers would discuss with me what went wrong and why. I said I knew how it felt to put so much time into a newscast and then watch it turn into a disaster. In these moments, I could not help but feel for their situations. This subjectivity could have colored my judgment. I adhered to ethical research practices as much as possible and did not offer advice to the news workers. Yet, it must be acknowledged that a researcher is not a neutral tool. My background made me particularly sensitive to the frustrations of the news workers, which could have affected my perceptions of events.

I was also an outsider in the research site. I was now a professor. This bothered a couple of the news workers. They could not understand why someone would quit news to become a teacher. To them, teachers represented the opposite of "real world" work. A couple of the news workers openly expressed contempt toward teachers. It is possible that this contemptuous attitude may have colored their interactions with me. However, I tried my best to create open dialogue for diverse perspectives. For example, during an observational session, the News Director made a disparaging remark to me about professors. He laughed after making the comment, so I did as well. I tried to make him feel comfortable about expressing his honest opinions. In truth, the comment did not bother me at all. I understood that his intentions were not deliberately harsh or

critical of me specifically. I also recognized the value of his comments to my study.

Whenever an observer enters a research site, it is possible that the participants are affected by the researcher's presence. The participants may try to perform differently because they are being observed. I worried this would be the case before entering the site and tried to account for that possibility. I scheduled a visit session before the research phase began. I met a lot of the personnel that day and explained the focus of my study. During every observational session, I tried to blend in with the news workers by dressing similarly, chatting informally with the news workers, and reassuring anyone who asked about my study the goal of it. However, on a couple occasions, I was accused of being a spy for their supervisor. I was once accused of trying to find what's wrong with the industry. At those moments, I responded by summarizing my research concerns and emphasizing that I was not there to find out what was wrong with them. Rather, I was interested in their descriptions of success and failure, what they think news is for, and how to improve the educational training of journalists. I reminded them that I used aliases in my notes and the paper. I also discovered that if I contributed to the jokes about their supervisors, I established a connection with them that separated me from their supervisors.

These news workers were not accustomed to being investigated. They are usually the ones investigating others. Because they were not used to the process of being studied, they were not terribly reflective during observational sessions. At times, I would ask them to think aloud about their work processes. They

struggled sometimes to offer depth and insight into their daily routines, habits, and processes. The act of asking them about their work processes separated me from the insiders at the station. However, during interview sessions, they seemed to be more open and reflective. Perhaps the interview format felt more natural and comfortable to reflect upon their work.

My outsider status may have affected my ability to gain access to a second research site. Among the reasons for being denied access included uncertainty over the stations' future. The supervisors in charge of allowing or denying access informed me that they were not sure of their continued employment at the station. The supervisors did not want to bring in an outsider during tumultuous economic times.

Future Research

Determining the nature of perceived success and failure for practicing television journalists is the crux of this study. At the beginning of this research study, the industry was in a reasonably healthy state. By the end of the research phase, the industry had been ravaged by the challenging economic climate. The lack of advertising revenue forced news agencies to lay off news workers by the droves. Further research could expand on how the nature of success and failure may be conceptualized currently, in light of the economic downturn. Notions of what constitutes success or failure may likely shift as fewer and fewer people are available to work on any given news product. While the lack of resources was cited by the informants as having a moderate impact, a continued pullback of resources may become increasingly problematic.

A future study could investigate whether the purposes of journalism have shifted due to the economic downturn. Notable research (Gans, 1979; Schudson, 2003; Tuchman, 1978) agreed with the informants in this study that the press is charged foremost to serve the public interests. This is done in order to enlighten people of events with the aim of healthy self-government and help the people in the community. In essence, a socially-responsible press should advance democracy. Yet in practice, it is found that when in conflict, market-driven forces dominate over a socially-responsible press (McManus, 1994). Six main market forces affect journalism: profits, particularly corporate interests; media ownership; advertiser interests; sources; consumer interests; and the organizational culture of the newsroom (McManus, 1994). If the market seems to be an increasing influence on the industry, then how will the core purposes change, if at all?

Journalists purport having a commitment to factual accuracy. Yet, the study demonstrated the complications of defining factually correct. A future study could explore rich descriptions of factual accuracy. Additionally, this study found that the senior members of the organization were asked to read over scripts of less experienced members. Are the experienced members of the station less likely to have their facts checked by other members? If this practice is found to be true, is it possible that the factually inaccurate accounts are being aired?

It would be interesting to research further the individual characteristics needed for success, as identified by the informants. In particular, the informants said that passion, tenacity, calmness, a strong work ethic, attention to details,

and inner drive and motivation were all needed for success. Can those characteristics be taught, encouraged, or fostered in educational settings?

Learning the values of a news organization is part of the socialization process. This study found that the informants struggled to identify their station's values. They looked to the brand image of the station and/or their occupational ideology in order to answer questions about values. A qualitative study could explore how news workers inductively or deductively determine the values of their station. A separate study could examine whether the obscurity of a station's values influences the work product.

A finding of this study was the types of errors and how they were handled. The types of errors included factual, technical, and judgmental. A qualitative study could investigate in depth when and why these types of errors are socially controlled. If it is found that the senior members of the organization are socially controlling the mistakes of less experienced members, what implications does that have for successful organizational socialization?

As this study explored perceptions of practicing journalists, the elements of specific journalism programs and their corresponding curriculum components were not probed. In particular, a future study could probe for the curriculum components discussed in the informants' responses, such as the elements in what educational training does well and what educational training lacks. A future study could research these elements using a larger sample size to increase potentially the transferability of the findings.

A quantitative study could determine the order of importance of learned skills that lead to success in television broadcast positions. The skill sets explored could focus on the ones identified in this study: writing, storytelling, recognizing ethical dilemmas, talent must be smooth and natural, and the "different eye" resulting from training (and thus, a subjective sense of what is factually correct). Another quantitative study could determine the order of importance of college experiences that lead to success in television broadcast positions. College experiences include work on the campus television news station, school newspaper, radio station, internships, professors with professional experience, and mentors.

The informants in this study expressed the purpose of TV news as finding and telling meaningful stories. Yet, the observations revealed that other daily responsibilities of the informants overshadowed this purpose at times. A future study could explore the percentage of news stories that fully meet the standard of meaningful stories. A qualitative study might delve into the conditions under which journalists have opportunities to tell meaningful stories.

Final Thoughts

The news is discouraging: the state of the industry is suffering due to the economic downturn. The mistrust from the public adds another burden to the industry. Yet, there is a small sign of hope to be taken from this study as the informants defend the primary purpose of news as serving the public in an accessible way. If television news workers have not lost sight of the purpose of news, perhaps they will be able to recover the public's trust over time. This aligns

with Meyer's (2004) hope and assertion that trust and social responsibility must prevail in order for journalism to succeed in the future. Gardner et al. (2001) pushed this further, asserting that journalism could regain its credibility if the needs of society become perfectly aligned with the incentives and rewards of the field, traditions of the industry, and the noble aspirations of the practitioners. Then again, this highlights the paradox of the state of the industry as news workers believe their purpose is to serve the public, the public does not trust the industry to have their best interests in mind. It is possible that while market interests have hindered successful journalism, they may also be its salvation. TV news stations may be able to stay commercially viable if they can find possibilities for themselves. Once this niche is discovered and proves financially viable, a period of innovation will follow. TV journalists may be able to align the core purpose of journalism with these innovative methods.

One of the lingering criticisms of television journalism is the seemingly ubiquitous coverage of entertainment news, sometimes referred to as infotainment. Paradoxically, the criticisms typically come from viewers while it is viewers' interests that justify the entertainment news. Journalists talk about how viewers want to see a certain amount of fluff and entertainment news. They believe viewers find too much hard news depressing. The informants indirectly addressed this by saying that the purpose of TV news is partially dictated by its medium. Television is more visual than other forms of media, which creates a greater emphasis on images. It is my contention that TV journalists want to spend more time covering socially responsible topics but do not want to turn

viewers away with too much depressing hard news. I suggest this comfortably because whenever I asked the informants about why they chose news as a career, they discussed the desire to help people by telling meaningful stories. They expressed pride when they helped people in some way. They acknowledged silly and morally questionable accounts by making jokes or flippant remarks. The challenge for TV journalists, then, is to find the right balance between covering stories that viewers seem to want and are visually appealing with more socially-responsible stories that help people and serve the community.

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Appendix A

Informed Consent Form for Informants

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY
AGREEMENT OF CONSENT FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS
The Nature of Success and Failure for Television Journalists and the Role of
Education
Sarah Holtan
Interdisciplinary Ph.D.

You have been invited to participate in this research study. Before you agree to participate, it is important that you read and understand the following information. Participation is completely voluntary. Please ask questions about anything you do not understand before deciding whether or not to participate.

PURPOSE: I understand that the purpose of this research study is to understand what practicing television journalists think success and failure means on the job and how prior educational training plays a role. I understand that I will be one of approximately 12 participants in this research study.

PROCEDURES: I understand that I will be audio taped during the interview portion of this study to ensure accuracy. The audio tapes will be later transcribed and destroyed five years after completion of the study. To ensure confidentiality, aliases will be given to informants both in the fieldnotes during observation sessions and in the results.

DURATION: I understand that my participation will consist of two or three interview sessions plus observation sessions over the course of two months. Each interview session will last one to two hours. Observation sessions will last for three to four hours but will not require me to do anything unusual; I should go about my day as normal.

RISKS: I understand that there are minimal risks associated with participation in this study. I will be observed by Sarah Holtan while I'm working. My job security will be protected in that my real name will not be used in the fieldnotes, the interview transcripts, or in the results. Additionally, all possible identifiers will be removed in the results.

BENEFITS: I understand that the benefits associated with participation in this study include having a voice in the process of possible changes to journalism-related education in order to better prepare new journalists.

CONFIDENTIALITY: I understand that all information I reveal in this study will be kept confidential. All my data will be assigned an arbitrary alias rather than

using my name or other information that could identify me as an individual. When the results of the study are published, I will not be identified by name. I understand that the data will be

destroyed by shredding paper documents and deleting electronic files five years after the completion of the study.

Every effort will be taken to ensure my privacy and confidentiality. Electronic data will be stored in a password-protected computer and written fieldnotes and observations will be kept in a locked drawer. Aliases will be given to the informants. The electronic and hard data will be stored for five years and then destroyed. The research records may be inspected by the Marquette University Institutional Review Board or its designees, and (as allowable by law) state and federal agencies.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF PARTICIPATION: I understand that participating in this study is completely voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study and stop participating at any time. I will inform Sarah Holtan directly, either in person, via email, or phone contact if I intend to withdraw. Any records of interviews and observations will be removed from the study and destroyed. Participation (or lack of) does not affect my standing in this organization or my relationship with supervisors and co-workers or treatment as an employee.

CONTACT INFORMATION: If I have any questions about this research project, I can contact Sarah Holtan at sarah.holtan@cuw.edu or 414-305-0270. If I have questions or concerns about my rights as a research participant, I can contact Marquette University's Office of Research Compliance at (414) 288-1479.

I HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO READ THIS CONSENT FORM, ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT THE RESEARCH PROJECT AND AM PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS PROJECT.

_____
Participant's Signature   Date

_____
Participant's Name   Date

_____
Researcher's Signature   Date

Appendix B

LETTER TO NEWS DIRECTORS

Dear News Director,

I would like to include your newsroom and certain employees in a research project on the nature of success and failure for television journalists and the role of educational training. I am pursuing a Ph.D. at Marquette University and am an Assistant Professor of Communication at Concordia University. I was also a producer at WISN-TV in Milwaukee from 1998-2001 and am genuinely interested in improving how journalists are being prepared for the industry.

Participation in this study will help me to better understand what success and failure really means to practicing journalists for the intention of improving educational practices in journalism-related programs.

Each individual who voluntarily agrees to participate in this study would be involved in two or three interviews, to be held outside working hours, and observational sessions held during working hours. Observational sessions will last three to four hours each, twice per week. I will not interfere with regular working processes and will stay out of the way during breaking news or particularly hectic times. I am targeting producers, reporters, and anchors only for this study.

I am the sole researcher and will be the only person with access to the information collected during the course of this study. The information collected will be kept in a locked drawer for five years beyond the completion of the study. Neither your name, the name of your employees, or the call letters of your station will appear in any reports from this research. Any identifiers will be removed to protect the privacy and confidentiality of your employees and station.

Participation in this project is voluntary and involves no unusual risks to you, your employees, or the station. You may rescind your permission at any time. Your employees can refuse to participate or withdraw from the project at any time.

If you agree to allow your newsroom and employees to participate in this study, please contact me at sarah.holtan@cuw.edu or 414-305-0270. I would be happy to meet with you in person or provide a written detailed description of the study if you need more information before deciding. Thank you for consideration of this important research project.

Sincerely,

Sarah Holtan

Appendix C

Informed Consent Form for News Directors

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY
AGREEMENT OF CONSENT FOR NEWS DIRECTORS
The Nature of Success and Failure for Television Journalists and the Role of
Education
Sarah Holtan
Interdisciplinary Ph.D.

You have been invited to participate in this research study by allowing your
newsroom and employees to participate. Before you agree to participate, it is
important that you read and understand the following information. Participation is
completely voluntary. Please ask questions about anything you do not
understand before deciding whether or not to participate.

I voluntarily consent to allow Sarah Holtan access to the newsroom and
employees. I understand that she will be observing the informants during working
hours twice a week and interviewing them after work hours.

I understand that Sarah Holtan of Marquette University is conducting this
research. I understand that the purpose of her study is to better understand what
practicing television journalists think success and failure means on the job and
how prior educational training plays a role.

I understand that only Sarah Holtan will have access to the data supplied by the
informants as informants have the right to confidentiality. Audio recordings of the
interviews and written notes from observational will be kept in locked drawers
and destroyed five years after completion of this study.

I understand that participation in this project is voluntary and involves no unusual
risks to me, the employees, or the station. I will inform Sarah Holtan directly,
either in person, via email, or phone contact if I intend to withdraw access to the
newsroom and/or employees. Any records of interviews and observations will be
removed from the study and destroyed. I have full knowledge of how to contact
Sarah Holtan. If I have questions or concerns about my rights, I can contact
Marquette University's Office of Research Compliance at (414) 288-1479.

I understand that the benefits associated with participation in this study include
having a voice in the process of possible changes to journalism-related education
in order to better prepare new journalists.

I HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO READ THIS CONSENT FORM, ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT THE RESEARCH PROJECT AND AM PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS PROJECT.

_____

Participant's Signature   Date

_____

Participant's Name   Date

_____

Researcher's Signature   Date

Appendix D

Informed Consent Form for Non-Participants

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY
AGREEMENT OF CONSENT FOR RESEARCH NON-PARTICIPANTS
The Nature of Success and Failure for Television Journalists and the Role of
Education
Sarah Holtan
Interdisciplinary Ph.D.

You have been invited to participate minimally in this research study. Before you agree to participate, it is important that you read and understand the following information. Participation is completely voluntary. Please ask questions about anything you do not understand before deciding whether or not to participate.

PURPOSE: I understand that the purpose of this research study is to understand what practicing television journalists think success and failure means on the job and how prior educational training plays a role. I understand that I am being included in this study because I interacted with someone involved in the study.

PROCEDURES: I understand that my interactions might be included in fieldnotes. To ensure confidentiality, aliases will be given to all persons in the fieldnotes during observation sessions and in the results.

DURATION: I understand that my participation will be limited only to my interactions with participants. This will not require me to do anything unusual; I should go about my day as normal.

RISKS: I understand that there are minimal risks associated with participation in this study. My job security will be protected in that my real name will not be used in the fieldnotes or in the results. Additionally, all possible identifiers will be removed in the results.

BENEFITS: I understand that the benefits associated with participation in this study include having a voice in the process of possible changes to journalism-related education in order to better prepare new journalists.

CONFIDENTIALITY: I understand that all information I reveal in this study will be kept confidential. All my data will be assigned an arbitrary alias rather than using my name or other information that could identify me as an individual. When the results of the study are published, I will not be identified by name. I understand that the data will be destroyed by shredding paper documents and deleting electronic files five years after the completion of the study.

Every effort will be taken to ensure my privacy and confidentiality. Electronic data will be stored in a password-protected computer and written fieldnotes and observations will be kept in a locked drawer. Aliases will be given to all persons. The electronic and hard data will be stored for five years and then destroyed. The research records may be inspected by the Marquette University Institutional Review Board or its designees, and (as allowable by law) state and federal agencies.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF PARTICIPATION: I understand that my participation in this study is completely voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study and stop participating at any time. I will inform Sarah Holtan directly, either in person, via email, or phone contact if I intend to withdraw my consent. Any records of interactions will be removed from the study and destroyed. Participation (or lack of) does not affect my standing in this organization or my relationship with supervisors and co-workers or treatment as an employee.

CONTACT INFORMATION: If I have any questions about this research project, I can contact Sarah Holtan at sarah.holtan@cuw.edu or 414-305-0270. If I have questions or concerns about my rights as a research participant, I can contact Marquette University's Office of Research Compliance at (414) 288-1479.

I HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO READ THIS CONSENT FORM, ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT THE RESEARCH PROJECT AND AM PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS PROJECT.

_____

Participant's Signature   Date

_____

Participant's Name   Date

_____

Researcher's Signature   Date

Appendix E

Interview Guide for Newcomers

I. Formative Background

    1. How long have you been a journalist?

    2. What made you decide on news as a career?

    2. What was your educational background in journalism before working in the industry?

    3. Describe your training.

    4. Reflecting on your educational background, what influences do you view as the most salient in the way you approach your professional work?

        a. Coursework

        b. Teacher-student relationship

        c. Experience in student newspaper or student television news

        d. Internships

        e. Other?

    5. How well do you believe your education prepared you for the profession?

    6. If you could change something about your training, what would it be?

    7. How valuable do you believe educational training is for broadcast journalism?

    8. What direction would you like to see journalism education take?

    9. What advice would you give to journalism students?

II. Goals and Purposes

1. What kinds of things are you trying to accomplish in your work?

2. Is there a specific goal in your work that gives meaning to what you do that is essential to your sense of personal accomplishment?

    a. What is that?

    b. Why is this goal important?

    c. Are there other comparable ones?

    d. How do you know when you've accomplished this?

3. What, from your perspective, is the goal/purpose of television news?

    a. Goal according to your colleagues?

    b. Goal according to your management?

4. What do you think are the goals of journalism education now?

    a. What were the goals when you were in school?

    b. How were those goals accomplished?

    c. Where do you see those goals expressed now?

    d. Have the goals changed since you were in school?

    e. Where do you see the industry in five years? In ten years?

III. Beliefs on Success and Failure

1. Are there specific qualities that have contributed to your achievements?

2. Has anyone helped you achieve something? How so?

3. Are there specific qualities that have hindered your achievements?

4. Has anyone prevented (or tried to) you from achieving something? How so?

4. How would you describe the term "successful" in relation to a broadcast

journalist?

        a. What qualities contribute to success?

        b. What role do co-workers play in success?

           i. Would you attribute any success you've experienced to a co-worker? How so?

        c. What role do supervisors' play in success?

           i. Would you attribute any success you've experienced to a supervisor? How so?

        d. What role does money play in success?

        e. What role does fame play in success?

        f. What role do industry awards or other recognition play in success?

        g. What role do promotions play in success?

   5. How would you describe the term "failure" in relation to a broadcast journalist?

        a. What qualities contribute to failure?

        b. What role do co-workers play in failure?

           i. Would you attribute any failure you've experienced to a co-worker? How so?

        c. What role do supervisors' play in failure?

           i. Would you attribute any failure you've experienced to a supervisor? How so?

        d. What role does money play in failure?

e. What role does fame play in failure?

f. What role do promotions play in failure?

6. Whom do you consider to be successful in broadcast journalism?

a. What successful qualities does that person possess?

b. Have you ever followed an example set by this person?

7. Whom do you consider to be deficient in broadcast journalism?

a. What qualities does that person lack?

b. Would you describe this person as a "failure?" Why or why not?

c. Have you ever followed an example set by this person?

8. Do you consider yourself to be a successful broadcast journalist?

a. If yes, how so?

b. If yes, how do you know the extent to which you are successful?

c. If no, why not?

d. At what point in your career did you experience success?

i. First few weeks in the industry? How so?

ii. First year in the industry? How so?

e. What do you think it means to become a member of the

organization?

i. Specific practices?

ii. Specific behaviors?

iii. Specific values?

iv. Other?

f. At what stage in your career did you feel like you became a

member of the station? How so?

  i. First few weeks?

  ii. First year?

  iii. After a year?

  iv. After two years?

  v. After three years?

  vi. Other?

IV. The Work Process

1. What of your work are you most proud?

  a. To what do you attribute your success in this endeavor?

  b. Were you rewarded or recognized for this work?

    i. If yes, how so?

    ii. If no, why do you think not?

2. What of your work are you least proud?

  a. To what do you attribute this lack of success in this endeavor?

  b. Were there any consequences for this?

    i. If yes, what were they?

    ii. If no, why do you think not?

3. Tell me about your daily routine.

4. What habits have you developed during your time in news?

5. What experiences, either on-the-job or in school, were most helpful preparing you for this field?

  i. Friends?

ii. Mentors?

iii. Internships?

iv. Other?

6. Did you experience a reality shock when you began your work in news?

i. If yes, tell me about that.

ii. If no, why do you think that is?

7. Do you see the new employees experience any reality shock? Specific

examples?

8. Do you seek the advice of more experienced workers? Why or why not?

V. Positive and Negative Pressure in Work

1. What are the reasons that make it easy for you to achieve your goals?

a. Other people, such as co-workers or supervisors? How so?

b. Resources of workplace?

c. Personal motivation?

d. Anything else?

e. Can you give a specific example?

2. What are the reasons that make it difficult to achieve your goals?

a. Other people, such as co-workers or supervisors? How so?

b. Constraints of workplace?

c. Deadlines?

d. Anything else?

e. Can you give a specific example?

e. What kind of work is rewarded or encouraged at your station?

f. What kind of work is frowned upon or discouraged at your station?

h. How do you work differently than when you started in the industry?

VI. Perspectives on Work and Issues in Journalism

1. What do you like about your area of work? Why?

2. What do you dislike about your area of work? Why?

3. What area of work do you feel you excel at? Why? How so?

4. What area of work do you feel you don't do well? Why? How so?

5. What is an example of a piece of work you respect? Explain why you respect it.

a. Does this piece of work reflect your educational training? Why or why not?

6. What is an example of a piece of work you don't respect? Explain why you don't respect it.

a. Does this piece of work reflect your educational training? Why or why not?

7. What role do the station's values play in creating a successful piece of work?

8. What role do the station's specific practices play in creating a successful piece of work?

9. What role do the station's attitudes play in creating a successful piece of work?

10. If you could give advice to a college student intending to enter the field, what would it be?

11. If you could give advice to a broadcast journalist new to the industry, what would it be?

12. What do you see as the issues facing journalism today?

    a. The business side?

    b. What about the journalist's social responsibility?

    c. Do these issues affect your success in the industry?

13. Where do you see yourself in five years? In ten years? Still in news?

VII. Closing

1. We are coming to the end of this interview. Is there anything you would like to add?

    a. Check notes for things left out.

    b. May I follow up with you in the future?

Appendix F

Interview Guide for Experienced but New to the Station

I. Formative Background

1. How long have you been a journalist?

2. Which other stations or news organizations have you worked at?

3. Is this station different than your previous station or news organization? How so?

4. What made you decide on news as a career?

5. What was your background—educational or otherwise—in journalism before working in the industry? Please describe.

7. Reflecting on your educational background, what influences do you view as the most salient in the way you approach your professional work?

 a. Coursework

 b. Teacher-student relationship

 c. Experience in student newspaper or student television news

 d. Internships

 e. Other?

8. How well do you believe your education prepared you for the profession?

9. Describe any other types of training, such as on-the-job.

10. If you could change something about your training, what would it be?

11. How valuable do you believe educational training is for broadcast journalism?

12. What direction would you like to see journalism education take?

13. What advice would you give to new graduates entering the profession? Advice to students of journalism?

II. Goals and Purposes

1. What kinds of things are you trying to accomplish in your work?

2. Is there a specific goal in your work that gives meaning to what you do that is essential to your sense of personal accomplishment?

    a. What is that?

    b. Why is this goal important?

    c. Are there other comparable ones?

    d. How do you know when you've accomplished this?

3. What, from your perspective, is the goal/purpose of television news?

    a. Goal according to your colleagues?

    b. Goal according to your management?

4. What do you think are the goals of journalism education now?

    a. What were the goals when you were in school?

    b. How were those goals accomplished?

    c. Where do you see those goals expressed now?

    d. Have the goals changed since you were in school?

    e. Where do you see the industry in five years? In ten years?

III. Beliefs on Success and Failure

1. Are there specific qualities that have contributed to your achievements?

2. Has anyone helped you achieve something? How so?

3. Are there specific qualities that have hindered your achievements?

4. Has anyone prevented (or tried to) you from achieving something? How so?

4. How would you describe the term "successful" in relation to a broadcast journalist?

    a. What qualities contribute to success?

    b. What role do co-workers play in success?

        i. Would you attribute any success you've experienced to a co-worker? How so?

    c. What role do supervisors' play in success?

        i. Would you attribute any success you've experienced to a supervisor? How so?

    d. What role does money play in success?

    e. What role does fame play in success?

    f. What role do industry awards or other recognition play in success?

    g. What role do promotions play in success?

5. How would you describe the term "failure" in relation to a broadcast journalist?

    a. What qualities contribute to failure?

    b. What role do co-workers play in failure?

        i. Would you attribute any failure you've experienced to a co-worker? How so?

c. What role do supervisors' play in failure?

     i. Would you attribute any failure you've experienced to a supervisor? How so?

d. What role does money play in failure?

e. What role does fame play in failure?

f. What role do promotions play in failure?

6. Whom do you consider to be successful in broadcast journalism?

a. What successful qualities does that person possess?

b. Have you ever followed an example set by this person?

7. Whom do you consider to be deficient in broadcast journalism?

a. What qualities does that person lack?

b. Would you describe this person as a "failure?" Why or why not?

c. Have you ever followed an example set by this person?

8. Do you consider yourself to be a successful broadcast journalist?

a. If yes, how so?

b. If yes, how do you know the extent to which you are successful?

c. If no, why not?

d. At what point in your career did you experience success?

     i. First few weeks in the industry? How so?

     ii. First year in the industry? How so?

e. What successful attributes would others say they see in you?

f. Do you feel "on track" with your career? What tells you that you are or are not?

g. What experiences, either on-the-job or in school, were most helpful preparing you for this field?

     i. Friends?

     ii. Mentors?

     iii. Internships?

     iv. Other?

h. What do you think it means to become a member of the organization?

     i. Specific practices?

     ii. Specific behaviors?

     iii. Specific values?

     iv. Other?

i. At what stage in your career did you feel like you became a member of the station? How so?

     i. First few weeks?

     ii. First year?

     iii. After a year?

     iv. After two years?

     v. After three years?

     vi. Other?

j. Do you seek the advice of anyone or do you help others? Why or why not?

IV. The Work Process

1. What of your work are you most proud?

    a. To what do you attribute your success in this endeavor?

    b. Were you rewarded or recognized for this work?

        i. If yes, how so?

        ii. If no, why do you think not?

2. What of your work are you least proud?

    a. To what do you attribute this lack of success in this endeavor?

    b. Were there any consequences for this?

        i. If yes, what were they?

        ii. If no, why do you think not?

3. Tell me about your daily routine.

4. What habits have you developed during your time in news?

5. How much control do you think you have over your job? Do you desire more or less control?

6. Did you experience a reality shock when you began your work in news?

        i. If yes, tell me about that.

        ii. If no, why do you think that is?

7. Do you see new graduates experiencing reality shock? Specific examples?

V. Positive and Negative Pressure in Work

1. What are the reasons that make it easy for you to achieve your goals?

    a. Other people, such as co-workers or supervisors? How so?

    b. Resources of workplace?

        c. Personal motivation?

        d. Anything else?

        e. Can you give a specific example?

    2. What are the reasons that make it difficult to achieve your goals?

        a. Other people, such as co-workers or supervisors? How so?

        b. Constraints of workplace?

        c. Deadlines?

        d. Anything else?

        e. Can you give a specific example?

    e. What kind of work is rewarded or encouraged at your station?

    f. What kind of work is frowned upon or discouraged at your station?

    h. How do you work differently than when you started in the industry?

    How do you work differently than when you started at this station?

VI. Perspectives on Work and Issues in Journalism

    1. What do you like about your area of work? Why?

    2. What do you dislike about your area of work? Why?

    3. What area of work do you feel you excel at? Why? How so?

    4. What area of work do you feel you don't do well? Why? How so?

    5. What is an example of a piece of work you respect? Explain why you

respect it.

        a. Does this piece of work reflect your educational training? Why or

why not?

    6. What is an example of a piece of work you don't respect? Explain why

you don't respect it.

a. Does this piece of work reflect your educational training? Why or why not?

7. What role do the station's values play in creating a successful piece of work?

8. What role do the station's specific practices play in creating a successful piece of work?

9. What role do the station's attitudes play in creating a successful piece of work?

10. If you could give advice to a college student intending to enter the field, what would it be?

11. If you could give advice to a broadcast journalist new to the industry, what would it be?

12. What do you see as the issues facing journalism today?

a. The business side?

b. What about the journalist's social responsibility?

c. Do these issues affect your success in the industry?

13. Where do you see yourself in five years? In ten years? Still in news?

VII. Closing

1. We are coming to the end of this interview. Is there anything you would like to add?

a. Check notes for things left out.

b. May I follow up with you in the future?

Appendix G

Interview Guide for Experienced and a Veteran of the Station

I. Formative Background

    1. How long have you been a journalist?

    2. Did you work at any other stations or news agencies? When and which one(s)?

    3. Is this station different than your previous station(s) or news agencies? How so?

    4. What made you decide on news as a career?

    5. What was your background—educational or otherwise—in journalism before working in the industry? Please describe.

        a. If informant went to school: Reflecting on your educational background, what influences do you view as the most salient in the way you approach your professional work?

            i. Coursework

            ii. Teacher-student relationship

            iii.. Experience in student newspaper or student television news

            iv. Internships

            v. Other?

        b. How well do you believe your education prepared you for the profession?

    6. Describe any other types of training, such as on-the-job.

7. If you could change something about your training, what would it be?

8. How valuable do you believe educational training is for broadcast journalism?

9. What direction would you like to see journalism education take?

10. What advice would you give to new graduates entering the profession? Advice to students of journalism?

II. Goals and Purposes

1. What kinds of things are you trying to accomplish in your work?

2. Is there a specific goal in your work that gives meaning to what you do that is essential to your sense of personal accomplishment?

    a. What is that?

    b. Why is this goal important?

    c. Are there other comparable ones?

    d. How do you know when you've accomplished this?

3. What, from your perspective, is the goal/purpose of television news?

    a. Goal according to your colleagues?

    b. Goal according to your management?

4. What do you think are the goals of journalism education now?

    a. What were the goals when you were in school?

    b. How were those goals accomplished?

    c. Where do you see those goals expressed now?

    d. Have the goals changed since you were in school?

    e. Where do you see the industry in five years? In ten years?

III. Beliefs on Success and Failure

    1. Are there specific qualities that have contributed to your achievements?

    2. Has anyone helped you achieve something? How so?

    3. Are there specific qualities that have hindered your achievements?

    4. Has anyone prevented (or tried to) you from achieving something? How so?

    4. How would you describe the term "successful" in relation to a broadcast journalist?

        a. What qualities contribute to success?

        b. What role do co-workers play in success?

            i. Would you attribute any success you've experienced to a co-worker? How so?

        c. What role do supervisors' play in success?

            i. Would you attribute any success you've experienced to a supervisor? How so?

        d. What role does money play in success?

        e. What role does fame play in success?

        f. What role do industry awards or other recognition play in success?

        g. What role do promotions play in success?

    5. How would you describe the term "failure" in relation to a broadcast journalist?

        a. What qualities contribute to failure?

b. What role do co-workers play in failure?

    i. Would you attribute any failure you've experienced to a co-worker? How so?

c. What role do supervisors' play in failure?

    i. Would you attribute any failure you've experienced to a supervisor? How so?

d. What role does money play in failure?

e. What role does fame play in failure?

f. What role do promotions play in failure?

6. Whom do you consider to be successful in broadcast journalism?

a. What successful qualities does that person possess?

b. Have you ever followed an example set by this person?

7. Whom do you consider to be deficient in broadcast journalism?

a. What qualities does that person lack?

b. Would you describe this person as a "failure?" Why or why not?

c. Have you ever followed an example set by this person?

8. Do you consider yourself to be a successful broadcast journalist?

a. If yes, how so?

b. If yes, how do you know the extent to which you are successful?

c. If no, why not?

d. At what point in your career did you experience success?

    i. First few weeks in the industry? How so?

    ii. First year in the industry? How so?

e. What successful attributes would others say they see in you?

f. Do you feel you are "on track" with your career? What tells you that you are or are not?

g. What experiences, either on-the-job or in school, were most helpful preparing you for this field?

    i. Friends?

    ii. Mentors?

    iii. Internships?

    iv. Other?

h. What do you think it means to become a member of the organization?

    i. Specific practices?

    ii. Specific behaviors?

    iii. Specific values?

    iv. Other?

i. At what stage in your career did you feel like you became a member of the station? How so?

    i. First few weeks?

    ii. First year?

    iii. After a year?

    iv. After two years?

    v. After three years?

    vi. Other?

j. Do you help newcomers in their efforts? Why or why not?

IV. The Work Process

1. What of your work are you most proud?

a. To what do you attribute your success in this endeavor?

b. Were you rewarded or recognized for this work?

i. If yes, how so?

ii. If no, why do you think not?

2. What of your work are you least proud?

a. To what do you attribute this lack of success in this endeavor?

b. Were there any consequences for this?

i. If yes, what were they?

ii. If no, why do you think not?

3. Tell me about your daily routine.

4. What habits have you developed during your time in news?

5. How much control do you think you have over your job? Do you desire more or less control?

6. Did you experience a reality shock when you began your work in news?

i. If yes, tell me about that.

ii. If no, why do you think that is?

7. Do you see new graduates experiencing reality shock? Specific examples?

V. Positive and Negative Pressure in Work

1. What are the reasons that make it easy for you to achieve your goals?

a. Other people, such as co-workers or supervisors? How so?

b. Resources of workplace?

c. Personal motivation?

d. Anything else?

e. Can you give a specific example?

2. What are the reasons that make it difficult to achieve your goals?

a. Other people, such as co-workers or supervisors? How so?

b. Constraints of workplace?

c. Deadlines?

d. Anything else?

e. Can you give a specific example?

e. What kind of work is rewarded or encouraged at your station?

f. What kind of work is frowned upon or discouraged at your station?

h. How do you work differently than when you started in the industry?

How do you work differently than when you started at this station?

VI. Perspectives on Work and Issues in Journalism

1. What do you like about your area of work? Why?

2. What do you dislike about your area of work? Why?

3. What area of work do you feel you excel at? Why? How so?

4. What area of work do you feel you don't do well? Why? How so?

5. What is an example of a piece of work you respect? Explain why you respect it.

a. Does this piece of work reflect your educational training? Why or

why not?

6. What is an example of a piece of work you don't respect? Explain why you don't respect it.

a. Does this piece of work reflect your educational training? Why or why not?

7. What role do the station's values play in creating a successful piece of work?

8. What role do the station's specific practices play in creating a successful piece of work?

9. What role do the station's attitudes play in creating a successful piece of work?

10. If you could give advice to a college student intending to enter the field, what would it be?

11. If you could give advice to a broadcast journalist new to the industry, what would it be?

12. What do you see as the issues facing journalism today?

a. The business side?

b. What about the journalist's social responsibility?

c. Do these issues affect your success in the industry?

13. Where do you see yourself in five years? In ten years? Still in news?

VII. Closing

1. We are coming to the end of this interview. Is there anything you would like to add?

a. Check notes for things left out.

b. May I follow up with you in the future?

Appendix H

Glossary of Terms used in Chapter IV

A block – The first segment of a newscast, usually consisting of the more hard-hitting news of the day.

Anchor --The newscaster who hosts the studio portion of the newscast. The anchor is the dominant voice in the presentation of the news to the audience.

Cold read – A script not seen by an announcer until the moment s/he reads it. Also sometimes referred to as "rip-n-read."

Consultants – Firms, groups, or individuals hired by broadcast organizations to give advice on presentation, content, trends, viewer habits and preferences to the on-air talent and upper-level news management.

Control room -- Where the technical equipment for putting a newscast on the air is kept and operated. Producers, directors, audio, camera operators, and sometimes graphics personnel work in this room during the newscasts.

Drop or kill – Producers will drop or kill a story, meaning the story will no longer air during the newscast.

Font – The graphic typeface used on air for names, locations, and other information.

Full screen – A graphic that fills the whole screen.

IFB – An earpiece worn by anchors and reporters during the newscasts. The earpiece allows them to hear directions from the producer.

Line produce – Producing a regular newscast.

Live shot -- A TV news story during which a news anchor or reporter is live at a remote location. Within this report can be included a SOT, VO/SOT or PKG.

Market – each city or media market is assigned a number ranking based on city size and other factors. For example, New York City is a number one market and Milwaukee is currently a number thirty-five market. It is considered prestigious for a journalist to work in a higher-ranked market.

Natural sound or nat sound -- A type of background audio that complements the news report.

Nat pop – A short burst of background audio taken in full that complements the news report.

One-man-band – The term for a reporter who must report, operate the camera, and edit the story.

Open – The visual and audio sequence that runs at the beginning of each newscast to open the show.

Package -- A completed television news story on tape, which is edited before a news show goes on air and contains reporter's stand-ups, narration over images, and an out-cue for the anchor to start speaking at the end of the tape.

Producers – These people plan, supervise, and time the newscasts. They also work with reporters in the field planning and gathering information for stories.

Ratings – Measuring units used to tell broadcasters how many households and/or viewers have their stations/programs on at a particular time. This information is used in determining how much station will charge advertising for commercial time.

Reporters -- the people who gather facts for the stories they are assigned to write. They present the final product on air.

SOT – Short for sound on tape. Edited slice of a newsmaker speaking. Similar to actuality in radio except the person can be seen. Often several SOT can be spliced together with the edits cover with video.

Stand up – Part of package with reporter on screen reading/presenting information.

'Story killer' – A news gatherer, usually a reporter, who does not or cannot find an angle to a story.

Tag -- Closing to a story package, live shot, or on-set piece usually read by the story report but can also be read by an anchor.

Teleprompter – The computer system with the text for anchors to read during the newscast.

Toss – The internal word used to segue between on-air talent. For example, an anchor "tosses" to a reporter live in the field.

VO – Short for voice over. A TV news story during which a news anchor or reporter reads a script live as video is played.

VO/SOT – Short for voice over and sound on tape. A TV news story during which a news anchor or reporter reads a script live as video is played up to a place when a news maker video/audio sound bite is played. At the end of the SOT, the reporter or anchor resumes reading with or without additional video.

Wire copy -- Associated Press (AP) news service that supplies international, national and regional information and stories. These are almost always rewritten before airing.

Wrap – The term used to tell an on-air person to wrap up their story for timing reasons.

Appendix I

List of Fifty-nine Repeating Ideas

#1: How do you fit as a "cog" in a newsroom

#2: Each newscast is a "puzzle"

#3: You have to be a team player

#4: Professors with professional experience as journalists

#5: Internships really do prepare you

#6: Having a campus TV station is great

#7: Mentors are helpful

#8: It would be nice to have live training

#9: Educational training needs to be more of a real-world experience

#10: The real world is a "daily grind"

#11: Success is in all tiers and levels of your career

#12: Passion

#13: Attention to details

#14: Remaining calm

#15: Strong work ethic

#16: Inner drive/personal motivation

#17: Tenacity

#18: Being natural, smooth on air for talent

#19: Skill of writing

#20: Skill of storytelling

#21: Becoming familiar with everything

#22: Success is relative to a journalist's age

#23: Recognizing ethical dilemmas in a news story

#24: Success is never a finale

#25: Someone who is continually moving forward, working forward, is successful

#26: Helping people

#27: Being factually correct is important

#28: Don't be a "story-killer"

#29: The lack of money in this career ("pay your dues"):

#30: Each new position has a learning curve

#31: Mistakes are inevitable but learn from them

#32: Need to be able to take constructive criticism

#33: Failure equates a lack of certain characteristics deemed successful

#34: Failure is being factually incorrect, incomplete, or biased

#35: Failure is not accomplishing the core purposes of journalism

#36: Journalism's role is to inform the public in an accessible way

#37: Working faster

#38: Stubbornness

#39: Morale will be reflected in the work you do

#40: Not enough resources to get done what needs to be done

#41: Learning a newsroom takes about a month

#42: Being part of the decision-making process

#43: Understanding the social conventions related to conversations

#44: Newsrooms are described as a "family"

#45: Producer's concern shifts from content to technical, especially time concerns

#46: Verbal announcements are efficient for specific directions for a newscast

#47: Mistakes and last-minutes changes can lead to a ripple effect

#48: Types of on-air mistakes

#49: Mistakes are relative

#50: Judgment and factual mistakes are verbally admonished

#51: Having an impact as a professional

#52: Getting better by avoiding an-air mistake

#53: Deadlines force short-cuts

#54: Making fun of people in the news

#55: The medium of TV dictates the purposes of TV news:

#56: "Trial by fire" training

#57: What are a station's values?

#58: News workers accepted responsibility for mistakes, sometimes

#59: TV journalists have a "different eye" than the average viewer

Appendix J

List of Eleven Themes

Theme A: *What educational training does well*
#4: Professors with professional experience as journalists
#5: Internships really do prepare you
#6: Having a campus TV station is great
#7: Mentors are helpful

Theme B: *What educational training lacks*
#8: It would be nice to have live training
#9: Educational training needs to be more of a real-world experience
#10: The real world is a daily "grind"
#56: "Trial by fire" training

Theme C: *Conceptions of success or "good work"*
#11: Success is in all tiers and levels of your career
#22: Success is relative to a journalist's age
#24: Success is never a finale
#25: Someone who is continually moving forward, working forward, is successful
#27: Being factually correct is important
#51: Having an impact as a professional
#52: Getting better by avoiding an on-air mistake

Theme D: *Individual characteristics needed for success*
#12: Passion
#13: Attention to details
#14: Remaining calm
#15: Strong work ethic
#16: Inner drive/personal motivation
#17: Tenacity

Theme E: *Learned skill sets*
#18: Talent must be natural and smooth on air
#19: Skill of writing
#20: Skill of storytelling
#23: Recognizing ethical dilemmas in a news story
#59: TV journalists have a "different eye" than the average viewer

Theme F: *The "learning curve"*
#21: Familiarity with everything
#30: Each new position has a learning curve
#31: Mistakes are inevitable but learn from them
#32: Need to be able to take constructive criticism
#37: Working faster

#41: Learning a newsroom takes about a month

Theme G: *Purposes of TV journalism*
#26: Helping people, service to the community
#36: Journalism's purpose is to inform the public in an accessible way
#55: The medium of TV partially dictates the purposes of TV news

Theme H: *Conceptions of failure*
#33: Failure equates a lack of certain characteristics deemed successful
#34: Failure is being factually incorrect, incomplete or biased
#35: Failure is not accomplishing the core purposes of journalism
#38: Stubbornness
#28: Don't be a "story killer"

Theme I: *Influences that hinder successful or "good work" journalism*
#39: Morale will be reflected in the work you do
#40: Not enough resources to get done what needs to be done
#53: Deadlines force short-cuts
#57: What are a station's values?

Theme J: *Descriptions of mistakes and errors*
#47: Mistakes and last-minutes changes can lead to a ripple effect
#48: Types of on-air mistakes
#49: Mistakes are relative
#50: Judgment and factual mistakes are verbally admonished
#58: News workers accepted responsibility for mistakes, sometimes

Theme K: *Understanding conventions and practices of the newsroom*
#1: How do you fit as a "cog" in a newsroom
#2: A newscast is a "puzzle"
#3: You have to be a team player
#29: The lack of money in this career ("pay your dues")
#42: Being part of the decision-making process
#43: Understanding the social conventions related to conversations
#44: Newsrooms are described as a "family"
#45: Producer's concern shifts from content to technical, especially time concerns
#46: Verbal announcements are efficient for specific directions for a newscast
#54: Making fun of people in the news

Appendix K

List of Five Theoretical Constructs

Theoretical Construct #1: *Functionalist organizational socialization*
Theme A: What educational training does well
Theme B: What educational training lacks
Theme E: Learned skill sets

Theoretical Construct #2: *Symbolist organizational socialization*
Theme F: The "learning curve"
Theme K: Understanding conventions and practices of the newsroom

Theoretical Construct #3: *Constructing a definition of success*
Theme C: Conceptions of success or "good work"
Theme D: Individual characteristics needed for success

Theoretical Construct #4: *Constructing a definition of failure*
Theme H: Conceptions of failure
Theme I: Influences that hinder successful or "good work" journalism
Theme J: Descriptions of mistakes and errors

Theoretical Construct #5: *Purposes of TV Journalism*
Theme G: Purposes of TV journalism