Studies of Mass Media Communicators:
A Survey of the Literature*

In-Hwan Oh

Contents

I. Introduction

II. Models of Communication Studies
   1) Social Control Model
   2) Organizational Prerequisite Model
   3) Audience Model

III. Conclusion

IV. Work Structure Model

V. Nature-of-News Model

VI. Professionalism Model

VII. Gatekeeper Model

I. Introduction

The press and/or journalists have long been under strong criticisms from both within the organization and from the larger society. The working journalists have complained about Governmental pressure and the publisher’s interference in their reporting activities. The conservatives have accused the press of being too liberal and the radicals have decried the “status quo bias” of the press. The social scientists have been critical of the “trivia-filled” press.

Some criticisms are political in nature. For example, they point out that the press favors the upper class and tends to side with news sources in the government machinery; that labor groups, minority groups, and the lower classes are rarely allowed adequate access to the press. In short, the charge is that the press is biased. Other criticisms are non-political and concerned mostly with the topics and types of articles printed. These criticisms charge that the press tends to prefer fact over truth, interesting over important events, action over idea, newsmaker over social structure, atypical over typical aspects and the like. In other words, the press has failed to orient man and society to the real world.

Assuming that there is some merit to these charges, one way to understand the functions of the press is to analyze it as a social product. There seems to be seven major models representing this perspective. The models include: Social Control model; Organizational Prerequisite model; Audience model; Work Structure model; Nature-of-News model; Professionalism model; and Gatekeeper model.

II. Models of Communicator Studies

1) The Social Control Model

The Social Control model examines the relationship between the publisher (or executive) and working journalists (editor and/or staff reporter). This model presents a strong case that the publisher controls, either directly or indirectly, the press concerning what to print and how to treat the stories. The key elements of this model contend: a) the publisher has his policy concerning the operations of the newspaper or radio-tv programs; b) the publisher usually has other business interests and business contacts with other industries. He is also a member of the upper class; c) the publisher usually does not want his newspaper to hurt his private and business interests and his personal and business friends as well; d) the private interests of the publisher tend to operate as a latent policy; e) the press is a private business and the working journalists are employees; f) through various mechanisms the journalists have come to "sense" the policy and, for various reasons, they tend to follow the policy.

According to the Social Control model, the press is biased in favor of the private interest of the publisher who usually represents the upper class or power groups of society. One major evidence of this bias is the way the press is run and structured.

In an intensive interview study of the Washington correspondents in the late 1930's Rosten observed the unmistakable influence of the publishers' policy even in the news columns when it came to reporting a controversial matter. This becomes a problem because, unlike the editorial columns, the news columns ideally are supposed to be non-partisan and objective regardless of the nature of events (or issues) involved.

Rosten observed that the policy was perpetuated not so much by any kind of authoritarian device on the part of publishers but by anticipatory action on the part of correspon-

The correspondents in the nation's capital usually get the angles of the home office from the editorials, cartoons, features, and make-up in their newspaper. Another strong cue is kind of treatment their own stories get in their newspapers. Correspondents have strong motivation to get their story printed and as prominently played up as possible. One sure way of achieving this is to write the story from the policy angle. Rosten quoted some editors as complaining that the correspondents sometimes "are trying too hard to please the boss."  

In the early 1950's Breed conducted an intensive interview study of the publishers, editors, and staff reporters of medium-sized newspapers located in the North-eastern quarter of the United States. Breed's findings substantiated Rosten's findings of social control in news reporting.

Some major conclusions reached by Breed are: a) reporters produce the stories whose content, in most cases, conforms to the publisher's policy; b) the conformity generally is accounted for by some factors of the "dynamic socio-cultural situation of the newsroom;" c) "the newsman's source of reward is located...among his colleagues and superiors." Therefore, "instead of adhering to societal and professional ideals, he re-defines his values to the more pragmatic level of the newsroom group." In short, all these factors "conspire to induce the staffer (reporters) to 'take it easy' and follow policy as a line of least resistance."  

Breed was "concerned primarily with the controversial 'policy' story in the news columns." He examined how the policy is implemented in actual practice. The key persons who see to it that the policy be reflected are editors. Breed noted that editors' relationship with their publishers seems to be harmonious with the editors anticipating the boss' wishes. For the staff reporters, the policy is more "sensed" than stated. According to Breed, the mechanism of "osmosis" takes many forms. For example, the reporters

---

2) Ibid., pp. 225-226. Rosten also discussed some devices with which the correspondents might be able to beat the policy of the home offices. For example, "planting a story" is one of them. See ibid., p. 95. This device will be discussed later in this section in connection with the Work-structure model.
3) Ibid., p. 226.
6) Breed, Newspapermen, News and Society, pp. 128-129.
7) Ibid., pp. 136-146.
become aware of the policy from what appears in their papers. They get some idea about the policy angles by observing and experiencing the way some articles are played up, cut down or killed. They also come to know the characteristics and interests of the publishers through gossip about the publisher, occasional exchange of opinion, editorial conference, house organ and others.

As implied by Rosten, Breed suspected that “a harmony of interest” exists between the publisher and outside groups (of ruling circles) and that the policy reflecting this interest is “transmitted, by sensing, down the line to the staff at his desk.”8 On the other hand, Breed noted that there may be major factors counter-balancing the mechanism of social control.

In the early 1970’s Garvey moved the research site to the newsrooms of television stations in California and tested Breed’s “Social” Control hypothesis.9 Garvey started out initially by closely examining the character of control. He implied that the nature of control practiced in the newsroom is more likely to be “Quasi-control.”10 Under a “quasi-control,” no alternative of action is eliminated. A “quasi-control” is practiced through “manipulation of positive and negative reinforcements associated with given courses of action” which, in turn, “differentiate the attractiveness of the alternatives.” The working of a “quasi-control” is “probabilistic” because what constitutes a sanction is basically “cultural” and “subjective.” But Garvey assumes “various forms of reward or punishment which can be expected to be effective for most people under most circumstances.”11

Further, Garvey posits two types of control structures: “hierarchical” and “sequential.” These two control structures are not mutually exclusive. In the newsroom situation, “every position in this (sequential) control (of news) is also a position in the hierarchical control structure.” The hierarchical control is exercised downward. But in the sequential control of news, each news item is channeled from the bottom on upward. When these two control structures are put together, the effectiveness of control becomes dependent upon the degree of “self control” on the part of people located immediately below in the hierarchical structure. Without this “self control” anticipating the needs of the next higher

8) Ibid., p. 364.
9) Daniel Edward Garvey, Jr., Social Control in the Television Newsroom, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1971. Garvey was able to get full cooperation from only 3 stations out of 24 stations approached.
10) The other two types of control are “absolute” and “limited” controls. See Garvey, op. cit., p. 93.
level, persons in higher positions are very likely to be overburdened and the theoretically absolute control becomes a very limited one in practice.

For Garvey, "social control in the newsroom consists of the limitations placed upon alternative courses of action in preparing the content of news program based upon the individual's subjective evaluation of the probability of each alternative resulting in approval or disapproval by other members of news staff." \(^{12}\) Garvey's concern was primarily with social control as it affects news content.\(^{13}\) He differentiates two types of control, that is, "managerial" and "social."\(^{14}\) Social control is a sub-category of "group control,"\(^{15}\) and this form of control emerges under the following conditions: a) where members of the newsroom have "both a knowledge of individual contribution to content (of program) and a close, continuing, social relationship through which control can be exercised," and, b) where "the newsman knows his work is evaluated by his peer, and he comes to know that different social rewards and punishments are related to certain courses of action."\(^{16}\)

Garvey's major concern was "to determine whether or not some forms of social control in the newsroom can be identified as causing news content to conform to the policy of the management of the news-producing station."\(^{17}\)

His major findings are as follows:

a) social control takes place at some television newsrooms, but the phenomenon doesn't appear to be universal;

b) the absorption of policy doesn't seem to guarantee the conformity of news content to the policy. There can be several factors intervening between the two. One example is the possibility of misconception of policy;

c) news content would conform more closely to actual policy than to perceived managerial policy.

In connection with the managerial control Garvey discusses the impact of trade union in television newsrooms.\(^{18}\) In the theoretical framework of Breed the managerial power

---

12) Ibid., pp. 102-103.
13) Garvey recognizes other types of control such as philosophical, legal, managerial, professional, and ethical controls.
14) For example, the conformity arising from such factor as "mobility aspiration" is categorized by Garvey as the "managerial control."
15) Garvey, op. cit., p. 103.
16) Ibid., p. 93.
17) Ibid., p. 105.
18) Ibid., p. 71.
to fire, hire, promote, demote and assign staff journalists was assumed to play a compelling role in staff compliance with policy. But unlike the case of the newspaper newsroom, the management of television stations have little authority over personnel action because of strong unions. Promotion "out of union" into executive position is less likely to be an incentive because it often means a loss of security and overtime work. If social control takes place even where managerial control is weak, there must be some other factors involved in the process. According to Garvey, at least one of the factors is "the learning process for news values."10 Also, Garvey contends that a strong managerial policy doesn't necessarily mean more slant or bias. He found a case where "a high degree of control appears to protect rather than damage the integrity of the news."20

In the late 1960's (several years prior to Garvey's study) Bowers conducted a nationwide mail questionnaire survey of the managing editors of daily evening newspapers to estimate the publisher's activity in directing newsroom decisions.21 He found that the publishers were more likely to intervene in news decisions: a) in the news of local subjects, b) in areas likely to affect the revenues, and c) in areas involving themselves and their personal activity. In smaller newspapers (circulation of 15,000 copies or less) the publishers more often directed newsroom decisions.

Bowers' findings substantiated once again that publishers do influence news, but the amount of their intervention was not as extensive as generally imagined. For example, in local news—the area where the publishers were found to be most active—only 11 percent of the publishers were reported to take active part in the handling of news. Also, in these situations, the publishers' directions were more likely to be expressed than implied.22

In another study, Donohew investigated the extent to which publishers' attitudes are reflected in the columns of their respective newspapers.23 The publishers of 17 Kentucky

10) Ibid., p. 395.
20) Ibid., p. 366.
21) David R. Bowers, "A Report on Activity by Publishers in Directing Newsroom Decisions," Journalism Quarterly, 44:1, Spring 1967, pp. 43-52. Six hundred thirteen out of 1,042 newspapers returned the questionnaires. The return rate was 43.7%.
22) It will be remembered that Breed's findings say the opposite, that is: a) there is much intervention from the publisher, and, b) their directions tend to be implied. But it appears that the two studies (Breed's and Bowers') do not contradict each other because there would be less necessity of publisher's explicit intervention so long as the newsroom staff exercise "self control" in anticipation of publisher's needs in handling controversial news.
afternoon newspapers subscribing to one news service were interviewed concerning their attitude toward the "Medicare" issues and their estimate of community opinion on the issues. The content of their newspapers was analyzed with regard to the same issues. Donohew found: first, "publisher attitude appeared to hold up as the greatest single 'force' operating within the news channels;" and second, "there was little or no relationship between the coverage of the papers and the publishers' estimates of community opinion on the issue."25)

2) The Organizational Prerequisite Model

The Social Control model emphasizes intra-organizational factors as they affect staff reporters with regard to news content. The environmental factors are examined to the extent that they are related with the publishers. The publishers' personal interests (in most cases, private and extra journalistic) are assumed to be the major force largely determining the news content either through the on-the-job socialization or self-censorship on the part of staff members.

In the Organizational Prerequisite model attention is focused on the extra-organizational or environmental forces as constraints on the press affecting the news content through intra-organizational dynamics. The Government, regulatory agencies, competing organizations, market or audience, and financial resources are presumed to shape the presentation format and content of news product. The survival of the organization and/or its growth is assumed to be the major preoccupation that draws a rather narrow boundary for most news decisions.

One example of the Organizational Prerequisite model is offered by Epstein in his study of three Network Televisions in the United States.26) Epstein examined the structures imposed on Network television news from without and the effect of internal procedure of Network news. His position was that individual staff members generally modify their values over a long term period to meet the needs of their organizations.

To a television station (like a radio station) the most threatening environmental force

24) Ibid., p. 67. Other factors studied were the circulation of newspaper, and political, cultural and economic variables of the counties of each newspaper.
25) Ibid., p. 68.
is the Federal Communications Commission (FCC)—a Governmental regulatory agency. The periodic renewal of license requirement gives the FCC potentially powerful control over the operation of television stations. This arrangement makes television media politically vulnerable because the President of the U.S. and the Congress can exert their influences over them through the FCC. This is why the television media refrain as much as possible from taking a political position.

Two principles stipulated by the FCC—the Fairness Doctrine and the Public Interest, Convenience or Necessity Principle (PICON)—are especially well heeded by the television media because the FCC uses these principles as crucial criteria in reviewing the license renewal applications.

The Fairness Doctrine, as interpreted by the FCC, requires the television news to present both sides of a controversial issue. What matters is not whether the report is true but whether the report included both pro and con arguments.\textsuperscript{27} According to Epstein, television news has come to take the “Dialectical model” in observance of the Fairness Doctrine.\textsuperscript{28} But the problem arises from the fact that most controversies are complex and often more than two sides are involved. When forced into a pro-con model most controversial issues become oversimplified and consequently distort the real issues.\textsuperscript{29} Furthermore, the Dialectical model of presentation tends to favor organized groups because it is expedient to let the spokesmen speak. But there are some issues over which no opposition has been or can be organized. In these cases the issues are likely to be reported in the “Ironic model” in order to avoid the test of the Fairness Doctrine.\textsuperscript{30}

The PICON principle requires television news to provide “as much information as possible from diverse and competing sources which is relevant to the needs of the communities it serves.”\textsuperscript{31} A democratic society requires much information and varied viewpoints. But the number of television stations to be licensed in any community are limited because the airwaves are limited. One way to fulfill the democratic needs with a few stations is to require any single station to air several viewpoints. This seems to be one of the purposes of the PICON principle.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{27} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 66-68.
\item \textsuperscript{28} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 66-67. 168-169.
\item \textsuperscript{29} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 266.
\item \textsuperscript{30} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 169-170.
\item \textsuperscript{31} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 49.
\end{itemize}
The FCC places a relatively high value on national news.\textsuperscript{32} According to Epstein, national news is one of the factors that makes the local television stations (the Affiliate stations) dependent on the Networks.\textsuperscript{33} But the FCC characterizes the affiliate stations basically as a community organization in the service of community needs. The FCC further holds the affiliate stations responsible for determining what constitutes the public interest in their respective communities. In other words, the Networks are dependent on the affiliate stations for “clearance” of their programs.\textsuperscript{34} The Networks must have as many affiliate stations clear the airwaves in their respective communities for the Network program because the “clearance” would affect the program rating and the rating in turn would determine the amount of advertisement revenue—a lifeline for the Networks. Because of this mechanism, the producers of Networks tend to become “circumspect about proposing programs on subjects that might offend certain audiences or, more important, the affiliate owners who are the gatekeepers for those audiences.”\textsuperscript{35}

For the television Networks it is imperative to attract and/or to maintain a large audience. Audiences are more likely “inherited” from the preceding program. In other words, the audiences flow according to “the law of inertia than by free choice.”\textsuperscript{36} Accordingly, it becomes crucial to build the audiences early in the evening. The news programs are believed to attract a limited number of new audience at best but lose a considerable portion of audience at worst. Therefore, the emphasis is placed on audience maintenance. According to Epstein, these considerations are held responsible for the themes of potential conflict, action, easily recognizable images and forms of fictive story.\textsuperscript{37}

Because the news programs are less likely to draw new audiences and the point of diminishing return is rather low, the budget earmarked for news operations is rather limited. This limits the number of film crews for on-the-scene reporting. One way to efficiently use the limited number of film crew teams is to anticipate major events and assign the teams in advance. This mechanism favors scheduled events over unexpected ones.\textsuperscript{38} Because of the limited budget the Network news programs tend to cover the

\textsuperscript{32} A fourth rule is the “Equal Time” provision. But this provision is only applicable to election campaigns. Consequently its effect on the overall structure of television stations appears to be limited in comparison with the other three principles.

\textsuperscript{33} Epstein, \textit{News From Nowhere}, p. 54.

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 51-53.

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 56.

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 93.

\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 261-263.

\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 136, 260.
events in and around the several metropolises where they have their own television stations. This biases the Networks news toward “certain geographical areas of the country.” The limited budget also makes it expedient to “focus attention on a relatively small group of news makers who are actively engaged in conflicts or contests for office.”

Because of the necessity to save expenditure for transmitting filmed news, the Networks very often rely on airmail shipment of filmed news instead of expensive electronic relay. The airmailed stories become dated by the time they are delivered to the Networks. This is one of the major reasons why filmed news from certain remote areas of the United States and foreign countries tend to become “timeless” pieces.

The Networks prefer the generalist correspondents over the specialists. This preference also can be attributed to several structural constraints imposed upon the Networks. First of all, the educational level of the average television viewer is known to be somewhat lower than that of the average population. The sophisticated viewers who might seek specialized news reports are found to have almost no effect on the “audience flow.” Since FCC’s Fairness Doctrine prevents the Networks from taking a position on controversial issues, the generalists, unlike the specialists, are assumed less likely to get “involved in a story to a point of advocacy.” Related to this is the fact that it is easier for the producer or editor to control the generalists since he is not likely to know much more about the news than the producers. On the other hand, the specialists tend to know much more about the news than everyone else. Another structural constraint is that the specialist is limited to the areas of his major interest. He cannot therefore be assigned to cover diverse events. This limitation on the part of the specialist coupled with budgetary consideration generally force the Networks to select generalist correspondents.

What if a correspondent ignores some of these structural constraints and keeps filing reports in a manner that is contrary to the Network’s policy? If his style of reporting is feared to cause serious problems for the Network vis-à-vis the FCC, he would be put on the “black list” of producers. Here it will be remembered that television news reporting is operated fundamentally through an assignment system. The importance of one’s value as a correspondent to the organization is related to the nature of the assignments.

The coverage of important events establishes and reinforces the reputation (and ergo

---

40) Ibid., p. 261.
41) Ibid., p. 249.
42) Ibid., pp. 136-138.
the value) of the correspondents. On the other hand, failure to get such important assignments soon reduces the importance or value of the particular correspondent to the organization. According to Epstein, this "blacklisting" is one of the strong control mechanisms to bring the correspondents into line with the Network policies. The main point of Epstein's Networks study is that "the pictures of society that are shown on television as national news are largely—though not entirely—performed and shaped by organizational consideration."  

3) The Audience Model

This model assumes that news stories tend to be affected by the image that newsmen have of the audience. Two levels of audience types are differentiated here: manifest and latent audiences. The manifest audience for newsmen is the general public. But evidences show that newsmen usually write their stories with their publishers or managements, news sources, and/or colleague journalists in mind. These latent audiences exert influences because they provide immediate evaluations and feedbacks. On the other hand, feedback from the general public is mostly distant, indirect, and inarticulate.

Pool and Shulman found that newsmen's image of audiences tend to bear on their story-writing. First, while writing a story, newsmen usually think of some person(s) or group(s) other than the "average middle-class man who buys this newspaper"; secondly, one type of newsmen (whose image of audiences is positive and who tries to win favor from the audiences) tends to write positive stories and would have trouble reporting negative facts, while another type of newsmen (with a flow of unusually critical imaginary interlocutors) tends to "report good news inaccurately, for it does not serve the purpose of his fantasies"; thirdly, "the population of interlocutors" in the newsmen's mind (latent audiences) tends to remain relatively constant over time.

The idea of latent audiences provides a useful common ground for some different models. For example, the, the Social Control model, Organizational Prerequisite model,

43) Ibid., p. 76.
44) Ibid., p. 258.
and Work-structure model (to be discussed later) can be understood, in part, from the Audience model perspective. The publisher in the Social Control model, the management in the Organizational Prerequisite model, and the news sources in the Work-structure model all have one thing in common in that they are the latent and immediate audiences for newsmen in the Audience model.

Rosten observed that Washington correspondents were very sensitive to the feedbacks from their publisher or editors at the home offices. (The similar observation was made by Breed in his study of the newsrooms in the Eastern part of the United States.) Epstein pointed out how receptive Network TV correspondents are to their management which, in turn, is very sensitive to the FCC and the affiliate stations.

Also Rosten and Epstein noted, newsmen cannot afford to antagonize their major news sources. Here, there is a reciprocal relationship between the news source and the newsmen. Newsmen are dependent upon the source for information and this source of information is often dependent upon the newsmen for publicity. In a study of the City Hall "beat" in a suburban California city, Gieber and Johnson found that reporters maintained closer social distance with news sources and colleague newsmen than with their anonymous readers. Some City Hall beat reporters were reported admitting, "with some disgust," that they "found themselves writing for the sources, not their editors or audience." The City Hall officials seemed to perceive "a negative loyalty" on the part of the beat reporters in the sense that "they won't do the 'city' an injustice in a dispute." Furthermore, the beat reporters and their sources were found to "share some elementary values" such as an avoidance of conflict. The sources sometimes were known to seek advice from the reporters on city business. Through these interactions the reporters in many cases come to "find themselves a part of the governmental process," especially, in a showdown with an "outside" agency.

This interdependent relationship tends to make reporters unofficial spokesmen of news sources. Many agree with this observation. But some suspect that the "consensus" approach vis-a-vis news sources may be found more often among the reporters of local

48) Ibid., pp. 293-294.
49) Ibid., p. 295.
50) Ibid., p. 296.
51) Ibid., p. 296.
papers in smaller communities, than in larger metropolitan newspapers. To put it differently, the larger the size of the community, the more likely are the reporters to take a "conflict" approach.\(^{52}\)

The third latent audience are colleague-reporters. There are two types of colleagues for reporters. One consists of reporters covering the same news area but who work for competing media organizations and the other consists of fellow reporters working within the same news organization but who cover overlapping or neighboring news areas. These reporters constitute a powerful reference group as competitors, as cooperators, and always as evaluators. Newsmen avidly read their own paper, competing papers, and papers from metropolitan centers (regional or national centers). They do this partly in search of "news" and partly because of an "obsessional fear" of being "scooped."\(^{53}\) Breed observed "the dendritic pattern of influence exercised by leading newspapers" with regard to both professional and technical norms.\(^{54}\) Tunstall observed that competitor-colleague norms require a sharing of routine information and some reciprocity in general exchange of information. On the basis of this observation he hypothesized that "cooperation would be greatest where competition is thought to be greatest" and also where "the pressure from the news organization towards competition and 'scoops' is strongest."\(^{55}\)

The Audience model points out that latent audience exerts great influence in news reporting. But there has been no serious attempt to analyze the relative effects of the three major latent audiences on different reporters and in relation to issues or events.

4) The Work-Structure Model

In both the Social Control and the Organizational Prerequisite models the staff journalists are not given much independence in news decisions. They are perceived as generally conforming to the publisher’s policy and organizational constraints. But the Work-Structure model, like the Professionalism model, recognizes some room for independent maneuvering on the part of the journalists.


\(^{54}\) Breed, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 194-196.

There are two main positions in the Work-Structure model. First, the newsman's work is done generally beyond the reach of observation by the management. The less observable the work, the less subject to control it becomes. In other words, there is some built-in work structure whereby newsmen maintain considerable amount of autonomy in their news activities. Second, newsmen develop some mechanism with which to manage and reduce the uncertainty and competition to a tolerable level. Informal exchange of information among colleague-journalists and "planting stories" in newspapers other than their own are some forms of cooperation among journalists to "beat" the policy. Both Rosten and Breed recognized this mechanism even though their respective studies were based on the Social Control model.

Rosten observed among the Washington correspondents in the 1930's a practice of exchanging carbon copies of news articles. This form of cooperation was possible and seemed necessary because of: 1) variations in news markets (e.g., when a correspondent from the eastern area comes across stories relevant to the western region, he passes the information on to a friend correspondent from the western region); 2) variation of readers' interest (e.g., a correspondent whose major audiences are farmers can give industry-related news to a colleague correspondent whose major audiences are industrial workers); and 3) differences in newspaper policy (e.g., a correspondent working for a Republican paper passes pro-Democrat news to his colleague correspondent working for a Democratic paper).\(^{56}\)

An interesting co-operative device was (and still is) to "plant a story" in someone else's newspaper. This device was employed when a correspondent wanted to circumvent the policy of the home office. For example, a correspondent digs out very important news. But he knows that his newspaper would kill the story because it doesn't conform to the controller's policy. So, he leaks some piece of the news to the correspondent from a competing newspaper and lets him break the news before he himself files in a fuller and in-depth story to his newspaper. Since management cannot ignore a big news, his story is unlikely to be shelved even if it is counter to policy.\(^{57}\)

Breed relates the degree of autonomy for working newsmen with the type of news stories depending on the story initiator. For example, newsmen have virtually no autonomy in policy or campaign stories. They also don't have much leeway in handling the stories

\(^{56}\) Rosten, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 88-89.
\(^{57}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. 95.
assigned by the editors. Concerning the stories covering the "beat," they tend to enjoy more autonomy. But when it comes to self-initiated stories, newsmen are given greater freedom.\textsuperscript{58}

One effective device of newsmen in imposing their own marks vis-a-vis the policy of the publisher is built in the reporter-news source relationship.\textsuperscript{59} This device is especially effective for those assigned to cover important agencies of the government. Rule number one for newsmen is to "keep news sources open." Mass media depend heavily upon the quality of relationship that their newsmen maintain with important news sources. Even if the policy of newspaper requires it, newsmen cannot always write articles critical of their news sources because these sources provide information generally in exchange for favorable publicity.\textsuperscript{60} In the case where the policy of newspaper is pro-source, reporters often employ some devices (e.g., "planted story") to get anti-source articles printed. By maintaining a delicate balance between pro-and anti source or pro-and anti policy postures, newsmen enhance their prestige and thereby increase their autonomy. In fact, newsmen are more loyal to their "beats" than to their news organizations. Obligation to the sources, pressure from the sources, or socialization into the sources' value system are attributed to be the reasons newsmen become "spokesmen" for their beats.

In his case study of a major metropolitan newspaper,\textsuperscript{61} Stark examined the conflicting needs of policy implementation and organizational survival. Loyal reporters ("locals") were less qualified for the job and therefore dysfunctional to the organization for survival in a competitive market. On the other hand, qualified reporters ("pros") were less loyal and consequently dysfunctional to the organization in policy implementation. The organizational necessity to keep some qualified reporters provides the "pros" with "independent power resources" to withstand the policy pressure to some extent.\textsuperscript{62}

Stark saw three major "weapons" to "beat the policy or control."\textsuperscript{63} One is the weapon

\textsuperscript{58} Breed, \textit{Newspaperman, News and Society,} pp. 178-179.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., pp. 368, 401, 403, 407.
\textsuperscript{60} There are other reasons. Inter or intra organizational conflict or personal strife sometimes lead to news leakage. Also for purposes of trial balloon the government officials provide information to newsmen.
\textsuperscript{62} The sources of power for the "pros" include two other related factors. One is that the "pros" tend to have contacts with important news sources. The other is that they usually have more relevant facts available.
\textsuperscript{63} Stark, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 27-29 On the other hand, Stark also discusses the various mechanisms
of commission, that is, "the techniques for getting anti-policy material into print." The "pros" can sometimes distract their editors (the publisher's man) away from his article by handling an important news item casually thereby bypassing the policy man. The "pros" can now and then file in an important story just before the deadline, practically depriving the editor of control. The "pros" can also resort to the device of the "planted story."

The second weapon is one of omission, that is, "the ways of keeping policy material out of print." This can be done: 1) by holding back materials that can be played up "out of proportion" for policy purpose, and, 2) by taking time in locating materials necessary for policy articles.

The third weapon is "the styles of writing which moderate policy without actually censoring it." Stark explains this by quoting one editor: "You can make a man write clearly and correctly, but you can not make him put guts and jazz into copy when he doesn't want to." 64)

Tunstall revealed two types of autonomy among special correspondents: 1) autonomy from news sources, and 2) autonomy from their news organization. In the former case, Tunstall categorized goals of articles: Advertising goals (e.g., fashion and motoring stories), Audience goals (e.g., crime and football stories), Mixed goals (e.g., aviation, education, and labor stories), and Non-revenue goals (e.g., parliamentary stories and foreign news). Advertising goal newsmen are under strong control by news sources especially when these news sources coincide with prominent advertisers. The degree of autonomy from news sources is likely to increase as the stories relate more closely to non-revenue goal type. In this regard, foreign correspondents have greater autonomy in relation to news sources. 65)

According to Tunstall autonomy from news organization is related to the degree of observability. An activity is more likely to enjoy autonomy when it takes place beyond the reach of direct surveillance. Here, Tunstall differentiates between two types of newsmen: the news gatherer and the news processor. 66) The news processors work in the newsroom and come under direct surveillance of the controllers. The news gatherers spend more of their working hours outside the newsroom and consequently enjoy more

---

64) Ibid., p. 28.
65) Tunstall, Journalists at Work, pp. 119-120, 149.
66) Ibid., pp. 30-36.
autonomy.\textsuperscript{67}

The degree of autonomy for the newsman seems to be greater: 1) when he maintains good relationships with important sources, 2) when he has specialized knowledge in the areas he handles, 3) when he enjoys higher status and greater prestige, and 4) when he has extra income sources and, therefore, is less dependent on the news organization.

In the process of news gathering, Tunstall feels that there is more cooperation among colleague newsmen on the same "beat" to reduce uncertainty (e.g., of being scooped) and to increase their autonomy when there is more competitive pressure from the news organization.\textsuperscript{68}

5) The Nature-of-News Model

This model assumes that the news dictates a story. In this model newsmen are given the role of a passive gatekeeper since events are perceived to come to them. When put in an extreme form, this model tends to regard the press as a mirror reflecting the society. Also there are two views regarding news as events. News is generally defined as unexpected happenings. But another view regards news as events expected but unpredictable. According to Park, "If it is the unexpected that happens, it is not the wholly unexpected that gets into the news...births and deaths, weddings and funerals, the condition of the crops and of business, war, politics and the weather. These are expected things, but they are at the same time the unpredictable things...things that one fears and that one hopes for..."\textsuperscript{69}

Also, not all the news is printed in newspapers or broadcast through electronic media. The limited space and time require some selectivity in the news. The question then is: what kinds of news assert themselves through newspaper space or airwaves? In a study of the structure of foreign news reported in Norwegian newspapers Galtung and Ruge examined various aspects of events that are considered more likely to get the events printed.\textsuperscript{70} They first classified two groups of factors. One is held to be relatively "culture-

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., p. 138.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid., pp. 218-249.
free" and the other considerably "culture-bound." Under a "culture-free" condition an event is more likely to be reported by mass media: a) the more similar its frequency\(^{71}\) is with that of media, b) the stronger its signal and the greater its amplitude, c) the less ambiguous, d) the more culturally close and relevant, e) the more predictable, f) the more unexpected,\(^{72}\) g) to the extent it was reported before, and h) to the degree it is under-represented as compared to other areas of news.\(^{73}\)

The "culture-bound" factors are differential orientations "influencing the transition from events to news." They are: a) elite nation centered vs. non-elite nation centered, b) elite people centered vs. non-elite people centered, c) person centered vs. structure centered, and d) negative centered vs. positive centered.\(^{74}\)

According to Galtung and Ruge, the social system and historical stage would determine the differential combination of these four aspects and, consequently, the structure of news. For example, the news structure in the Western countries is more likely to be oriented toward elite nations, elite person, personification, and negativization. On the other hand, in the Soviet Union the news is more likely to be structured around elite persons (big power orientation) and social structure and positive aspects (socialist orientation). But with regard to news of Capitalist countries, the news structure of the Soviet Union might take a different form, such as negativization and a combination of personification and social structure. In the case of newly independent developing nations the news structure would take a pattern of "non-elite nation, elite person, personification, and positive aspects" for reports concerning themselves, but a different pattern for news involving former colonial powers.\(^{75}\)

In a study of television news editors in some Midwestern states, Buckalew found that news facets or dimensions of news would affect the probability of the news stories being used.\(^{76}\) A pool of 64 news stories representing various facets of news were presented to

---

71) The term "frequency" refers to "the time-span needed for an event to unfold itself and acquire meaning."

72) It will be recalled that Robert E. Park defined news as events expected but unpredictable. To the extent that news is perceived as something people know about, Park and Galtung seem to be in agreement.


12 television news editors for sorting in rank order from "most probably use" to "least probably use." News stories were found more likely to be chosen when they contained conflict, high impact, proximate, and timely elements. Although the editors were generally alike in their selection of news stories, small community editors appeared to value proximate items high whereas large community editors playing up timeliness and conflict items.

In another study of newspaper and television news editors, Clyde and Buckalew found conflict, proximity, and timely news elements more highly valued than high impact or known principal elements.\(^7^7\)

6) The Professionalism Model

This model assumes that news content is controlled to a considerable extent by the professional orientation or ethics of newsmen. The professional orientation or ethics help newsmen maintain their standards against pressures from publishers and news sources. In contrast to the Social Control and Organizational Prerequisite models, the Professional model tends to empathize with the aspect of upward control of news content.

Recently some mass media scholars began to show interest in professionalization of newsmen. Their interests were not so much in the professionalization of the press as an occupation but, instead, the professional orientation of individual newsmen. By assuming that some newsmen are more professionally oriented than others, they shifted the concept of professionalization from an attribute of the press to a variable in the occupation.

McLeod and Hawley constructed a Professional Orientation index and demonstrated its usefulness in their study of editorial employees of two Milwaukee newspapers.\(^7^8\) The Professional Orientation index is based on the newsmen's subjective evaluation concerning 24 job characteristics. McLeod and Hawley also constructed a Professional Implementation index with 13 questions involving several aspects of their performance and activities. They found that the Professionally oriented newsmen strongly desire changes in the direction of Professional Implementation.\(^7^9\)


\(^7^9\) McLeod and Hawley also found: a) "the Professionals use somewhat different standards of judgement, b) "the Professional group exhibits the more distinctive set of specific judgements," c) "the Professionals exhibit significantly greater homogeneity of judgement," and, d) "the Professionals are more critical of their newspapers."
In a replication of the McLeod and Hawley study, Eapen found that the more professionally oriented Indian journalists more strongly want professional enhancements in journalism.  

80) On the other hand, Nayman found that the differential degree of Professional Orientation does not have significant effects on the Professional Implementation score among Turkish journalists. All the Turkish journalists generally subscribed to more professional enhancement.  

81) In the early 1970's Lattimore and Nayman took another approach and examined the relationship between subjective Professional Orientation and actual performance reflected in newspaper columns. 83) They obtained a Professional Orientation score for individual journalists of 26 daily newspapers in Colorado. For a Performance index they selected 10 out of 26 newspapers and developed an index score for each of the 10 newspapers by analyzing article content. 83) The relationship between Professional Orientation and Performance was examined for the 10 newspapers for which the Performance index was computed. Lattimore and Nayman found a positive and significant relationship between subjective Professionalism and actual Performance.

Most of the studies discussed above also examined who were more likely to be professionally oriented. The comparisons were between newsmen or between newsmen and non-editorial employees. Somewhat different from these studies was the study by Leroy who tried to compare the levels of Professionalism of television newsmen with those of 12 other occupations. 84) Leroy used Richard Hall's 50-item Professional Scale involving 5 dimensions of Professionalism: 1) professional organization as a reference group, 2) belief in public service, 3) belief in self-regulation, 4) sense of calling to the field, and, 5) feeling of autonomy.

According to Leroy, the level of professionalism of the television newsmen in his sample fell between the 9th and 10th ranks of Hall's 12 occupations. Television newsmen alone

83) Significance, Accuracy, Diversity, and Comprehensiveness were the four aspects of news coverage involved in the Performance index.
(excluding cameramen and other miscellaneous personnel) occupied the 9th rank.\textsuperscript{86} In addition, Leroy selected 6 background variables to see which one explained the variation in professionalism among television newsmen. The background variables included \textit{market size, age, years in broadcast journalism, years of education, college major} and \textit{newspaper experience}. Out of these 6 variables only the size of market showed a significant association with the degree of professionalism. According to Leroy, "market size does not 'cause' higher professionalism, but it perhaps facilitates and rewards its existence in television journalist."\textsuperscript{86}

In another study Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman examined the Professional values of newsmen.\textsuperscript{87} By "Professional Values" they meant orientation concerning "Media Functions," which in effect were similar to the "Professional Implementation" concept. This study draws attention because it is probably the first nation-wide study of mass media communicators ever attempted in the United States. The study also cut across all major mass media-daily and weekly newspapers, news magazines, wire services, radio and television stations, and networks.

From the responses to 8 questions about media functions they constructed a typology of newsmen-participant and neutral newsmen. American newsmen were found oriented more to "participant" than to "neutral" media functions. Investigative reporting and analysis-interpretation appeared to be highly valued by newsmen.\textsuperscript{88}

Several aspects of newsmen's social and professional characteristics were examined to find out how these aspects were related to "participant" and "neutral" orientation. A regression analysis indicated that "participant" newsmen are more likely to be found among younger journalists with high education, working in an urban environment and in closer social relations within the professional community. On the other hand, "neutral" newsmen are more likely to be found among older journalists with more responsible organizational position, living in a smaller city, and with a wider community involvement.\textsuperscript{89}

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., p. 54.
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., pp. 57-58.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., p. 527.
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., pp. 536-540.
7) The Gatekeeper Model:

In a broad sense, any study of journalists and their news activities is a gatekeeper study. But the term "Gatekeeper model" has a very special application. Comparisons with the Social Control and Work-Structure models will reveal the difference.

First, the Social Control model deals mostly in gatekeeping on a collective basis, while the Gatekeeper model is concerned generally with gatekeeping on an individual basis. Second, the Social Control model examines structural and/or situational aspects of news gathering and processing, whereas the Gatekeeper model probes into the effects of newsman's personality and/or attitudes on news activities. Third, the Social Control model assumes a downward control. The Gatekeeper model, on the other hand, stresses the importance of upward control exercised by the rank and file reporters. Fourth, the Social Control model gives the publishers the power of commissioning news stories, whereas the Gatekeeper model sees the power of reporters in omitting news materials. In short, the two models are diametrically opposed to each other.90

The Gatekeeper model is different from the Work-Structure model in one aspect. For the former, one major question is how the personality and attitude of reporters affect news contents. For the latter, an important question is what aspects of work structure help reporters preserve their autonomy and in what way. On the other hand, the Gatekeeper and Work-Structure models have one thing in common. Both models deal with some aspects of upward control of news content, that is, how the journalists control the management and/or publisher.

In the late 1940's White examined how one wire editor of a Midwestern newspaper selected the news.91 White found that gatekeeping is subjective and is based on the person's own set of experiences, attitudes, and expectations.

In a study of telegraph editors of 16 Wisconsin dailies receiving only one wire service, Gieber contradicted White's observations and concluded that "his (editor's) personal evaluations rarely entered into his selection (of news items) process."92 In terms of the

90) The comparisons of the two models are based mostly on Garvey, Social Control in the Television Newsroom, pp. 49-50.
reasons for selecting any news item there were considerable differences among editors. But in terms of the types of news items selected and displayed there were no major differences. Gieber attributed this phenomenon to "the pressure exerted by the reality of the newsroom bureaucratic structure and its operation" and "the values of his employers." Gieber contended that "the reporter's individuality (in handling news) is strongly tempered by extra-personal factors."

Van Tubergen examined both attitudes and stereotypes of editors and reporters with regard to their impact on handling news involving a minority race (negroes). His findings show that one type of newsmen tends to describe negroes in traditional-positive ways and another type depicts negroes as contemporary middle-class peers, and that a third type of journalists tends to picture them in traditional-negative way.

Flegel and Chaffee studied reporters as gatekeepers. They found that: 1) "...the reporters on both papers were strongly directed in their reporting by their own opinions. The views of their editors and readers, at least where they differed from their personal opinion, were much less influential." And, 2) "...they (reporters) ignored external social pressures, including those within their own occupational bureaucracies, but did not ignore their own personal convictions...and that this process was apparently a very conscious one."

III. Conclusion

In terms of control patterns, the seven different models reviewed above can be grouped into three major perspectives. The Social Control and Organizational Prerequisite models examine mostly the process of downward control. The Professionalism, Nature-of-News, and Gatekeeper models explore chiefly the process of upward control. The Work Structure and Audience models occupy the position between the two perspectives, sometimes working in one direction and other times in the opposite direction, depending on

95) Ibid., p. 650. Flegel and Chaffee consider these findings "quite tentative" because "the sample of reporters is small and control variables are missing. Correlational data are open to many interpretations" and further because it is plausible that "their editors may deliberately select them (reporters) to report on persons or positions with which they (reporters) sympathize."
specific situations.

The seven models generally describe major aspects of forces involved in the flow of news. Considered separately, each of these models offers a coherent and convincing perspective. But what would be more interesting is to examine structures of mechanisms whereby these forces interact with each other. The patterns of interaction are believed to differ depending on the types of news to be covered, the specific circumstances they are placed under, and the particular culture they find themselves in.

It appears to be in this area of research that more effort should be made in order to present a wholer picture of mechanisms involving mass media communicators in their reportorial activities.