

ORGANIZATIONAL ATTACHMENT FOR NEWSPAPER REPORTERS: HOW
PROFESSIONAL SENTIMENTS COME INTO PLAY

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by
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The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

**ORGANIZATIONAL ATTACHMENT OF NEWSPAPER REPORTERS:
HOW PROFESSIONAL SENTIMENTS COME INTO PLAY**

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A candidate for the degree of master of arts

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ABSTRACT

This study explores how newspaper reporters become attached to their organizations, specifically focusing on the dynamics between attachment, professional sentiments and workplace relationships. Attachment is defined as a perceived oneness with the organization that leads employees to embrace and behave according to organizational values and interests. Drawing from Borden 's (1997) work, this study developed measurements for journalism and business values of the individual as well as journalism and business values that are perceived to be celebrated by the organization. Work relationship is operationalized as the perceived quality of communication in the workplace.

Mixed methods were used in an attempt to provide insights that are both contextual and generalizable. Quantitative data from an online survey on 141 reporters were triangulated with qualitative data produced from depth interviews with 10 reporters with varying tenure and experience. Journalism value acts as a reference point with which reporters frame their feelings toward the characteristics of their organization, co-workers, editors, top management, readers and personal identity. Organizational journalism value is found to be a significant predictor of organizational attachment. Person-organization differences in terms of value profiles correlate negatively with attachment, with organizational journalism value as the driving factor for outcome improvement. Work relationship with top management serves as a stronger predictor of attachment than work relationship with co-workers.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Journalists, seeing themselves as professionals, tend to identify with their professions more than with their organizations (Russo, 1998). Reports of journalists modifying or sacrificing journalistic standards for business demands have been demeaned and rebuked by both scholars and practitioners (Borden, 1997). Yet in this day and age, when the newspaper industry faces an increasing threat of staff cuts, buyouts and declining circulation, whether journalists commit to the organization and its operational goal plays an increasing heavy role in the paper's survival. Thus this study will explore how newspaper journalists attach or detach with their paper.

When conflicts break out between journalistic and business goals, journalistic ethics demands news workers stay true to professional values, albeit with some care to avoid extreme resistance against the news organization (Borden, 2000). Perhaps as a result of the emphasis on professional over organizational culture, few studies have been conducted on the relationship between journalists and the institutions they work for. In terms of work condition some literature is available on the job satisfaction of news workers (Keith, 2005), placing the focus on the occupation rather than the organization. Yet this is a topic not only important to newspapers seeking to boost their staff morale after encountering changes in policy and ownership, but also journalists looking to establish their roots at a specific workplace. What's more, newspaper managers, especially those of small community newspapers which entry reporters use as a springboard into their career, would want to know how to keep a reporter working on board, and what factors would drive them away.

Attitude toward the organization is affected by a variety of factors. To narrow the scope of the research, this study will focus on how journalists' journalistic and business

values and their perceived quality of newsroom relationship affect their identification with the paper. The former is drawn with regard to cases in which business demands force journalists to modify or even sacrifice their professional standards. The latter is a key factor that affects the part of journalistic routine that takes place within the newsroom. Using a mixed method of survey and depth interview, this research aims to collect data that come with both context and generalizability.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this research is to understand why and how journalists come to develop attachments to their news organization. By focusing on attitudes of newspaper journalists, this study ultimately embraces a paradigm that approaches reality through the framework of “social meanings or perceptions” (Silverman, p.96). This paper approaches the issue of attachment through the concept of “identification,” defined as employees’ perceived oneness with the organization (Mael & Ashforth, 1992). Through the overlap of organizational identity with self identity, the employee sees organizational value and interests as his or her own. Thus journalists who identify with their news organization act according to the best interest of the organizations and take personally criticism or praise to the organizations. This concept echoes Allen & Meyer’s (1999) definition of affective organizational commitment and a dimension in Wasti’s (2005) concept of organizational citizenship behavior. Although scholars of both communication and management have tried to distinguish between identification and commitment, each researcher ended up with his or her own definition of the concepts, resulting in murky distinctions between studies on the two topics.

Organizational Commitment/Identification

Organizational commitment is conceptualized by Allen & Meyer (1990) into three dimensions: attitudinal or affective commitment, which is drawn from positive work experience, continuance commitment, which is derived from prior investment and possible cost of leaving the organization, and normative commitment, which is loyalty, or sense of obligation to remain attached to the organization. All three dimensions, co-existing simultaneously (Wasti, 2005), point to a psychological attachment to the

organization, with normative commitment found to be highly correlated with affective commitment.

According to Porter, Steers, Mowday & Boulian (1974), affective commitment is the belief in the organizational goal and value, willingness to make effort for the organization and desire for organizational membership. This definition adds an emphasis on intention to put organizational affection into action. The action aspect of organizational commitment is what inspires researchers to predict for this attitude outcomes such as better job performance or lower turnover and absenteeism (e. g. Guzley, 1992; Baugh & Roberts, 1994). Sacrificing and sharing behaviors in the work place are seen as outcomes of commitment as well (Fedor & Longenecker, 1990).

Researchers who have identified multiple significant correlations between commitment and other organizational factors have yet to establish a causal relationship between commitment, intent to leave and turnover. For example, commitment strongly correlates to employee turnover. Yet it is unclear as to whether commitment influences employees' intention of leaving the organization, or, according to the member-based model developed by Angle & Perry (1983, as cited in Pierce & Dunham, 1987) the very fact that employees chooses to stay at the organization strengthens their commitment. This paper takes the former stance of seeing organizational commitment as directly linked to intention of quitting, but not the actual behavior of quitting (Pierce & Dunham, 1987).

Another factor that is often studied alongside commitment is job satisfaction. While commitment targets at the organization as a whole, job satisfaction is developed in response to particular aspects of the job or the working environment (Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982). Again, although a positive correlation is observed between the two variables (Cheney, 1983), the causal relationship is uncertain. Becker, Sobowale & Cobbey (1979) declare that job satisfaction was a cause for organizational commitment. Another model developed by Aranya & Ferris (1984) sees job satisfaction as the result

of organizational commitment. A third interpretation is that job satisfaction and organizational commitment have no causal relationship but instead share common antecedents (Trombetta & Rogers, 1988). This study is inclined to define the relationship between the two variables as a dualism. Commitment to the organization affects the degree to which employees are satisfied with their jobs, which in turn influences their organizational attachment. Regarding the negative side of employee attitudes, commitment is found to mediate the extent of job displeasure, a variable that combined the aspects of job dissatisfaction, organizational withdrawal intent and irritation (Begley & Czajka, 1993).

At a first glance, literature on organizational identification largely differs from that of organizational commitment, as the former focus less on the behavioral aspect and more on the cognitive and emotional dimensions. Early concept of identification connects strongly to the internal perceptions of employees. As a result, Cheney (1983a) developed a method of measurement of organizational identification by measuring feelings of similarity, belonging and membership. Identification with the organization implies cognition of sameness within the organizational body, which keeps the organization distinct from others in an environment of change (Cheney & Tompkins, 1987). While the majority of identification research treated the identification process as rational and conscious (Cheney & Tompkins, 1987; Scott, Corman & Cheney, 1998; Kuhn & Nelson, 2002), some scholars also acknowledged the emotional elements of identification (Larkey & Morill, 1995; Scott et al., 1998; Morgan et al, 2004). Identification and commitment in essence connect members emotionally with their organization (Cheney & Tompkins, 1987; Larkey & Morill, 1995; Russo, 1998).

Identification is more than attitudinal, though. Members who identify strongly with their organization celebrate the organization's achievements and take its failures personally (Mael & Ashforth, 1992). This intense attachment pushes employees to manifest their identification through their behavior, such as making decisions that they

perceive to be best for the organization (Tompkins & Cheney, 1985). Thus organizational identification becomes a premise for the theory of concertive control (Tompkins & Cheney, 1985). First proposed by Barker (1993), this theory claims that workers who highly identify with their organization are under tighter control than ever before because they act in accordance to the organization's best interest even without bureaucratic supervision. Once the identification is put into action, it enhances the tie between the individual and the organization even more (Pratt, 1998).

Organizational identification is valued in the corporate world not only because of its connection with low turnover and productivity as seen in the literature on concertive control. (Barker & Tompkins, 1994; Bullis & Bach, 1989, 1991; Cheney, 1983a, 1983b; Tompkins & Cheney, 1985), but also the benefit of having employees uphold organizational interest as their foremost priority (Cheney, 1983b). Russo (1998) finds that employees who are highly identified with their organization also enjoy higher job satisfaction and work autonomy. Sass & Canary (1991) also identify positive relationship between job satisfaction and career commitment. Most communication scholars (Cheney, 1983b; Scott, 1998, 1999) acknowledge that high organizational identification results in low employee turnover. Another possible outcome of organizational identification is a stronger sense of self-efficacy that stemmed from the prestige of the corporate identity (Cheney, 1983b). Yet not all outcomes of identification are positive. Mael & Ashforth (1992) warn against unethical behavior that may stem from over-dependence on a tyrannical organization. In addition, employees may lose their individuality that enables them to take risks or generate innovations.

Identification as a concept is often entangled with loyalty and commitment (Kuhn & Nelson, 2002; Morgan, Reynolds, Nelson, Johanningmeier, Griffin & Andrade, 2004). Researchers tried to clarify the boundary of the concepts by placing them dividing them into categories such as attitudinal versus cognitive (Pratt, 1998),

attitudinal versus behavioral (Sass & Canary, 1989) or process versus product (Cheney, 1983b; Cheney & Tompkins, 1987). Despite the attempts to separate the terms (Larkey & Morrill, 1995), employees themselves use the terms as synonyms during research interviews (Morgan et al, 2004). This blurring between concepts is explained by Morgan et al.(2004) as a desire to achieve an integrated understanding of identification. The proposition is supported by Russo's (1998) claim that organizational members tend to arrive at integrated instead of fragmented understanding of their identities. Thus this study will treat the three terms as synonymous.

While some researchers see identification as a trait that remains stable over time, this approach receives criticism from scholars whose studies have shown that identification level fluctuates with changes on the organization or individual level (Tompkins & Cheney, 1985; Larkey & Morill, 1995). For example, Bullis & Bach (1989) points out that when individuals experience change in their work-related relationship, they go through tuning points in their feelings toward their organization. These shifts in feelings may be attributed to identity shifts on the part of the organization, which is found to affect the degree of which members identify with the solidarities (Dutton et al., 1994; Scott et al. 1998) and even result in dis-identification (Disanza & Bullis, 1999). Changes impact identification negatively because employees show a tendency to hold on to their existing identities (Russo, 1998).

A Tentative Model

In an attempt to apply the concept of commitment to the field of journalism, Becker, Sobowale & Cobbey (1979) create a model of organizational commitment for reporters that involved training and background, professional sentiments, organizational characteristics, non-organizational factors, job sentiment and job satisfaction. This model focuses mostly on affective and continual commitment. Becker et al. (1979) place the interdependent factors within the context of a typical

journalist's socialization process. First they project that during the anticipatory socialization phase, training and background influence "sentiments" toward a profession. Once a reporter enters an organization, factors both at and off work further come into play with the sentiments previously developed. They affect both organizational commitment and job satisfaction, which is a hypothesized causal factor for organizational commitment.

The model's emphasis on socialization process is echoed by Pratt (1998), who sees identification as occurring through affinity and emulation. Individuals recognize goals and values of the organization as similar to their own (affinity) while changing their self-conceptions to align with their organization. Both behaviors, especially the latter, take place throughout the organizational entry and assimilation process. Other scholars have found that organizational identification process begin as early as the anticipatory socialization stage (Gibson & Papa, 2000; Morgan et al., 2004). Jablin (1987) notes how in this stage coworkers, supervisors and formal policy – communicated via means such as handbook, newsletters, orientation, or internal memo – facilitate organizational socialization during the encounter stage. His claims that these factors facilitate members' learning of organizational values and how they are expected to behave overlaps with Cheney's (1983a, 1983b) definition of organizational identification and Porter et al.'s (1974) definition of organizational commitment. Official communications begin to serve the function of reinforcing identification at the metamorphosis stage (Jablin, 1987, p.706).

An underlying assumption of looking at commitment from the perspective of organizational socialization is the importance of organizational tenure. When an employee moves from the anticipatory socialization stage to the encounter stage, and then again to the metamorphosis stage, his or her tenure increases as well. Indeed, Barker & Tompkins (1994) discover a positive relationship between the tenure of employees and their level of identification.

Becker et al. (1979) found quantitative evidence that supported their model, but admitted to limited detail in their operationalization of the variables. For example, training and background is operationalized only as education, age, sex and ideology; the level of organizational commitment is operationalized by asking about reporters' intent to leave within the next five years. No discussion is made regarding the dis-identification with the organization, but this study proposes that factors that prompt organizational identification can also discourage organizational identification when placed on the other end of the spectrum.

Preliminary findings offered by Becker et al. (1979) described organizationally committed journalists, compared to those who are not committed, as less educated, older, married with families, better paid, more likely to work for large print organizations and more likely to see pay, benefit, or chance for promotion (i.e. values that stimulate continuance commitment) as important. These journalists are more conservative and inclined to believe that the media should be neutral. They receive less feedback from co-workers and more feedback from the community. They agree with the editorial stances, respect their bosses and report high job satisfaction. They tend to lack network of professional friends and contact with other media organization. (Becker et. al, 1979, p.759-760). Again, causal relationship between organizational commitment and most of the factors, aside from master identities such as gender and age, are unclear.

The factors look like a list of non-related items when laid out one by one. Researchers have attempted to study the relationship between commitment and some selected factors with the results supporting significant correlation while acknowledging room for the influence of external variables (e.g. Lowrey & Becker's (2004) research on occupational commitment, which focused on the relationship between anticipatory job sentiments, pre-college and college training and commitment).

Choosing to study a single facet of organizational commitment instead of the entire

picture helps to simplify the research method and achieve in-depth analysis of the data instead of stopping at descriptive categorizations. This study elects looking at the relationship between professional sentiments, workplace relationship and affective commitment.

The choice of affective commitment and professional sentiment as variables is largely influenced by a string of literature on the prominence of affective commitment in influencing behavior (Guzley, 1992) and prior studies on potential conflict between professional and organizational commitment (e.g. Becker et al, 1979; Greene, 1978; Rosso, 1998). Past research associate affective commitment with outcomes that are more powerful and longer-lasting than those of the other two kinds of commitment (e.g. Guzley, 1992; Wasti, 2005). It is the most prominent of all three commitments when it comes to improving job performance, decreasing absenteeism and turnover and inspiring actions of sacrifice and sharing (Randall, Fedor & Longenecker, 1990; Meyer, Stanley, Herscovitch, Topolnytsky, 2002; Wasti, 2005).

While professionals may identify simultaneously with their profession and organization (Greene, 1978), Lowrey & Becker (2004) stress the possible incompatibility between the two attachments in their study on journalists' occupational commitment. Although Barker & Tompkins (1994) find organizational identification to be in positive correlation to organizational tenure, Scott (1997) locates an even stronger link between identification and occupational tenure. Tompkins & Cheney (1985) note a distinct boundary between professional identity and organizational identity, saying that people who identify more with their profession will make decisions incongruent with the organization's best interest. According to another study on engineers conducted by Baugh & Roberts (1994), incompatibilities such as high professional commitment versus low organizational commitment will result in low job performance. Ritzer (1979) declares that such incompatibility is unlikely to ever be fully resolved.

However, empirical evidence weakens this claim. A meta-analysis conducted by Meyer et al. (2002) finds significant positive correlations between occupational and organizational commitment. While Meyer et al.'s (2002) analysis focus on non-professionals, Bartol's (1979) study on computer specialists reaches the same conclusion. Russo's (1998) case study on journalists working for a metropolitan daily yields similar results. She finds that newspaper journalists draw on similar resources to identify with both their newspaper and their profession and view the newspaper as a medium for practicing their journalistic ideals. Their level of identification with the journalism profession is higher than that with the newspaper, but the gap was minimal. These journalists identify with the organization because it serves as a medium for them to practice their commitment to journalism. The journalists reveal in interviews detailed descriptions of their attachment to co-workers and readers, hinting at new perspectives of looking at commitment conflicts.

In fact, journalistic value does not encourage outright resistance during conflict of norms. Instead, journalism ethics promote reconciliation between the two norms rather than a polarized stance (Borden, 2000). Wallace (1995) suggests that the reason for the collaboration between professional and organizational commitment is that the corporations in question are structured to be compatible with professional norms.

Drawing from Becker et al.'s (1979) conceptualization of the relationship between affective commitment and professional sentiments, this study hopes to answer the following research questions:

RQ₁: How do newspaper reporters become affectively committed to their organizations over time?

RQ₂: What are the dynamics between newspaper reporters' professional sentiments and affective commitment?

RQ₃: What are the dynamics between newspaper reporters' perceived workplace

relationship and affective commitment?

RQ₄: What are the dynamics between newspaper reporters' professional sentiments and their perceived workplace relationship?

Journalism Values and Business Values

Becker et al.'s (1979) professional sentiments, or attitudes toward the profession, are translated here into work values held by journalists. Work values are defined as beliefs that make sense of work-related activities and serve as judgment criteria during decision-making scenarios (Borden, 1997). These values, identifiable through verbal or written affirmation, make up the second level of Schein's (1984) organization's culture. In Schein's (1984) theory, values are grounded in certain basic assumptions, or beliefs taken for granted to such an extent that members of the organizational culture are unaware of them. Basic assumptions, as the first level of culture, and espoused values together form the foundation for tangible artifacts, which is culture's third element.

According to Rokeach (1968), the dominance and interconnectivity of values in an individual's belief system varies. Core values in comparison to peripheral values are more persistent and thus harder to change. Altering core values is equivalent to altering the individual's value system and self-identity. This hierarchy of values is influenced by both personality and culture in the process of socialization (Borden, 1997). The core values and peripheral values co-exist, forming for each individual unique combination of multiple values, which this study refers to as "value profiles."

Conrad (1993) differentiates individual values into those that people say they believe and those that are shown in people's talk and behaviors. He claims the two kinds of values, with their different contexts, are independently expressed. Since this study deals more with attitude or feeling toward the organization and less with behaviors, the focus will be placed on what journalists say they value rather than what is shown in their work.

Organizational values are the set of individual values that a majority of the organization's active members agree upon and perceive as shared across the group (Wiener, 1988). Calling these values "shared values" (p.534) or "an organizational value system" (p.534), Weiner (1988) proposes that measurement of these shared values can be determined through the degree to which members agree to the values and the number of members who agree with the values. In his view, the degree to which organizational members embrace these shared values depends on two factors: the degree of congruency between the shared values and individual values, and the individual's loyalty toward the organization. In other words, he believes the levels of affective commitment for organizational members are contingent upon the overlap between value profiles of the individual and the organization as well as normative commitment.

Borden (1997) categorizes a large part of values espoused and shared in news organizations into journalism and business values. Journalism values are beliefs that frame journalism "as a professional occupation" (Borden, 1997, p.27), whereas business values perceives journalism "as a commercial enterprise." (p.27) In other words, a newspaper layman embracing journalism values enduringly honors traditional journalistic standards, while those upholding business values prefer market-driven choices. This set of definition is similar to Becker et al.'s operationalization of professional sentiments, which is measured by how journalists perceived the role of the media in society. According to Borden (1997), journalism values and business values are the two most popular and dominant individual values in the newsroom culture.

The concept of journalism value can be directly translated into Russo's (1998) professional values, which the scholar believes play a key role in providing behavioral guidelines and emotional instability. Values such as those listed by Kovach & Rosenstiel (2001) steer journalists to strive for truth, accuracy, independence from power, commitment to community and engaging stories. However, the glory of these

traditional journalism values is starting to decline. Researchers such as Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi & Damon (2001) have begun to question the effects of traditional journalistic standards such as objectivity in the “cynicism and relativism” (p.151) of this day and age. Iggers (1998) also devalues objectivity, going as far as to associating the value with irresponsibility and blocking public understanding of complex social issues.

Through coding a 1992 letter to shareholders issued by Gannett Co. Inc. and a 1987 version of Society of Professional Journalists' Code of Ethics, Borden (1997) lay out the independent frameworks within which journalism and business values operate. Journalism values conceptualize the media as a “carrier of public discussion and information” (p.56) while business values see the media as “public company, advertising medium and newspaper publisher.” (p.57) Journalists do not simply embrace one value and abandon the other but hold more than one values that manifest in accordance to the situation at hand, as demonstrated in Weaver & Wilhoit's (1996) survey in which respondents reported multiple values. An example of the two kinds of values are given by Underwood (1993), who named community service, reader as citizen and editorial autonomy as journalism values and profit, reader as customer, integration of business and editorial functions and management control of the newsroom as business values.

Borden's (1997) case study involves how journalists evaluate the importance of journalism and business values, how their perceptions of the values are demonstrated in terms of behaviors and how they resolve conflicts between the two sets of values. While her study has little to do with organizational attachment, the emphasis on organizational culture and values makes her stand out as one of the few researchers who study the relationship between journalists and their organization. She discovers that while journalists declare strong preference for journalism values over business values when they discuss the concepts in the abstract, their behavior at work

incorporate business values just the same. The journalists in her case study hesitate to challenge newsroom policy or constraints unless they can make arguments based on organizational needs. In cases when her subjects deviate from management policy, they take on a careful strategy of placing their opinions within the context of that of their peers.

A clash between journalism and business values can produce situations of outright conflict, as demonstrated by Underwood's (1993) findings that the value of profit making is incompatible with values of editorial autonomy and community service. Yet sometimes the two kinds of values overlap. A possible reason behind this is that newspapers can use professional training and routines to control journalists in their decision-making. (Soloski, 1989) This may explain journalistic standard of high productivity, which ultimately benefits the news organization for which they work (Breed, 1955). Russo (1998) also calls journalism values "grounded reference points" that allow the newspaper to function as organizations. Other examples include objectivity, which allows the newspaper to process news efficiently while courting consumer loyalty (Soloski, 1989), timeliness, which adheres to the business value that sees news as commodity and preference for official sources (Borden, 1997). In fact, conflicts between journalism and business value are only salient when the goal of each value openly precludes that of the other.

Such conflicts tend to appear more often for small-size newspaper than national papers (Borden, 1997), which enjoy a larger portion of revenue from circulation than advertisement. Readers of national papers also tend to purchase them for their renowned quality of news content. Therefore, for journalists at large newspapers journalism values serve the same goal as business values.

Since organizational attachment involves internalizing organizational values as one's own (Porter et al., 1974), a journalist who finds his or her value widely shared in the organization should find little conflict in becoming committed to the paper.

Chatman (1989) calls this overlap in personal and organizational values a “person-organization fit,” which she uses to predict future changes in the values of both the individual and the organization. She declares that in situations of strong conflict of values, either the individual’s personal value adjusts to that of the organization, the organizational value veer towards that of the individual, or withdrawal from the organization takes place. In other words, since newspaper journalists are obviously remaining with their organization, there should be no strong conflict between values of the individuals and their organizations.

Based on the review on values and affective commitment, the following hypotheses are proposed for this research:

H₁ : Newspaper journalists’ affective commitments to their organizations are positively related to their journalism values.

H₂ : Newspaper journalists’ affective commitments to their organizations are positively related to their business values.

H₃ : Newspaper journalists’ affective commitments to their organizations are positively related to the overlap between their individual value profiles and their perceived organizational value profiles.

In most cases, new employees gradually incorporate the received information about organizational values into their self-conception (Vaughn, 1997). One way this incorporation of values can take place is for employees to encounter the organization’s symbolic values on multiple levels (Larkey & Morril, 1995). Jablin (1987) questions the extent to which employees pay attention to the messages and symbols in question, though, saying that employees’ perceptions of internally circulated messages are largely shaped by their experience with the organization. This points to the possible powerful role played by organizational characteristics in determining commitment.

Perceived Quality of Workplace Relationship

This study focuses on one dimension of organizational characteristics: the quality of relationships with top managers, superiors and co-workers. Unlike salary, organizational size or other organizational characteristics that involve cost-related factors, this dimension is likely to stir emotional involvement that result from affective rather than continuance commitment. In fact, Meyer et al. (2002) finds that work experience, particularly a supportive work environment, play an important role in shaping affective commitment. Jablin (1987) states that interactions with supervisors and co-workers at the encounter stage help employees develop “interpretive schemas” (p. 706) for the corporate information received, thus affecting organizational identification.

Another dimension of workplace relationship significant for the study of affective commitment is that, in general, attachment to others is at least partly generated from desire for interpersonal relationship. Cheney (1983a, 1983b) believes people identify with others to combat the feelings of loneliness and disconnectedness that resulted from “the divisions of society” (Cheney, 1983b, p.145). Pratt (1998), elaborating on this idea, sees identification as the fruit of safety, affiliation, self-enhancement and holistic needs. Dutton et al. (1994) suggest that the more an organization fulfill employees’ needs in affiliation and esteem, the more likely the employees will identify with the organization in question. The needs in question may become especially salient to individuals when organization or organizational relationship goes under change and uncertainty, which accounts for Bullis’ & Bach’s (1989) claim that identification is likely to manifest in times of turning points in mentor-subordinate relationships;

Literature has repeatedly shown that how employees feel about their workplace relationship is positively correlated with how they feel about the organizational as a whole. An example would be Scott et al.’s (1999) finding that people who identify with co-workers are also more likely to identify with and commit to their organizations.

Russo's (1998) case study notes that newspaper journalists identify with the organization through commitment to co-workers. Morgan et al. (2004) also identify similar sentiments, remarking on employees who identify more strongly with their colleagues than the organization itself. Wallace (1995) even sees co-worker support as a mechanism fashioned by the organization to boost organizational commitment, which is accomplished by satisfying professional workers' need for collegial maintenance (Bartol, 1979).

Attitude toward workplace relationship can be operationalized through looking at workplace communication. Schein's (1984) theory of organizational culture sees communication not only as a part of the organization but equates it with the organizational itself. Tompkins & Cheney (1985) believe that organizational identification works through two schemes that reinforces one another: one that is initiated by the employee in an attempt to socialize with the organization, and one that grows from the premises laid down by organization decision makers. The commitment literature focuses mainly on the latter scheme and treated employees as passive recipients of organization-manipulated identification strategies or work situations (Ferraris, Carveth & Parrish-Sprowl, 1993; Larkey & Morill, 1995). For example, Vaughn's (1997) study on high-tech companies offered only formal forms of corporate internal communication strategies with no assessment of the reception. Cheney (1983b) proposes the common ground technique, which attempts to trigger feelings of unity by communicating organizational accomplishments, shared values, individual contributions, concern for employee, member benefits and testimonials (p.150-152). Another strategy suggested by Cheney (1983b) is calling attention of the members to a common enemy. These schemes must take place through interactions, even if they occur in the employees' retrospective thoughts or hypotheses (Scott et al., 1998). In other words, identification, like all the other aspects of organizational socialization, should be studied with a focus on communication. Cheney & Tompkins (1987) even go

to the extent to say that identification cannot be observed or even take place without language. Indeed, identification is observed when people express their experience of identity formation via language (Larkey & Morill, 1995; Scott et al., 1998; Kuhn & Nelson, 2000; Morgan et al., 2004). Verbal discourse over identity and identification reveals the source of identification, clarify the identification process and even increases their level of identification (Cheney & Tompkins, 1987).

The frequency of communication between journalists and their coworkers and supervisors is one of the characteristics Becker et al. (1979) determined to be antecedent to organizational commitment. However, this study purports that what affects employee attachment is not the frequency or the content of the communication, but the level of satisfaction achieved as a result of the communication. (Putti, Aryee, & Phua, 1990) This satisfaction or dissatisfaction can be generated through shaping the employee's perception of his or her "communication environment." (Putti et al., 1990, p.45)

Guzley (1992) utilizes the concept of communication climate to study the impact of this environment on organizational communication. By "climate" she means the characteristics of inter-organizational communication as interpreted by employees. Studies on the relationship between communication climate and organizational commitment generally focus on the information communicated rather than the relationship between the communicators: Welsch & LaVan (1981) stress the message's acceptance, accuracy and informational flow; Trombetta & Rogers (1988) operationalize communication climate by looking at employees' participation in decision making, communication openness and information adequacy (p.496); Guzley's (1992) dimensions of communication climate include communication with superiors, information quality, upward communication opportunities and information reliability.

Perhaps Allen's (1992) approach to workplace communication is closest to the

dimension of communication selected by this study. Allen (1992) finds a significant correlation between organizational commitment and employees' perceived communication relationship with top management. However, she did not find significant relationship between perceived communication relationship with supervisors and co-workers and affective commitment. Since university faculty takes up 41 percent of her 244 subjects, it may be that the characteristics of this demographic altered some generalizability of the finding on the journalist population. For one thing, faculty's relationship with supervisors (e.g. department chairs or school deans) greatly differs from reporters' relationship with editors. The lack of relationship between perceived communication relationships with co-workers may have more logical grounds, although it still counters the findings in Russo's (1998) case study.

Based on the above literature, this study hypothesizes that:

H_{4a} : Newspaper journalists' affective commitments to their organizations are positively related to their perceived qualities of relationship with co-workers.

H_{4b} : Newspaper journalists' affective commitments to their organizations are positively related to their perceived qualities of relationship with supervisors.

H_{4c} : Newspaper journalists' affective commitments to their organizations are positively related to their perceived qualities of relationship with top management.

When the status of the newsroom relationship resonates with the standard laid out by the individual's journalism and business values, it is likely that the journalist will perceive the value of the newsroom to be similar to his or her own. Thus the following hypotheses are made:

H_{5a} : The perceived qualities of relationship with co-workers for newspaper journalists are positively related to the overlap between their individual value profile

and their perceived organizational value profiles.

H_{5b} : The perceived qualities of relationship with supervisors for newspaper journalists are positively related to the overlap between their individual value profiles and their perceived organizational value profiles.

H_{5c} : The perceived qualities of relationship with top management for newspaper journalists are positively related to the overlap between their individual value profiles and their perceived organizational value profiles.

CHAPTER 3 METHODS

This study takes a mixed methods approach in exploring the research questions by administering an online survey and conducting in-depth interviews. The survey method is ideal to evaluate the relationship between this study's identified variables, including organizational commitment, perceived quality of workplace communication and individual work value. Surveys allow the researcher to collect data from a large sample of population, thus producing highly generalizable results (Babbie, 2001). Moreover, since research on organizational commitment generally uses the survey method, following suit allows opportunity for comparison and integration with previous findings. Quantitative results generated from a survey makes possible further comparison with national surveys conducted on journalists such as that conducted by Weaver & Wilhoit (1996). In-depth interviews help provide context and meaning to the survey findings by detailing individual experiences surrounding organizational commitment and alienation. The relatively longer time spent in the interviews allow researchers to sift through superficial defenses to identify hidden motives or beliefs (Berger, 1998). Meaning-making practices that are universal to all journalists can be identified (Pauly, 1991).

Mixed method, otherwise known as quantitative and qualitative methods, multi-method or synthesis, (Creswell, 2003, p.210) can be traced back to sociological research such as the Hawthorne studies, in which quantitative data were illustrated with results from interviews and observations, in the mid-1900s (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). It has been applied more and more widely in management and organizational behavior (Currall & Towler, 2003) as well as organizational identification literature. An example of the latter would be Russo's (1998) research, in which she used mixed

methods to provide both generalized results and intricate interpretations of newspaper journalists' organizational and professional identification. In this study, the survey and the in-depth interviews will be conducted at the same time, with data collected from the depth interviews used to enrich the interpretation of the survey results. In other words, this method falls into Creswell's (2003) category of "concurrent nested strategy," (p.218) which places a stronger emphasis on one of the methods used. Integration of the findings will take place after the results of both methods are analyzed to some degree. While organizational commitment and its various antecedents as proposed by past researchers will frame the structure and content of both methods, the exploratory nature of depth interviews will allow alternative interpretations to surface.

Survey

Sample

The sampling method was largely modified from Weaver's & Wilhoit's (1996) national survey on U.S. journalists. Population of this study was reporters working for U.S. dailies. Although reporters constitute only 45% of the nation's newspaper journalists (*American Society of Newspaper Editors*, 2006), this study maintains that in terms of professional sentiments and perceived organizational characteristics, this population should demonstrate little difference from the rest of their colleagues.

According to *American Society of Newspaper Editors* (2006), the population of newspaper reporters for the year 2006 was 24,740. This study randomly selected 303 dailies listed in the 2005 edition of *Editor and Publisher International Year Book*. The selected newspapers were screened for accessibility of Website URLs and availability of staff e-mail accounts on their Websites. Out of the 303 newspapers, the 178 that either did not offer the e-mail addresses of their reporters on the Internet or fail to provide a Website altogether were eliminated from the sampling process. Thus this

study sent messages requesting research participation to the 1,845 e-mail addresses that the remaining 127 Websites provided of their reporters, staff writers and sports writers. Follow-up e-mails were distributed to reporters who had not yet taken the survey a week after they received the initial recruitment message.

The circulation size of the 127 newspapers showed similar distribution patterns with empirical data provided by *Newspaper Association of America (2006)*. Minor differences exist, though. Newspapers with circulation under 50,000 took up 78.6% of the sampled organizations rather than the 85.5% suggested by empirical evidence. This gap could be attributed to the relatively tighter financial and labor constraints faced by small newspapers, especially those that enjoy circulation of less than 10,000, when it comes to setting up a professional Website. The relatively lower online accessibility of small papers resulted in a slight increase in the percentage of mid-size dailies in the sample. Newspapers with circulation size between 50,001 and 100,000 and dailies with circulation from 100,001 to 250,000 each accounted for 11.1% and 7.1% of the sample, while the two groups of newspapers respectively contributed to only 7.4% and 4.7% of the population. This study maintains, though, that the convenience of the online sampling method and its potential in garnering large number of responses in a short amount of time outweighs the slight difference in circulation stratification.

Variables

Affective Commitment. In terms of measurement, this study used a modified version of Allen & Meyer (1992)'s scales for affective commitment. Validity of the scale was established by Allen & Meyer (1996). Heeding the suggestion of Culpepper (2000), item 4 (I think that I could easily become as attached to another organization as I am to this one. (R)), with its low correlation to other measurement items, was removed from the scale altogether. Some modifications were made in terms of word choice in order to better fit into a newsroom context. For example, words such as "company" or

“organization” were changed to “paper.” The five-point Likert scale includes eight items. A score of 5 equals to strongly agree, while a 1 translates to strongly disagree. Scores for items in each dimension were added up in order to determine the level of commitment.

Perceived Quality of Work Relationship. Drawing from Allen’s (1992) work on communication relationship and organizational commitment, this study defines quality of work relationship as employees’ perceived relationship in workplace communication. To measure this concept this study adopted a five-point, Likert-type scale used by Allen (1992) and Allen & Brady (1997) to measure communication relationship with co-workers, top management and immediate supervisors.

Values. This study operationalizes work values by applying the 20 values identified by Borden (1997) in a five-point Likert-type questions, asking respondents to rate 5 for “very important” and 1 for “not at all important.” The measurement contains ten journalism values (accuracy, completeness, consistency, credibility, editorial autonomy, fairness, impact, news judgment, objectivity and public enlightenment) and ten business values (appeal, circulation growth, competitiveness, customer satisfaction, efficiency, marketing, product innovation, profit growth, proficiency and reader input). The instruction first asks respondents to rate the values in accordance of the importance to themselves. Then the survey asks them to rank the values according to how they believe the values are of importance to the organization. Following Wasti’s (2005) exemplary cluster analysis that reveals employees’ commitment profiles, this study hopes to identify journalists’ and their newspapers’ value profiles through the two data sets.

In an attempt to quantify the overlap between individual and organizational values, this study elects the use of absolute difference between the two value scores. This measure had been widely criticized due to the fact that both the contribution of each value item and the direction of the difference would be lost (Kristof, 1996). Yet

difference scores provide a means to measure overlaps without increasing the length of the survey, which would otherwise have included another 40 items that asked respondents to rank each value.

Other Variables. The survey also asked for demographic information such as gender, race, position, circulation size of newspaper, years of professional experience, tenure, salary, level of education, academic major, and professional membership.

A pilot version of the survey was sent through e-mail to 15 reporters and staff at the *Columbia Daily Tribune* to check for problems with the measurement's content validity, structure, format and the average time required for completion. Four of the 15 recruits responded. The survey was then modified from feedback on the pre-test. (Creswell, 2003) Appendix 1 contains the modified survey. In order to avoid the low response rate observed in this pilot study, the full survey utilized gift incentives to prompt reporters respond in a timely fashion. Three participants were selected from all survey respondents at the end of the data collection process to each receive either an iPod Nano, a Sony PSP and an Nintendo Dual Screen Lite. The recruitment message is included in Appendix 3.

Depth Interview

In order to understand the perceptions of newspaper journalists in detail, it is necessary to collect qualitative data of their personal accounts of their values and attitudes toward their newspaper and newsroom communication. The interviewees were solicited from respondents of the online survey, as their interest in participating in research studies or expressing their opinions on organizational attachment issues are likely to be high. At the end of the online survey, respondents were asked whether they would be willing to discuss the issues posed in the survey with the researcher over a telephone interview. Respondents who consented were asked to leave their names and contact information. They were also encouraged to contact the researcher, whose name,

telephone number and e-mail account would be highlighted in the instructions regarding interviewee recruitment. This procedure guarantees the recruit of voluntary participants while allowing the researcher some room to select recruits according to demographic characteristics of the population.

Each telephone interview was audio-taped and later transcribed, producing altogether 95 single-spaced pages. To guard against unanticipated equipment malfunction, the researcher also took notes by hand. Interviewees were encouraged to reflect on and tell stories of memorable moments or stories in terms of their relationship with the newspaper. Narrations reflect the multiple resources drawn by employees in soldering their identification and has been used in the literature to understand employee attachment to organizations (Kuhn & Nelson, 2002; Morgan et al., 2004, p.370). Since the goal of the study was to uncover motivations for or against commitment, special attention will be paid to expressions of opinions, feelings and attitudes (Berger, 1998). Appendix 2 includes questions that will be used as guidelines during the interview. The goal of the interviews was not to garner answers to every question listed, but to uncover pieces of the respondents' personal history regarding their attitude toward their newspaper.

The unit of analysis is "excerpt," which is a sentence or group of sentences expressing a distinct idea. Russo (1998) took this approach in the interviews for her case study on a metropolitan newspaper. Each excerpt was identified from the stories and categorized in terms of themes. Some excerpts had multiple themes; others were categorized into single themes. A total of 13 themes were developed. Following the steps of the grounded theory approach, the themes were then placed within this study's theoretical framework in order to develop an explanation for the connection between the themes (Creswell, 2003). Attention was paid to the validity of the interpretations by comparing them with the survey results. (Creswell, 2003, p.196) Subjects shall remain anonymous throughout the study. Admittedly, the depth interview, like the survey, has

weaknesses in terms of focusing only on what subjects tell their interviewer instead of on how they actually behave in the news-working context (Lang & Lang, p.194).

However the data collected from an observation study will be difficult to translate into values, attitudes or perceptions, which are the central concepts in this study.

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS

Out of the 1,845 reporters who received the recruitment e-mail, only 141 fully completed the survey, placing the response rate at a poor 7.6%. This may be due to Internet security issues, as in clicking on an unknown link provided in a recruitment e-mail respondents face higher danger in terms of virus attacks and less control over protecting their anonymity. In view of the low sample number, an additional 17 incomplete responses were utilized for the analysis as they contained what this researcher saw as invaluable data for the organizational commitment scale work relationship scales. Even so the overall response rate was no more than 8.6%. Perhaps as a result of the low response rate, the gender of survey respondents deviated somewhat from the data from *American Society of Newspaper Editors* (2006). The online survey saw a larger proportion of female respondents, with 79 (56%) women and 62 (43%) men.

Other demographics are more reflective of the population. The dominant race in the newspaper reporting occupation was Anglo American, with 116 (82.3%) respondents. Number of African-Americans, Asian-Americans and Latin-Americans was 4 (2.8%), 7(5.0%), and 4(2.8%) respectively. Seven (5.0%) reporters were high school graduates, 114 (80.8%) had bachelor's degrees and 16 (11.3%) attended graduate school. As many as 91 (64.5%) respondents were journalism or communication majors, with another 23 (16.3%) receiving degrees in English and 22 (15.6%) majoring in other non-journalism fields. Twenty-nine (20.5%) participants work for papers that report more than 250,000 in circulation. Another 27(19.1%) respondents work for papers with circulation between 100,001 and 250,000, 27 (19.1%) respondents work for papers with circulation between 50,001 and 100,000, and 59 respondents (41.8%) work at papers with circulation below 50,000. They report an average organizational tenure of 96

months ($SD=100.58$) and professional tenure of 153 months ($SD=131.77$). Salary level was relatively low, with 68 (48.2%) reporters earning less than \$35,000 a year. Only 57 (40.4%) have joined a professional association in the journalism field, while 83 (58.9%) claimed to be non-members.

Open-ended interviews with length ranging from 27 to 90 minutes were conducted with 10 newspaper journalist. The interviewees included six males and four females. Nine of the ten reporters are Anglo-American. Seven participants work for newspapers with circulation of less than 50,000; two are employed at medium-sized papers, and one reports for a large daily. These demographics are consistent with the findings of *Editor and Publisher* (2005)'s report on newspaper circulation sizes and latest census conducted by the *American Society of Newspaper Editors* (2006). Tenure of the reporters ranges from 3 months to 35 years. Diversity in tenure was preserved in the hopes of garnering data from all of the three stages of organizational socialization proposed by Buchanan (1974). Two reporters had worked at their newspapers for less than a year. Three reporters had been with their organizations for 1 to 5 years and five reporters enjoyed tenure of over five years.

Organizational Attachment

Research Question 1 asked how newspaper reporters became affectively committed to their organization. The quantitative data was analyzed with Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Prior to testing the study's five hypotheses, factor analyses were conducted on the scales for affective commitment, individual journalism values, individual business values, organizational journalism values, organizational business values and perceived newsroom relationship with co-workers, supervisors and top management.

Special attention was paid to the measurement for journalistic and business values, of which the scales have not been placed under the scrutiny of statistical methods. To

confirm that the 40 value items constitute distinctly different dimensions, they were analyzed using principal components method with Varimax rotation. Drawing from Borden's (2000) research on reporters' professional sentiments, number of factor was set as four to guide the factor extraction. Five items were eliminated because of their ambiguous factor loadings. While only factor loadings of .50 were considered significant, this study chose not to eliminate Accuracy and Objectivity, which loadings in the individual journalism values factor were .43 and .33 respectively, from the analysis due to their strong roots in literature. As a reflection of its prominence in the respondents' value system, Accuracy reported the highest mean and the lowest variance ($M=4.58$, $SD=.41$) between individual value items. The low factor loading for accuracy was presumed to be a result of the unanimous high scores reported across the sample. The low loadings of objectivity, on the other hand, may be explained by denouncement of the concept from working journalists such as Cunningham (2003), who linked the norm of objectivity with reporters' passiveness in presenting perspectives on newsworthy issues.

Resulting factor loading patterns, shown in Table 1, confirm the validity of seeing journalism and business values as separate constructs. Cronbach's alpha was acceptable for all eight scales. Table 2 presents the descriptive statistics for the scales. Survey results found organizational commitment scores to be moderately high ($M=3.41$, $SD=.74$). Commitment had no significant relationship with circulation, salary, gender, education, major, tenure in organization, tenure in profession or professional association membership. Although race has a moderate effect on organizational commitment, $F(4, 139) = 2.80$, $p<.05$, the strength of the relationship proved unsubstantial since the .07 partial eta squared fell far below the .14 cutoff (Cohen, 1977).

Table 1: Factor Analysis of Journalism and Business Value Scales

Value Items	Component				
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	
Individual	Accuracy	.21	-.12	.43	.20
	Completeness	.13	.20	.62	-.20
	Credibility	-.02	.14	.67	.11
	Editorial autonomy	-.05	.11	.51	.26
	Fairness	.17	.22	.54	.21
	Impact	.08	.27	.52	.05
	News judgment	.18	-.02	.72	.12
	Objectivity	.20	.03	.33	.06
	Proficiency	.16	-.14	.67	-.08
	Public enlightenment	.10	.04	.51	.05
	Appeal	.16	.52	.14	.02
	Circulation growth	.05	.78	.01	.02
	Competitiveness	.09	.59	.14	.01
	Customer satisfaction	.23	.58	.09	.20
	Efficiency	.00	.62	-.01	.09
	Marketing	-.08	.80	.00	.01
	Product innovation	.09	.66	.27	.03
	Profit growth	-.01	.78	-.09	.02
	Reader input	.18	.58	.09	-.13
Organizational	Accuracy	.66	-.04	.18	.17
	Completeness	.76	.11	.18	.07
	Consistency	.71	.25	.15	.15
	Credibility	.77	.11	.17	.24
	Editorial autonomy	.63	.14	.25	-.14
	Fairness	.82	.03	.17	.17
	News judgment	.85	.11	.00	-.06
	Objectivity	.82	.14	.02	.06
	Proficiency	.74	.01	.05	.01
	Public enlightenment	.66	.02	.13	.10
	Circulation growth	.14	.05	.09	.69
	Competitiveness	.20	-.03	.13	.60
	Efficiency	.05	-.02	.01	.68
	Marketing	.11	.06	.15	.72
	Product innovation	.14	.01	.23	.62
	Profit growth	-.12	.15	-.05	.71
Pct. Of variance		22.60	10.90	8.60	6.90

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for All Variables

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Number of Items</i>	<i>Number of cases</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Alpha</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Affective commitment	7	158	3.42	.74	.84							
2. Individual journalism values	10	152	4.54	.37	.79	.14						
3. Individual business values	9	152	3.54	.61	.84	.26(**)	.20(*)					
4. Organizational journalism values	10	141	3.89	.72	.92	.55(**)	.33(**)	.23(**)				
5. Organizational business values	7	141	3.99	.62	.79	.15	.28(**)	.12	.32(**)			
6. Perceived work relationship - co-workers	3	157	3.96	.60	.80	.36(**)	.27(**)	.04	.43(**)	.20(*)		
7. Perceived work relationship - supervisors	3	157	3.91	.82	.91	.36(**)	.17(*)	.08	.52(**)	.29(**)	.34(**)	
8. Perceived work relationship - management	5	156	2.98	.05	.92	.48(**)	.05	.34(**)	.46(**)	.09	.16(*)	.36(**)

Note: The scales were measured using 5-point Likert-type scales with higher scores indicating stronger positive perception.

* p < .05 (2-tailed).

** p < 0.01 (2-tailed).

The accounts given by reporters in interviews show how the ideology of good journalism plays a major role in cultivating commitment. This ideology defines news-work as a profession that provides an independent, impartial public service in a timely and ethical manner (Deuze, 2005) and is widely reflected across the newsroom. Product and awards symbolizing the quality of the product are among the most commonly referenced sources of identification. One reporter said that what changed attitudes over time was that “We've gone from looking like something worse than something that most high school newspaper I've seen, at least the big high schools, the things to looking like a small professionally done newspaper.” Another reporter said, “Because I think that on the whole the paper does a very good job, I would never want to, I can never imagine myself sitting back and saying ‘yup, you're right, we screwed up, I quit.’”

Aside from the product itself, reporters in reflecting on their organizational commitment fell back to the process in which the products were produced. This perspective falls in line with the concept of job satisfaction, and echoes past researchers’ (Cheney, 1983; Russo, 1998) findings of significant relationship between job satisfaction and affective commitment. Again, ideology of good journalism was heavily cited. Newspapers are expected to enthusiastically invest in the production line of news. A reporter talked about how a staff cut at his paper affected his job satisfaction and organizational commitment: “Basically, it just isn't as much fun to go to work anymore. There's more pressure to do more. Do more with less.....Generally we don't seem to have time to do any decent journalism.”

Another interviewee named the source of her job satisfaction as having the chance to become a better journalist: “I'm really getting my feet wet, and I think that even though it wasn't what I wanted right away, this experience will make me a better reporter when I get to a bigger paper.”

When reporters talked about organizational attachment, they used newspaper size

as a cue on how they interpret organizational experience. Circulation size helped reporters frame what to expect from a paper, what constraints are inevitable and which goals are attainable. As one reporter said, “At a small paper there's always something that goes wrong.... That's just to be expected.” “It does frustrate me that we don't have enough staff to do additional things we should be covering we just can't cover. That's not the newspaper's problem; that's just endemic to small papers,” another reporter noted.

Reflecting on her editor's product innovation plan, a reporter said,

Whether I actually start experiencing that at the paper that I am right now, or whether it's going to happen at a bigger paper, is left to be decided. I think that my boss, being a young boss and a less than winded person, wants to see that kind of stuff happen at our paper, but you do have a pretty limited resources with a small staff, and most of our staff are older, you know, middle-aged in their 40s and 50s.

Despite the attempt of this reporter's newspaper to innovate, change in her perception of organizational culture is limited due to the constraint of circulation size.

When a paper provides a product or a working experience that falls above or below, expectations which are cued by its circulation size, the change is reflected in reporter's organizational attachment. A reporter who worked for 20,000 circulation paper, said of the investigative reporting she did at the paper,

I had to go through and do all that stuff, I had to create timelines, I had to do all sorts of stuff, and you know the fact that my paper gave me the time to do that, that they realized that was an important story to do, and to be a small paper. I mean that's the kind of story at a paper that's like 70 thousand, 80 thousand, 100 thousand circ paper.

This reporter's attachment to the paper grew as the paper exceeded her expectations. Another reporter from a metropolitan daily talked about how he wished his paper would "do a little bit more of the ground work, explain a little bit more the boring things to every day readers about how they should vote or how they should think about issues or what things affect them on a day to day basis" despite the paper's prestige as an elite publication. Because of the metro's background, this reporter was prepared to ask his paper to adhere to a relatively stricter journalism standard.

Much of the expressions of attachment are delivered through comparing one's paper with competitors. Again, ideology of good journalism served as the criteria used in such comparisons. A reporter said of his paper,

I think from time to time we lose sight of that kind of service role....But I also think we lose sight of that role less often than most organizations do, so that's why I say, you know, I have qualms about some of the things that we do, but I have no interest in leaving.

Such comparisons brought about alienation as well as identification. One reporter lined up her corporate owned-paper side-by-side with a nearby private-owned publication:

It is a quality paper; it's beautifully done and full of news; it's just great. I mean it's just packed with advertisement, very supportive. And, um, they have a lot of investment in editorial there, and the reason they do is because it's privately owned, and...is very happy with 10 percent profit every year. Papers I work for are in the [corporate name] chain, and their shareholders want to see a 30, 40 (profit), they want constantly every year, they have to show more increase....Interesting, huh?

Autonomy, a factor that previous research had identified as significantly and

positively related to organizational attachment (Russo, 1998), is perceived by reporters mainly through their interaction with editors and top management. “My immediate supervisor is pretty laid-back, and she...trust my judgment, and let me carry out my job by myself,” a reporter said. He went on to internalize autonomy as part of what contributes to good journalism:

Some other editors I work with micro-manage a little bit more, especially at the story level, where they tell you what the story is before you go cover it.... I don't think it makes sense for journalism's sake. If you decide what the story is before you start making phone calls, you're probably gonna ask the wrong questions.

Other reporters expressed similar sentiment, with one going as far as to say that autonomy played an important role in organizational socialization:

I was alone a lot to do what I needed to do to be working. That helped me adjust. I was independent. Even though everybody was helpful whenever I had a question, I had to go and create my own sources and get to know everything myself. And that just kept me busy. I think having a measure of freedom as a reporter is very important.

The accounts of these reporters points to the organization's adherence to professional sentiments, especially journalism values, as the catalyst for attachment. Cues referred to in the interviews, such as editors, co-workers, newspaper products, circulation numbers, profit and autonomy serve as carriers of these journalism values.

Organizational Attachment and Professional Sentiments

Research Question 2 addressed the dynamics between professional sentiment and organizational commitment. Hypothesis 1 assumed a positive relationship between

affective commitment and individual journalism values. Pearson product-moment correlation was conducted to examine the relationship between affective commitment and individuals' journalism values. The two statistical approaches were applied again to analyze the relationship between affective commitment and business values. The survey reported high individual journalism values ($M: 4.54$, $SD: .37$, Range: 3.2, 5), yet no significant relationship was found between the variable and organizational attachment. Hypothesis 1 was unsupported.

Hypothesis 2 predicted a positive relationship between affective commitment and individual business values. Pearson's correlation between individual business values and organizational commitment showed a moderately significant relationship, $r(152)=.26$, $p<.01$. Hypothesis 2 was supported.

As the analysis revealed limited predicting power of individual values over organizational commitment, a simple linear regression analysis that followed a step-wise model was conducted to explore whether other factors explain affective commitment a little better. Independent variables used for the analysis include individual business values, organizational journalism values, perceived business values, absolute difference between individual and shared journalism values and absolute difference between individual and shared business values. Individual journalism values were omitted from the stepwise model since earlier analysis found no significant correlation between the variable and organizational commitment. Results listed in Table 3 show that organizational journalism values is a significant predictor of commitment, $t(138)=7.84$, $p<.001$. Absolute difference between individual and organizational business values also served as a significant predictor of commitment, $t(138) = -2.5$, $p<.05$. Together these two variables accounted for 33% of the variance. The analysis indicated that as organizational journalism values increases by 1, organizational commitment increase by .57 (95% CI: .43, .71; Beta=.55). Meanwhile as difference between individual and organizational business values narrows by 1,

organizational commitment should increase by .22 (95%CI: -.40, -.05; Beta= -.17).

Hypothesis 3 assumed a positive relationship between affective commitment and the overlap between individual and perceived organizational value profiles. As this study regards the shortening of distance between individual and organizational business values as an increase in overlap between the profiles of the two values, the finding as supporting Hypothesis 3.

Table 3: Regression Analysis of Organizational Commitment on Values

<i>Variable</i>	β	<i>df</i>	R^2	<i>Adj R</i> ²	<i>F</i>
		140	0.31	0.33	61.39(**)
Organizational values – journalism	0.54(**)				
Person-organization value difference - business	-0.17(*)				

* p < 0.05 (2-tailed)

** p < 0.001 (2-tailed)

In order to examine reporters' value profiles more closely, steps were taken to categorize survey respondents by their value scores. The goal was to develop a categorization that groups reporters' individual values and perceived organizational values in accordance to their similarity. Through the segmentation this study hopes to achieve deeper understanding of the reporter's value system. Cluster analysis, which is used to form homogenous groups that are as distinct from one another as possible, is chosen as the methodology for developing such taxonomy.

This study categorized respondents based on the 40 items that separately measure their individual journalistic and business values and their perceived journalistic and business values of their newspapers. The analysis technique is adapted from Wasti's (2005) exploratory work on identifying commitment profiles through the scores of

affective, continuance and normative commitment scales. Although Wasti's (2005) analysis dealt with commitments rather than values, this study sees both commitment and values as strong attitudes. Therefore, analyses that proved workable for commitment should also be applicable to other strong attitudes such as values. From the previous uses of these variables in factor analyses, this study found that these variables provide sufficient predictive and explanatory power to justify their use. The 40 scores are submitted to hierarchical cluster analysis to determine possible cluster solutions. Hierarchical cluster analysis showed the growth of variance between clusters topped at 4-cluster, 3-cluster and 2-cluster solutions. The cases are then placed into pre-specified cluster numbers (k) based on the 40 value scores. The three sets of solutions were assessed based on their theoretical interpretability and cluster sizes. As neither the 4-cluster nor the 3-cluster solution met the two criteria, this study elect to classify reporters' value profiles into two categories. Cluster 1 ($n=27$) in general displayed significantly lower value scores than Cluster 2 ($n=98$), particularly in perceived organizational journalism values, where its score was one standard deviation lower than the overall mean.

An independent samples t test was conducted to compare the characteristics of Cluster 1 and Cluster 2. Results are shown in Table 4. Although there is no significant difference in the two clusters' absolute differences of individual and organizational business values, the absolute difference between journalism value scores for the individual and the organization is significantly higher for Cluster 1 than for Cluster 2. Thus this study sees Cluster 2 as displaying a higher overlap between value profiles compared with Cluster 1. T tests revealed significant difference between organizational commitment of the two profile groups, $t(123)=-5.28$, $p<.001$. Members of Cluster 1, with a lower overlap of value profiles, demonstrate significantly lower level of commitment ($M=2.76$, $SD=.14$) than members of Cluster 2 ($M=3.59$, $SD=.65$). This finding again supports Hypothesis 3.

Table 4: Profile Group Means (and Standard Deviations) T-test results

	<i>cluster 1</i>	<i>cluster 2</i>
Individual values – journalism t(123) = -5.23 ***	4.27 (.40)	4.62 (.28)
Individual values – business t(123) = -3.47 **	3.21 (.63)	3.62 (.59)
Organizational values – journalism t(123) = -10.85 ***	2.87 (.58)	4.18 (.45)
Organizational values – business t(123) = -4.07 ***	3.58 (.71)	4.09 (.53)
Person-organization value difference – journalism t(123) = 8.31 ***	1.42 (.84)	.48 (.39)
Commitment t(123) = -5.28 ***	2.76 (.14)	3.59 (.65)
Work relationship – co-worker t(123) = -3.57 **	3.64 (.83)	4.09 (.50)
Work relationship – supervisor t(123) = -4.35 ***	3.40 (1.12)	4.12 (.63)
Work relationship – management t(122) = -2.41 *	2.60 (1.14)	3.19 (1.02)

*** p < 0.001

** p < 0.01

* p < 0.05

Consistent with the findings of significant relationship between commitment and organizational journalism values, in the interviews every reporter evaluated their organization primarily in terms of how their work experience met the individual's standards of what constitute good journalism. The stories recounted by the reporters focused on how their work contributed to public knowledge or social justice. Journalism values such as accuracy, truthfulness, objectivity, timeliness, fairness, and proficiency served as necessary building blocks of such contributions. Good journalism in essence involved serving these two roles to the full. Due to the heavy sense of social responsibility, the community became one of the centers of discussion

in the interviews. Almost every reporter talked about how their work serves the community and judged the performance of their newspaper through recognition from the community. “I would say the single biggest success we've had...is we're providing in this county what larger communities always have,” a reporter said. This shared values of the journalist’s watchdog mission act as a catalyst for the increase or decrease of organizational commitment. A reporter said in his praise of his organization, “We've gone from a paper that had a reputation for running cute kids' photos to a newspaper that's absolutely doing what a newspaper's supposed to be doing...We have become, using the old terms of the 1800s, you've probably heard the phrase muckraking journalist, that is the impression of people around here.” At the other end of the spectrum, one reporter used this value to assess her organization’s welfare package: “You know you are in the business of telling the truth and fighting and advocating for things. And then...you don't even advocate for your own people. But you profit from doing it for others. Doesn't make sense.”

Investigative reporting is regarded by reporters as a classic demonstration of fulfilling the watchdog role. Thus the degree of investigative reporting in the newspaper product become directly associated with the extent in which social justice is achieved, and in turn speaks to their organizational commitment. One reporter noted,

I'd like to see us do more investigative features and in-depth studies of current problems. We still do an okay job but, partly we seem to have a management that thinks too much attention to public meeting turns readers off or something like that.

The more abstract mission of serving the community are interpreted by reporters into tangible journalism standards that govern newsroom behaviors. An art reporter said in her account of her newspaper’s role in society,

To be the voice of the community. Not necessarily reflect the community but tell them what's going on. Not just what's going on in local politics but, you know, in the art, which I'm involved in. And be accurate and be timely, the same things we think about in the newsroom.

The goal of doing good journalism is emphasized to be distinctly different from business values. Although the two are not seen as mutually exclusive, reporters perceive a clear boundary between the two. “Profitability should come second to putting out the best product,” one reporter said. “I think a working journalist shouldn't even be involved in (organizational goals),” another reporter added. They see the journalism values as of higher priority than the business goals, with some interviewees going as far to say the latter can only be achieved through the fulfillment of the former. “We have to focus on news, news, news and more news. And as we do that we build up our circulation,” a reporter said. “Basically, if you haven content that people want to read, the marketing end will follow,” another echoed.

Work Relationship

The third research question deals with the dynamics between reporters' perceived newsroom relationship and affective commitment.

Hypotheses 4a, Hypothesis 4b and Hypothesis 4c deal with positive relationships between affective commitment and perceived qualities of relationship with co-workers, supervisors and top management. Pearson product-moment correlation was computed between affective commitment and the three dimensions of perceived quality of newsroom relationship. There are moderate positive significant relationships between affective commitment and relationship with co-workers ($r(157)=.36, p<.001$), relationship with supervisors ($r(157)=.36, p<.001$) and relationship with top management ($r(157)=.48, p<.001$).

A simple linear regression analysis was conducted to see how well work relationship with co-workers, supervisors and management explains the overall organizational commitment. Results, presented in Table 5, show that work relationship with management and work relationship with co-workers are two significant predictors of overall commitment, accounting for 23 percent (Adjusted R^2) of the variance. For work relationship with management, $t(153) = 6.45$, $p < .001$, while in the case of work relationship with co-workers $t(153) = 4.4$, $p < .001$. The analysis indicated that as relationship with management increases by 1, organizational commitment is anticipated to increase by .31 (95% CI: .21, .40; Beta=.44); meanwhile when relationship with co-workers increases by 1, commitment is expected to grow by .37 (95% CI: .21, .54; Beta = .30).

The results supported Hypothesis 4a, Hypothesis 4b and Hypothesis 4c albeit no causal relationship was identified between commitment and relationship with supervisors.

Reporters talked about difference in news judgment from their editors and management. In cases when reporters believed their organization departed from journalism value or over-emphasized profitability and other business values, editors are seen as more of a sympathetic ally. When they become dis-attached with their organization, they believe that their editors share the attitude. As one reporter stated, “The relationship with my direct editor is very good. I think, you know, you all have sort of a feeling that they are on your side. You can't always do the things you want. You try to help them out and they try to help you out.”

Reporters see their editors and co-workers as a team that works together to produce the newspaper product. Emotional bonding with supervisors and co-workers stem solely from this team experience. One reporter said,

Over the times, you know, you do projects or just gonna be able to

work, you and your editor...had to work on something that is tense or heated, or how your editor guides you through that, or how you two handle it, will ultimately affect which direction your relationship is gonna go.

Table 5: Regression Analysis of Organizational Commitment on Work Relationship

<i>Variable</i>	β	<i>df</i>	<i>R</i> ²	<i>Adj R</i> ²	<i>F</i>
		155	0.23	0.23	35.93(*)
Relationship – co-worker	0.30(*)				
Relationship – management	0.44(*)				

* p < 0.01

Arguments between the team is not viewed in a bad light, but instead could be a turning point that bring work relationship deeper. As one reporter claimed,

I've never come to a point, I've never felt that I couldn't rely on one of my editors, or one of the other guys in my department. There are people you clash with and some people you agree with, and I think that's the exception more than it is the rule.

Despite the lack of statistical relationship, the interviews showed that reporters change how they see their job and work relationship as their editors demonstrate skills and values at work that answer to reporters' good journalism ideology. Several reporters identified their editors as one of the reasons they work at their paper. Management, on the other hand, is perceived to be less keen to journalism standards. The attitude of management in weighing the priority between journalism and business values are important references to reporters regarding organizational culture. A reporter said,

I know a lot of people are always sending me things like, why can't you do this? Because -- we don't. And sometimes it's a legitimate thing and we could do that but not because they just bought an ad. And if that happens, the executive editor wants to know about it.

Work Relationship and Value Profiles

The fourth research question deals with the dynamics between professional sentiments and workplace relationship.

Hypothesis 5a, Hypothesis 5b and Hypothesis 5c deal with positive relationships between the overlap between personal and organizational value profiles and relationship with co-workers, supervisors and top management. To explore the statistical relationship between the overlap and the three kinds of work relationship, Independent samples *t* tests were conducted on relationship with co-workers, supervisors and top management for Cluster 1 and Cluster 2. Results indicated significant differences in relationship with co-workers ($t(123)=-3.57$, $p<.01$), supervisors ($t(123)=-4.35$, $p<.001$) and top management($t(122)=-2.41$, $p<.05$) between the two clusters. Relationship with coworkers was significantly weaker for members of Cluster 1 ($M=3.64$, $SD=.83$) than Cluster 2 ($M=4.09$, $SD=.50$). Cluster 1 also displayed significantly weaker relationship with supervisors ($M=3.40$, $SD=1.12$) and top management ($M=2.60$, $SD=1.14$) compared with Cluster 2 members' relationship with supervisors ($M=4.12$, $SD=.63$) and top management ($M=3.19$, $SD=1.02$). Hypothesis 5a, Hypothesis 5b and Hypothesis 5c are supported.

Reporters constantly fell back on the display of journalism skills and values of co-workers and editors when discussing their workplace relationships. Their talk highlighted how the values of editors and the management demonstrated in the newsroom steered her relationship with them. "I think a lot of people on my staff do a good job for the sake of doing a good job, and I like that about it," "a reporter said. For

some reporters, close work relationships sprout from similar journalism values. “Whatever allegiances I develop in the newsroom is, you know, I'd rather take toward the people who are interested in serving the readers as opposed to serving themselves,” a reporter noted.

Work ethics displayed in the newsroom also appeal to reporters as a guideline in establishing work relationships. They expect their associates to be self-starting and willing to go the extra mile for quality work. “It just gets really frustrating because I have worked with people that are a hell lot more talented with less attitude than our photographer....They're not hungry to shoot really good stuff,” one reporter complained. “It's really nice that we've got people who are looking for ways to help out.... I used to see a lot of newspapers where people look for jobs to do hopefully to get out of work,” another reporter said.

Staff cuts or voluntary exit of co-workers or editors who showcase strong journalism skills speaks to the individual’s perception of organizational values. When journalists that are perceived to enact textbook journalism norms leave the paper, the organization is perceived to be unwelcome toward value-loaded professionals. “We had a long tenure of a very nice gentleman who unfortunately was a "do-nothing" publisher. And over time resources were just gradually cut out. Best reporters tended to move on,” a reporter recalled. As such accounts demonstrate, reporters associate the exit of journalists who carry strong journalism values or skills with their organization or management’s attitude toward journalism values.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

This study examined the organizational attachments of a group of newspaper reporters and how their professional sentiments and workplace relationship relate to the degrees of these attachments. Four research questions were asked on the development of organizational attachment, the relationship of professional sentiments to organizational attachments and the relationship between work relationship and attachment levels. Data from an online survey on newspaper reporters were validated through interview accounts that also provided a more elaborate interpretation of the observed relationships.

Overall the result from the study show that professional sentiment serves as a driving engine for organizational attachment, which is developed as organizations fulfill their professional roles. Reporters use professional values as a lens to examine the factors that would influence their organizational attachment such as job satisfaction, circulation size or comparison with competitors. For news workers, development of commitment is a process during which they relate to extra-organizational "sources" of identification including values, newspaper image and news products and intra-organizational sources such as their emotional attachments to workplace subgroups. (Morgan et al, 2004) In the case of reporters, the source of journalism value was heavily drawn upon to construct not only organizational attachment but also the individual's personal identity. This prominence of professional values as a source for identification marks professionals distinct from employees of non-professional organizations. Professional sentiments also alters reporters' attitude toward management, supervisors and co-workers, another factor that affects attachment. These findings complements Russo's (1998) discovery of journalists' reported blurring of

boundaries between journalism organizations and the journalism profession. Consistent with Meyer et al. (2002), this study revealed that demographic variables play a minor role compared with work experience in terms of the development of affective commitment.

Findings

For employees who see themselves as professionals, the organization, the profession and the job content are interdependent as an organic function through which their professional sentiments can be acted out (Russo, 1998). Amidst the interweaving boundaries, reporters' accounts of organizational attachment reflected the primacy of journalism value, particularly in terms of its superiority of business values, in steering their attitudes toward their work. Journalism value not only filters how reporters view the organizations they work for and the people they work with, but also the product of their work, the legitimacy of the standards that govern their work and the perception on the customers they serve. The lack of significant relationship between individual journalism value and organizational commitment may be explained by the little variance in individual journalism value overall. Reporters believe strongly in journalism values regardless of how they feel about their organization, which explains why organizational journalism value was strongly associated with higher organizational commitment. Organizations win commitment from reporters through providing institutional work environment that support journalists in practicing their individual journalism value.

A significant positive relationship is found between individual business value and organizational commitment. Yet the correlation is weak, indicating that business value played a relatively minor part in determining attitude toward the organization. While reporters talked about their newspapers as a business, they made it clear that the public service role of the newspaper always outweighs the business role, at times even

stressing the mutually exclusiveness of the two concepts. This reflects Aranya & Ferris (1984)'s findings on organizational-professional conflict.

Closer fit of personal and perceive organizational business value facilitates stronger attachment. Organizational commitment is also found to be significantly and positively correlated with the overlap between individual and organizational journalism value, although the relationship was weaker than the one with organizational journalism value itself. Due issues related to the use of difference scores as overlap measurements, the reliability of the overlap should also be questioned. The two value profiles developed in this paper suggest perceived organizational journalism values as the primary factor that differentiates one group from the other. These findings are consistent with the definition of organizational commitment, which involves embracing organizational goals and values (Porter et al., 1974). However, reporters' individual journalism value is relatively stable compared to their organizational journalism value. Thus shifts in commitment tend to be driven by changes in the latter.

Significant and positive relationships are identified between commitment and workplace relationship. Akin to previous empirical finding (Putti et al, 1990; Allen, 1992), relationship with top management demonstrated the strongest relationship with commitment. While relationship with editors is less latent in contributing shifts in commitment than relationship with co-workers and top management, reporters' talk revealed how their connection to editors bring them to stronger attachments to the organization. The interviews also showed that strong work relationship stems from joint professional sentiments. Reporters refer to a "healthy newsroom" as a workplace where behaviors of the news staff are strongly motivated by journalism value to and products boast of high journalistic quality. Even when journalists perceive their organizations as departing from journalism standards, they see their editors as allies who take their sides and doing the best t hey could to uphold journalism values at work. Consistent with this finding, reporters who perceive high journalism value shared in

the organization also enjoy strong relationship with members of the organization. They see recruitment of and investment in news staff with strong journalism values as revealing of their newspapers' organizational values.

Results of this study pinpoint the prominence of journalism values in newspaper organizations and show how they facilitate workplace relationship, job satisfaction and organizational attachment. For the reporters interviewed, journalism values stem from a "good journalism" ideology that they see as source of strength and motivation.

Consistent with Russo's (1998) findings, journalism values help reporters persist in producing news products that meet journalism standards through change in management, challenging assignments or other work problems they may encounter. In this sense journalism values serve as the organization's controlling mechanisms that ensure satisfactory newspaper products are delivered to customers in a timely manner.

These values are internalized to such an extent that they become the foundation of individual identity. Reporters talked of being "born" journalists, framing personal qualities that fits with the actualization of journalism values and standards as part of one's inborn nature rather than something learned through socialization or training. In cases when they work in what they perceive to be hostile organizational culture, journalism values offered a leeway for them to take pleasure in their work. The belief that good journalism serves the community motivates reporters to devote themselves to quality work in times of strife.

This research expands on studies that assert the positive relationship between commitment and overlap of defining characteristics between the organization and the individual (Dutton et al, 1994; Deuze, 2005) to explore the issue with direct measurements. Results affirm the importance of organizational journalism value for newspaper reporters in terms of relationship with organizational commitment and work relationship. Journalism values serve as a reference point for reporters in determining their attitude toward their organizations. Strong organizational journalism values speak

to the basis of reporters' identity, leading to more positive work-related attitudes such as higher organizational commitment. Business values, while also associated with attachment, in comparison play a less prominent role in coaxing identity and is regarded by reporters as both distinct from and secondary to professional values. Stronger journalism values perceived to be shared within the organization also facilitates stronger relationship with top management, supervisors and co-workers. Reporters use journalism values and skills as cues to assess their workplace relationship. When journalism values displayed in relationships at work meet their professional expectations, they report higher commitment to the organization. In contrast, demographic information such as tenure, circulation size or salary level offer little means for reporters to determine their affective commitment if left stood alone off the context provided by organizational values.

The findings of this study suggest managers enforce journalism values as a means to boost reporters' organizational commitment. Reporters are slow to embrace organizational values compared to journalism values, thus news organizations should avoid conflict between journalism values and organizational interest. Conflicts between organizational and professional goals prompt reporters to set a distinct boundary between the two sets of goals, which in turn forces them to withdraw emotionally from the organization in order to preserve their professional identity.

Due to reporters' strong preference for journalism values, emphasizing the prominence of business values only serve to widen the person-organizational gap. Instead managers could place organizational goals in the same line with journalism values by focusing on messages that declares and sustains the ideology of journalism and down-playing profitability issues. This line of tactics encourages reporters to behave in accordance to organizational interests by reaffirming the hierarchy of journalism values over business values. For example, small papers with tight budgets may fixate on the role of community newspapers as a public resource and guide their reporters'

attention from the relatively low salary to satisfaction from their quality work. Such was the case of one reporter who said proudly, “Our news staff at this point consists of three people who are not here for the money. Money is irrelevant.”

Another implication of the finding is that the degree to which reporters perceive their organizations uphold journalism value varies with their papers’ circulation size. Reporters draw these standards from comparison with competing papers. Thus when management demonstrates devotion and investment in journalism quality that out-performs other papers in the same circulation category, reporters perceive their organizations to showcase strong journalism value. By ensuring, or acknowledging as a goal, the superiority of the newspaper product or specific sections of the news-making process over other papers of the same circulation size, newspapers offer their reporters a means to strengthen identification and morale.

As Bartol (1979) suggested, newspapers may motivate commitment through administrating an internal reward system that values professional performance. The details of the reward system may need to be revisited, though. Several reporters commented on how their raise is determined by self-assessment of job performance and questioned this process: “It doesn't matter what you do,” a reporter said of the performance review. “They just want you to look at where you could improve... They basically want you to really critique yourself and criticize yourself.” In such a case the system gives out a message that the newspaper denies reward to high professional performance in favor of cost-cutting. Managers should consider the negativity of salient financial constraints in a reward system and in some cases opt for non-financial rewards. Baugh & Roberts (1994) also recommended investing in employee's professional development. These measures steer the organization toward a more distinct profession-oriented image which fosters reporters' organizational attachment (Wallace, 1995), given that managers effectively demonstrate their intentions to achieve an expected standard of professionalism.

CHAPTER 6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Although the sample size for the online survey was large enough to reach statistical significance, the low response rate implies a possible non-response bias if some difference exists between the reporters who chose to take the survey and those who refrained from participating. The low response rate may have resulted from potential recruits' concern over Internet security which directly impacts recruits' anonymity and confidentiality (Sax, Gilmartin & Bryant, 2003). The disproportionately large scale of female respondents may be a reflection of the inconsistency between sample and population.

The choice to limit the survey recruits to reporters whose organizations place their e-mail accounts on their Websites raise questions over whether the survey results can be generalized to the overall population. The fact that newspapers provide such contact information implies that reader response and online interaction is appreciated in their culture. This screening procedure may bar from potential participation reporters who work for small newspapers that could not afford to invest on building an organizational Website, metropolitan dailies with a large staff or corporations who strongly respect the privacy of their journalists.

Moreover, the survey suffers from item non-response. The data set reports 11% missing values for the 40 variables measuring organizational values. Since in these cases the respondents did not randomly overlook some items in the scales but instead skipped over the entire set of questions, no substitute was provided for the missing values. Instead these cases were deleted from all data analyses that involve organizational values. This diminishes the power of statistical analysis on the relationship of organizational values with other variables.

While the survey and interviews allowed collection of data from reporters with different backgrounds and experiences, the findings lack the depth of understanding that could be achieved through an ethnographic approach. As Larkey & Morrill (1995) have suggested, a longitudinal study that involves observation of actual newsroom discourses may yield a deeper and more holistic insight on complex organizational dynamics, especially regarding organizational change.

CHAPTER 7 FUTURE RESEARCH

Unlike previous research that inferred the prominence of professional norms in news organizations (Aranya & Ferris, 1984; Wallace, 1995), this study presented a direct measurement for professional sentiments in the hopes of increasing validity of the results. While the scales for journalism and business values reported acceptable validity and reliability, the rationale behind the different factors loading structures for measurements of individual and organizational value is yet to be explained. This instability in the structure of the scales was one of the defects of the relatively small sample size. A large-scale survey may yield more statistically powerful results that eventually contribute to the development of a measurement that assess professional sentiments and perceived organizational values for journalists. Chatman's (1989) measurement for person-organization fit can be utilized as an alternative tool to explore this variable.

This study showed significant positive correlations between organizational commitment, organizational journalism values, overlap between perceived and shared business values and relationship with co-workers, supervisors and top management. Further steps are required to determine the causal associations between the variables before a theoretical model for professional sentiments and commitment can be proposed.

Similar studies may also be conducted for broadcast journalists, who compared to their peers in print journalism encounter a fiercer competition with a more brutal invasion of infotainment in their news products. Given Hollifield et al.'s (2001) findings that, compared with their print counterparts, television news directors recruiting entry-level reporters place a higher emphasis on both the employees'

professional values and ability to meet organizational demands, broadcast journalists socializing into work may be even more sensitive to the gap in value profiles.

Similarities and differences between these two vocational groups may shine a new light on how reporters learn and practice journalism values through their work. The result of this study may also be generalized to professions other than journalism with strong professional values

APPENDIX 1: SURVEY ON ORGANIZATIONAL ATTACHMENT OF
NEWSPAPER JOURNALIST

INSTRUCTION: Indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.

	Stron gly	Disa gree	Neutr al	Agr ee	Stron gly
1. I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this paper.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I enjoy discussing my organization with people outside of it.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I really feel as if this paper's problems are my own.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I do not feel like "part of the family" at my newspaper.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I do not feel "emotionally attached" to this paper.	1	2	3	4	5
6. This organization has a great deal of personal meaning to me.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I do not feel a strong sense of belonging to my organization.					

INSTRUCTION: Indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.

	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I trust my co-workers.	1	2	3	4	5
2. My co-workers get along with each other.	1	2	3	4	5
3. My relationship with my co-workers is satisfying	1	2	3	4	5
4. I trust top management at my paper.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Top management is sincere in their efforts to communicate with the staff.	1	2	3	4	5
6. My relationship with top management is satisfying.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I trust my immediate supervisor.	1	2	3	4	5
8. He/she is honest with me.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I am free to disagree with him/her.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I can tell him/her when things are going wrong.	1	2	3	4	5
11. He/she praises me for a good job.	1	2	3	4	5

INSTRUCTION: Indicate the extent to which you think the following values are crucial to your work.

	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
	gly	gree	al	ee	gly
	Disagree				Agree
	gree				e
1. Accuracy (<i>correct spelling, facts, quotes</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
2. Appeal (<i>attracts a wide range of readers</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
3. Circulation growth (<i>increasing readership</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
4. Competitiveness (<i>ability to retain/increase market share</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
5. Completeness (<i>containing all relevant facts</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
6. Consistency (<i>treating everyone the same</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
7. Credibility (<i>public confidence in journalistic integrity</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
8. Customer satisfaction (<i>fulfillment of product expectations</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
9. Editorial autonomy (<i>independence from paper's business side</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
10. Efficiency (<i>maximum output at minimum cost</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
11. Fairness (<i>seeking all relevant viewpoints</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
12. Impact (<i>affects a large number of people</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
13. Marketing (<i>packaging and promoting products</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
14. News judgment (<i>journalists' competence to decide what's news</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
15. Objectivity (<i>lack of personal opinions in news stories</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
16. Product innovation (<i>inventing products relevant to new audiences</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
17. Proficiency (<i>being a skilled journalist</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
18. Profit growth (<i>increasing returns for owners/stockholders</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
19. Public enlightenment (<i>citizens' comprehension of public</i>)	1	2	3	4	5

affairs)

20. Reader input (readers' competence to decide what's news)

INSTRUCTION: Indicate the extent to which you think these values are celebrated by the newspaper you work for.

	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
	gly	gree	al	ee	gly
	Disagree				Agree
	gree				e
1. Accuracy (<i>correct spelling, facts, quotes</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
2. Appeal (<i>attracts a wide range of readers</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
3. Circulation growth (<i>increasing readership</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
4. Competitiveness (<i>ability to retain/increase market share</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
5. Completeness (<i>containing all relevant facts</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
6. Consistency (<i>treating everyone the same</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
7. Credibility (<i>public confidence in journalistic integrity</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
8. Customer satisfaction (<i>fulfillment of product expectations</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
9. Editorial autonomy (<i>independence from paper's business side</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
10. Efficiency (<i>maximum output at minimum cost</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
11. Fairness (<i>seeking all relevant viewpoints</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
12. Impact (<i>affects a large number of people</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
13. Marketing (<i>packaging and promoting products</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
14. News judgment (<i>journalists' competence to decide what's news</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
15. Objectivity (<i>lack of personal opinions in news stories</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
16. Product innovation (<i>inventing products relevant to new audiences</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
17. Proficiency (<i>being a skilled journalist</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
18. Profit growth (<i>increasing returns for owners/stockholders</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
19. Public enlightenment (<i>citizens' comprehension of public</i>)	1	2	3	4	5

affairs)

20. Reader input (readers' competence to decide what's news)

Contact Number (This number will be used in cases when we need you to clarify some of your responses)

Gender:

M

F

Race:

Anglo American

African American

Asian American

Latin American

Pacific Americans

Others (Please specify) _____

Highest Degree Earned:

High School

Bachelor's

Master's

Doctoral

Others

What was your major for that degree?

How long have you been working full-time as a journalist?

Years _____

and Months _____

How long have you been working full-time for this newspaper?

Years _____

and Months _____

What is the title of your current position?

What is the circulation size of your newspaper?

10,000 and Under

10,001-25,000

25,001-50,000

50,001-100,000

100,001-250,000

Above 250,000

Don't Know

What is your annual salary for the previous year?

\$20,000 and Under

\$20,001-\$25,000

\$25,001-\$30,000

\$30,001-\$35,000

Above \$35,000

Don't Know

Are you a member of any professional association in the journalism field?

Yes

No

INSTRUCTION: As a second part of the study, I am recruiting volunteers to discuss your work experience and professional values more extensively. If you are interested in participating in an in-depth interview, please leave your name, e-mail address and contact number below. I will use the information to get in touch with you. The interview may take 30 minutes to over an hour. You are welcome to contact Cathy Chou at 573-999-7181 or CathyChou@mizzou.edu for any question or comment.

Would you like to participate in the in-depth interview?

Yes

No

If yes, please leave your name and contact information below.

Name: _____

E-mail Address: _____

Contact Number: _____

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THE SURVEY

APPENDIX 2: PROTOCOLS FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

Research Questions:

- (a) How do newspaper reporters become affectively committed to their organizations?
- (b) What are the dynamics between newspaper reporters' professional sentiments and affective commitment?
- (c) What are the dynamics between newspaper reporters' perceived newsroom relationship and affective commitment?
- (d) What are the dynamics between newspaper reporters' professional sentiments and their perceived newsroom relationship?

Inquiry on Organizational Attachment in General

1. How long have you been working at this newspaper? How did you start working here? What was your impression of the paper before you came? Has the feeling for the paper changed over time? Can you describe any specific circumstance in which your feelings changed?
2. What do you like best about your newspaper? What do you like least about it? Have you ever had to defend your paper against an attacker? Or have you ever complained about your paper to another person? Can you give an example of such an instance? Have there been any special circumstances that made you take special pride in or share a moment of glory with your paper? Can you tell me more about it?

Inquiry on Perception of Organizational Values and Organizational Attachment

3. When you first start working here, how did you adjust to the new environment? Do you remember any incidents that helped you adjust or made it even worse? Have you mentored any entry-level reporters since you are here? What would you do to help them hop onboard and get a feeling of how this newsroom works?

Inquiry on Professional Sentiments and Organizational Attachment

4. What do you think is a journalist's responsibility in terms of his or her reporting?

What do you think is the newspaper's role in society? How do you think a journalist should balance professional values like objectivity and public service with organizational goals such as entertainment or marketing? Have you ever run into any conflicts here? Or, if not, can you give an example of the way your paper is doing a good job on merging the two objectives? How well do you think your paper is doing, both in terms of sales and content? Do your co-worker or supervisor share your view?

Inquiry on Perceived Newsroom Relationship and Organizational Attachment

5. Would you describe your newsroom environment as friendly? What is your relationship with your supervisors? Co-workers? Top-management? Can you give an example of how your relationship with them becomes better, or worse?

APPENDIX 3: SURVEY RECRUIT E-MAIL

INITIAL RECRUIT E-MAIL

Dear Sir/Madam,

Hi. I am a graduate student at the Journalism School at University of Missouri and a former newspaper reporter. You are invited to participate in an online survey on your attitudes and values regarding your newspaper, newsroom and profession. The results of this survey will be used for my master's thesis. Participation in the survey is completely voluntary, and your response will be kept confidential throughout the study. The survey will take no more than 10 to 20 minutes of your time.

The newspaper your work for was randomly selected from *Editors and Publishers International Yearbook*. Your name and e-mail were then obtained either through your editor or via your newspaper's Website.

To encourage you to participate, those who take the survey before October will have a chance to win either an I-Pod Nano, a Nintendo Dual Screen Lite, or a Sony PSP. Three winners, one for each prize, will be randomly selected on November 1, 2006 from all survey takers.

If you feel up to it, click here to access the survey:
<http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.asp?u=385782292857>

Thank you for participating. If you have any question or comment, feel free to contact me at:
573-999-7181 or CathyChou@mizzou.edu. For additional information regarding human participation in research, please contact the UMC Campus IRB Office at 573-882-9585.

Best,
Cathy Chou
Graduate Student
School of Journalism
University of Missouri

FOLLOW-UP EMAIL

Dear Sir/Madam,

Hi. I am a graduate student at University of Missouri's School of Journalism. You may remember me from a survey recruitment e-mail that I sent to you last week. If you haven't found time to take the survey yet, I would again like to encourage you to participate. The survey will ask you how you feel about your newspaper, newsroom and profession. This is something I am keenly interested in, as I believe it will contribute to a deeper understanding of the current journalism industry. Of course, this data will also help me graduate.

In a move to recruit more volunteers, anyone who takes the survey before October 7, 2006 will be eligible to win an I-Pod Nano, a Nintendo Dual Screen Lite, or a Sony PSP. The three winners will be randomly selected on November 1, 2006.

My survey can be accessed at: <http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.asp?u=385782292857>.

Again, participation in the survey is completely voluntary, and your response will be kept confidential throughout the study. The survey will take no more than 10 to 20 minutes of your time. Your e-mail accounts were obtained from the Websites of your newspapers, which themselves were randomly selected from the 2005 version of *Editors and Publishers International Yearbook*.

Thank you for making the time to take part in this study. If you have any question or comment, feel free to contact me at: 573-999-7181 or CathyChou@mizzou.edu. For additional information regarding human participation in research, please contact the UMC Campus IRB Office at 573-882-9585.

Best,

Cathy Chou
Graduate Student
School of Journalism
University of Missouri

APPENDIX 4: CONSENT FORMS

SURVEY CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in this research exploring values, organizational attachments and work relationships of newspaper journalists. Cathy Chou, a master's student in University of Missouri's School of Journalism, is conducting this research project under the supervision of Dr. Fritz Cropp, a professor in the School of Journalism.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this research is to understand how U.S. newspaper journalists feel about their papers. To explore possible causes to their level of organizational attachment, journalistic values and business values held by the individual and the organization is examined in addition to their perceived level of newsroom relationship.

PROCEDURE: This research involves the completion of a one-time survey. You are requested to read the consent form carefully. Please sign the form before completing the survey, which will take 10 to 20 minutes to complete.

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE SURVEY: The survey contains 70 items. You will answer questions on demographic information, newspaper size, journalism and business values, work relationship and organizational attachment.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION: Participation in this survey is strictly voluntary. It is your choice regarding whether or not to complete or return the survey. You will not be penalized in any way if you fail to participate. You are free to skip any of the questions or exit this survey whenever you wish.

CONFIDENTIALITY OF DATA: Your responses will remain entirely confidential. Identities of respondents will be separated from the survey, which will be number-coded. However, in case the researcher needs you to clarify your responses, she will keep a list that matches your name with the surveys. This list will be destroyed upon conclusion of the data analysis.

RESULT SHARING: Result of this survey may be presented or published, but the findings will be presented in aggregate form with no individual-identifying information disclosed.

BENEFITS: The results of this study will have implications for constructing an organizational environment in which newspaper journalists want to work. Participants will help contribute knowledge on newsroom communication and relationship.

RISKS: There are no risks in participating.

I have read and understand the terms and conditions of this study. If I have further questions, I will contact Cathy Chou at CathyChou@mizzou.edu or Dr. Fritz Cropp at FCropp@missouri.edu. For additional information regarding human participation in research, please contact the UMC Campus IRB Office at 573-882-9585. I agree to participate in this research exploring values, organizational attachments and work relationships of newspaper journalists. Cathy Chou, a master's student in University of Missouri's School of Journalism, is conducting this research project under the supervision of Dr. Fritz Cropp, a professor in the School of Journalism.

Name

Date

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in this research exploring values, organizational attachments and work relationships of newspaper journalists. Cathy Chou, a master's student in University of Missouri's School of Journalism, is conducting this research project under the supervision of Dr. Fritz Cropp, a professor in the School of Journalism.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this research is to understand how U.S. newspaper journalists feel about their papers. To explore possible causes to their level of organizational attachment, journalistic values and business values held by the individual and the organization is examined in addition to their perceived level of newsroom relationship.

PROCEDURE: This research involves the completion of a one-time interview. You are requested to read the consent form carefully. Please sign the form before the start of the interview, which will take 30 minutes to an hour to complete. The interview will be tape-recorded.

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE INTERVIEW: The interview will consist of spontaneous questions on your attitude toward the newspaper you work for. You will be asked to tell stories that illustrate your relationship with your paper and touch on topics such as demographic information, newspaper size, journalism and business values, work relationship and organizational attachment.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION: Participation in this survey is strictly voluntary. You can freely decide whether or not to complete the interview. You can end the interview at any time. You will not be penalized in any way for reluctance to participate.

CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE DATA: Your responses will remain entirely confidential.

Identities of respondents will be separated from the data, which will be number-coded. However, in case the researcher needs you to clarify your responses, she will keep a list that matches your name with the interview content. This list will be destroyed upon conclusion of the data analysis.

RESULT SHARING: Result of this interview may be presented or published, but the findings will be presented using pseudonyms with no individual-identifying information disclosed.

BENEFITS: The results of this study will have implications for constructing an organizational environment in which newspaper journalists want to work. Participants will help contribute knowledge on newsroom communication and relationship.

RISKS: There are no risks in participation.

I have read and understand the terms and conditions of this study. If I have further questions, I will contact Cathy Chou at CathyChou@mizzou.edu or Dr. Fritz Cropp at FCropp@missouri.edu. For additional information regarding human participation in research, please contact the UMC Campus IRB Office at 573-882-9585

Name

Date

To conduct the telephone interview, starting from October 3 I will contact you via the telephone number you provided in the previous survey. It would be helpful if you let me know what time is most convenient for the interview (ex. "weekdays after 8 p.m." or "Saturday 10-12 noon"). Please leave this information in the comment box below.

To be on the safe side, allow an hour for this interview to end. If you wish me to conduct the interview via a number different from the one you have given earlier, please use the box below as well. Thank you.

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