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ABSTRACT

A study explored the question of whether there is an adversary press, by examining the recent trends in adversarial attitudes among newspaper journalists in the United States. Using a differentiation model for delineating the nature and boundaries of American adversarial journalism, the study re-analyzed the data from two national surveys. The first (by Weaver and Wilhoit) involved telephone interviews of 1,001 print and broad-cast journalists. The other (by Stinnett et al.) involved questionnaires mailed to 1,211 journalists at U.S. daily newspapers. Results of the re-analysis revealed: (1) that while young and old journalists take a moderate position on the usefulness of an adversary press, the middle-aged cohort has increased adversarial sentiment over the last 5 years; and (2) that these intra-cohort trends may be explained by three factors: age, cohort, and period. (Five figures, nine tables of data, and 20 notes are included.) (SR)

Recent Trends in Adversarial Attitudes among American Newspaper Journalists: A Cohort Analysis

by

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Recent Trends in Adversarial Attitudes among
American Newspaper Journalists: A Cohort Analysis
(An Abstract)

Is there an adversary press? The conventional wisdom says "Yes," whereas the critical school "No." This paper suggests a differentiation perspective -- While the journalists may be adversary of the individuals in power, the press cooperates with the basic system. The analysis of two nationwide surveys reveals that while the young and old journalists take a moderate position, the middle-age cohort has increased adversarial sentiment over the last five years. These intra-cohort trends may be explained by three factors: age, cohort, and period.

Recent Trends in Adversarial Attitudes among American Newspaper Journalists: A Cohort Analysis

The adversary idea lies at the core of American journalistic professionalism; but it is also an often-disputed topic in journalism literature. This study examines the recent trends in adversarial attitudes among American newspaper journalists. First, it proposes a differentiation model for delineating the nature and boundaries of American adversarial journalism. Second, it describes, based on two national surveys conducted during the past five years, the extent of adversarial attitudes among newspaper journalists. Finally, it uses cohort analysis technique to disaggregate the overall trend and to trace intra-cohort changes. Three distinct intra-cohort trends emerge: an increase in adversarial attitudes, a decline in the attitudes, and a move to middle ground. Several explanations for these intra-cohort changes are offered.

The Nature and Boundaries of Adversarial Journalism: A Differentiation Perspective

What is an "adversary"? According to Webster's New World Dictionary, an adversary is "a person who opposes or fights against another." The adversary idea in American journalism lies in the libertarian assumption that ordinary people's interests are always threatened by power (government, business, etc.). As Tom Bethell noted, the conventional answer to this problem is for the news media "to police the government, to keep it honest, to blow the whistle, to defend the people's right to know, to stand watchfully on the ramparts of freedom and democracy."[1]

In conventional wisdom, the adversarial notion, along with objectivity or impartiality, is THE professional ethic of American journalism. The root of the adversary idea can be traced back to the classical

republicanism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From John Milton to John Locke and Thomas Jefferson, the heart of freedom of the press has been the right to speak independently of the authorities.[2] The First Amendment has legalized the press' right to be an adversary of power. The muckraking journalism during the Progressive era finally translated this adversary idea into the contemporary journalists' value system.[3] And the Watergate and Irangate coverage simply reflected this tradition.

For critics, however, the adversary press is a myth, or rather, a fallacy. They have argued that the American press is nothing but "the fourth branch of the government." For example, in the Watergate era, Tom Bethell, a Washington journalist, pointed out that "Watergate...was not so much the heroism of the press as: 'the system worked.' Thus government (together with its media dancing partner) was validated."[4] He went on to say that "the news media have now become a part of government in all but formal constitutional ratification of the fact. For all intents and purposes, the New York Times or "CBS News" can best be understood as departments of the federal bureaucracy." The confrontation between the press and the government is merely "internal government struggling."

The media hegemonists have provided a more theoretical critique of the adversarial notion. As David Altheide has interpreted it,[5] two key assumptions underlie the media hegemony theory: (1) journalists are uniformly socialized by the newsroom norms to conform with the dominant ideology; and (2) journalists and their reports tend to support and perpetuate the status quo.[6]

Apparently, the long-time controversy over the adversary press shows its importance, on one hand, and the difficulty for research on the issue, on the other hand. The difficulty involves both the fundamental difference in

ideology and the ambiguity in conceptualization. Acknowledging the impossibility of resolving ideological disputes, I propose in this paper a differentiation model to minimize the ambiguity in conceptualizing the adversary notion. Specifically, the differentiation model tries to make two distinctions at the conceptualization level: one distinction lies in the power, while the other the press per se.

For the power side, we must distinguish among individual power-holders, power organizations, and the fundamental system. Public officials and corporation executives are doubtless the most powerful individuals in the United States and elsewhere as well. The power organizations include legislatures, executive departments, courts, political parties, and corporations. Republican democracy and private ownership constitute the foundation of the American system. These distinctions -- individual, organization, and system -- seem to be obvious in the theoretical discussion. But the crucial question is whether journalists are able to differentiate among them in routine practice. My argument is that they should, they can, and they do. First, journalists should make the distinction, because the foundation of American journalism, from the First Amendment to the Progressive tradition, has clearly delineated the boundaries for adversarial journalists: They are allowed to attack an official, or even the regime, but are never allowed to threaten the state. Journalists also can make the distinction, because American journalists, like other kinds of learned intellectuals (in John Milton's criteria), are politically socialized to survive any major scandal or crisis by blaming "the bad guys who hurt our good system." Finally, journalists do make the distinction in daily practice. The examples abound. Let's cite Bethell again, who acknowledges that while the major media at Washington, D.C. become a federal government branch, the press as a whole

does attack government at lower levels from time to time.[7]

In the same fashion, we should conceptually draw a line between individual journalists and institutional journalism. David Nord argues that, though related, journalists and journalism are two distinct things.[8] Journalists, like other individuals, have their own ideology, mainly derived from their earlier socialization. Specifically, American journalists tend to be liberal in the sense of being critical of the establishment. On the other hand, journalism is a bureaucratic enterprise; it is controlled by commercial needs and news gathering routines (such as the beat system and reliance on sources). Given these "structural constraints," the American press tends to be conservative, in the sense of reinforcing the status quo.[9]

Figure 1. Relationship of Journalism and Power

	POWER		
	Individuals	Organizations	System
JOURNALISM			
Individual Journalists	I Strongly Adversarial	II Moderately Adversarial	III Mildly Adversarial
Journalism Organizations	IV Moderately Adversarial	V Mildly Adversarial	VI Not At All Adversarial

The Figure 1 summarizes the differentiation model. The typical adversarial attitudes are the one that individual journalists hold toward persons of power (See Cell I). But journalists are often less adversarial to powerful organizations (Cell II). Only occasionally do journalists question the basic system (IV). The media are even less adversarial to the power than their employees are (IV or V). It is never the case that the media stand as adversaries of the system (VI). It seems that conventional wisdom and the critical mind look at the different cells in the above figure: while the former emphasizes the individual journalists' orientation (mainly Cell I, and

to some extent, II), the latter focuses on the role of the press (mainly V and VI). Both are valid within the range of their examinations. What the differentiation model contributes is nothing but to incorporate the valuable arguments on both sides into a clear grid: Yes, there are adversarial journalists; but they mainly fight against the "bad guys" of power and protect the "good system."

Adversarial Attitudes among Newspaper Journalists: 1983-88

With the differentiation model in mind, a study of adversarial attitudes that individual journalists hold toward individual power-holders is warrant. Particularly, it is valuable to empirically access the extent to which American journalists adhere to this legacy-like adversary idea. This study re-analyzes the data collected from two surveys of American journalists. In the first survey, by David Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit of Indiana University in 1982-83, 1,001 print and broadcast journalists across the nation were interviewed by telephone.[10] In the second survey, by Lee Stinnett et al. of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) in 1988, 1,211 journalists at the U.S. daily newspapers were interviewed by mail questionnaire.[11]

In the Weaver-Wilhoit survey, two questions were particularly designed to probe adversarial attitudes: "How important is it for the news media to be an adversary of public officials by being constantly skeptical of their actions?" and "How important is it for the news media to be an adversary of businesses by being constantly skeptical of their actions?" In the ASNE survey conducted five years later, the same questions were repeated. Therefore, we have a fairly reliable indicator of the status, as well as the change (or continuity), of journalists' adversarial mentality over a five-year span.

Table 1

The big picture, as Table 1 indicates, is that American newspaper journalists have widely diverse opinions on the notion of an adversarial press. They do not overwhelmingly adhere to the idea, despite the hopes of libertarians. Only about 15% to 25% of the respondents in both 1983 and 1988 agree that an adversary press is extremely important. Compared with of other media roles, the adversarial role is the least popular among the journalists surveyed. (See Table 2.)

Table 2

On the other hand, the journalists do not "uniformly" discard adversary idea, as the critics have contended. Only one out of five (or fewer) respondents strongly reject the adversarial notion. More important, while there has been a substantial increase in the middle position (as reflected by the combination of the Quite Important and Somewhat Important categories), the extreme view-holders at both ends have been n decline. (See Column 3 in Table 1.) In short, what we have is roughly an evenly-spread distribution of adversarial opinions, which is a desirable property for statistical purpose but not necessarily a good sign for the public. (Figures 2.1 and 2.2).

Figures 2.1 & 2.2

It should be noted here that, relatively, the journalists tend to be less adversarial toward businesses than they are toward government. Why is it so? One explanation is the differentiation of individuals and institutions as discussed before. The first item probes the respondents' attitudes toward

public officials (individuals), whereas the other asks their opinion about businesses (institutions). Another possibility is the distinction between public sector and private sector, a classic Anglo-American ideology. Historically, it has been government power, not private power, that is the problem, in the view of the press. These are largely speculations, however, since no clue in both data nor side-information from other sources can be called upon to prove them.

Readers may also be puzzled by a sharp contrast in Table 2. While the majority of the respondents (two out of three) strongly support the obligation of investigating the government's claims and statements, they do not want to be constantly skeptical of government officials. Why is this so? Maybe a semantic issue is involved here. Journalists feel much more comfortable with the word "investigation" than "adversary" or "skeptic." Weaver and Wilhoit used factor analysis in their 1983 data and identified three clusters of media role perceptions: a disseminator role, an interpretive role, and an adversarial role.[12] The 1988 ASNE survey replicated these questions and obtained a similar pattern of media role perceptions. For example, the "examine claims" item only loads .20 on the adversarial factor but .70 or so on the interpretive factor, which strongly suggests that the observed different attitudes toward examining-claims and being-adversarial is more likely substantial than semantic (Table 3). For example, it might be the case that journalists are willing to objectively check on government's statements; but they do not want to take one step further and hold constantly negative attitudes. At any rate, the "bottom line" of American journalism is objectivity, balance, or neutrality, but not hostile opposition.

Table 3

In short, the study could have been ended at this point with the mixed conclusion that the adversary idea is not as popular as conventional professionalism claims; nor is it as mythical as critics and hegemony theorists suggest. Furthermore, if there were no room at all for journalists' individual viewpoints at work in news selection and production processes, we might ask "SO WHAT?" for the findings. However, I would suggest further exploration of the adversarial attitudes of journalists, based on the following assumptions: (1) theoretically, journalists' attitudes and opinions do play a role, although not the most important role, in news processes; and (2) methodologically, the overall trend toward a middle-of-the-road orientation might obscure trends in other directions among subgroups. The first assumption is largely a personal faith, and it is beyond the scope of this study to elaborate on it. But the next section will demonstrate that the second assumption is quite reasonable and heuristic.

Cohort Analysis: Intra-cohort Trends and Causal Factors

To investigate the possibility that there are some different trends obscured by the gross comparison over time, it is necessary to disaggregate the samples into sub-groups. There are, of course, a variety of ways to break down the samples. For example, age and education are the commonly used criterion variables. Because the data do not result from a panel design but from two independently drawn samples, age or educational groupings may not be able to capture the ongoing changes in the population over time. Thus, I have chosen "cohort" as the criterion, which is more sensitive to the net changes in a longitudinal setting.

A cohort consists of "people who experienced a common significant life event within a period of time from one to ten years."[13] The "significant

life event" can be birth, schooling, employment, and so forth. In fact, given a special population (such as newspaper journalists in this study) with a relatively homogeneous background, the members of a birth cohort follow a very similar path of life cycle in terms of schooling and starting to work. Thus, birth cohort, as measured by the year of birth, is used to classify the journalists' population. Since the two surveys were conducted within a five-year interval,[14] the ideal way is to define five years as the age range of each cohort. However, the age of half of the 1988 sample was measured in 5-year intervals, whereas that of the other half was in 10-year intervals.[15] Thus, this analysis involves eight cohorts with inconsistent ranges. The four younger cohorts cover five years for each, while the four elder cohorts cover ten apiece. (See Table 4.) Notice that there was no Cohort 1 available in 1983 (too young) and no Cohort 8 in 1988 (too old). Thus, these two partial cohorts are not given special attention in the discussion that follows.

Table 4

Cohort analysis usually starts with the formation of a "standard cohort table" (SCT), and ends with the identification of causal effects such as age-cohort-period (ACP) effects. Table 5 is such an SCT, in which the dependent variable (percentage of responses to two adversarial questions) is broken down by cohort. Reading along the rows shows the intra-cohort changes between the two points in time. Table 5 reveals <u>three</u> quite distinct intra-cohort trends during the five years. First, the two youngest cohorts (Cohort II and III whose members were born in the 1950s) display a <u>de-polarization</u> tendency similar to the trend in the overall samples as discussed in the previous section. Briefly, the increases in the middle categories (mainly that of Quite Important) are caused by the decline in both extremes.

Table 5

Next, the two middle cohorts (Cohort IV and V, whose members were born during or right after World War II) shows a trend toward a more adversarial stance over the period. There is a slight increase in the Extremely Important category (except for Cohort V on Adversarial-to-Businesses) as well as a substantial increase in Quite Important. Put together, there are 10% to 15% more "adversaries" in the two cohorts than five years before. It should be noted that the movement toward a more adversarial stance is clear and consistent only in Cohort IV. Cohort V is, in fact, somewhere between more adversarial and de-polarized. Had this cohort been split into two 5-year cohorts, it may have been that the younger one would have been similar to Cohort IV, while the elder one would have been closer to the pattern to be discussed now.

The third trend that emerges from Table 5 is the one toward a less adversarial stance among the two eldest cohorts (Cohort VI and VII, whose members were born between the two World Wars). Both cohorts witnessed a drop of 20% or so in "extremely adversarial" category over the five years. Cohort VI also lost the "quite adversarial" category to a similar extent.

In short, the overall trend analysis does obscure the different intra-cohort changes as observed here. Particularly, the increases in adversaries among the middle-age cohorts are offset by the decline among the eldest cohorts.

Another revealing finding from Table 5 is the dynamic relationship between cohort and adversarial attitudes. The conventional way is to statically study the relationship, by making a cross-sectional comparison with one-shot survey data. The outcome often varies from one survey to another,

depending on when the survey is conducted. For example, If treating the two surveys used here separately, one may find very different results. The 1983 data shows a concave curvilinear relationship that the two middle-age cohorts are least adversarial (Figures 3.1).

Figures 3.1 & 3.2

On the other hand, the 1988 data reveals a convex curvilinear relationship that the middle-age cohorts are most adversarial (Figure 3.2). This could lead to an endless debate over which form of the relationship is closer to the "truth." Cohort analysis approach prevents such a confusion from happening. This study shows that the relationship is not static but temporal or dynamic, in the sense that the nature of the relationship depends on the calculus of different intra-cohort trends. If every cohort had kept the same rate of change in adversarial attitudes (be it increasing, or declining, or even constant), the shape of the relationship would have been the same over time. Unfortunately, this assumption of equilibrium does not often hold in the real world.[16] With cohort analysis or many other longitudinal approaches, we are not subject to the requirement of system equilibrium; rather we can disclose the ongoing nature of a relationship under study.

The real challenge is how to explain these different intra-cohort changes. There are at least six competing explanations, three of which carry theoretical significance while the rest involve methodological considerations. The theoretical explanations include the contribution made by age, cohort, and period (ACP effects) respectively. The methodological explanations concern sampling error, measurement error, and population change. As Glenn have noted, all these factors are likely present in an empirical study, and there are no sophisticated techniques to isolate them.[17] Without attempting to draw

final conclusions, I discuss these issues in a tentative way.

Theoretically, all the ACP effects are plausible for the observed intra-cohort changes; but none of them appears to be the single most important cause. They more likely interact with each other, and hence produce changes in different directions and with different rates in each direction. For example, the less adversarial tendency among the eldest cohorts may be due to an aging effect, as many previous studies have suggested that individuals tend to grow conservative with age. However, the aging effect cannot explain why the middle-age cohorts become more adversarial when they get old. There must be something else. Specifically, a cohort effect may be at work here. By cohort effect, I mainly refer to earlier socialization processes. The middle-age cohorts were the most active participants in the anti-War, civil rights, feminist, and environmentalist movements in the later 1960s. This anti-establishment experience may have had a long-term impact on the members of these cohorts with regard to their political viewpoints as well as their professional values system. But cohort effect is also confounded with other factors such as period effect. For example, the youngest cohorts may have been attracted to journalism by the Watergate press in the 1970s. However, they might have been discouraged by increasing public criticism of the abuse of free press during the 1980s. The rise of Reaganism might also trigger the pull-back of adversarial attitudes among younger journalists.

Among the three methodological issues, sampling error might be the most important source for the observed intra-cohort changes. Both samples were carefully drawn and they are fairly representative of American print journalists.[18] However, two problems remain: First, the number of the newspaper respondents in 1983 is relatively small. When the 462 cases are break down into six cohorts, the size of each cohort becomes even smaller.

That makes the observed changes subject to random effect. Second, some of the changes are rather marginal (e.g., below 5%). Of course, adversarial attitudes, like many other fundamental opinion and attitudes, is an enduring matter. We cannot expect to see an over-night jump here. But a combination of the two problems contributes to statistical non-significance for several intra-cohort changes. (See the Chi-square Column in Table 5.)[19]

Another possible source of error lies in measurement. The two surveys used different interviewing methods (telephone vs. self-administered-questionnaire). It is arguable that respondents are likely to take a more polarized position in personal interview situations than in pencil-and-paper situations (or vice versa). If this is what happened in the two surveys, then the decline in the extremely adversarial attitudes among four cohorts may be due to the fill-in-questionnaire method used in the second survey. It is hard to explain the increase in adversarial attitudes in the middle-age cohorts. A check with other seven items of media role does not support this speculation either (see Table 3). For example, while a decline in four items, there is an increase in another two items, or no change at all in one item, over the five years.

Third, the changes in population composition may also cause the intra-cohort changes observed here. As Table 4 reveals, the median age of the newspaper journalist in the study in 1988 was 1.3 years older than in 1983. As stated, this aging trend may contribute to a regression toward middle ground. Moreover, job mobility among journalists could have a crucial impact on the adversarial mentality. The more adversarial journalists might be more likely to leave the news media, because they are frustrated by organizational constraints on their critical reporting. We also could speculate that the less adversarial journalists tend to shift from journalism to public relations

or other more profitable jobs. Thus, it could be inferred that the decline (or increase) in adversarial orientation is due to the departure of the disillusioned as well as the entry of new idealists. Table 6 provides some side-information to assess the two crucial questions: (1) the real transition rate (exit as well as entry) among newspaper journalists, and (2) whether there is a relationship between adversarial attitudes and job mobility.

Table 6

It shows, first, that adversarial attitudes seem to have little impact on the job termination intention. For example, the exit rates for the two youngest cohorts and the two middle-age cohorts are essentially the same,[20] though they differ in adversarial attitudes. The intention to leave journalism is understandably high among the old journalists, because many of them were already close to retirement in 1983. Second, the entry rate for most of the cohorts is rather low (except for Cohort II, 7.4% at the most). Also, the entry rate decreases as the cohorts get older. In other words, the mobility among the elder journalists, especially among the two eldest cohorts, is minimal. Put together, the change in composition of journalists' population over the last five years is quite limited. Moreover, the change is mainly due to natural succession: the eldest have retired while the youngest have come in. Thus, it seems safe to argue that the loss of critical minds has little impact on the observed intra-cohort changes.

Two other possible explanations related to change in population composition are the changes in education and sex composition. The underlying assumption for the educational effect is that a cohort would be more adversarial as its members' education increases (be it through on-the-job training or recruiting the better-educated people). Although a static cross-

sectional comparison shows a moderately positive correlation between education and adversarial scores (Table 7), the cross-cohort trend analysis suggests a negative relationship. On one hand, the education among journalists has significantly increased over the last five years.(Table 8) But on the other hand, the overall trend of adversarial attitudes has been toward middle ground as discussed in the previous section. Of course, we cannot conclude that the increase in education caused the middle ground tendency; vice versa. The change in adversarial attitudes seems to have little to do with the change in journalists' educational background.

Tables 7 & 8

The sex effect on the changes in adversariness is also minimal. On one hand, the ratio of men to women in newspapers remained almost the same during the five years (35.3% female in 1983 vs. 35.5% in 1988). On the other hand, there was little substantial difference between men and women journalists, both in 1983 and in 1988, in terms of adversarial attitudes toward government and businesses.

Table 9

In closing, this study has revealed three different intra-cohort trends underlying the overall de-polarization of adversarial attitudes: a regression on toward middle ground among the younger cohorts, a rise in adversarial attitudes among the middle-age cohorts, and a drop in adversarial attitudes among the old cohorts. By identifying these distinct trends, this paper suggests the merit of longitudinal analysis. Particularly, the concept of cohort is shown to be sensitive to the dynamic nature of the changes in media professionalism. Though no definite evidence is available, this paper

proposes several causal factors for the intra-cohort changes. The changes among the old cohorts is attributed to age effect. Period effect is assumed to influence the younger cohorts. And cohort effect seems to help the middle-age cohorts maintain their adversarial mentality. While sampling error may explain some of the observed intra-cohort variations, the influence of measurement error or changes in population composition seems to be quite limited. In all, the precise identification of ACP effects remains for further replication studies.

(END)

Table 1. Percentages of Responses to Two Adversarial Questions.

	1983	1988	CHANGE
Question 1. "How important is it for the news media to be an adversary of public officials by being constantly skeptical of their actions?"			
Extremely Important	25.3	19.5	- 5.8
Quite Important	21.6	30.7	+ 9.1
Somewhat Important	30.7	29.8	- 0.9
Not Really Important	18.4	15.8	- 2.6
No Opinion	3.9	4.2	+ 0.3
Total	100%	100%	X^2=16.661[a]
N	462	1,211	df=3, p<.001
Question 2. "How important is it for the news media to be an adversary of businesses by being constantly skeptical of their actions?"			
Extremely Important	18.2	14.0	- 4.2
Quite Important	21.2	26.7	+ 5.5
Somewhat Important	36.1	35.8	- 0.3
Not Really Important	20.6	18.7	- 1.9
No Opinion	3.9	4.8	+ 0.9
Total	100%	100%	X^2=8.318[a]
N	462	1,211	df=3, p<.02

[a] Chi-square analysis is used to test the change over time. The degree of freedom equals to 3, because those with "No opinion" are excluded.

Table 2. Percentage of Responses to Three Perceptions of Media Role.[a]

QUESTIONS[b]	1983	1988	CHANGE
Disseminator Role			
1. Quick info.	62.6%	65.7%	+ 3.1%
2. Wide intrt.	38.1	18.0	-20.1***
3. Prov enter.	26.2	19.2	- 7.0**
4. Stay away.	49.6	39.7	- 9.9**
Interpretive Role			
5. Analyz prb.	52.6	66.6	+14.0***
6. Exam claim.	69.3	65.8	- 3.5
7. Disc polcy.	43.1	42.4	- 0.7
Adversarial Role			
8. Adv to gvt.	25.3	19.5	- 5.8**
9. Adv to bus.	18.2	14.0	- 4.2*
N	462	1211	

*** p<.001; ** p<.01; * p<.05.

[a] The three clustered roles -- disseminator, interpretive, and adversarial -- are proposed by Weaver and Wilhoit (1986).

[b] The question wordings are:

1. How important is it for the news media to get information to the public as quickly as possible?
2. How important is it for the news media to concentrate on news which is of interest to the widest possible public?
3. How important is it for the news media to provide entertainment and relaxation?
4. How important is it for the news media to stay away from stories where factual content cannot be verified?
5. How important is it for the news media to provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems?
6. How important is it for the news media to investigate claims and statements made by the government?
7. How important is it for the news media to discuss nationa policy while it is still being developed?
8. How important is it for the news media to be an adversary of public officials by being constantly skeptical of their actions?
9. How important is it for the news media to be an adversary of businesses by being constantly skeptical of their actions?

Table 3. Factor Loadings of Nine Items on Three Media Role Factors.[a]

	1983			1988		
	Advs.	Intp.	Dism.	Advs.	Intp.	Dism.
Adv-to-bus.	.91			.91		
Adv-to-gvt.	.90			.91		
Exam claim.	.21	.63		.20	.72	
Analyz prb.		.79			.77	
Disc polcy.		.64			.64	
Wide intrt.			.71			.70
Prov enter.			.50			.58
Quick info.			.53			.57
Stay away.			.48			.48
Eigenvalue	2.42	1.42	1.08	2.60	1.37	1.08
% variance	26.8	15.8	12.0	28.8	15.3	12.0

[a] The exact wording of the nine items are available at Table 2. The factor loadings off the diagonals are omitted for convenience of reading.

Table 4. Age Composition of Newspaper Journalists (in %, number of cases in parenthesis).

COHORT (born)	1983 (1)	1988 (2)	CHANGE (3)=(2)-(1)
I-Age: (1962-66)	Under 20. 0 (0)	Under 25 10.5 (127)	
II-Age: (1957-61)	21-25 13.4 (62)	26-30 18.9 (227)	+ 5.5
III-Age: (1952-56)	26-30 24.9 (115)	31-35 24.1 (289)	- 0.8
IV-Age: (1947-51)	31-35 16.7 (77)	36-40 20.0 (240)	+ 3.3
V-Age: (1938-46)	36-44 19.3 (89)	41-49 15.2 (182)	- 4.1
VI-Age: (1928-37)	45-54 12.1 (56)	50-59 7.3 (88)	- 4.8
VII-Age: (1918-27)	55-64 11.0 (51)	60-69 3.9 (47)	- 7.1
VIII-Age: (BEFORE 1917)	Above 65 2.4 (11)	Above 70 0 (0)	
Refusal	0.2 (1)	0.9 (11)	
Total	100%	100%	X^2=44.75[a]
N	462	1,211	df=5
Median Age	33.0	34.3	p<.001

[a] Used to test the change over time among Cohort II to VII.

Table 5. Percentage of Responses to Adversarial Questions by Cohort.[a]

COHORT	1983	1988	CHANGE	X^{2b}
Question 1. "How important is it for the news media to be an adversary of public officials by being constantly skeptical of their actions?"				
I-Age	Under 20	21-25		
Extremely	N.A.	12.9		
Quite	N.A.	29.8		
Somewhat	N.A.	37.9		
Not Really	N.A.	15.3		
II-Age	21-25	26-30		
Extremely	24.2	18.5	- 5.7	
Quite	19.4	30.4	+11.0	3.791
Somewhat	32.3	31.7	- 0.6	
Not Really	21.0	15.4	- 5.6	
III-Age	26-30	31-35		
Extremely	30.4	19.0	-11.4	
Quite	23.5	35.6	+12.1	9.169
Somewhat	24.3	28.4	+ 4.1	
Not Really	16.5	15.6	- 0.9	
IV-Age	31-35	36-40		
Extremely	18.2	23.3	+ 5.1	
Quite	22.1	34.6	+12.5	30.919
Somewhat	35.1	27.1	- 8.0	
Not Really	22.1	10.8	-11.3	
V-Age	36-44	41-49		
Extremely	18.0	19.2	+ 1.2	
Quite	20.2	30.5	+10.3	5.716
Somewhat	40.4	27.7	-12.7	
Not Really	19.1	20.3	+ 1.2	
VI-Age	45-54	50-59		
Extremely	28.6	22.4	- 6.2	
Quite	23.2	17.6	- 5.6	2.078
Somewhat	25.0	34.1	+ 9.1	
Not Really	21.4	22.4	+ 1.0	
VII-Age	55-64	60-69		
Extremely	29.4	23.8	- 5.6	
Quite	23.5	23.8	+ 0.3	1.179
Somewhat	27.5	33.3	+ 5.8	
Not Really	9.8	14.3	+ 4.5	
VIII-Age	Above 65	Above 70		
Extremely	54.5	N.A.		
Quite	9.1	N.A.		
Somewhat	27.3	N.A.		
Not Really	9.1	N.A.		

(Continued)

Table 5 (Continued)

Question 2. "How important is it for the news media to be an adversary of businesses by being constantly skeptical of their actions?"

I-Age	Under 20	21-25		
Extremely	N.A.	11.3		
Quite	N.A.	30.6		
Somewhat	N.A.	36.3		
Not Really	N.A.	18.5		
II-Age	21-25	26-30		
Extremely	17.7	15.4	- 2.3	
Quite	12.9	25.1	+12.2	4.500
Somewhat	46.8	37.4	- 9.4	
Not Really	19.4	17.2	- 2.2	
III-Age	26-30	31-35		
Extremely	22.6	13.8	- 8.8	
Quite	24.3	28.7	+ 4.4	6.370
Somewhat	27.0	35.6	+ 8.6	
Not Really	20.0	18.7	- 1.3	
IV-Age	31-35	36-40		
Extremely	14.3	16.7	+ 2.4	
Quite	20.8	29.6	+ 8.8	3.334
Somewhat	40.3	34.6	- 5.7	
Not Really	20.8	15.4	- 5.4	
V-Age	36-44	41-49		
Extremely	13.5	12.0	- 1.5	
Quite	20.2	26.3	+ 6.1	1.423
Somewhat	43.8	38.3	- 5.5	
Not Really	21.3	21.1	- .2	
VI-Age	45-54	50-59		
Extremely	19.6	13.1	- 6.5	
Quite	26.8	19.0	- 7.8	3.303
Somewhat	28.6	41.7	+13.1	
Not Really	23.2	22.6	- 0.6	
VII-Age	55-64	60-69		
Extremely	19.6	16.7	- 2.9	
Quite	21.6	23.8	+ 2.2	1.683
Somewhat	33.3	28.6	- 4.7	
Not Really	17.6	28.6	+11.0	
VIII-Age	Above 65	Above 70		
Extremely	27.3	N.A.		
Quite	18.2	N.A.		
Somewhat	36.4	N.A.		
Not Really	18.2	N.A.		

[a] Number of the cases in each cohort is available at Table 4.
[b] Chi-square analysis is used to test the change over time within each cohort. Given the degree of freedom=3, $p_{.05}=7.815$, $p_{.01}=11.341$, $p_{.001}=16.268$.

Table 6. Job Mobility among Newspaper Journalists (in %).

Cohort	Exit Rate[a] (1)	Entry Rate[b] (2)	Estimated Change (3)=(2)-(1)	Observed Change[c] (4)
I	N.A.	82.9		
II	9.7	29.5	+19.8	+5.5
III	11.3	7.4	-3.9	-0.8
IV	9.1	4.4	-4.7	+3.3
V	10.1	3.1	-7.0	-4.1
VI	5.4	1.2	-4.2	-4.8
VII	17.6	1.1	-16.5	-7.1
VIII	18.2	N.A.		

[a] Estimated based on the percentage of the 1983 respondents who claimed that they wou working in somewhere other than the news media in five years.
[b] Estimated based on the percentage of the 1988 respondents who claimed that they had years' experience in jorunalism (according to the answers to two questions: one ab they had in the present newspaper, and the other about the years they had spent in journalism experience.)
[c] See Column (3) in Table 4.

Table 7. Percentage of Responses to Adversarial Questions by Education.

	Non-College	College	
Adv-to-Gov.(1983)			
Extremely Impt.	20.5	27.0	X^2=9.86
Not Really Impt.	25.6	16.0	df=4, p<.05
Adv-to-Bus.(1983)			
Extremely Impt.	11.1	20.6	X^2=11.03
Not Really Impt.	28.2	18.0	df=4, p<.05
Adv-to-Gov.(1988)			
Extremely Impt.	10.1	21.9	X^2=34.67
Not Really Impt.	26.2	14.4	df=4, p<.001
Adv-to-Bus.(1988)			
Extremely Impt.	8.4	15.7	X^2=30.33
Not Really Impt.	27.1	17.9	df=4, p<.001

Note: The two middle categories are omitted.

Table 8. Percentages of Those Who Completed College or Higher Education.

COHORT	1983	1988	CHANGE
I	N.A.	89.4	
II	86.9	86.7	-0.2
III	85.2	92.0	+6.8
IV	80.5	82.4	-1.5
V	69.7	83.1	+13.4
VI	53.5	69.3	+15.8
VII	64.7	71.7	+7.0
VIII	45.5	N.A.	
Weighted Mean	74.5%	84.8%	+10.3%
Journalism Major[a]	50.7	58.5	+ 7.8
Advanced Degrees[a]	10.0	15.4	+ 5.4
Total Cases	462	1,211	

[a] Source: Jian-Hua Zhu and James D. Kelly: A Demographic Profile of Newspaper Journal Comparisons with Earlier Studies and National Population, Working paper #.1 for AS University, June, 1988

Table 9. Percentages of Responses to Adversarial Questions by Sex.

	Men	Women	
Adv-to-Gov.(1983)			
Extremely Impt.	26.7%	22.8%	X^2=4.97
Not Really Impt.	18.2	19.0	df=3, N.S.
Adv-to-Bus.(1983)			
Extremely Impt.	17.8	19.0	X^2=2.31
Not Really Impt.	20.8	20.3	df=3, N.S.
Adv-to-Gov.(1988)			
Extremely Impt.	19.4	20.7	X^2=1.59
Not Really Impt.	17.3	14.3	df=3, N.S.
Adv-to-Bus.(1988)			
Extremely Impt.	12.4	17.6	X^2=5.78
Not Really Impt.	17.0	20.7	df=3, N.S.

Note: The two middle categories are omitted.

Figure 2.1 De-polarization Trend
How Impt. of Adversarial-to-Gov.?

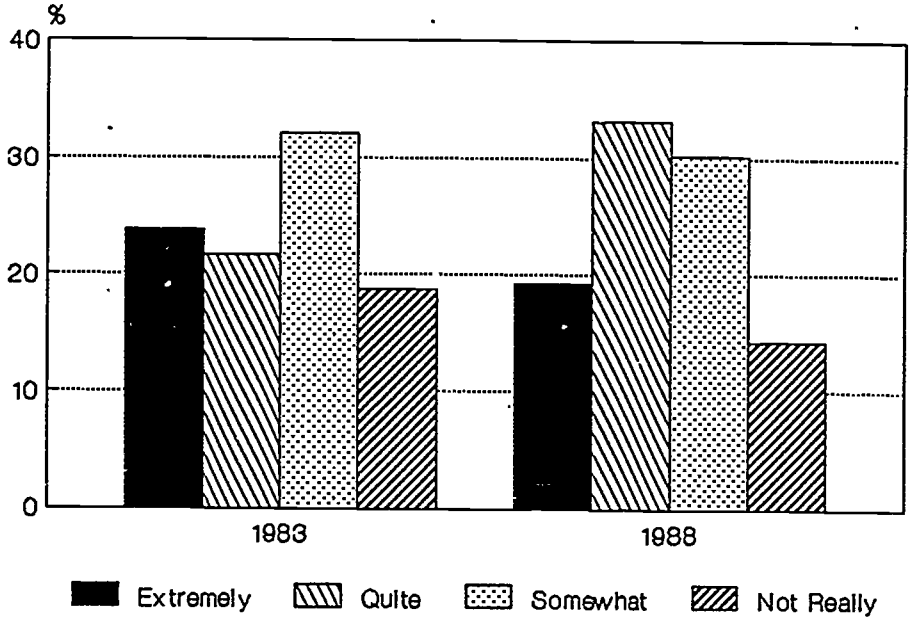


Figure 2.2 De-polarization Trend
How Impt. of Adversarial-to-Bus.?

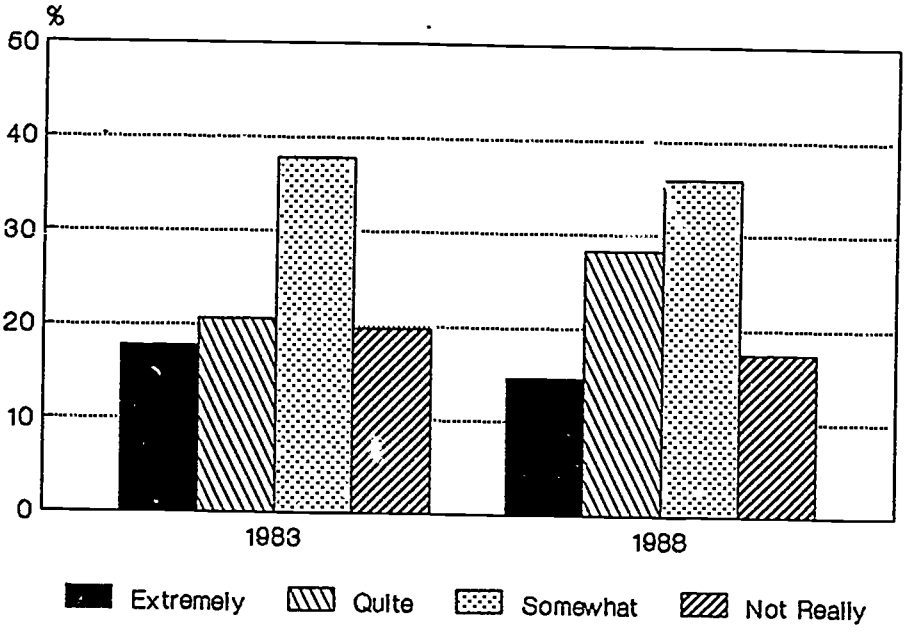


Figure 3.1 Concave Relationship of Cohort & Adversarial Attitudes

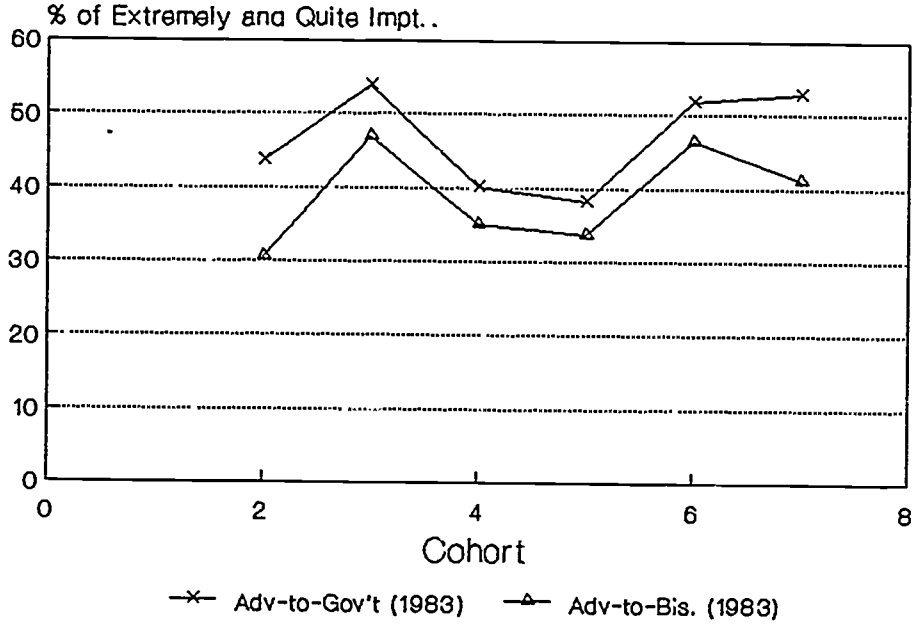
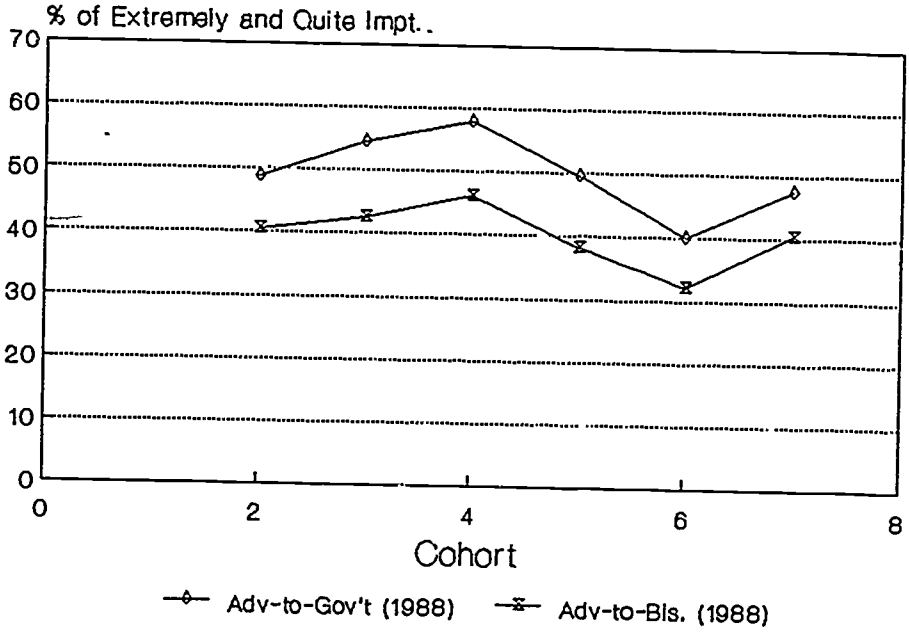


Figure 3.2 Convex Relationship of Cohort & Adversarial Attitudes



ENDNOTES

[1] Tom Bethell, "The Myth of An Adversary Press: Journalist as Bureaucrat," Harper's Magazine (January, 1977), pp.33-40.

[2] See, for example, Leonard Levy, Freedom of Speech and Press in Early American History: Legacy of Suppression (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp.88-125.

[3] Herbert Gans, Deciding What's News (New York: Pantheon, 1979).

[4] Tom Bethell, op. cit.

[5] David Altheide, "Media Hegemony: A Failure of Perspective," Public Opinion Quarterly 48 (1984): 476-90. Also see, for example, Daniel Hallin, "Hegemony: The American News Media from Vietnam to El Salvador, A Study of Ideological Change and Its Limits," in Political Communication Research: Approaches, Studies, Assessments, ed. by David Paletz (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1987).

[6] It should be pointed out that Altheide did not agree with these assertions. Instead, he cited several empirical studies to argue that journalists were not uniformly socialized into the dominant ideology. See op. cit.

[7] Bethell, op. cit.

[8] David Nord, "The Ideology of the Press: Why Press Bias Isn't Always What It Appears to Be," The Cresset 49 (December, 1985) pp.14-17.

[9] Of course, many other scholars may not agree with Nord's conclusion that news is purely an output of journalism business but has little to do with journalists' ideology. It has been argued that news selection and production is influenced by individual journalist's ideology, along with the media structure and journalistic professionalism.

[10] Among the 1,001 respondents, 462 worked at daily newspapers. To be comparable to the 1988 ASNE survey in which only daily newspaper journalists were interviewed, only the 462 newspaper journalists are included in this analysis. The exclusion of the other 539 respondents (mainly broadcasting journalists) reduces the sample size by more than half. But it is a necessary decision, because the non-newspaper respondents tended to be more conservative in political orientation and less adverse in professional orientation than their newspaper counterparts. (See David Weaver, Dan Drew, and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, "U.S. Television, Radio and Daily Newspaper Journalists" Journalism Quarterly 63:4, 1986.) For detailed information about the survey data, see David Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, The American Journalist: A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986).

[11] For more information, see Lee Stinnett, Frank Quine, Jianhua Zhu, and James D. Kelly (forthcoming) The Changing Face of the Newsroom: A Human Resources Report, (Washington, D.C.: The American Society of Newspaper Editors).

[12] Weaver and Wilhoit, op. cit.

[13] Norvald Glenn, Cohort Analysis, Sage University Paper series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, 07-005 (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977). p.8. Glenn discusses several related terms, such as birth cohort, age cohort, and generation. He sees some distinctions among them. But in practice, they are often used synonymously. This paper also does not try to differentiate them.

[14] Precisely, the interval between the two surveys is 5 years and 2 months. The Weaver and Wilhoit survey interviewing was conducted in November 1982, whereas the ASNE survey questionnaire was sent out in January 1988. The extra 2 months should not be a problem for the cohort analysis used here. For convenience, the first survey is treated as if it were done in 1983.

[15] The age of the 1983 sample was recorded in real years which can be used for any kind of cohort grouping. But in the 1988 survey, those under 40 were put into 5-year groups, while those above 41 were in 10-year groups.

[16] For a more thorough discussion of the problematic equilibrium assumption as well as static approaches in mass communication research, see Jian-Hua Zhu and David Weaver, "Newspaper Subscribing: A Dynamic Analysis," Journalism Quarterly (forthcoming).

[17] Glenn, op. cit.

[18] Some independent evidence has been used to check the samples. See, for example, the comparisons of the 1983 survey with the 1972 survey by Johnstone, et al. as presented in Weaver and Wilhoit's book; also see the relevant discussion in Stinnett, et al.

[19] Glenn strongly argued that all statistical test results be viewed tentatively and never be interpreted mechanically. Op. cit., pp.41-45.

[20] For a more comprehensive discussion of the predicators of the intention to leave journalism, see Weaver and Wilhoit.