occupationally-relevant resources, which typically means out-competing other occupations seeking to control the same resources.

A phenomenological approach to the study of professions and professionalism focuses on understanding how and why workers lay claim to these terms at particular times and under particular circumstances (Atkinson (1983: 227). Profession and professionalism are viewed as terms with vague denotations -- symbolic designations lacking inherent linkages to specific forms of work, training or normative orientation. The goal of this approach is to determine how workers, self-labelled as professionals, pragmatically navigate the conflicting demands, stresses and pressures of everyday work.

The power approach is ostensibly macro, operating principally at the occupational level. The phenomenological approach is ostensibly micro, operating principally at the practitioner or worker level. The third approach, which focuses on structural and attitudinal attributes, ostensibly bridges the micro-macro chasm through formal consideration of the attributes of a profession and practitioner professionalism, and was thus chosen for this study.

The concept of attitudinal professionalism will be examined among newswork practitioners using data gathered by Pollard (1995, 1994), to establish whether or not a professionalism orientation to newswork is successfully enculturated within a professional newswork education or within the occupation generally. Thus, pursuing an examination of the impact of professional education on attitudinal professionalism in a professionalizing occupation, newswork.

There are more recent conceptualizations of profession-related issues

Professional Status, Professionalism
and the
Influence of a Professional Education
an analysis of newswork in Canada

by

Patricia Ruth Cuddie
B. Soc. Sc. (Ottawa), H. B. A (Carleton)

A thesis
submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment for the degree of
Master of Arts

Carleton University
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***Professional Status, Professionalism
and the
Influence of a Professional Education
an analysis of newswork in Canada***

submitted by Patricia Ruth Cuddie, B.A., H.B.A.
in the partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Thesis Supervisor

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
22 August 1996

Abstract

Newswork is an occupation whose importance transcends that of many equally, and perhaps more, professional occupations. Although newswork may be no less socially important than many recognized professional occupations, further examination of the criteria necessary to secure status, power and privilege of paradigmatic professions is necessary to clearly establish its status as profession, practitioners as professional.

This study examines the role, need and substance of a professional education as it applies to professionalism of practitioners in one of Canada's many important occupational groups, newswriters. First, what constitutes a profession and professionalism is established from the literature. The role need and substance of professional education is then explicated in terms of its position with professions, vis-a-vis professionalism. These criteria are then applied to newswork practitioners. Using the attributes model one can examine the role and impact of professional education on practitioner professionalism; whether or not newswriters are establishing a structural attribute, en route to professionalizing the occupation. If, in fact, the structural attribute of a professional education is increasing among newswork practitioners, its success in fostering a degree of professionalism among apprentices will be examined. Thus, extent of professionalism will be examined, as established through a model of attitudinal professionalism, whether it be fostered in a professional education or in the practice, to consider the effectiveness of a professional education in cultivating attitudinal professionalism in a structurally inchoate profession, newswork. The analysis will address various work related attitudes, perceptions, and perspectives among newswork practitioners with and without a professional education.

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In a country where there is no titled class, no landed class, no military class, the chief distinction which popular sentiment can lay hold of as raising one set of persons above another is the character of their occupation, the degree of culture it implies, the extent to which it gives them an honourable prominence.

James Bryce, 1895

The lives of men and women are structurally shaped by the fact that they are deeply versed in advanced and subtle bodies of knowledge, which they apply with dedication in solving complex practical problems. They learn by study, apprenticeship, and experience, both by expanding their comprehension of formal disciplines and by finding new ways to use them to achieve specific ends, constantly moving forward and backward from theory to practice so that each enriches the other. Such people protect one another and are sometimes extended special protection by society far beyond that granted to other citizens. The price of protection is vigilance against poor performance and unethical behavior, and that vigilance is exercised by the privileged person, by others of similar specialization, and by society. These people are called professionals.

Cyril O Houle, 1981

Introduction

This study addresses three questions regarding the occupational status of newswork, newswriters and the influence of education, specifically, a professional newswork education. First, is newswork a profession; that is, to what extent does it share the structural attributes of the archetype professions (medicine, law)? Second, do newswriters exhibit professionalism; that is, to what extent do they embrace the beliefs and attitudes that emphasize, for example, ethical performance and social responsibility? Third, does a professional education influence the status of newswork as a profession and the professionalism of newswriters? The evidence suggests newswork is not a profession, but professionalism is reasonably widespread among newswriters and that a professional education does influence their professionalism.

Technological advances, the increased complexity of work and the potential for far-reaching implications of inadvertent error or negligence have resulted in a proliferation of newly professionalized occupations. Doctors, lawyers and members of the clergy, the traditional professionals, have been joined by engineers, architects and nurses, among others. For these and related occupations, professionalization and the development of professionalism are self-defense mechanisms that also maximize ideals of public service and social responsibility, attributes fostered in a professional education.

A professional education is the centerpiece of the professionalization of an occupation. It underscores the social importance of credentializing through education and conveys to clients and public, alike, that the profession has taken all reasonable steps to assure practitioners ply their skills and knowledge competently and in the best interest of client and society, culminating in professional-

ism. This, in turn, develops and maintains public confidence in the profession, which contributes to the power, prestige and social rewards, including status and wealth, accorded to the profession and its practitioners. The emergence of new professions calls for the reexamination of professionalizing criteria, especially a professional education in terms of impact on professionalism to maximize public service, assure social responsibility and maintain public confidence in professions, generally.

Newswork is generally assumed to be a profession.¹ This assumption is seldom questioned and consequently, the issue of inherent validity is rarely raised. Assuming newswork a profession may be an obstacle to fully understanding the occupation, its social role and what can be reasonably expected from it now and in the future.

Newswork is an occupation whose importance transcends that of many equally, and perhaps more, professional occupations. Although newswork may be no less socially important, further examination of the criteria necessary to secure status, power and privilege of paradigmatic professions is necessary to clearly establish its status as profession, practitioners as professional.

Study Overview. This study examines the role, need and substance of a profession, professionalism and professional education as it applies to one of Canada's many important occupational groups, newswriters. First, what constitutes

1. "It is the dedicated application of the skills of the craft and the artistry of the individual journalist in the interests of society that creates parallels between journalism and medicine, law, architecture, and other recognized professions" (Desbarats 1990:79).

a profession and professionalism is established from the literature. Second, the role need and substance of professional education is explicated in terms of its position with professions, vis-a-vis professionalism. Third, these criteria are then applied to newswork practitioners. This analysis addresses various work related attitudes, perceptions, and perspectives among newswork practitioners with and without a professional education.

Four characteristics, which are repeatedly noted in the literature, form the basic notion of what constitutes a profession. First, to clarify a distinction between the structural attributes of a profession from attitudinal attributes that allow practitioners to exhibit professionalism. Second, explicate the attributes model as the means to operationalize professionalism. Third, clarify the professionalization process. And, fourth, clarify the role of professional education in professions, the professionalization process and professionalism.

Is professional newswork education the fulcrum that instills the proponents of professionalism? Alternatively, might these elements be acquired through occupational practice that requires a commitment of time and, perhaps, money? If so, this would render the theory-building structural elements of professions incidental.

Three approaches to the study of professions and professionalism -- power analysis, phenomenology and attributes -- dominate the literature. Power analysis focuses on relationships among occupations. Of specific concern are the historical and political variables that facilitate occupational domination of resources, such as knowledge or skills, that are vital to the conduct of its work (Klegon, 1978: 282). This approach denies any occupation is inherently professional; professionalization only requires effective organization and mobilizing of

occupationally-relevant resources, which typically means out-competing other occupations seeking to control the same resources.

A phenomenological approach to the study of professions and professionalism focuses on understanding how and why workers lay claim to these terms at particular times and under particular circumstances (Atkinson (1983: 227). Profession and professionalism are viewed as terms with vague denotations - symbolic designations lacking inherent linkages to specific forms of work, training or normative orientation. The goal of this approach is to determine how workers, self-labelled as professionals, pragmatically navigate the conflicting demands, stresses and pressures of everyday work.

The power approach is ostensibly macro, operating principally at the occupational level. The phenomenological approach is ostensibly micro, operating principally at the practitioner or worker level. The third approach, which focuses on structural and attitudinal attributes, ostensibly bridges the micro-macro chasm through formal consideration of the attributes of a profession and practitioner professionalism, and was thus chosen for this study.

The concept of attitudinal professionalism will be examined among newswork practitioners using data gathered by Pollard (1995, 1994), to establish whether or not a professionalism orientation to newswork is successfully enculturated within a professional newswork education or within the occupation generally. Thus, pursuing an examination of the impact of professional education on attitudinal professionalism in a professionalizing occupation, newswork.

There are more recent conceptualizations of profession-related issues

ization and created an increased demand for legal expertise. At this stage, practitioners necessarily came from outside the profession.

Second, places for training prospective practitioners are established. In North America this usually took the form of training schools. The push for formal training of recruits, preferably in university-based programmes (in North America) reflects the importance of a professional knowledge base, the need to enhance occupational status and distance it from lay interference. Formal education also socializes recruits in professional norms, which promotes allegiance to the profession, orientation to the community, social responsibility and client interests, and identification with colleagues.

Third, a professional association is formed, resulting often, among other things, in a change in occupational title; for example, undertakers become funeral directors or real estate salespeople become realtors. These occupations attempt to become self-disciplining and self-policing as a means toward self-regulation. The result is the authority to remove incompetent or undesirable practitioners. Self regulation is the goal of all professional associations.

Self regulation is established through a process of external political agitation. Focus of attention shifts from internal solidarity to external political agitation as the profession pursues state sanctioning by means of licensing laws and so forth. If the area of competence is ambiguous, legal claim is generally to the professional title such as registered nurse, psychologist or realtor. If the area of competence is clearly defined (medicine, law), the profession will lobby to have task performance by unlicensed practitioners criminalized. All professional associations attempt self regulation through state sanctioning whether or not the

(medicine, law) from other occupational groups (teachers, nurses, social workers: semi-professions; construction workers, cosmeticians: non-professions). Then, professionalism will be explicated in terms of the Attributes Model as well as its role in the professionalization process. The social role of education in professions will be examined to establish the criteria of professional education and its implication in professionalism and the professionalization process. Chapter Three examines Newswork in Canada and establishes its standing in terms of profession, its practitioners in terms of professionalism. Lastly, Chapter Four addresses the methodology of the study, in terms of technical aspects of analysis, data analysis and interpretation in relation to theory and literature. All other necessary supportive documents will be included in appendices.

Professions, Professionalism, Professionalization and Professional Education

Introduction. Professions increasingly pervade the essence of the modern day workforce. The proliferation of role specialization, characteristic of contemporary society, typifies the behavioral developments in modern day professions. The social role of professions substantiates the impact of increased demand of members of many occupations for professional status.

Social Role of Professions. The social role of professions is distinct from that of other occupations. "Professions profess," observed Hughes (1965: 2), and they claim "to know better than their clients, the state of the client's affairs" (Hughes, 1971, 1965, 1958). Traditionally, professions have achieved special status because they provide a service (advice, action) deemed essential to society. Professionals claim exclusive rights to practice their specialized skill, autonomously.¹ This "right to practice", effected through licensure, is always sanctioned by state.² This sanctioned right is relatively free from lay interference -- relatively, as many modern-day professions have lay members in their governing bodies, but licensed practitioners are protected from all other lay interference than proportion judgment of active board members.

Professions lay claim to esoteric knowledge (medicine, property rights)

1. "The professionals claim the exclusive right to practice, as a vocation, the arts which they profess to know, and to give the kind of advice derived from their special lines of knowledge" (Hughes 1965: 2). To secure "protection from any unfortunate consequences of his professional actions; he [the professional], and his fellows make it very difficult for anyone outside - even civil courts - to pass judgement upon one of their number" (Hughes, 1965: 3).

2. The term **State** refers to a governing body such as individual States or Provinces and so forth.

ostensively apply dispassionately to the affairs of others.¹ Professional effectiveness is generally contingent on the compliance and confidence of their social milieu, for example, through licensing that protects the professional monopoly of specific knowledge and skills (medicine, law). Thus, professional organizations, *associations* which are maintained by practitioners, police the behavior of colleagues through a stringent applied code of ethics, to maintain public confidence in the profession overall.

What is a Profession? A profession distinguishes itself from a general occupation by incorporating elements directing and protecting special privilege, rights and knowledge. A profession is autonomous, is organized in professional associations, whose members receive more power and status than most workers because they provide a service deemed essential by society. These elements are underscored by two central traits essential to professions: (1) prolonged specialized training in a body of abstract knowledge; and, (2) an orientation toward social responsibility (Vollmer and Mills, 1966; Goode, 1960; Marshall, 1939).

Professions lay claim to a specialized body of knowledge as the basis of an intellectual orientation and skills over which they maintain a monopoly, granted by the State, Province or Nation. The profession reserves this right through political action supported by enforced membership in professional associations. Professional associations are also instrumental in the internal policing of ethical conduct of practitioners, which is planned to maintain public confidence in the profession. Professions, therefore, claim exclusive privilege to sta-

1. "The professional is expected to think objectively and inquiringly about matters..." (Hughes 1965: 2).

tus, power and prestige based in competence from comprehensive specialized training, state sanctioning of their monopoly (licensing), freedom from lay control (internal policing and political agitation via professional associations) and in providing services essential to society.

Greenwood (1962) proffers the notion that a profession is an *end* in itself rather than a *means* to an end. Greenwood (1962: 216) suggests,

the absorption in the work is not partial but complete; it results in a total personal involvement. The work life invades the home life, and the sharp demarcation between work and leisure disappears. To the professional person his work becomes his life.

Enculturation creates a bond among members of a profession much like that of a family where loyalty is felt, first and foremost, to the family itself. A professional education fosters loyalty to the profession and among practitioners to the exclusion of all others.

Among the long established and traditionally recognized professions, legal reinforcement is expressed through professional education as a means of maintaining the prerogatives, such as exclusive right to practice their profession, power to perform legally binding acts, to maintain inviolable confidentiality in relations with clients, and access to financial support for research and training activities. Each of these rights and privileges are empowered by the State.¹. Methods of discipline, such as exclusion from professional associations or elite societies, exclusion of the right to practice in particular work settings (e.g. certain hospitals or specialized fields), rejection of professional rights, of govern-

1. State sanctioning of rights and privileges of professions are secured such that the police would take action on behalf of the professional association if they discovered, for example, someone practicing as a professional (medicine or law) without a license granted by the association on behalf of the state.

ment compensation, of research and training resources, and so forth, reinforce, among other things, ethical practice and public acceptance of the practice. Intra-professional relations¹ are also emphasized in the professional education process to maintain the status and autonomy of the practice among professions. Professional schools emphasize that loyalties will go first to the profession itself then seek for balance between other entities of the vocation (Marshall, 1939).

Professionalism. Primary emphasis of professionalism is on two general professional characteristics: prolonged education in a specialized area of knowledge and a social service orientation (Goode, 1960; Marshall, 1939). Implicit in the general characteristics are several critical attributes that underscore the essence of standards of professional education and training. These include autonomy, comprehensive enculturation; licensing or state sanctioning of some form of legitimacy or licensing boards controlled by senior members of the profession; political and social influence (to have a voice in legislation that may affect the profession itself); lay claim to status, power and prestige based on competence of the profession in general; internal enforcement of norms of practice rendering them free from lay control and evaluation, enculturation leading to strong intra-professional identity and commitment to the vocation.

Goode (1960) suggests that a professionalizing occupation sets its own

1. Greenfield's (1969) analysis of occupational classification in the field of health led him to conclude that autonomous professionals (physicians, dentists, optometrists) generally regard allied professionals (nurses, dental hygienists, dietitians, x-ray technicians) as simply members of a support staff. Light (1969) also agrees with Greenfield in a need for a distinct intra-professional role clarification (largely based on the right to use specific techniques), which contrasts views placing importance on interpersonal professional relationships reflected by Asheim (1968) and Schlotfeldt (1965) in that the complex relations between practitioners and clients are principally acquired in practice rather than in preparation.

standards of education and training; the student professional undergoes a more thorough, comprehensive socialization process than aspirants to other occupations; professional practice is typically licensed or otherwise state sanctioned; licensing and admission boards are established and staffed by members of the profession; the profession shapes and influences legislation affecting it; as the occupation gains in income, power and prestige, it attracts and demands higher caliber students reflecting competence; as the occupation becomes a recognized profession, it claims freedom from lay evaluation and control; as the occupation becomes more professional, norms of practice are enforced by the profession itself, and are more stringent than legal controls. Increasingly, members are more strongly identified with the profession than are members of other occupations; a profession is more likely than other occupations to be a terminal career as few practitioners leave the profession and most assert they would again choose to enter the profession reflecting strong sense of commitment and social responsibility. There is an implied spectrum of professionalism intertwined with these characteristics.

Emerging professions vary due to individual inherent elements of autonomy, integration, attributes, power and prestige and, in particular, status. Autonomy, recognized as the generative element of a profession, effects the transition from occupation to profession. Integration, of the profession into the organization or society, generally implies a certain amount of authority in the field. This is reflected in the social status of the profession and resultant power and prestige. Autonomy is noted throughout the literature as a central feature of professions; it is also a central element in developing the cultural ethos of the profession at professional schools.

Greenwood (1957) emphasized the structural attributes of a profession.

- (1) a systematic theory, specialized body of knowledge;
- (2) authority, a clear establishment of the dominance of the vocation and the practitioner's work (power and influence, control of licensing, freedom from external evaluation);
- (3) a regulative code of ethics to create and enforce standards of competence within the occupation, maintaining public confidence;
- (4) professional culture, to establish loyalties to the profession itself;
- (5) community sanction, to aid in acculturation to become a way-of-life with little distinction between work and leisure.

Greenwood (1957) reflects a structural approach of cataloging attributes as a principal research focus in the operationalization of profession. This approach relies on structural emphasis of the occupation itself as an indicator of professionalism, unlike the attitudinal orientation of practitioners, but all stemming from a systematic body of knowledge passed on during the process of professional education.

Gross (1958) also placed emphasis on attitudinal attributes of professionals reflecting: intrinsic rewards, close identification with colleagues, formal and informal associations to reinforce culture and maintain rights, esoteric skills and knowledge, belief that knowledge is the source of authority, belief that professional service is essential to society. These attitudinal attributes have been acquired in the professional education process.

This discussion, thus far, relates four axioms of professions consistent with those outlined by Barber (1965: 18) as: the importance of a systematic body of knowledge; a primary orientation to community interest rather than self-interest; a high degree of self-control of behavior through codes of ethics

internalized in the process of work socialization and through voluntary associations organized and operated by practitioners; and a system of rewards (monetary, honorary) that symbolize work achievement as ends in themselves. These are all important in cultivating the professional status of an occupation and establishing professionalism among practitioners.

Attributes Model. Throughout the literature, theorists underscore the contributions of the attributes approach. First, the notion of a continuum (Wilensky, 1964) ranging from non-profession occupation through to true profession, by cataloging attributes, helps locate one occupation relative to another; intra and inter-occupational analyses are possible as well as inter-researcher comparisons; empirical questions are asked; accentuate the importance of autonomy in the professionalization process; and the approach facilitates an evolutionary model of a profession.

Synthesis. The Attributes model of a profession can be operationalized as a set of structural and attitudinal attributes¹. **Structural Attributes** emerge in a specific chronological order. First, the occupation becomes full-time as technological, intellectual or organizational advancements respond to social needs and the performance of these activities is formalized. For example, the influx of mass production with the factory increased the complexity of record keeping and created a demand for experts in accounting. Advances in knowledge influenced technology and resulted in a need for advanced electrical and computer engineers. Increased complexity and intensity of social relations accompanied urban-

¹. Structural and Attitudinal model discussion based on Pollard (1989, 1987a, 1985a).

ization and created an increased demand for legal expertise. At this stage, practitioners necessarily came from outside the profession.

Second, places for training prospective practitioners are established. In North America this usually took the form of training schools. The push for formal training of recruits, preferably in university-based programmes (in North America) reflects the importance of a professional knowledge base, the need to enhance occupational status and distance it from lay interference. Formal education also socializes recruits in professional norms, which promotes allegiance to the profession, orientation to the community, social responsibility and client interests, and identification with colleagues.

Third, a professional association is formed, resulting often, among other things, in a change in occupational title; for example, undertakers become funeral directors or real estate salespeople become realtors. These occupations attempt to become self-disciplining and self-policing as a means toward self-regulation. The result is the authority to remove incompetent or undesirable practitioners. Self regulation is the goal of all professional associations.

Self regulation is established through a process of external political agitation. Focus of attention shifts from internal solidarity to external political agitation as the profession pursues state sanctioning by means of licensing laws and so forth. If the area of competence is ambiguous, legal claim is generally to the professional title such as registered nurse, psychologist or realtor. If the area of competence is clearly defined (medicine, law), the profession will lobby to have task performance by unlicensed practitioners criminalized. All professional associations attempt self regulation through state sanctioning whether or not the

area of competence is clearly defined

And fifth, formulation and implementation of a code of ethics embodying mechanisms to eliminate the unqualified and unscrupulous, reduce and regulate internal conflict, protect clients and emphasize the community service ideal. The code is enforced by the profession, typically through its formal association and, ideally, major aspects of the code will become law, enforceable by the judiciary.

Attitudinal Attributes reflect how practitioners view their work. Attitudes influence behavior and thus are a crucial part of work. Once structural prerequisites are fulfilled, the approach taken in practice is all-important. A professionalizing occupation may not be structurally well-developed, but the attitudinal predisposition, professionalism, of its practitioners might be highly professional. The professional status of an occupation depends on a mix of structural and attitudinal attributes. Two occupations may share professional status on different levels based on varied attributes adoption: one may possess every structural attribute, but few attitudinal attributes; the other may possess every attitudinal attribute, but few structural ones, and so forth. Thus, structural *and* attitudinal attributes are necessary to complete the picture.

Attitudinal attributes include, first, recognition and acceptance of the profession as a principle reference point, which involves use of formal and informal professional structures, such as associations and collegiality, as the primary source of ideas and judgments. Entry into a profession is acceptance as a colleague, but acceptance is contingent on participation beyond getting-the-job-done. Practitioners are expected to support professional norms,

cooperate with colleagues, offer a professional persona to outsiders and uphold the ideal of harmonious solidarity within the profession.

Second, uphold a predominance of public service ideal, which posits professional service as indispensable and beneficial to the community, service to clients who are subordinate to the professional monopoly of specific knowledge and protected by professional norms of restraint. Clients submit to professional dictates. Authority to determine client need is based on the notion that competence is used to benefit the client, not the practitioner.

Third, uphold a belief in self-regulation. By virtue of a prolonged education and socialization into the profession, practitioners are expected to have developed a set of working principles that insure socially responsible behavior. Hence, the claim is made by the profession that practitioners are, thus, the best judges of professional work.

And, Fourth, a sense of calling to the profession is the belief that the development and exercise of expertise is worthy of a lifetime and carries its own reward. Among professionals, work is more than a job, it is part of their identity. This reflects dedication to the profession and its ideals, and collectively these factors increase the likelihood the profession is a terminal occupation rather than a career-stage.

Autonomy is a structural and an attitudinal attribute. Structural autonomy is achieved via efforts to control entrance-to and practice-of the profession, state sanctioning and protection of their labour monopoly. Attitudinal autonomy reflects the belief that professionals must be free to exercise their judgment, to

make their own decisions, unencumbered by pressures from clients and employing organizations due to their specialized knowledge, commitment and ethical orientation. Consequently, a professionalizing occupation becomes full time, training schools are established, a professional association is formed and empowered, external political agitation is undertaken and a code of ethics is formulated and implemented. These attributes contribute to the structural autonomy of the occupation. More or less simultaneously the occupation itself, rather than individual practice, becomes the central reference point for practitioners who display a sense of calling to the occupation, adopt a public service orientation and firmly believe in self-regulation. These attributes contribute to the attitudinal autonomy of the occupation.

Professionalization. Professionalizing occupations, in their push for professional status, map the professionalization process. As outlined in Pollard (1986), professionalizing occupations,

- (a) devise a code of ethics;
- (b) form a professional association;
- (c) establish standards, measures and titles of professional behavior;
- (d) strive to establish professional schools with university affiliation;
- (e) implement public information programmes regarding professional services and standards; and,
- (f) combat forces in and out of the occupation to carve out a professional niche.

A professionalizing occupation strives to emulate the aim of professions, hence, procure inherent rewards (recognition, status, power, prestige, and so forth).

For some, the aim of professionalization is self-preservation. The inculcation of professional attributes serves as a protection of the occupational group from

encroachment.

According to Witz (1992: 5), the historical character of professions has ingrained "strategies of occupational closure which aim for an occupational monopoly over the provision of certain skills and competencies in a market for services." These attempts were often structured through exclusionary practices that exerted intra-professional control as means to regulate access to and internal affairs of a particular occupational group. Historical professions typically embraced a "gendered collectivist criteria" which embedded the exclusion of women throughout the social institutions of the time (universities, apprenticeships). This "credentialist tactic[s] of professionalization provided the most effective means of excluding women" in what Witz (1992: 194-195) suggests to have been and be a "chain of patriarchal closure" that career oriented women then and today perceive the need to struggle against. As Crompton and Sanderson (1989) point out in their analysis of pharmacy and accountancy, credentializing is used by women as a "qualification lever" and has become a "vital element of women gaining access to an occupation." In traditionally male dominated occupations, men can often gain access based on charisma then be trained, socialized through a mentoring strategy of inclusion, where women feel they must overcome exclusionary tactics, often through competent credentialization practices, to gain access alone. As a result, women oriented toward a career in a male dominated occupation often are highly credentialized (post-secondary training) while it is not unusual for men to be considered directly out of high school. Postsecondary education is the mainstay for instilling professional attributes in prospective practitioners.

Professionalism, then, refers to the attitudinal predisposition of individu-

al practitioners toward their work, clients and occupation. Professionalism is primarily concerned with the individual perspective of work, rather than occupational structure. There has been a proliferation of new professions over the past forty years and, while some occupations have managed to professionalize, to develop professional structures similar to the paradigmatic professions (medicine, law, clergy), most occupations have fallen short of full professionalization. This has not, however, impeded the spread of professionalism among workers in virtually all occupations, professionalized or otherwise. If the occupation cannot fully professionalize, its practitioners can enjoy the status benefits accruing from professionalism oriented largely through the incorporation of another structural attribute, professional education. In the examination of professionalism, emphasis is not so much what the organization does to control practitioners than on practitioner perception of these actions. Professional education is concerned with nurturing a professional orientation to a particular occupation by imbuing the structural tenets such that they are socializing prospective practitioners rather than job-hunters.

Education In Professions. Professionals, regardless of occupation, acquire a degree of skill and finesse in performing certain occupational tasks (Cheek, 1967). They demonstrate proficiency in employing generally, abstract knowledge ideally for the benefit of society. Professionals, then, are assumed to be socially responsible. This is one consequence of a professional education. When an occupation requires a prolonged, specialized education, social confidence in the occupation and its practitioners increases, sometimes dramatically. Public opinion equates more education within the occupation with higher standards, which allegedly reflect greater competence, effectiveness, efficiency, reliability and ethical behavior (Wright, 1978).

A professional education has come to be a necessary, if not sufficient, requisite for the legitimate practice of a profession. This is especially true of the traditional professions, medicine and law, which have placed primary dependence on formal training as the basis for licensure (Wright, 1978; Friedman, 1962). Formal training culminating in licensure proffers reasonable assurance of minimal standards among practitioners. This institutes a cost effective management of a standardized level of competence to assure public confidence in the sanctity of professional status.

Social Role of Professional Education. The social role of professional education is to act as a benchmark to secure a responsible, competent, efficient, reliable, ethical body of personnel to secure and maintain public confidence in the general body of the profession under consideration. Professions have always existed in one form or another; the proliferation of professions is an outgrowth of contemporary society's increasing need and demand for specialized services. As apprenticeship and articling served as the means of skills acquisition for craftsmen and professionals of yesteryear, academic institutions today serve as the introductory training ground to de-mystify the increasing complexity of technical skills and analytic powers required to provide specialized services now. Professional education, therefore, becomes the bridge between the theoretical and the practical aspects of the vocation.

Post-Secondary and Professional Education. Community colleges and universities have distinct roles in the socialization of practitioners into vocations. Pontanzas (1978) observed the role of community colleges as the educational unit created expressly for the reproduction of the division of mental (university)

and manual of trade-tool specific (college) labour.

One of the most salient features of community college systems in Canada (non-university training centers) is their emphasis on vocational training. Their programmes are designed to prepare students with trade specific tools required for entry level positions in the field firingline (Martin and Macdonell, 1978: 28). University programmes offer a general theoretical background orienting students into a career. College programmes are geared towards specific work destinations directed by specific labour market demands (Robinson 1982).

Some theorists, Harp (1980), Bleasdale (1978), Shecter (1977), propose that the College trade-tool oriented programme, like University, was in response to socialization requirements of occupations moreso than by market-need of supply and demand for technical skills. Harp (1980: 222), in fact, proposed the fundamental role of the college was socialization. Harp suggested that non-university affiliated post-secondary institutions were depended upon in contemporary society to constitute a "successful programme of integration [which] would lead to a passivity ... towards the inequality of society" (Harp 1980: 222). Harp, it seems, was concerned with education serving an ancillary provision between professional (white collar; doctors, lawyers), semi-professional (nurses, social workers) and non-professional labour groups (blue collar; cosmeticians, construction workers). Colleges emerged in response to socialization needs of the emerging (middle-class) semi-professional occupations.

Socialization, the process of transmitting professional ideology to prospective practitioners, is the fulcrum of a university-based professional education. According to Reid (1974: 3),

"...it is the very existence of a University-based system of professional education which gives the professions their special character and facilitates not only the development of professional knowledge and skills but also the maintenance of professional ideology. Thus, the professional school is not only as a vehicle for upward mobility but also as the centre for the socialization and training of recruits to the profession."

According to Reid, university-based professional education not only teaches prospective practitioners esoteric skills and knowledge to adequately perform their respective roles in society but also socializes "a moral outlook, a value system, and a lifestyle commensurate with their 'professional' status." (ibid.,: 36) A professional education fosters a "professional role orientation" in prospective practitioners with regards to perspective on occupationally relevant issues, opinions and attitudes accepted generally within the practice.

Unlike the trade-tool orientation of college programmes, university post-secondary programmes provide a broad theoretical framework to foster reflection necessary for management-level entry, encompassing a longer socialization period necessary for senior-level entry positions. College programmes provide a shorter socialization period oriented in trade-specific tools necessary for front line entry positions in the workplace.

Professional Education. A professional education in North America usually involves a prolonged period of specialized study often preceded by several years of general post-secondary university-level education. A professional education forms an intensive and extensive foundation of knowledge about a highly specialized area or sub-area of intellectual or technical skills later developed in the profession. A professional school is generally characterized by highly focused intellectual course content that forms a basis for the acquisition of specialized technical skills (surgery, litigation), a complex value system relevant to the vo-

cation and various nuances reflecting occupational orientations and ethics necessary for socialization of future practitioners into the culture of the profession (Vollmer & Mills 1966). Specialized ability is enhanced during socialization process of prospective practitioners in professional schools, professional associations, and later, throughout the lifetime career of the professional.

Role Need and Substance of Professional Education. As society has become more complex and secular, generally beginning in the Middle Ages and accelerating after 1750, a concomitant reliance on professions emerged that was tied to proprietary rights (law, accounting, administration). As these professionals were no longer in holy orders the need arose to set standards of ethical competence and social responsibility. Regarding medical practitioners, for example, Hippocrates complained all too many practiced the profession of medicine, and surely other professional fields also, with little competence and no feeling of disgrace when fraud was exposed (McGlothlin, 1964: 11). Professionalization, it was believed in the nineteenth century, would ensure optimum, if not maximum, ethical competence and social responsibility.

An increase in knowledge in various occupations required at least a rudimentary grounding in theoretical knowledge to effectively socialize apprentices to the basic skills, practices, perspectives and nuances the profession as a whole deemed crucial. Initially, teaching and training of new recruits was unorganized, personal and informal. Then schools were founded and the educational process was formalized, usually involving practitioners as masters. The helpers or apprentices were the students who tried to emulate their masters (McGlothlin, 1964). Increased demand for professional services along with more and more student recruits created a need for professional schools. This opened the door

for medieval universities to assume the role of early professional schools (McGlothlin, 1964: 12-14). Early professional schools include medieval universities at Salerno (medicine), Bologna (law) and Paris (theology), among others.

As the attributes model will effect a reasonable extrapolation of practitioner professionalism, the constituent elements of professional education established by Houle (1981) explicate the fundamental intra-relationship of professional education with professions, ergo the foundation of professionalism.

Constituent Ideas of Professional Education. Houle (1981: 35-75) offers fourteen constituent characteristics of professional education, which he grouped essentially into performance characteristics and collective identity characteristics and one conceptual characteristic. Houle (1981) contends these characteristics underscore the goals of professional education:

Conceptual Characteristic

(1) Structural knowledge seeks to understand the structural tenets of a practitioner's work which give it focus and form. This is established by way of a format addressing performance and cohesive penchant of practitioners.

Performance Characteristics

(2) Mastery of theoretical knowledge seeks mastery of at least the rudiments of information and theory as a descriptive knowledge base of the profession.

(3) Capacity to problem solve seeks the ability to use theoretical knowledge to deal competently with specific problems.

(4) Use of practical knowledge seeks access and the ability to use the substantial body of knowledge and technique from scholarly resources of the vocation's practical application including analysis of hypotheses testing, explains causes, describes results, indicates alternatives and new approaches, presents techniques, challenges to established routines and procedures, and suggest effective coping methods.

(5) Self enhancement seeks new personal dimensions of knowledge, skill, and sensitiveness from general knowledge attained in

pre-professional school training to process self-guided development.

Collective Identity

(6) Formal training seeks the establishment of formal procedures to transmit the essential body of knowledge and technique of the vocation to all recognized practitioners before they enter service and throughout their careers.

(7) Credentializing ensures a formal means should be sought to test the capacity of individual practitioners to perform duties at an acceptable level, and in some cases, provide licensing to those qualified.

(8) Creation of a subculture seeks to nurture for its members a subculture with distinctive attributes: lore folkways, mores, traditions, role differentiations and relationships, variations in authority and power, personal prestige systems, language and special references not understood by nonmembers or uninitiated, and clustering of people with distinctive functions.

(9) Legal reinforcement seeks legal support or formal administrative rulings to protect the special rights and privileges of practitioners.

(10) Public acceptance seeks to inform the general public of the lofty nature of the practitioners' work.

(11) Ethical practice seeks to establish and refine a tradition of ethical practice possibly reinforced by formal code (a broad summary of moral behavior expected of practitioners, rather than a set of detailed rigid rules, regarded as inviolable).

(12) Penalties seek to establish and enforce penalties, such as, the denial of the right to practice for practitioners who reflect incompetence or fail to adhere to ethical standards, to establish sense of individual discipline within the vocation as a defense against professional malpractice.

(13) Intra-professional relations seek to establish and maintain in practice a complex ambivalent relationship between allied occupations.

(14) Relations to users of service seek formal relationships between practitioners and clients.

These constituent characteristics of professions, are implicit in a professional education and enhance understanding of the structural principles of the work and are basic to a professional orientation. The objective of the conceptual characteristic of professional education is to define the subtle knowledge of practi-

tioners used administratively (defining responsibility, prioritizing, role conceptualizing and so forth) to formalize the professional concept of the occupational group. Unification of the profession through common socialization, and tenacity in supporting professional norms reflects the central mission of conceptual characteristic of professional education.

Performance characteristics are principally concerned with establishing and maintaining a level of competence among recruits entering any field and supporting the structural principles of the profession. Performance characteristics offer the foundation of the practice through theoretical knowledge, problem-solving through the use of theoretical knowledge, and synthesis of theoretical and practical knowledge to optimize skills in remedying contemporary problems. The desire to utilize these skills further to advance the knowledge base is also fostered in the professional education and cultivated in the practice. From the theory, one learns rules; from the practice, one learns application of the rules.

The last category of professional education offered by Houle (1981) is the focus on collective identity. This is generally sought through a formal association that has primary responsibility for advancing and protecting the interests of practitioners and maintaining standards of performance. This is accomplished through formal training, credentializing, creating a subculture, legal reinforcement, public acceptance, penalties, intra-professional and client relations. Formal training and credentializing are fundamental means to impart and maintain a qualified level of performance in a profession. All practitioners share a specialized knowledge base which helps to hold public confidence in the profession rather than in a single practitioner. Licensing is the means of regulating a level

of proficiency of individual practitioners, also retaining public confidence in the profession. A subculture is born out of the process of formal training and credentializing, as a process of enculturation is enhanced in a professional education. This results in a strong sense of commitment and belonging within the profession.

A professional education, according to Houle (1981), is a life-long process from which emerge conceptual, performance, and collective-identity characteristics of professionalism. A professional education also fosters a capacity among practitioners to abstract about the profession and its central concerns. This ensures practitioners can identify and deal with novel situations that appear, for example, in response to technological change or the natural evolution of social attitudes and so forth. Each of these categories reflect characteristics of the professional fostered in professional education.

Professional Education and Professionalism. Professional education is thus a means of socializing prospective practitioners into a way-of-life through inculcation of professional attributes. Professional education nurtures this role as an ongoing process through promotion of involvement in professional associations which promotes activity and involvement of specialized knowledge (through research and intra-communication and so forth). Continuous interaction and relative isolation from other occupational groups, during the long gestation periods involved in a professional education, is a process of creating a subculture. Enhancing this process is continuous interaction with practitioners already trained and "in-practice".

As a result, a subculture that fosters a sense of belonging to the profes-

sion is formed. Greenwood (1962: 216) suggests the professional's work becomes his or her life. Enculturation, socialization into a subculture that is infused in a professional education, creates a bond among practitioners. A family-like situation is created where loyalty is felt to the family as a unit first and most strongly, then to its members. A professional education fosters loyalty to the profession and among practitioners at the exclusion of all others.

Professional education indoctrinates prospective practitioners with the prerogatives of professions, such as, the exclusive right to practice their profession, power to perform legally binding acts, the right to maintain inviolable confidentiality in their relations with clients, through state sanctions (licensing) and legal reinforcement. The value of membership in professional associations of those who have been indoctrinated in professional schools is to promote the effectiveness of the internal methods of discipline (such as, ostracism from professional associations or elite societies, rejection of professional rights), and reinforce, among other things, ethical practice, hence, public acceptance of the practice. Intra-professional relations are also emphasized in the professional education process to maintain the status and autonomy of the practice among professions. Professional schools emphasize that loyalties will go first to the profession itself then seek for balance between other entities of the vocation (Marshall, 1939). These components culminate in providing a pool of prospective practitioners imbued in professionalism to lend credence not only to the particular organization, but to the vocation generally.

Synthesis. The items come together in an Attributes Model that allows for the examination of professionalism among practitioners in all levels of professions and occupations. Also, the effectiveness of current educational programmes in

fostering professionalism in these professionalizing occupations can be examined.

Professionals have achieved a special status because they provide essential services deemed necessary by society. Professionals claim exclusive right to practice their specialized skill, a right sanctioned by state license, and to do so autonomously. Based on competence from comprehensive specialized training, state sanctioning of their monopoly (licensing), freedom from lay control or interference (internal policing and political agitation via professional associations) and in providing services essential to society, professions claim exclusive privilege to status, power and prestige.

Professionalism is an attitude reflecting professional characteristics of practitioners, or that of prospective practitioners in fields of work that lack one or more structural attributes of traditional professions: (1) full-time; (2) established training schools; (3) established professional associations; (4) state sanctioning, licensure; (5) code of ethics. Attitudinal attributes characterize the professional orientation of practitioners regardless of the structural stature of the practice. These attributes are: (1) profession as a principle reference point; (2) a public service ideal; (3) self regulation; (4) a sense of calling; (5) autonomy.

Professionalization is the process by which occupations effect in striving for the intrinsic rewards of professional status. Professionalization is generally implemented in a process of attempting to: (1) devise a code of ethics; (2) form a professional association; (3) establish standards, measures and titles of professional behavior; (4) establish professional schools with professional affiliation; (5) implement public service programmes; (6) combat forces within and out of

the occupational field to carve a professional niche, as a professionalizing occupation is striving to emulate the aim of traditional professions and, hence, procure intrinsic rewards.

The role of professional education in this structure is to foster professionalism in recruits. Further examination is required to examine the effectiveness of professional education in achieving this goal.

Professionalism as such can be examined by comparing those practitioners with and those without a professional or post-secondary education. The following chapter introduces and examines these elements within the practice of newswork; its role as a profession, professionalism of its practitioners, and the role and impact of professional education.

Newswork
Profession, Professionalism,
Professionalization and Professional Education

Introduction. The business of *news* was introduced in North America in 1833 with the New York Sun, the first audience-oriented newspaper based on competition for advertising (Wilson 1992; Pollard 1985a, 1985b). It crushed the information monopoly of the long-dominant partisan press that reflected elite structures and ideology (Emery, 1972). The Sun successfully challenged the partisan press with content that reflected widespread social, economic and political changes linked to a democratic market society (Schudson, 1978). These changes were evident in a democratization of business and politics, which reflected the interests of an emerging urban middle class.

For 19th century newswork, the emphasis was on fact, not opinion or partisan platform. The factual information presentation attracted urban middle-class readers who, in turn, attracted advertisers (Wilson 1990). So, with good management, newspapers flourished. But, facts, themselves, created problems. What was factual for one might be fictitious for another (Pollard 1985a). Given the volume of information and practitioner discretion of fact, newswork was vulnerable to considerable criticism. Professionalism developed as an insulative ideology that reinforced the reliability of news factuality and non-partisanism through detachment, neutrality and impartiality, underscoring objectivity.

Newswork as a Profession. Newswork, today, is generally assumed to be a profession -- the conceptual equivalence of paradigmatic professions (medicine, law) -- and, consequently, the issue of inherent validity of this assumption is rarely raised (Desbarats 1990: 79). Simply assuming newswork a profession may be an obstacle to fully understanding the occupation, its social role and

what can reasonably be expected of it now and in the future. Higher expectations extend to professions with respect to competence, ethics, altruism, social orientation and impact. As more is expected of a profession than an occupation, what, then, is the status of newswork in terms of profession? The first step is to address the criteria that distinguishes a profession from other kinds of work and apply these criteria to newswork.

Attributes Model Application. The structural and attitudinal attributes model is a means to clarify an occupations' general status as a profession, and in particular, the perspective of its' practitioners.¹ It spells out the essential attributes of a profession and those of a professional. Structural attributes are: occupation becomes full-time, training schools are established, a professional association is formed and empowered, external political agitation is undertaken, and a code of ethics is formed and implemented (Greenwood, 1958). Attitudinal attributes are: the profession is central reference point of practitioners, a sense of calling among practitioners, a public service orientation, and belief in self regulation (Goode, 1960). Structural attributes reflect the professional status of the occupation; attitudinal attributes reflect professionalism among practitioners

With respect to the Attributes Model, how does newswork stand up, structurally, newsworkers, attitudinally? Today, newswork is a full-time occupation as a formalized response to social need. Contemporary society has deemed competent specialized news media personnel an essential response to increased, technological, intellectual, organizational complexity. What's new?

1. Unless otherwise noted, this discussion is based on Pollard 1989, 1987, 1985a).

What's out? Competent newspeople are engaged full-time to keep the public informed of their communities, local, national and international news.

Increased complexity has also dictated a need for public confidence in the level of competence in their news media personnel. Thus, a subsequent rise in their formal training enhances the status of newswork which leads to the development of more formal university training programmes.

Characteristics of structural autonomy are virtually absent in newswork. Beyond trade tool specific capabilities, there are no formalized barriers to the practice of newswork as is found in established professions. State sanctioning is avoided and protection of labour monopoly is considered generally, to be antithetical to its occupational self-image. Newsworker reluctance to lobby for political power in the form of state sanction, licensing and protection from competing occupations is pervasive. Newsworkers do not want to appear to be licensed by the state, hence unable to say anything which might cause the state any concern - then likely lose their license. Many are also afraid to say anything that might displease their employer and likely lose their primary source of income.

Education. There are no formal entrance requirements, professional education is unstandardized, which underscores the absence of a specialized knowledge base and, enculturation to the vocation is typically achieved on-the-job. Unlike traditional professions, there is no cohesive professional newswork culture characterized by formal institutions that promote collegiality. Varied approaches to newswork education contribute to manifold newswork cultures. Overall, there is a failure to insure the practitioner's primary allegiance to the

profession, primary orientation to community and client interests and colleague-ship. No formal professional newswork association exists. The existing quasi-professional associations simply do not possess the legitimacy and authority of formal medical and legal associations. Finally, where codes of newswork ethics do exist, enforcement is difficult and adherence erratic. Consequently, the structural autonomy of newswork, its freedom from external pressures, is severely circumscribed. The only structural attribute that newswork can stake full claim to is the occupation being full-time.

Professionalization. For assessment of the attitudinal dimension of news work professionalization, focus shifts to practitioners' perspective of the profession. Perception of the profession as principal reference point, for instance, can be estimated from the level of participation in formal and informal professional groups. The more active the practitioner, the greater the importance and influence of the profession.

Professional associations, however, remain problematic for general involvement and representation of newspeople. The existing quasi-professional association's main attraction for practitioners is a quick, economical reference point for a shared pool of information. These associations typically have no particular influence over practitioners, nor do they effectively represent practitioner needs and concerns. As a result, practitioner involvement with professional newswork associations is voluntary and sporadic.

According to Pollard (1989: 95), the typical newsworker participating in professional or quasi-professional associations is likely to be "a well-paid specialist or newsroom administrator whose career has stabilized." The typical

newsworker career, however, is unstable; highly mobile, not well-paid and effects little or no influence on newsroom administration or news organization within or across mediums (Pollard, 1995).

Local associations require and depend on a nuclear membership on which to found the association. The transience of most newswork positions render the typical newsworker incidental to existing associations. Typical newsworkers, generally, lack both the time and resources to effect reasonable access to and participation in current professional associations. The absence of a national umbrella association to accommodate the typical newsworker further affects low participation. A national umbrella association could accommodate more transient practitioners' desire to participate and claim benefits of active membership. Thus, it may be the exigencies of the occupation, not a predilection of practitioners, that result in low participation levels and, by implication, failure to use the profession as principal reference point. As a result, failure to use and participate in professional or quasi-professional associations does not *necessarily* denote low level practitioner professionalism within the field.

For the true professional, principal loyalty is to profession and society rather than employer. Loyalty to profession may be evident in the breadth of outlook. A narrow outlook suggests the principal reference point is the immediate environment, the employer or self; a far-reaching outlook to social and professional considerations -- basically the cosmopolitan/local distinction made by Gouldner (1958; 1957). Two generations of research, with a single exception (Stark, 1962), suggests most newsworkers embrace a far-reaching outlook that favours professional and social responsibility over personal gain (cf. Altheide, 1974; Warner, 1971, 1970; Matejko, 1970; Rivers, 1965; Breed, 1955; Rosten,

1937). A series of quantitative studies support the notion that more professional journalists exhibit a more general outlook than their less professional coworkers (Pollard, 1989a; Wright, 1976, 1974; McLeod and Hawley, 1964). A public service ideal, embodied in an inchoate theory of a social responsibility for news media, is the bedrock of contemporary newswork philosophy (Hockings, 1947; Hutchins Commission, 1947). It proposes a balance of news media freedoms with moral and ethical obligations. The central premise is freedom has a price. When the news media fulfill their responsibilities, there is no problem. When they do not, some agency, usually the government, must intervene to insure media responsibility duties are met (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, 1974). A theory of social responsibility¹ endeavors to insure free expression. It holds the news media responsible for its content and holds that public interest must prevail or all lose (Rivers, Schramm and Christians, 1980). For newswriters, however, clarification of obligations, as suggested by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1974), Hockings (1947) and the Hutchins Commission (1947), establishes manifold loyalties to society, self and employer which, at times, may clash.

Belief in self-regulation usually accompanies a predisposition toward state sanctioning and the existence of an enforceable code of ethics. As noted earlier, overt state intervention is antithetical to dominant journalism values and

1. A theory of social responsibility which included, among other things, news-media obligations. These responsibilities include: first, the main purpose of newsmedia is to raise conflict to the plane of discussion in an informing and entertaining manner; second, everyone who has something to say has a right to newsmedia access; third, community opinion, consumer action and professional ethics are the primary means of controlling the newsmedia; fourth, serious invasion of recognized privacy rights and vital social interests are forbidden; fifth, ownership remains in private hands unless government has to intervene to insure public social responsibility is maintained (Siebert, et al, 1956: Chapter Three).

ethical codes are ineffectual. The literature suggests several aspects of newswork require regulation. Dissension arises, however, on specific areas requiring regulation, how to define those areas and how regulation might proceed underscores a critical problem of the professionalization of newswork: the absence of an underlying theoretical base on which a generally accepted and uniform operationalization of what newswork is and what constitutes professionalism among newsworkers can be developed.

Among members of the traditional professions, work is its own reward; a lifetime commitment. It is difficult to discern how newsworkers approach their work. Asking if they are committed to the work may be the conceptual equivalent to asking if they are patriotic, thus, it is precarious to impute commitment to their response. Highly professional practitioners may seek and certainly appreciate personal and economic rewards (noninterference with personal life, meeting important people, more money), but to the low-end, *non-professional*, these incidental rewards become central goals to their vocation. The *nonprofessional* is willing to exchange loyalty from the vocation to the employer for these rewards. Highly professional practitioners are more likely to subscribe to social and professional ideals, (job valuable and essential, learn new skills, use initiative and originality), in the performance of their work. Thus, degree of commitment may be estimated by the extent to which the practitioner is influenced by personal rewards and economic gain as the *end* and not incidentally to the vocation.¹

1. Degree of commitment can be estimated by asking what it would take for a journalist to accept a non-news-media job (Pollard, 1989; Idsvoog et al, 1977). When asked if they would consider leaving the occupation for private sector public relations fifty-two percent of High Professional (HP) and twenty-five percent of Low Professional (LP) print newsworkers said they would not con-

Attitudinal autonomy reflects the belief that the profession must be free from external pressures and is an important concern in newswork. It forms the basis of its anti-licensing stance (anti-state protected monopoly), absence of a dominant professional association, absence of a binding code of ethics and indirectly, may account for varied approaches to newswork education in Canada.

A public service ideal is evident among newsworkers as most subscribe to the principles of social responsibility. The ideal itself, however, may be a source of dissonance since it establishes manifold loyalties to society, self and employer. Fidelity largely depends on the breadth and depth of individual perspective: the more generalized the outlook, the more likely one is to subscribe to the public service ideal. A more generalized outlook generally accompanies more education (Stark, 1962). Thus, a more educated news media workforce may mean a stronger commitment to public service; where 'more educated' means more background or academic courses, not more trade-tool courses.

...Continued...

sider leaving journalism for public relations (Idsvoog and Hoyt, 1977). Money had an effect: 24% of HP's and 36% of LP's said they would consider leaving journalism for public relations with a pay increase of \$5000 or more per year (in 1972); 15% of HP's and 27% of LP's said they would leave for a pay increase of \$2500 per year and, 4% of LP's said tMA96COPY\$F\$ \PRC's were not so inclined (Idsvoog et al 1977). Economic rewards are considered personal interest over social concerns, hence, a characteristic exhibiting low practitioner professionalism.

These studies categorize (HP) High Level Professional; (MP) Moderate Level Professional; (LP) Low Level Professional, of the McLe and Hawley (1964) Likert scaled professional, non professional items. Where, theoretically, differences are assumed between high and low level professionals, and moderates are in flux between the two. High level professionals, for example, place more emphasis on community or public service ideal than do low level professionals and generally, are less likely to be influenced by sources and elites (Pollard, 1985a, 1985b; Slatterly and Fosdick, 1979; Idsvoog, 1977; Wright 1976, 1974; Lattimore 1972; Linehan 1970).

Self-regulation among newswriters is impractical as the structural underpinnings of self-regulation are absent. Since there is no cohesive professional association or enforceable code of ethics, there can be little agreement on what aspects of newswriting should be regulated, why they should be regulated or who might regulate and how. Conscience is the sole means of intra-professional regulation among newswriters.

As with commitment to public service, commitment to occupation varies among newswriters and appears tied to outlook. Some newswriters, designated as more professional, are less likely to leave the occupation than are others. Those willing to leave are ostensibly motivated by personal rewards.

Finally, the quest for attitudinal autonomy among newswriters also varies with outlook. More professional individuals see it as critical while their less professional co-workers are unconcerned.

Based on the structural and attitudinal attributes model, newswriters have few well-developed professional attributes. True professionals, for example, have achieved autonomy derived from effective implementation of self-regulation. Newswriters, however, strive for autonomy based on the capacity to self-regulate, but refuse to accept the concomitants of self-regulation such as state sanctioning or licensing.

Another factor keeping newswriting out of the profession area is confidentiality. Confidentiality, fundamental in nursing, social work, psychology and other semi-professions, has not been considered essential to the practice of newswriting. Newswriters and journalists alike, are legally bound to reveal

sources by threat of jail (Pollard, 1986). Recognized professions seldom, if ever, face such action in litigation.

Summary. While it may be useful to some to consider newswork a profession, structurally, it is not. Newswork is a full-time occupation, but, although striving, lacks the well-developed structural and attitudinal attributes associated with a profession. Furthermore, literature deems the current knowledge base of the practitioners as being principally entrenched in trade-tool skills,¹ rather than a generalized intellectual technique rendering it void of a general systematic knowledge base a necessary, if not primary, element of professional status. Newswork, although not a profession, is no less socially important than many recognized professional occupations.

Substantive Aspect of Research Question. Although newswork does not encompass the criteria of paradigmatic professions, practitioners can still exhibit professionalism as demonstrated through attitudinal professionalism². Yet to be discerned, is whether professionalism that exists is inherent to the practice, that is, enculturated in the field or fostered in other elements and brought into the field by recruits. It may be that a theoretical disposition, established in a professional education, is a necessary entity for implementing elements of professionalism.

1. Cohen (1963: 267) identified that training with emphasis on trade-tool approach as writing, reporting and editing skills, reflected a narrow outlook. He asserted that a stronger professional education was needed " what seems to be required, in addition to these tools of trade, is more explicit training in theories and modes of analysis.. " .

2. Attitudinal attributes reflect how practitioners view their work (Pollard, 1987a:10; Hall, 1966:93). Attitudes reflect behavior and thus are part of work, professional or otherwise (Hall, 1986: chapter 3; Tausky, 1984:70-104).

Professional education is a means of socializing prospective practitioners into a way-of-life through inculcation of professional attitudes. Intrinsic to a professional education is to teach the importance of involvement in professional associations, activity and involvement in furthering specialized knowledge through research, intra-communication and so forth, creating a subculture within the field and isolation of those without. Throughout this process of socialization in which standards of ethics, measures of professional behavior and titles are established, primary loyalty and self-definition is directed to the vocation itself at the exclusion of all others.

An intrinsic goal of professional education is the unification of the profession through common socialization, shared experiences and the capacity and intention of supporting professional norms. The foundation of a unified organization is common theoretical underpinnings of specialized knowledge, problem solving and the ability to apply these skills to remedy contemporary problems and advance the theoretical knowledge base.

The central mission of professional education in addition to passing on the skills, history, and so forth, of the occupation, is to foster professionalism in recruits. Is a professional education necessary to have practitioner professionalism or is professionalism fostered and developed within the practice itself regardless of the post-secondary, theoretical-based training deemed necessary in the literature?

A professional education socializes trainees to the values, norms, symbols and structural tenets of the work. Professionally trained practitioners (with

a university degree or certificate in newswork-journalism) are predicted to enter the field with considerably more attitudinal professionalism than those who enter with general training (i.e., no post-secondary or non-university newswork-related certification). The structural attribute of formal training, as established in traditional professions (medicine, law), advocates university professional education as a necessary, though not sufficient requirement for entry into the practice. For newswork, however, the focus is on the establishment of training schools, (university and non-university), such that certification representing a professional training and development process may increase and maintain public confidence in the practice. The question remains to be tested as to the viability and effectiveness of university and nonuniversity professional newswork education. Is the process of professional newswork education effective in fulfilling its principle role in the professionalizing process, that is, supplying professional oriented recruits to substantiate a structurally inchoate profession? If so, is this success contingent on a university programme of professional newswork education? Does professional newswork education, regardless of programme of study (university, nonuniversity) succeed in imbuing recruits with professional attitudes? These questions, among others, will be addressed by examining attitudinal professionalism among newswork practitioners with and without a professional newswork education.

Newsworker Professionalism in Canada

Operationalizing Professionalism. The concept of professionalization is difficult to operationalize. It is not a single entity in and of itself. There is no one thing that precisely represents professionalism within an organization. The virtues of factor analysis¹ become practical assets for the operationalization of professionalism.

Professionalism Index. The question of levels of professional values among newspaper journalism has long been addressed in research literature. McLeod and Hawley (1964), for instance, examined newspaper journalists and found if professionalism is attitudinal, newswriters can exhibit professionalism. McLeod and Hawley (1964) developed scales to measure levels of professional orientation among newspaper journalists. The McLeod-Hawley Scale was of "ratings on the level of importance of twenty-four job characteristics, twelve of these have

1. The statistical technique of factor analysis has the ability to identify a small number of factors representative of a relationship among variables (Norusis, 1988: 125). The process within a factor analysis is to identify communities among interrelated variables in which underlying factors can explain variance. In factor analysis characters recognizable as communities, with communities being those of similar characteristics or sharing commonalities inherent, are grouped and summarized into factors of weighted representations of that group.

The basic assumption of factor analysis is that underlying dimensions can be used to explain complex phenomena (Norusis, 1988: 126). It is the goal of factor analysis to identify the not directly observable factors associated with a set of variables (Norusis, 1988: 125). Thus, factor analysis can serve as an invaluable tool for deciphering professional/non-professional attributes.

The characteristics of a good factor solution are representative meaningful factors, parsimonious representations of relationships that rely on as few factors as possible. And, those factors be meaningful, reasonably simple and interpretable.

A factorial model offers a rudimentary depiction of a particular set of variables, instrumental in the creation of indices. A regression model situates the indices with the empirical evidence. Both procedures are concerned with classification and verification of hypothesis.

been found to represent professional values while the other twelve represent non-professional values" (Nayman, 1973: 195). McLeod and Hawley expected an inverse relationship between these items. These items will be used in this particular scale for professionalism among newswriters.

The McLeod-Hawley Index casts newswriting as an emerging profession and newswriters displaying, to some extent, the attitudinal attributes of professionals. The professional newswriter would assume the perspective reflecting traditional professional concerns of community service, autonomy and public influence and de-emphasize non-professional concerns of personal and economic reward, job security and prestige. This is the basis of a Professionalism Index (PI).

Indices are statistically reliable consistent vehicles of measurement. There is limited variation among respondents and the error component is small. Factor analysis is used to establish indice validity, to evaluate underlying assumptions of the items measured (Hage and Aiken, 1967; Aiken and Hage, 1966). Factor analysis should produce pure dimensions of underlying aspects representative of the items measured.

Creating the Professionalism Index. McLeod and Hawley (1964) consider newswriting to be an emerging profession in which items in the professional orientation list are emphasized over items in the non-professional oriented list of items. The items of the professional oriented section of the list; are principally concerned with public influence, occupational autonomy and service. The non-professional items are concerned more with monetary rewards and personal concerns (job security, privacy). As professional items outweigh the nonprofes-

sional items, the occupation moves more towards the goal of professional status.

The McLeod-Hawley Method of operationalizing professionalism is concerned with summing the professional item responses to the likert scale to arrive at a professional value (**P**) and, likewise, sum the non-professional responses to the likert scale to arrive at a non-professional value (**NP**). This assumes equal weighting of response representativeness of each variable within the composite creating the professional and non-professional values.

To compensate for variation in the weighting¹ of these two composite indicators Nayman (1974) developed $(2 \cdot P) - NP$ as a formula to create a more accurate representation of a professionalism indicator. The McLeod-Hawley Method of professional items (**P**) less the non-professional response (**NP**) was not clear enough with the data set to be used in this study (Pollard 1990) for a representative analysis.

Ferguson (1981) offered a method that takes into consideration the unequal weighted representativeness of the variables inherent to the professional and non-professional values. This seems, for current purpose, a more precise method of creating a professional and non-professional representative variable. This method relies on factor analysis to determine the representative values of each **P** and **NP**. Rather than simply summing the variable responses to the likert scale, she multiplies each variable included in the factor with its factor loading value (**LV**), for example,

1. Weighting refers to the factor loading values of each item reflected within each demension **P** and **NP** where **P** is **professional** and **NP** is **non-professional** composit indicator used in the creation of the Professionalism Index.

$$[\text{Factor-1}]P = (P_1 * P_1 \text{ LV}) + (P_2 * P_2 \text{ LV}) + \dots n.$$

$$[\text{Factor-2}]NP = (NP_1 * NP_1 \text{ LV}) + (NP_2 * NP_2 \text{ LV}) + \dots n.$$

Thus, the Ferguson Method lends more credence to the inherent validity of the composite items creating the professionalism index.

In a two factor solution the Ferguson Method may apply more representativeness although the variable separation within the factors are not themselves a clear representation of professional/non-professional orientation. Thus, the importance of considering the weights of each item loading with each composite factor. The Ferguson Method deems that the factor

divisions must first be representative of professional indicators in one and non-professional indicators in another. A two factor model was necessarily the best representation of the professional/non-professional orientation from which to create a representative index of professionalism.

Figure 1
Professional Dimension of Professionalism Index

cultural/social responsibility variables	loadings
-learn new skills[P]	.77633
-use initiative / originality[P]	.77194
-use ability and training[P]	.71675
-job exciting / variety[NP]	.60964
-enjoy job[NP]	.60220
-ahead in professional career[P]	.56020
-job valuable and essential[P]	.50710

Factor Analysis item values: Factor-Scores. Alpha: .4999. P: professional characteristic; NP: nonprofessional characteristic. Raw Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Figure 2
Non-Professional Dimension of Professionalism Index

economic/personal reward variables	loadings
-job permanent (NP)	.77091
-having a job family is proud of (NP)	.60730
-job doesn't interfere w/personal life (NP)	.65730
-enough money [NP]	.63170
-ahead in organization [NP]	.60568
-n contact w/ important people (NP)	.57390

Factor Analysis item values: Factor-Scores. Alpha: .4999. P: professional characteristic; NP: nonprofessional characteristic. Raw Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Factor-scores take into consideration all variables in the equation rather than just those individual loadings represented here, so, to create the most accurate internal representations of the composites for the creation of the professionalism index, the basic design of Nayman (1974) and Ferguson (1981) method will be used. The professional orientation composite will accommodate each variable with its loading by using the factor scores in a two-factor solution as a reasonable representation of professional/non-professional orientation. The professional orientation will be represented as indicated earlier in the Ferguson method. by the sum of the representative weighting of cultural and social aspect of factor-1, professional orientation (P), similarly, summing the representative weighting of factor-2, personal and economic reward aspects of the non-professional orientation (NP). The professionalism index [PI] will follow Nayman's model. The representative equation will be thus,

$$PI = (2 * \text{FACTOR-1 [P]}) - (\text{FACTOR-2 [NP]})$$

Nayman (1974) used $(2 * P)$, to enhance the representativeness of the professional orientation indicator of two professional factors, weighting was given to that factor most representative, factor-1 [P]. This emphasis is explained by the components of factor-1[P] being associated with cultural and social aspects of

professionalism. This would coincide with Schramm (1957) in that standard behaviors and attitudes of professionalism, as indicative of factor-1 [P], can prevail although not all the elements of professional autonomy.

Factor analysis was used in a manner to summarize the available information (professional and non-professional items) into a set of representative factors of cultural and social responsibility, being a professional dimension, and personal and economic reward, being a non-professional dimension, for the creation of a representative composite variable, Professionalism Index.

Characteristics of Newsmedia Workforce. A typical member of Canadian news media workforce is likely to be a 35-year-old, married anglophone male with either a BA or college certificate although likely not based in newswork. He is likely to have had three newswork jobs over an eleven year period, work in a larger market newsroom, with approximately nineteen (19) employees and earn approximately thirty-three-thousand dollars annually with a supplemental income of \$589 monthly.¹

Women, who make up about 20% of Canadian news media workforce

1. **Data.** The data used for this study were gathered by Pollard (1995, 1994). A 95-item questionnaire was mailed to stratified random sample of newsworkers drawn from the *Matthews List*, a tri-annual census of news media employees compiled from organizational self-reports; although there is no evidence pointing to any systemic bias in sample list, it is a possibility that should be considered in assessing the reliability and validity of these data. The question included 6 Likert-scaled indices of organization structure, professionalism, decision acceptance; 10 demographic and 11 worker career items and descriptives. About one-in-three (1001) Canadian newsworkers working in radio, print and television newsrooms received a questionnaire; about one-in-five members of the Canadian daily news media workforce participated in the study (n = 634 or 63.4%).

Figure 3
General Attributes of
Canadian Newsmedia Workforce

	Freq'cy (n=636)	Percent	Males (n=401)	Females (n=234)
Males	401	63.1%	.	.
Females	234	36.9	.	.
English	463	72.7%	43.3%	29.4%
French	160	25.2	18.8	6.4
Other	13	2.1	1.0	1.1
Married	312	49.1%	59.1%	31.9%
Single	259	40.8	31.3	57.0
Other	65	2.1	9.6	11.1
Age*	35yrs		37.5	30.4
Income monthly#	2810.00		3303.00	2447.00
Income Supplemental#	589.55		741.92	214.50
Education*	15yrs		15	16
Gr 13 or Less	132	20.7%	14.3%	6.4%
Some College/Grad	314	49.3	32.1	17.2
University Grad +	191	30.0	16.7	13.3
Number of Newsjobs#	3.3443		3.3983	3.2520
Yrs in Current Job#	6.819		8.2809	4.3163
Years in Newswork*	(overall) 11yrs		13.2yr	7.2yr
< 5yrs	251	39.4%	32yr	27yr
6-10yrs	144	22.7	32	32
11yrs +	241	37.9	43	39
Work Medium				
print	202	31.8%	33.1%	29.5%
Television	172	27.0	24.7	30.9
Radio	262	41.2	42.2	39.6
Region				
W Prairies	185	29.1%	27.3%	34.9%
Ontario	195	30.7	28.5	34.4
Quebec	143	22.4	27.0	14.6
Atl + Ter'	114	17.9	17.0	16.2

p < .05. * mean years. # mean. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994)

and 36.9% of respondents,¹ are typically younger than their male counterparts as half of women newswriters are under thirty.

Albeit few in number, women come to newswriting with the best formal education qualifications. Women are more likely to be college graduates, have a newswriting education, and be working in radio. Radio typically has the shortest careers and the lowest pay among daily news media.

Figure 4
General Attributes of Canadian Newswriting by Gender

	Male (n=401)	Female (n=234)
Education*		
Gr 13 or Less	22.7%	17.3%
14-16yrs	50.9	46.7
17yrs +	26.5	36.0
Certification		
Yes	63.2%	87.1%
No	36.8	12.9
Professional Degree		
Yes	34.8%	54.6%
No	65.1	45.4

$X^2 p < .05$. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994)

Regional distribution of newswriters approximates that of stations, generally by market and medium. The distribution of stations is similarly coordinated with population aggregations by means of licensing policies controlled by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). Larger communities can support more stations and are thus more likely to have more independent newsmedia.

1. Material for defining workforce criteria in this section are drawn from Pollard (1989, 1987a, 1985a).

Regional distribution of newswriters reflected 31% in Ontario, 29% in West (The Prairies, BC to Manitoba inclusive), 22% in Quebec, and 18% in the East (Atlantic provinces and the Territories and Yukon; Table1*). Similarly, Western Canada and Ontario newswriters mainly hosted in large markets (each at 69%) and Eastern Canada (Atlantic provinces and the territories and Yukon) mainly hosted small to medium markets (51%). Quebec, having a jump in large markets at 85%, suggests they originate their newscasts or coverage in major cities and redistribute or rebroadcast to small, perhaps one-person newsrooms throughout smaller communities; Eastern region newsrooms may be small but operate as area-originating newsrooms.¹

Generally, small market newspeople have less news experience, work in smaller newsrooms and earn less than those in medium or large markets. Large market stations have more resources and tend to siphon off the more qualified practitioners from smaller markets.

Francophone newswriters have less work experience, but earn more than Anglophone newswriters; less news experience, less time in the current job, work in larger markets and have more education, which may compensate for a lack of work experience. Only 73.5% of anglophone newswriters have at least a college degree, whereas 96% of francophones do. Anglophone newswriters are less likely to have a professional education, but are more satisfied with their professional education (57.1% and 26.8%, respectively).

1. According to Pollard (1986), just over half the Canadian radio stations re-broadcast other station programming, (other-station-programming being the originating stations). Originating stations generally serve a large market area.

Figure 5
General Attributes of Canadian Newswork by
Dominant Language Distinction

	English (n=463)	French (n=160)	Other (n=13)
Education*			
Gr 13 or Less	26.5%	4.0%	21.2%
14-16yrs	47.0	56.7	40.9
17yrs+	26.5	39.3	37.9
Certification			
Yes	70.0%	80.0%	45.5%
No	30.0	20.0	54.5
Professional Degree			
Yes	46.5%	29.1%	45.5%
No	53.5	70.9	54.5
Education Satisfaction			
Very Unsatisfied	12.0%	10.1%	00.0%
Indifferent	46.0	73.5	29.4
Very Satisfied	42.0	16.3	70.6
Number of Newsjobs Held			
1-3 Jobs	31.9%	48.9%	45.5%
4 Jobs	22.9	17.5	36.4
5 Jobs+	45.3	33.6	18.2
Monthly Income			
2000\$ or less	44.05	32.5%	42.4%
2001-3000\$	23.0	31.0	22.7
3001\$+	33.0	36.6	34.8
Years in Current Job			
1-3yrs	40.3%	52.6%	50.0%
4-6yrs	23.8	17.6	00.0
7yrs+	35.9	29.8	50.0

χ^2 p < .05. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994)

The general makeup of the contemporary Canadian newsmedia workforce is one of more experienced anglophone males without a professional newswork education. These men tend to dominate larger markets of Ontario and the Western provinces. Quebec was singular in its expression of less experienced male newsworkers with considerably more post-secondary education, with which they

are dissatisfied, and working in large market stations. Newswomen, although few in number, have the best formal education requirements, are more likely to be found in smaller rebroadcast stations with little experience, receive low pay and have short careers.

Since males tend to dominate professions in contemporary Canadian society, it is not surprising to find this trend consistent in newswork. The surprise is that almost twice as many females (54.6%) as males (34.8%* Table 13) are trained in post-secondary newswork programmes yet, few pursue news careers. Females with a newswork degree or diploma may find themselves in part-time ancillary news media or non-media occupations.

Newsworker Professionalism. The term 'professionalism' refers to the attitudinal experience of the individual within and to the specific vocation. It is concerned with the individual perspective of themselves as professional within the occupation rather than the occupation status structurally. Autonomy, while both an attitudinal and a structural attribute of professionalism, is a necessary element in deciphering professionalism. Autonomy suggests more power and control, or a perception of more power and control of the practitioner within the practice, for the newsworker, in the newsroom.

Autonomy or the perception of autonomy, is a pivotal element influencing perception of professionalism. Little perceived autonomy is concomitant with limited professionalism. Although more autonomy is perceived in smaller newsrooms, larger newsrooms have more money, and more prestige that is attractive to newsworkers. The decrease in autonomy, a natural corollary of larger newsrooms, is concomitant with a decrease in newsworker professionalism.

The use of indices representative of professionalism will clarify the professionalism characteristics of newsworkers. Examining degree of professionalism, represented in the indices of professionalism as an attitudinal orientation of shared values, norms and symbols, is examined through the varying degrees of elements-of-professionalism (community service or commitment, loyalty, and so forth).

Analysis of Professionalism. Consistent with previous newswork studies, the typical newsworker is a thirty-five-year-old married anglophone male with a two year college level education and earns thirty-three thousand annually, is more likely working in print or radio and has less than five years practical newswork experience (Table 1, Appendix).

Experience in an occupation would normally be considered a reasonably good indicator of level of professionalism. For newsworkers, however, this does not seem to be the case. The amount of time one has spent in a career may have a significant effect on levels of professionalism. Newsworker professionalism seems to be eroded with experience. Short careers cause a shortfall of seasoned journeymen (Pollard, 1989: 85), that seems instrumental in the undermining of professionalism. Furthermore, Pollard (1989: 85) revealed the daily news media workforce is "dominated by apprentices," not journeymen, suggesting newswork practitioners are thus, perpetually in training. Experience as an indicator of professionalism would be more effective with respect to careers of duration as well as the presence of journeymen, those with a professional education. In newswork, however, many abandon the occupation before working knowledge and skills mature to make meaningful contributions to profession and community (Pollard, 1989). The short career pattern among newsworkers

thwart professionalism of practitioners within the vocation. An increase in professionally educated practitioners may circumvent this concern as values such as loyalty to the profession, an orientation towards on-going education in the field, collegiality and active research, all fostered in professional education increase the likelihood of newswork being worthy of a life-long investment.

A sense of commitment to community service and to loyalty to the organization are indicators of professionalism fostered in a professional education. Short career patterns, very common in newswork, would seem to undermine strengths of association of loyalty, commitment, solidarity and sense of community within the organization which in turn suggests a lack of an overall sense of professionalism amongst members. Emphasis, then, must be placed on the professional/non-professional orientation indicators as a means of creating a reasonable representative composite measure of levels of professionalism among newsworkers.

Elements of Newsworker Professionalism. Factor analysis of the data revealed two underlying dimensions representing professional and non professional orientations to newswork (Table 2, Appendix). The items loading on a "professional" factor express a cultural and social responsibility orientation more indicative of a "career" orientation of a profession. Items loading on a nonprofessional dimension, in contrast, expressed personal and economic interests of a job or non-career occupational situation. A professional tends to live his or her occupation deriving value and enjoyment from the work itself. Finding the job exciting and having variety comes with the learning of new skills, the ability to use initiative and originality along with ability and training. If these items (enjoy job, exciting variety) were revealed as a separate dimension of themselves, the incli-

nation to treat them as a non-professional item would be intensified as it would suggest these to be primary characteristics of an occupation rather than secondary.

In the professional dimension of the factor analysis, this concomitant association with primary items of learning new skills using initiative and originality, ability and training and so forth, inherently suggest a certain amount of variety and, to some extent enjoyment, to commit so much of one's self to the practice. The non-professional dimension reflected items such as, job permanence, enough money as economic security, issues not principally found in a professional orientation to an occupation. Also, items reflecting personal issues, such as family proud or job not interfering with personal life, are components of the non-professional dimension of professionalism. The professionalism index reflects a general level of professionalism among Canadian Newswomen.

Analysis. Newswomen most likely to exhibit professionalism are more educated females who have held four or more newswork jobs. The third job in the field seems to be the decision breaker. Newswomen who persist into the fourth newswork job reflect the determination to find their niche in the field, reflecting a sense-of- calling, an essential, though not sufficient, entity of a professional orientation (Table 10, 11, Appendix).

Newswomen, reflecting a professional orientation, are least likely to have six-to-ten years newswork experience or earn low or high extra income outside of their principal newswork salary, which is typically \$600 per month lower than their male counterparts. Newswomen, regardless of credentials, find themselves in ancillary positions while striving for a foothold in a male domi-

nated field.

A typical newsworker¹ exhibiting a high degree of professionalism is likely to be professionally-educated female with a Master's or Ph.D., earning between one-hundred to four-hundred-fifty dollars monthly from newswork-related sources (freelance articles, public appearance, and so forth) supplementary to their salary, and have eleven years newswork experience. This newsworker is also likely to be francophone working in Quebec (Table 21b).

Quebec appears to place more emphasis on professional qualifications, such as professional newswork education, rather than experience as criteria for position. The highest average pay for the newsmedia personnel in the sample is also found in Quebec. This may account for the longer careers of newswomen in Quebec compared to Canadian newswomen generally, who have the shortest careers, least experience and lowest pay.

Male newsworkers heavily dominated the nonprofessional dimension of professionalism as they characteristically have less professional newswork education but more on-the-job experience, this is reflected in their higher monthly salary and opportunity to earn higher supplementary incomes. Economic security does not nurture loyalty to the profession but rather to a particular employer, such that job security concomitant with sufficient salary seems enough to keep the newsman in his position rather than integrity to the field.

1. Theoretical template established through multiple regression analysis where the demographic and descriptive variables are analyzed with the indices.

This template for predisposition to professionalism is highly impressionable as only twelve percent of the variance on a professionalism index was accounted for with this combination of characteristics. Low predictability warrants a closer examination of the component dimensions of the professionalism index. These components reflect the professional and non-professional aspects of professionalism.

As newswork is a would-be or inchoate profession, it is not surprising to find that most of the variance explained in a characterization of the newsworker predisposition toward professionalism will be evident within the non-professional dimension of the index. The characterization in a non-professional dimension accounted for fourteen percent of the variance in newsworker professionalism.

A non-professional oriented newsworker¹ would likely be a divorced, widowed, or separated older male working in Atlantic Provinces or the North West Territories and Yukon. The typical non-professional oriented newsworker is likely to have more than eleven years newswork experience, earns a modest salary with a high supplementary income, and works in the medium of radio.

The tentativeness of the novice professional newsworker is such that the explained variance of characteristics in the professional dimension, although meager, is important for distinguishing characteristics more apt to enhance the professional quality of practitioners. The professional dimension accounted for six percent of the variance in newsworker professionalism.

1. Theoretical template established through multiple regression analysis where the demographic and descriptive variables are analyzed with the indices.

Newswork salaries are low compared to fully qualified professions. The average newsworker earns less than Thirty-four thousand dollars annually - the average net income for traditional professions¹ physicians was over sixty-four thousand (\$64,900.), lawyers was fifty thousand (49,481), dentists made fifty-seven thousand (56,977), accountants reported forty-four thousand, and engineers and architects reported forty-one thousand annually.^{2 3}

Professionalism of newswomen appears to be less influenced by economic interests than their male colleagues. Theory would justify this enigma such that for newswomen, and women in general, their income is supplementary to the household whereas to newsmen, and men in general, income is primary. While *generally* this might hold, in newswork, newswomen are primarily single.⁴

1. Income values reported from 1980 (Canada 1983c: Table A.1.12). Blishen (1991):138.

2. The average income reported for newsworkers was calculated from gross earnings from all sources in 1991; the average income reported for traditional professions was calculated from net earnings from all sources reported in 1981.

3. Employed Professionals in Canada 1991,
Average Annual Net Income
(n=52,881)

Mean	SD	
Employed Professional	36,688.01	23,297.80
Female	30,467.70	17,654.65
Male	44,208.00	26,811.82

Statistics Canada 1991.

4. Distribution of marital status by gender (Table *1) reveals that,

	male	female
married	59.1%	31.9%
single	31.3	57.0
other	9.6	11.1

A professional¹ oriented newsworker¹ who earns a high supplementary income is also likely to be dissatisfied with his/her education. This newsworker is likely to be a single, college educated female who is less than thirty years of age and works in the province of Ontario in the medium of television.

So far, there has been considerable disparity in the professional orientation of male and female newsworkers. An examination of orientation particular to each group may make clearer the breadth of particular experience and orientation within newswork.

Professionalism and the Male Newsworker. Overall, newsmen were older, higher paid, more experienced, yet less oriented in professionalism than were their female colleagues. For male newsworkers, as age increased, level of professionalism decreased. Low and high monthly income earners were low in professionalism with moderate income earners raising only slightly to a moderate degree of professionalism. For the male newsworker, extra income seems to decrease professionalism. Newsmen earning more than \$450 monthly from sources other than their principle newswork salary were least likely to be high in professionalism.²

Newsmen tended to be low in professionalism regardless of their general education level. This could be reflecting the fact that newsmen were least

1. Theoretical template established through multiple regression analysis where demographic and descriptive variables are analyzed with the indices (Table 21, Appendix).

2. Seventeen percent of men newsworkers earning high supplemental income exhibited high levels of professionalism (Table 9, Appendix).

likely to have a professional newswork education. Thus supporting the position that professionalism is fostered and developed in a professional newswork education and not in the field. These newsmen have generally been accepted into the field solely on the basis of talent.

Newsman working in the medium of print were least likely to reflect an attitude of professionalism (76%) followed by radio (21.3%). Males were low in professionalism across Canada with the exception of Quebec newsworkers who ranked 75% moderate to high levels of professionalism (Table 10). As newswork experience increased, as the time in current job increases, the level of professionalism decreased. Expected indicators of professional enhancement (higher pay, commitment) did not increase professionalism in Newsmen. Male newsworkers are more inclined to harbor a nonprofessional orientation to newswork.

Perhaps the overall low orientation to professionalism for male newsworkers is a result of their lack of professional education. Experience, seniority in position, income, which one would expect to be a reasonable indicator of professionalism all reflected a lower sense of professionalism. Newsmen seem to be preoccupied with economic issues as job security, non-interference on personal time, job family is proud of and so forth, rather than cultural development issues inherent in elements of professionalism. Newsmen would be more apt to change jobs for money, perhaps switch types of work for increased job security and less interference in their personal lives.

Professionalism and the Female Newsworker. The experience of female newsworkers was quite different. Newswomen perceive high levels of profes-

sionalism towards newswork. This was particularly evident in women under thirty. In fact, newswomen under thirty years-of-age¹ are least likely, (16%) to exhibit low level professionalism (Table 11, Appendix).

Newswomen reflected a predisposition toward professionalism despite low income, little experience, and frequent job changes which suggests perpetual low seniority. Newswomen reflect a sense-of-calling, loyalty to the practice rather than employer, other than an emphasis on economic and personal reward issues indicative of a job-orientation to newswork as reflected by newsmen.

Female newsworkers earning less than two-thousand dollars monthly ranked high in professionalism². Moderate income earners³ tended to be low on professionalism (45%) and high income earners⁴ were just as likely to be high or low on a professionalism scale (Table 11, Appendix). Perhaps the low wage-earning newswomen are fresh out of their professional training which sustains their predisposition.

Earning a supplementary income to the principle newswork salary, did not follow this same low-status pattern. It appears that as extra income increased for women so did their professionalism. Only seven percent of moderate extra

1. Thirty is the average age of female newsworkers (Table 2, Appendix).
2. Sixty-eight percent of female newsworkers earning less-than 2000\$ monthly ranked high on a professionalism scale (Table 11, Appendix).
3. Moderate income earners are those newsworkers earning between \$2001 and \$3200 monthly (Table 11, Appendix).
4. High income earners are newsworkers earning more than \$3200 monthly (Table 11, Appendix).

income earners¹ were low on professionalism and there were no high extra income sources low on professionalism. Supplementary income, often generated from other newswork related activities, suggests activity in the area of community service, articles, public appearances, and so forth. Interestingly enough this is contrary to the experience of their male counterparts where increased supplementary income was concomitant with a decrease in professionalism.

Female newsworkers exhibiting high professionalism were mainly college graduates with certification in newswork (62%: Table 11, Appendix). Consistent with the literature, a general education, thirteen-years or less of formal education, largely fostered low professionalism.

Although *print* is where one would expect a stronger predisposition toward professionalism, female newsworkers in print were just as likely to be low as high professionalism². Radio is the medium more likely to have newswomen high in professionalism. Radio, perceived as a training-ground for the daily-news media workforce, harbors less status, lower wages and shorter career durations. Thus radio may be simply attracting more newswomen due to more work opportunities rather than professional perception of the medium itself. In sum, women newsworkers reflect higher overall orientation to professionalism than do their male counterparts.

1. Moderate extra-income earners are newsworkers who earn between \$100 and \$450 monthly as supplementary to their salary (Table 11, Appendix).

2. Female newsworkers in print medium: 39.3% ranked low in professionalism; 38.7% ranked high in professionalism (Table 11, Appendix).

As in other professions,¹ women newswriters are younger, less experienced, have less time in their current jobs and earn lower incomes than their male colleagues. Newswomen, however, are more likely to have a professional education in newswriting, to be more career oriented and exhibit higher overall professionalism than their male counterparts. When newsmen enhance their income by means other than their principle salary, motivation seems to be primarily economic. Unlike the experience of newsmen, earning a high extra-income to their monthly salary enhanced professionalism of newswomen.

Education and Newswriter Professionalism. The lack of a general body of knowledge provided and the socialization that takes place during a professional education is likely the missing staple necessary to increase the overall sense of professionalism within newswriting, amongst newswriters. The following section will examine the impact of university, nonuniversity and professional education on newswriter professionalism.

Educational attainment was fairly evenly distributed among newswriters in the sample. Table 1a, below, delineates the educational attainment distribution, from general to professional, of contemporary Canadian newswriters.

The educational attainment level of newswriting generally is increasing. Wright (1976, 1974) suggested forty percent of newswriters studied had begun

1. The average earnings for all lawyers in Canada in 1985, for example, were \$58,965; Table 10.2 (Stager and Arthurs, 1991:237). Stager and Arthurs (1991: 248-249) found, in conjunction with Statistics Canada, that female lawyers in 1985 earned an average income of \$38,184, while males earned \$62,570; \$24,000 difference, 39% of male average earnings where \$10,900 was attributed to discrimination, \$9000 to differential pay schedules and the remainder to variables such as age.

post-secondary training although about sixty percent of those did not graduate; Pollard (1985a) found fifty-four percent of respondents had begun post-secondary training with a graduation success rate of seventy-four percent. Today, 71.6% of Canadian newswriters have some form of credentials. That is, almost seventy-two percent of Canadian newswriters have completed some post-secondary educational programme. Thus far, there seems to be no preference for university (theoretical) over nonuniversity (trade-tool specific) programmes of credentials. It is important to note that today, only 28.4% of Canadian newswriters have no post-secondary education.

Figure 6
Distribution of Education
of Newswriter Practitioners in Canada

GENERAL EDUCATION

university based	36.4%
nonuniversity based	35.2
no post-secondary	28.4

POST SECONDARY EDUCATION

university based	50.8%
nonuniversity based	49.2

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

university based	11.4%
nonuniversity based	30.7
no post-secondary	57.9

 $X^2 p < .05$. N=636. Raw Data: Pollard (1995, 1994)

This could be a sign of the times, in that, novice practitioners are no longer entering the field green, right out of highschool. Rather, the contemporary novices are striving for some form of credentials as a means of getting the edge over the competition. The type of credentials, university or nonuniversity, seems an unimportant distinction to prospective practitioners as the distribution of news-

workers with post-secondary training was evenly split between university (50.8%) and nonuniversity (49.2%) based programmes.

This trend, however, does not follow when the post-secondary training is specific to newswork. The education of less than twelve percent of all newsworkers with post-secondary training is in newswork journalism. Nearly fifty-eight percent (57.9%) of Canadian newsworkers report no post-secondary newswork training, whatever, and almost thirty-one percent (30.7%) report non-university, college certificates in newswork. Today's newsworkers do not seem to accept the distinction of professional education being necessarily a (theoretical) university-based programme. Rather, any post-secondary training is accepted and certainly, any trade specific programme preferred particularly for firing line entry into the field.

Newsworkers with a theoretical university education are more likely to enter the field into more stable management positions than practitioners with the practical, trade-tool orientation of community colleges.

Professionalism, fostered in a university based professional education may secure these stable positions for practitioners that infiltrate the stronghold of experience in an overwhelmingly non professionally educated occupational group. A professional education may provide these university graduates with the opportunity to advance in a field where a relatively high proportion of the workers have not been educated professionally.

Newsworkers without any post-secondary education reflected the lowest professionalism (46.7%: Table 7a, Appendix). Newsworkers with 14-16 years

of formal education, indicative of a nonuniversity education, (such as, college, trade & technical schools, and so forth) were more oriented towards professionalism (39% hi) whereas practitioners with 17-years or more formal education, suggesting a university training, were for the most part (43.6%) moderate in their orientation towards professionalism. The expectation was, as educational attainment level increased so would professionalism. So far, it appears that practitioners who opted for a shorter period in formal training, leading to perhaps more on-the-job experience, also lends itself to increased professionalism.

University graduates are mainly moderate in their professionalism (40.6%). Nonuniversity graduates were mainly high in their level of professionalism (46.2%). And, consistent with the hypotheses, professional education fosters professionalism, newswriters with no post-secondary education are lowest in attitudinal professionalism (48.6% low). Theory suggests the extended period in training is where socialization into the norms of the profession takes place, ergo fostering professionalism. Newswriter trade-tool specific programmes of post-secondary study seems to be the catalyst to professionalism rather than the general theoretical outreach of university training. Perhaps there is still room for the apprenticeship practice of yesteryear in budding modern day professions such as newswriting.

A university degree in newswriting seemed to have no particular influence over a university degree in general arts and social sciences¹ towards profession-

1. University degree in newswriting-journalism 30.3% low; 36.3% mod; 33.4% hi in professionalism.

alism. Similarly, newswriters with no post-secondary education¹, reflected low professionalism. Interestingly, newswriters with a college certificate in newswork were least likely to be low in professionalism².

The startling similarity of professionalism between university educated practitioner and that with no post-secondary training lends credence to the position of experience acting as a primary conduit for professionalism. That is, unless the professional education is steeped in the trade, fostering collegiality, a sense of belonging, and so forth, it may be teaching the prospective practitioner to think, but does little to cultivate loyalty and commitment to the profession and other aspects of professionalism.

Newswriters very unsatisfied with their education were also those highly oriented towards professionalism³. These newswriters were likely to be newswomen with a nonuniversity, newswork education.

Newswriters with general indifference to their newswork education also tended to be indifferent to professionalism while those very satisfied with their newswork education were nondescript in their professionalism in that there was

1. Newswriters with no post-secondary education: 36.6% low; 32.35 mod; 31.1% hi in professionalism.

2. Newswriters with nonuniversity, postsecondary newswork education 23.3% rated low compared with 30.3% of university and 36.6% no post secondary educated newswriters all responding to low professionalism.

3. A χ^2 of responses to "satisfied with newswork education" and the professionalism index revealed 65.9% of practitioners very unsatisfied with their formal education were also high in professionalism. $p < .05$.

only a slight inclination towards professionalism¹. Expectation would have satisfaction coincide with professionalism. Perhaps the considerable dissatisfaction of newswomen high in professionalism with their newswork education is indicative of the small number professionally educated practitioners, that is, university newswork educated practitioners. Highly professional Canadian newswomen are most likely non-university professionally educated younger, lower-paid, less experienced newswomen.

Newswomen with grade thirteen or less are least likely to be high in professionalism², also least represented in the newsmedia workforce (3.8%). Newswomen with 14-16 years of formal education (generally nonuniversity based, such as: college, trade or technical schools) were least likely to reflect low professionalism 15.0% compared with their male colleagues at 36.1%. These newswomen were predominantly high (59.1%) in professionalism. Newsmen of the same educational background reflected a mere 28.3% high professionalism. Clearly, newswomen are the element bringing professionalism to the practice.

Newswomen with seventeen years of formal education or more, indicative of a university education, although more evenly distributed, were inclined toward high professionalism³. Their male colleagues, however, were firmly

1. Education and Professionalism Index: 28.6% low; 36.4% mod; 35.0% hi in levels of professionalism (Table 15b, Appendix).

2. Education and Professionalism Index controlled by gender: 22.2% of newswomen, gr13 or less, are high in professionalism (Table 14, Appendix).

3. Education and Professionalism controlled for gender: newswomen 17yrs + formal education 31.0% lo; 34.6% mod; 34.4% hi professionalism (Table 15b, Appendix).

represented in moderate professionalism, 50.8%. This could be a reflection of the male inclination towards a general Arts or Social Science university education whereas women tend toward a professional, newswork degree (Table 15a, Appendix).

Newsmen with no post-secondary education are predominantly low in professionalism 50.1%. Those with some post-secondary education pull up to moderate level of professionalism (university in journalism 46.3%; nonuniversity in journalism 39.6% moderate level of professionalism).

College based newswork educated newswomen represent the professionally oriented journeymen of newswork bringing professionalism into the practice with 62.8% high in professionalism. Newsmen with some post-secondary education are higher in professionalism reflecting 43.2% moderate, than those with no post-secondary education reflecting 50.1% low professionalism. This suggests a significant role for post-secondary training in the professionalization of newswork. The issue of whether this post-secondary education should be university based or nonuniversity based should be determined by the relative success of each in imbuing professionalism attributes.

Interestingly, university based journalism degrees held no particular influence over the professionalism of newsworkers whereas a nonuniversity based journalism education did. Newsmen with a nonuniversity journalism education were least likely to be high in professionalism 19.3% whereas newswomen with these credentials were most likely to be high in professionalism 57.4%. There were no significant differences in the education satisfaction of newsmen. Newswomen however, that were very unsatisfied with their education were also

high in professionalism (87.6%).

Summary of Key Items in Analysis. Newswomen most likely to exhibit professionalism are highly educated females who have held four or more newswork jobs. These newswomen are most likely trained in a community college in newswork specific programmes and are dissatisfied with the quality of their education.

Newswomen reflecting a professional orientation, are least likely to have six-to-ten years newswork experience nor earn a low or high supplementary income outside of their principle newswork salary's.

Newsmen dominate the non-professional dimension of the index with typically less professional education, more on-the-job experience attributing to a higher salary and a significant supplementary income.

Newswork salaries are low compared with other professions such as law, medicine, dentistry, architecture, engineering and accounting. The average newsworker in 1991 earns less than Thirty-four thousand dollars annually where these professions. Newswomen regardless of their characteristic low annual salaries, under thirty-thousand dollars, were predominantly high in professionalism. Professionalism of newswomen seems to be less influenced by economic interests than their male colleagues.

Professionally trained practitioners were predicted to enter the field with considerably more attitudinal professionalism than those who enter with general training, such as an undergraduate degree in Arts or Social Sciences, communi-

ty college or trade-school training and practitioners with no post-secondary training whatever.

Newsworkers with no post-secondary education, regardless of experience, are lowest in attitudinal professionalism. University graduates are mainly moderate in their professionalism. Nonuniversity, post-secondary graduates were high in their level of professionalism. This suggests the collegiality and sense of belonging may be sadly lacking in the predominantly general (Arts and Social Science) education attained in university education, (a category overweighted by newsmen who are also, least likely to have a professional newswork education).

Having a university degree in newswork seemed to make no particular influence over a university degree in general arts and social sciences. Perhaps the content of professional university-based education is simply too broad and diverse to effectively socialize prospective practitioners in such trade-tool oriented would-be professions as newswork; nonuniversity based education has typically smaller groups of students in a regimented programme allowing for a sense of community or belonging to develop among students, an essential element in the fostering of professionalism. Newsworkers with a nonuniversity newswork education were least likely to reflect a low orientation toward professionalism.

The main task of this analysis was to examine impact if any, of professional newswork education on practitioner professionalism; to examine effectiveness of professional education in fulfilling its' principle goal as a necessary entity in the professionalizing process, that is, supplying professionally oriented

recruits to substantiate a structurally inchoate profession. Does a professional newswork education succeed in imbuing recruits with professional attitudes? Highly professional Canadian newswriters are most likely non-university professionally educated younger, lower-paid, less experienced newswomen. These "journeypersons" did not derive professionalism from university post-secondary newswork education, as suggested throughout the literature to be a "professional" education. Rather, a nonuniversity newswork education was more successful in augmenting the attributes of the predisposed professional.

Conclusions

This study examined the role and need and substance of a professional education as it applies to the professionalism of practitioners in one of Canada's more important occupational groups, newswriters. First, what constitutes a profession and professionalism was established from the literature. Second, the role need and substance of professional education was explicated in terms of its position with professions, vis-a-vis professionalism and the professionalization process. Third, these criteria were applied using the attributes model to reveal the role and impact of professional education on the professionalism of contemporary Canadian newswriters.

Three approaches to the study of professions and professionalization -- power analysis, phenomenology and attributes -- dominate the literature. Power analysis focuses on relationships among occupations. Of specific concern are the historical and political variables that facilitate occupational domination of resources, such as knowledge or skills, that are vital to the conduct of its work (Klegon, 1978). This approach denies any occupation is inherently professional, professionalization only requires effective organization and mobilizing of occupationally-relevant resources, which typically means out-competing other occupations seeking to control the same resources.

A phenomenological approach to the study of professions and professionalism focuses on understanding how and why workers lay claim to these terms at particular times and under particular circumstances (Atkinson (1983). Profession and professionalism are viewed as terms with vague denotations, symbolic designations lacking inherent linkages to specific forms of work, training or normative orientation. The goal of this approach is to determine how

workers, self-labelled as professionals, pragmatically navigate the conflicting demands, stresses and pressures of everyday work.

The power approach is ostensibly macro, operating principally at the occupational level. The phenomenological approach is ostensibly micro, operating at the practitioner or worker level. The third approach, which focuses on structural and attitudinal attributes, ostensibly bridges the micro-macro chasm and was thus chosen for this study.

The structural and attitudinal attributes model established the essential elements of a profession and those of a professional. Structural attributes include: occupation becomes full-time, training schools are established, a professional association is formed and empowered, external political agitation is undertaken, and a code of ethics is formed and implemented (Greenwood, 1958). Attitudinal attributes include: the profession is central reference point of practitioners, a sense of calling among practitioners, a public service orientation, and belief in self regulation (Goode, 1960).

Structural attributes reflect the professional status of the occupation, where attitudinal attributes reflect professionalism among practitioners. The structural and attitudinal attributes model was used as a means to clarify an occupation's general status as a profession, and in particular, the perspective of its practitioners.

A professionalizing occupation strives to emulate the full professions and, hence, procure the attendant rewards, such as recognition, status, power, prestige and so forth. For some occupations, the aim of professionalization is

self-preservation. Professionalizing occupations strive to establish: a code of ethics; a professional association; standards, measures and titles of professional behaviour; professional schools with university affiliation; public information programmes regarding professional services and standards. They also combat forces in and out of the occupation to carve out a professional niche (Pollard 1986). The inculcation of professional attributes serves to protect the occupational group from encroachment from outside the occupation, establishing the legitimacy of the profession as the ultimate authority, and thus confers the right to control the profession from within.

A professional education is a life-long process from which emerge the characteristics of a profession that foster a capacity among practitioners to abstract about the profession and its central concerns (Houle 1981). Professional education is a means of socializing prospective practitioners into a way-of-life through inculcation of professional attributes. Professional education nurtures this professional characteristic as an ongoing process through promotion of involvement in professional associations that promotes activity and involvement in specialized knowledge (through research and intra-communication and so forth). Continuous interaction among recruits and practitioners as well as relative isolation from other occupational groups, which occur during the long gestation periods involved in a professional education, contribute to the creation of an occupational subculture. Enhancing this process is continuous interaction with practitioners already trained and in-practice.

As a result, a subculture that fosters a sense of belonging to the profession is formed where the professionals' work becomes central to his or her life (Greenwood 1962). Socialization into a subculture, which is infused in a profes-

sional education, creates an indelible bond among practitioners. A professional education fosters loyalty to the profession and among practitioners at the exclusion of all others.

Professional education inculcates prospective practitioners with the prerogatives of professions, such as, the exclusive right to practice their profession, power to perform legally binding acts, the right to maintain inviolable confidentiality in their relations with clients, through state sanctions (licensing) and legal reinforcement. Membership in professional associations, for those who have been indoctrinated in professional schools, ensures the effectiveness of the internal methods of discipline, such as ostracism from professional associations or elite societies, rejection of professional rights; reinforces ethical practice, among other things; and promotes public acceptance. Intra-professional relations are also emphasized in the professional education process to maintain the status and autonomy of the practice among professions. Professional schools emphasize that loyalty goes first to the profession itself; then a practitioner can seek balance among other entities of the vocation (Marshall, 1939). These components culminate in providing a pool of prospective practitioners imbued in professionalism to lend credence not only to the particular organization, but to the vocation generally.

A basic goal of professional education is unification of the profession. This is accomplished through socialization, shared experiences and the capacity and intention of supporting professional norms. The foundation of a unified organization is common theoretical underpinnings of specialized knowledge, problem solving and the ability to apply these skills to remedy contemporary problems and advance the theoretical knowledge base.

A central mission of professional education in addition to passing on the skills, history, and so forth, of the occupation, is to foster professionalism in recruits. A professional education socializes trainees to the values, norms, symbols and structural tenets of the work. Professionally trained practitioners (with a university degree or certificate in newswork-journalism) are predicted to enter the field with considerably more attitudinal professionalism than those who enter with general training (i.e. no post-secondary or non-university newswork-related certification). The structural attribute of formal training, as established in traditional professions (medicine, law), advocates university-based professional education as a necessary, though not sufficient requirement for entry into the practice. For newswork, however, the focus is on the establishment of training schools (university and non-university), such that certification representing a professional training and development process may increase and maintain public confidence in the practice.

Community colleges and universities have distinct roles in the socialization of practitioners into vocations. College programmes are designed to prepare students with trade specific tools required for entry level positions in the field and on the firing-line (Martin and Macdonell, 1978). Socialization, the process of transmitting professional ideology to prospective practitioners, is the fulcrum of a university-based professional education. University-based professional education not only teaches prospective practitioners esoteric skills and knowledge to adequately perform their respective roles in society, but also socializes "a moral outlook, a value system, and a lifestyle commensurate with their 'professional' status" (Reid, 1974). A professional education fosters a "professional role orientation" in prospective practitioners with regards to perspective on occupation-

ally relevant issues, opinions and attitudes accepted generally within the practice.

Unlike the trade-tool orientation of college programmes, university post-secondary programmes provide a broad theoretical framework to foster reflection necessary for management level entry, encompassing a longer socialization period necessary for senior level entry positions. College programmes provide a shorter socialization period oriented in trade specific tools necessary for front line entry positions in the workplace.

A professional education in North America usually involves a prolonged period of specialized study often preceded by several years of general post-secondary university-level education. A professional education forms an intensive and extensive foundation of knowledge about a highly specialized area or sub-area of intellectual or technical skills later developed in the profession. A professional school is generally characterized by highly focused intellectual course content that forms a basis for the acquisition of specialized technical skills (surgery, litigation), a complex value system relevant to the vocation and various nuances reflecting occupational orientations and ethics necessary for socialization of future practitioners into the culture of the profession (Vollmer & Mills 1966).

Method. Professionalism was examined among newswork practitioners using the data gathered by Pollard (1995, 1994), to establish whether or not a professionalism orientation to newswork is successfully enculturated within a professional newswork education or within the occupation, generally. Professional newswork education is the fulcrum instilling proponents of

professionalism.

Factor analysis was used in a manner to summarize the available information (professional and non-professional items) into a set of representative factors of cultural and social responsibility, being a professional dimension, and personal and economic reward, being a non-professional dimension, for the creation of a representative composite variable, Professionalism Index.

Some theoretical conceptualizations such as Abbott's (1988), contradict the traits approach prevalent in the traditional functionalist perspective of professions that dominates the newswork literature; from both the social sciences or communications, newswork literature continues to be principally informed by the *original* theoretical ideas about the professions from which it is generated, a traditional functionalist perspective of professions. Moreover, the data used in this study are founded and generated from this body of literature; it implicitly relies on earlier functionalist assumptions. Consequently, this study is also steeped in a traditional functionalist approach to professions.

Problem. This study addressed three specific questions regarding the occupational status of newswork, newsworkers and the influence of education, specifically, a professional newswork education. First, is newswork a profession, that is, to what extent does it share the structural attributes of the archetype professions (medicine, law)? Second, do newsworkers exhibit professionalism, that is, to what extent do they embrace the beliefs and attitudes that emphasize, for example, ethical performance and social responsibility? Third, does a professional education influence the status of newswork as a profession and the professionalism of newsworkers? The evidence suggests newswork is not a profes-

sion, but professionalism is reasonably wide spread among newsworkers and that a professional education does influence their professionalism.

First, to what extent does newswork share the structural attributes of paradigmatic professions (full-time, institute training programmes, professional associations formed and empowered, external political agitation as licensure and an enforceable code of ethics). Newswork is a full-time occupation as a formalized response to social need. Contemporary society has deemed competent specialized news media personnel an essential response to increased, technological, intellectual, organizational complexity. Competent newspeople are engaged full-time to keep the public informed of their community's local, national and international news.

Increased complexity has also dictated a need for public confidence in the level of competence in their news media personnel. Thus, a subsequent rise in formal training, increasingly a professional education in university-based programs and newswork specific programmes, has emerged and enhances the professional status of newswork while creating a gradual influx of formal post-secondary and university-based training schools.

Professional associations remain problematic for general involvement and representation of newspeople. The existing quasi-professional associations' main attraction for practitioners is a quick, economical reference point for a shared pool of information. These associations hold no power or particular influence over practitioners, nor do they effectively represent practitioner needs and concerns. As a result, practitioner involvement with newswork associations is voluntary and sporadic.

External political agitation has gained no strides with contemporary newswork practitioners. Licensing, laws and social responsibilities of news workers remains ostensibly outside newswork/newsworker control. Government and consumers intervention is the key of assurance that news media maintain social responsibilities.

Also, formulation and implementation of code-of-ethics (to eliminate unqualified, reduce and regulate internal conflict, emphasize community service ideal) is inchoate in the field, yet a bedrock in the nurturant development of professional newswork education. This is an interesting remnant of a nonprofessionally educated male dominance in the make-up of newswork practitioners.

Newswork, although assumed generally to be, is not a profession. Structurally, it can claim few of the attributes of paradigmatic professions. Newswork is a full-time occupation. It has an insurge of professional education programmes but lacks a required standardized certification as an entry requirement, a generalized systematic knowledge base essential to professional status. As a result, there is no consistent socialization of prospective practitioners to foster and empower effective professional associations, affect political agitation to secure licensure, nor to formulate a consistent code-of-ethics among newswork practitioners. Although it may be convenient for some to assume newswork to be a profession, it is not.

Second, newsworker professionalism was addressed relative to that of traditional professionals (doctors, lawyers). As attitudinal attributes reflect the professional attitudes and beliefs resonant of professionalism of practitioners,

attitudinal characteristics of newswork were examined as a means of clarifying its practitioners as professional. Predisposition (professionalism) of practitioners examined separate from a structural standpoint of a profession reflect how practitioners view their work.

Although structurally newswork remains inchoate, the attitudinal predisposition of newswork is increasingly professional. The attitudinal predisposition of newswork practitioners, examined through the attributes model, was represented, first, by a recognition and acceptance of newswork as the principal reference point through the use of formal and informal professional structures (associations, collegiality) as a primary source of ideas and judgments. Thus, newswork practitioners high in professionalism uphold the ideal of harmonious solidarity within the practice.

Collegiality exists in newswork in pockets generated from the 'old-boy' mentored networking system and, consequently the professionally educated alumni. The 'old-boy' networking had its place when it was possible to begin a career, as such, directly from high-school. This apprenticeship style of training was not only feasible but often the preferred mode of training for the budding newsman. Apprenticeship would ensure continued contacts, political partisanship and perhaps more important at the time, loyalty to the employer. Loyalty was important for the employer to recoup investment in personally training the young, inexperienced, budding newsman.

Complexity of contemporary society makes this mode of training inefficient and cumbersome. Experienced newspeople, today, are active in professional training programmes and can participate in the training of hundreds of

prospective practitioners in essential relevant information for becoming competent effective newspeople. Although some personal contacts are important and valuable, today's technological advances require newspeople to acquire specialized skills along with a broad range of generalized knowledge with which to access and sort through veritable mountains of immediately available information for the news of most value and importance to their audience.

Contemporary newswork practitioners, like traditional professionals, posit their professional service as indispensable and beneficial to the community. Newsworkers essentially decide what's news, what's not. The communities trust their newspeople to competently discriminate what they need and ought to know, locally, nationally and internationally.

Intensive programmes of study avail prospective practitioners of, among other things, a sense of collegiality, we are all in this together, essential in the development of professionalism. An increase in credentials, through formalized professional, post-secondary education programmes, enhances socialization into the profession, establishing a set of working principles and socially responsible behavior codes among practitioners. Newsworkers, today, are twice as likely to complete a post-secondary education as have they in the past. This suggests the general outlook of newswork practitioners has broadened. A broader outlook is a fulcrum of professional education.

The increasing academic foundation of newswork practitioners leads favour to their professional perspective as enhanced breadth and depth developed in a professional education, orients practitioner outlook to social responsibility over personal gain. Thus gaining strides in self-regulation, loyalty

to newswork rather than employer, collegiality, and so forth.

Newswomen with a post-secondary newswork education expressed more professionalism than other newsworkers with little or no post-secondary training. The latter were most likely to be newsmen who often entered the field straight from highschool, gaining much experience but socialized as a newspaper person only within the particular practice, and often in a few news organizations. This type of insulatory training tends to generate loyalty exclusively to the employer rather than generally to the profession.

Dedication to newswork as a career reflects a sense-of-calling; that newswork, and development of expertise therein, is worthy of a lifetime and carries its own inherent reward. Among practitioners high in professionalism, newswork is more than a job, it is part of their identity as it pervades all aspects of their lives.

Professional education is a means of socializing practitioners into a way-of-life. So, it was not surprising that the empirical evidence revealed those practitioners with a high orientation towards professionalism were also most likely to have undergone a post-secondary, college-based newswork education.

Autonomy in newswork is cumbersome, a veritable stumbling block impeding both structural and attitudinal professional development. As noted earlier, there are two types of newswork autonomy -- structural autonomy (which requires such practices as controlling entrance-to and practice-of newswork, state sanctioning, licensing, protection of labour monopoly, and so forth) and attitudinal autonomy (which reflects such beliefs as newswork practitioners free

to exercise their judgments, to make their own decisions unencumbered by lay pressures, employ organizations, specialized knowledge, commitment and ethical orientation).

Although newswriters tend to agree with the need for both types of autonomy, implementation is hampered by an overriding concern with freedom-of-the-press issues. Professional autonomy typically involves, among other things, state sanctioning through licensing, which is contrary to the freedom-of-the-press views of most Canadian newswriters. The conflict over who regulates what and how is thus a critical problem in the professionalization process of newswriting.

A professional education, however, may help defuse the conflict. New technologies, for example, may come to be understood as simply improved tools rather than impediments to fundamental newswriting activities; for example, computerization enables newswriting activity without necessarily altering its nature. A formal newswriting education may also enhance appreciation of the social consequences of newswriting among newswriters; for example, recognition of its agenda-setting role, audience need to be informed-about issues, events and personalities and so forth. The lack of a theoretical knowledge base or at least a uniform instruction and socialization period may impede realization of the social role on which professionalizing corner stones can be built.

Implicit in professional education requirements of newswriters is the need to reconcile the adversarial remunerations of autonomy. Newswriting strives for autonomy based on the capacity to self-regulate, but refuses to accept the concomitants of self-regulation, such as, state sanctioning and licensing.

Confidentiality also thwarts newswork's emergence into the professional arena.

Newswork's collective stance against formal entrance requirements is a mainstay retarding the professionalization process, impeding professionalism. This may be reminiscent of the predominant older non-post-secondary trained, non-professional influence from the old-boy approach to entry and training in newswork. The development of professionalism is concomitant with the professional skills acquisition and socialization process intrinsic in a professional education in Canada.

Third, the role and influence of formal training programmes that are recognized as professional education, on newsworks' status as a profession and professionalism of newsworkers was addressed. This analysis revealed an influx of professionally educated practitioners suggesting the structural attribute of a professional education is increasing among newswork practitioners. Also, the success of professional education in fostering a degree of professionalism among apprentices, in particular newswomen with a college diploma in newswork.

For newswork, professionalism seems to be fostered by an anti-theoretical, trade-tool oriented post-secondary newswork education, suffused in community college training, rather than in the traditionally accepted broad theoretical based university programmes, considered generally to be professional education, and certainly more than the non-academic apprenticeship within the practice.

Newsworkers entering the workforce with a professional orientation tend to be college educated women with a certificate in newswork. These highly pro-

professional newswomen are nominally represented in a male dominated practice. Although general standards of education are increasing among newswomen, the much needed professional education continues to give way to nonprofessional job-oriented characteristics.

Newswork could enhance the level of professionalism by increasing the number of highly qualified women newswomen into the active workforce. These professionally educated newswomen could serve as the "journeymen" in the "sea of apprentices." Their presence and influence in the newsroom could serve as a fountainhead of professional socialization, displaying and promoting ethics and values of newswork as a profession, loyalty to itself rather than that of the particular employer, fostering community service ideals and public confidence in practitioner competence as professional.

The reluctance of newswork to endorse formal entrance requirements thwarts recognition as a profession. Professions and professionalizing occupations control entrance, typically through formal educational requirements. Newswork is professionally hampered by a failure to endorse formal training as a requirement.

This shortfall has several implications. It impedes, for example, the ability to control entrance-to or practice-of the vocation, promote a structural base as a means to seek formal state sanctioning (licensure) or develop a consistent code-of-ethics, which helps establish and empower professional associations. Newswork, in response to an increasingly sophisticated social climate within which its practitioners must operate smoothly, quickly and efficiently to exercise public service and social responsibility, is recognizing the need for

Table 6
Newswork Occupational Attributes
by
Non-Professional Orientation

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Work location				
W-prairies	35.6%	36.0%	28.4%	
Ontario	31.2	29.5	39.3	
Quebec	39.8	39.8	20.3	
Atl+Terr	26.1	31.9	42.0	
Years in Current Job				
1-2yrs	34.7%	30.8%	34.5%	
3-6	42.7	33.8	23.4	
7+	23.9	37.7	38.5	
Years in Newswork Occupation				
5yrs or less		47.0%	26.0%	27.0%
6-10	29.9	41.3	28.8	
More than 10		23.5	37.1	39.4
Years as a Newsworker				
5yrs or less		46.1%	27.7%	26.2%
6-10	31.3	37.6	31.0	
More than 10		21.7	38.8	39.5
Number of Newswork-related Jobs				
1-2	27.6%	37.2%	35.2%	
3	32.1	46.0	22.0	
4+	39.4	25.1	35.5	
Newsroom Staff Size				
up to 9 staff		31.3%	30.3%	38.4%
10-19	35.8	42.2	22.0	
20+	35.3	34.8	29.9	

¹ χ^2 p < .05. ² F p < .05. * mean years. # mean.
Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

post-secondary education before entering the field.

Professionalism seems to be a paramount concern among contemporary newswriters. The attitudinal predisposition of contemporary newspeople is increasingly professional. This may be a result of the influx of more and more formally trained practitioners into the field.

The development of professionalism is concomitant with the professional skills acquisition and socialization process intrinsic in a professional education in Canada. Implementing the structural attribute requirement of a general body of knowledge, and the socialization that takes place during a professional education, would likely increase the overall sense of professionalism within newswriting, amongst newswriters.

Professions and professionalizing occupations typically control entrance to the practice through educational requirements as a mark of recognition. Newswriting, although unable to control entrance to the field, generally, has to reckon with an increasingly sophisticated social climate within which its practitioners must operate smoothly, quickly and efficiently to exercise public service and social responsibility without creating undue dissension. As a result, more and more prospective practitioners are recognizing the need for post-secondary education before entering the field which in turn, is slowly changing the fabric of the *maverick* career option.

There is an inherent value of a professional education recognized, perhaps less so by current established practitioners of newswriting, as by newcomers. Prospective newswriters seek out a professional education for trade-tool specif-

ic skills as well as a generalized theoretical body of knowledge, which aids them in their job of extracting what is important for their community to know. What is and isn't pertinent news today may not be as easily determined with the rivers of immediate information available through telecommunication and other contemporary technological advances. Thus, professionalism may not be the end itself for recognition of the role and need of a professional education in newswork, but it is certain to be instrumental in effective inter-professional, international recognition and corresponding relations. This is not to minimize the 'old-boy' experience drawing on connections, but rather recognizing that newswork, and thus, practitioners, must be informed, competent and reliable enough to hold public confidence in their decisions of what's news, locally, nationally and internationally!

A professional education, particularly if taken at the college level, increases the professionalism of newsworkers. It does seem to be effective in fulfilling its role of providing professionally oriented recruits and, as far as newswork goes, professional education seems to have a primary impact practitioner professionalism.

Newswork, however, is not a profession in the traditional sense. It does not lay claim to the attributes of paradigmatic professions (medicine, law), or even semi-professions (nursing, social worker). Newsworkers having the benefit of a post-secondary newswork education do, however, have some professional characteristics and they define themselves as newsworkers first, exhibiting loyalty to the field rather than the particular job, and tend to exercise this field of work as a way-of-life, indicating their career to be part of their identity, and feel they provide a responsible service essential to society. Although newswork

is not a profession 'structurally', increasing practitioners with a post-secondary and professional education have the implicit capacity to carry professionalism not only to those trained but inadvertently to colleagues, generally. The practitioners diehard against the need for professional education, older males that entered the practice with no post-secondary education and have a high level of experience, may be the last reflection of the days when entering a career without theoretical and specialized skill was still a reality; contemporary society's last employed mavericks.

Further Research. An examination of community college newswork certificate programmes in Canada; consistencies in criteria promoting professionalism in prospective newsworkers.

Gender was a reoccurring issue throughout this study as far as influence of gender roles in newswork, newsworker professionalism and training programmes are concerned. Why is it that professionalism was so high among newswomen with college certificates in newswork but less so among newsmen with the same educational attainment? Witz (1992) suggests a "chain of patriarchal closure" is firmly embedded throughout social institutions that career oriented women perceive a need to struggle against. Credentializing, then, is used by women as a "qualification lever" to gain access to occupations, such as newswork, that men have accessed on charisma alone (Crompton and Saunderson, 1989). Professionalism, the inculcation of professional attributes, serves as protection of the practitioner from this type of institutional bias.

Perhaps it is less so a gender issue as it is that newswomen are a very small, highly visible select group. Similar with typical community college class-

rooms compared with those of university undergraduates; community colleges tend to have trade-tool skill intensive programmes instructed in smaller classes, approximately fifteen to one hundred fifty, proportionately to that of university undergraduates which would range from approximately forty to five hundred in their programmes. Large classes, a generalized body of information a more diverse population of prospective practitioners would impede the sense of community, belonging and loyalty to the particular profession, and more likely foster a sense of membership to an intellectual community rather than the particular field. Training programmes of the archetype professions are, much like community college programmes, highly intensive esoteric skills oriented likely to foster a sense of belonging to the respective field and collegiality among prospective practitioners.

With the gradual rise in professional journalism schools which reflect the need for specialized training of today's newspeople, design and content of requirements to assure a standardized training, should be considered for their role in the transmission of aspects of the profession and characteristics of the professional. A university-based professional education is what gives professions their special character that facilitate the development of professional knowledge and skills and the maintenance of professional ideology (Ried, 1974). Socialization, the process of transmitting professional ideology to prospective practitioners, is the fulcrum of a university based professional education. This direction of inquiry arose directly from analysis that revealed newswriters with highest orientation toward professionalism were also least satisfied with their education.

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Table 1*
General Attributes of
Canadian Newsmedia Workforce

	Freq'cy (n=636)	Percent	Males (n=401)	Females (n=234)
Males	401	63.1%	.	.
Females	234	36.9	.	.
English	463	72.7%	43.3%	29.4%
French	160	25.2	18.8	6.4
Other	13	2.1	1.0	1.1
Married	312	49.1%	59.1%	31.9%
Single	259	40.8	31.3	57.0
Other	65	2.1	9.6	11.1
Age*	35yrs		37.5	30.4
Income monthly#		2810.00	3303.00	2447.00
Income Supplemental#		589.55	741.92	214.50
Education*	15yrs		15	16
Gr 13 or Less	132	20.7%	36.1%	12.9%
Some College/Grad	314		49.3	46.452.5
University Grad+	191		30.0	46.241.5
Number of Newsjobs#		3.3443		3.39833.2520
Yrs in Current Job#		6.819		8.28094.3163
Years in Newswork*		(overall)	11yrs	13.2yr7.2yr
<5yrs	251	39.4%	32yr	27yr
6-10yrs	144	22.7	32	32
11yrs+	241	37.9	43	39
Work Medium				
print	202	31.8%	33.1%	29.5%
Television	172	27.0	24.7	30.9
Radio	262	41.2	42.2	39.6
Work Location				
W Prairies	185	29.1%	27.3%	34.9%
Ontario	195	30.7	28.5	34.4
Quebec	143	22.4	27.0	14.6
Atl+Ter'	114	17.9	17.0	16.2

p < .05. * mean years. # mean. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994)

Table 2
Factor Based Dimensions
of
Professional Orientation Items
of Newswork

Factors	Factor Loading
PROFESSIONAL ITEMS	
Learn new skills[p]	.77633
Use initiative and originality[p]	.77194
Use ability and training[p]	.71675
Job exciting and variety[np]	.60964
enjoy job[np]	.60220
Ahead in Professional career[p]	.56020
Job valuable and essential[p]	.50710
NON-PROFESSIONAL ITEMS	
Job permanent[np]	.77091
Family proud[np]	.69730
Non-interference with personal life[np]	.65730
Enough money[np]	.63170
Ahead in organization[np]	.60568
Contact important people[np]	.57390

[p]: items coded as professional; [np] items coded as non-professional. Variance explained : professional items, 31.6% ; non-professional items, 14.4% ; total variance explained 46%. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994)

Table 3
Newswork Attributes
by
Professional Orientation

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Men	37.8%	36.1%	26.1%	
Women	26.2	32.6	41.2	
English	33.5%	36.8%	29.7%	
French	34.1	30.5	35.5	
Other	27.3	21.2	51.5	
Married	40.2%	35.2%	24.6%	
Single	27.7	34.3	37.9	
Other	24.6	35.2	40.3	
Age				
under 30	20.8%	34.8%	44.5%	
36 to 36	36.4	36.9	26.6	
37 +	43.0	32.8	24.2	
45-49	14.9	27.8	57.3	
Income [monthly]				
0-2000	30.8%	32.2%	36.9%	
2001-3200	36.6	30.9	32.5	
3201 +	33.9	45.0	21.0	
Xtra Income [monthly]				
0-100	35.0%	32.4%	32.6%	
101-450	33.6	32.4	34.0	
451 +	25.2	50.4	24.4	
Education				
GR 13 or ls		44.9%	24.7%	30.4%
Some Col/Grad		25.9	38.2	35.9
Univ Grad +	38.1	36.3	25.5	
Medium				
Print	43.3%	40.1%	16.5%	
Television	18.8	29.6	51.6	
Radio	35.6	34.2	30.2	

¹ X^2 p < .05. ² F p < .05. * mean years. # mean.
Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 4
Newswork Occupational Attributes
by
Professional Orientation

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Work location				
W-prairies	35.2%	32.2%	32.6%	
Ontario	25.3	43.9	30.8	
Quebec	41.9	29.2	28.9	
Atl + Terr	34.3	30.8	34.9	
Years in Current Job				
1-2yrs	2.1%	29.0%	44.9%	
3-6	33.2	36.0	29.9	
7+	41.0	38.7	20.4	
Years in Newswork Occupation				
5yrs or less		32.5%	26.0%	41.5%
6-10	36.3	25.3	38.4	
More than 10		27.3	31.9	40.8
Years as a Newsworker				
5yrs or less		36.8%	28.5%	34.7%
6-10	30.7	27.1	42.2	
More than 10		29.6	26.9	43.5
Number of Newswork-related Jobs				
1-2	35.2%	24.5%	30.3%	
3	42.3	27.4	30.3	
4+	27.2	48.1	24.7	
Newsroom Staff Size				
up to 9 staff		33.9%	28.9%	37.3%
10-19	23.5	35.4	41.1	
20+	39.6	43.7	16.7	

¹ $\chi^2 p < .05$. ² $F p < .05$. * mean years. # mean.
Data source: Pollard 1990.

Table 5
Newswork Attributes
by
Non-professional Orientation

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Men	28.5%	39.3%	32.3%	
Women	42.1	25.4%	32.5	
English	31.8%	33.0%	35.2%	
French	38.8	34.8	26.3	
Other	27.3	65.2	7.6	
Married	30.0%	38.5%	31.5%	
Single	41.7	28.1	30.2	
Other	17.4	37.4	45.2	
Age				
under 30	43.7%	25.0%	31.3%	
36 to 36	32.7	39.5	27.8	
37 +	24.3	37.6	38.0	
Income [monthly]				
0-2000	43.1%	28.6%	28.3%	
2001-3200	32.7	32.3	35.1	
3201 +	25.6	42.2	32.2	
Xtra Income [monthly]**				
0-100	34.8%	34.8%	30.4%	
101-450	37.3	31.5	31.2	
451 +	23.1	32.8	44.1	
Education**				
GR 13 or ls		32.6%	31.7%	35.7%
Some Col/Grad		35.2	30.8	34.0
Univ Grad +	31.4	41.3	27.3	

¹ $X^2 p < .05$. ² $F p < .05$. * mean years. # mean. **, non-significant statistically $X^2 p > .05$. Data Source : Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 6
Newswork Occupational Attributes
by
Non-Professional Orientation

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Work location				
W-prairies	35.6%	36.0%	28.4%	
Ontario	31.2	29.5	39.3	
Quebec	39.8	39.8	20.3	
Atl + Terr	26.1	31.9	42.0	
Years in Current Job				
1-2yrs	34.7%	30.8%	34.5%	
3-6	42.7	33.8	23.4	
7+	23.9	37.7	38.5	
Years in Newswork Occupation				
5yrs or less		47.0%	26.0%	27.0%
6-10	29.9	41.3	28.8	
More than 10		23.5	37.1	39.4
Years as a Newsworker				
5yrs or less		46.1%	27.7%	26.2%
6-10	31.3	37.6	31.0	
More than 10		21.7	38.8	39.5
Number of Newswork-related Jobs				
1-2	27.6%	37.2%	35.2%	
3	32.1	46.0	22.0	
4+	39.4	25.1	35.5	
Newsroom Staff Size				
up to 9 staff		31.3%	30.3%	38.4%
10-19	35.8	42.2	22.0	
20+	35.3	34.8	29.9	

¹ χ^2 p < .05. ² F p < .05. * mean years. # mean.
Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 7a
Newswork Attributes
by
Professionalism Index

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Men	39.4%	34.4%	26.2%	
Women	23.5	31.0%	44.5	
English	37.9%	31.5%	30.5%	
French	22.5	37.8	39.7	
Other	15.2	33.3	51.5	
Married	45.1%	28.4%	26.4%	
Single	23.3	33.8	42.9	
Other	19.1	53.1	27.7	
Age				
under 30	19.6%	33.9%	46.5%	
36 to 36	33.4	37.4	29.1	
37+	47.4	28.0	24.6	
Income [monthly]				
0-2000	24.6%	31.6%	43.8%	
2001-3200	36.4	34.6	29.0	
3201+	42.4	34.5	23.1	
Xtra Income [monthly]				
0-100	31.2%	34.6%	34.3%	
101-450	30.7	30.0	39.3	
451+	40.2	27.7	23.1	
Education				
GR 13 or ls		46.7%	29.6%	23.7%
Some Col/Grad		29.6	32.8	37.6
Univ Grad+	31.1	36.2	32.7	
Medium				
Print	50.6%	25.3%	24.1%	
Television	14.4	32.4	53.2	
Radio	33.0	39.7	27.3	

¹ $X^2 p_2 < .05$. ² $F_2 p < .05$. * mean years. # mean. ** non-significant statistically $X^2 p > .05$. ² . Data Source : Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 7b
Newsworker Educational Attributes
by
Professionalism Index

	Lo	Moderate	Hi
Col/Univ Grad			
Yes	27.5%	34.8%	37.6%
No	49.1	28.8	22.1
Deg/Diploma			
BA	33.8%	32.5%	33.7%
CC+Cert	21.3	37.3	41.4
MA/Phd	23.3	37.5	39.2
CC-Journalism			
Yes	24.4%	39.6%	36.0%
No	40.2	28.4	31.3
Journalism Deg			
BA	34.3%	38.6%	27.1%
CC+Cert	22.3	38.5	39.2
MA/Phd	00.0	47.9	52.1

¹ χ^2 $p < .05$. ² F $p < .05$. * mean years. # mean.
Data Source : Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 8
Newswork Occupational Attributes
by
Professionalism Index

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Work Location**				
W-prairies	32.1%	31.5%	36.4%	
Ontario	37.9	31.6	30.4	
Quebec	28.9	35.5	35.6	
Atl + Terr	34.3	35.6	30.1	
Years in Current Job				
1-2yrs	18.9%	36.4%	44.6%	
3-6	28.9	34.3	36.8	
7+	52.0	28.9	19.1	
Years in Newswork Occupation				
5yrs or less		24.2%	30.0%	45.8%
6-10	29.6	36.2	34.3	
More than 10		44.5	34.1	21.4
Years as a Newsworker				
5yrs or less		24.1%	30.3%	45.6%
6-10	32.0	35.0	33.1	
More than 10		44.0	35.0	20.6
Number of Newswork-related Jobs				
1-2	34.8%	30.7%	34.6%	
3	39.1	30.2	30.7	
4+	29.5	36.9	33.6	
Newsroom Staff Size				
up to 9 staff		28.4%	41.5%	30.1%
10-19	26.3	23.9	49.8	
20+	46.3	26.5	27.2	

¹ χ^2 p < .05. ² F p < .05. * mean years. # mean.
Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 9
Professionalism Index
of
Newswork Attributes
of
males

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Age				
Under 30	24.4%	38.0%	37.6%	
36 to 36	36.2	41.9	21.9	
37+	49.1	27.2	23.3	
Income [monthly]				
0-2000	40.6%	31.3%	28.1%	
2001-3200	32.5	37.7	29.9	
3201+	45.7	36.5	17.7	23.1
Xtra Income [monthly]				
0-100	34.1%	37.1%	28.8%	
101-450	47.7	26.6	25.7	
451+	55.0	28.3	16.7	
Education				
GR 13 or ls		47.2%	28.8%	24.0%
Some Col/Grad		39.2	36.2	24.5
Univ Grad +	33.1	35.7	31.1	
Medium				
Print	56.4%	27.6%	16.0%	
Television	19.6	32.2	48.1	
Radio	37.7	41.1	21.3	

¹ χ^2 p < .05. ² F p < .05. * mean years. # mean.
 Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 10
Professionalism Index
of
Newswork Occupational Attributes
for

	Lo	Males Moderate	Hi	
Work Location**				
W-prairies	41.0%	34.2%	24.8%	
Ontario	51.4	26.2	22.4	
Quebec	22.7	38.9	38.4	
Atl + Terr	43.4	41.2	15.4	
Years in Current Job				
1-2yrs	24.6%	40.0%	35.4%	
3-6	30.9	41.1	28.0	
7+	53.8	27.2	19.0	
Years in Newswork Occupation				
5yrs or less		34.8%	28.7%	36.6%
6-10	30.9	37.0	32.2	
More than 10		45.2	36.2	18.6
Years as a Newsworker				
5yrs or less		33.1%	29.2%	37.7%
6-10	34.0	34.8	31.1	
More than 10		45.4	37.5	17.1
Number of Newswork-related Jobs				
1-2	39.0%	27.6%	33.4%	
3	45.8	28.6	25.6	
4+	36.8	43.2	20.1	
Newsroom Staff Size				
up to 9 staff		31.7%	40.1%	28.3%
10-19	36.8	31.5	31.6	
20+	52.8	27.6	19.6	

¹ $\chi^2 p < .05$. ² $F p < .05$. * mean years. # mean.
Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 11
Professionalism Index
of
Newswork Attributes
of
Females

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Age				
Under 30	16.0%	30.8%	53.2%	
36 to 36	29.2	30.5	40.3	
37 +	37.4	32.6	29.0	
Income [monthly]				
0-2000	9.9%	31.9%	68.1%	
2001-3200	45.3	27.7	27.0	
3201 +	34.1	29.3	36.8	
Xtra Income [monthly]				
0-100	27.0%	30.8%	42.2%	
101-450	7.1	34.8	58.2	
451 +	00.0	22.2	77.8	
Education				
GR 13 or ls		45.6%	31.3%	23.2%
Some Col/Grad		11.6	26.4	62.0
Univ Grad +	28.4	36.7	34.9	
Medium				
Print	39.3%	20.9%	38.7%	
Television	7.3	32.6	60.1	
Radio	24.5	37.2	38.4	

¹ $\chi^2 p < .05$. ² $F p < .05$. * mean years. # mean.
 Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 12
Professionalism Index
of
Newswork Occupational Attributes
for

	Lo	Females Moderate	Hi	
Work Location**				
W-prairies	19.2%	27.5%	53.2%	
Ontario	18.9	39.2	42.0	
Quebec	48.5	24.6	26.9	
Atl + Terr	20.2	26.7	53.2	
Years in Current Job				
1-2yrs	11.2%	31.6%	57.2%	
3-6	27.2	28.3	44.6	
7+	43.0	37.2	19.9	
Years in Newswork Occupation				
5yrs or less		15.6%	31.1%	53.4%
6-10	28.0	35.1	36.9	
More than 10		40.6	23.3	36.1
Years as a Newsworker				
5yrs or less		15.4%	31.5%	53.2%
6-10	29.5	35.1	35.4	
More than 10		39.6	22.7	36.7
Number of Newswork-related Jobs				
1-2	26.7%	36.4%	36.9%	
3	30.7	32.2	37.1	
4+	15.8	25.3	58.9	
Newsroom Staff size				
up to 9 staff		22.6%	44.1%	33.2%
10-19	11.5	13.1	75.4	
20+	34.4	24.4	41.2	

¹ $\chi^2 p < .05$. ² $F p < .05$. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 13
Newsworker Educational Attributes
by
Gender

	Males (n=401)	Females (n=234)	Total (n=636)	
Mean years	15.1	15.7	15.3	
Post-secondary Education				
Yes	63.2%	87.1%	72.0%	
No	36.1		12.9	28.0
Type of Post-secondary Education				
BA/BSc	46.2%	41.5%	44.1%	
Community Coll		46.4	52.6	49.2
MA/Phd	7.4	6.0	6.8	
Post-secondary Education in Journalism				
Yes	34.8%	54.6%	42.1%	
No	65.2	45.4	57.9	
University or College Journalism Major				
BA/BSc	26.3%	15.5%	20.9%	
CC+Cert	69.0	76.8	72.8	
MA/Phd	4.8	7.7	6.2	

¹ χ^2 $p < .05$. ² F $p < .05$. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994). Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 14
Newsworker Education Attributes
by
Professionalism Index

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Post-secondary Education				
Yes	27.5%	34.8%	37.6%	
No	49.1	28.8	22.1	
Type of Post-secondary Education				
BA/BSc	33.8%	32.5%	33.7%	
Community Coll		21.3	37.3	41.4
MA/Phd	23.3	37.5	39.2	
Post-secondary Education in Journalism				
Yes	24.4%	39.6%	36.0%	
No	40.2	28.4	31.3	
University or College Journalism Major				
BA/BSc	34.3%	38.6%	27.1%	
CC+Cert	22.3	38.5	39.2	
MA/Phd	00.0	47.9	52.1	

¹ X² p < .05. ² F p < .05. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 15a
Newsworker Education Attributes
by
Professionalism Index
for Males

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Post-secondary Education				
Yes	34.1%	38.0%	27.9%	
No	48.5	28.3	23.2	
Type of Post-secondary Education				
BA/BSc	35.2%	34.8%	30.0%	
Community Coll		33.0	42.3	24.7
MA/Phd	21.4	40.6	38.0	
Post-secondary Education in Journalism				
Yes	33.5%	44.8%	21.7%	
No	42.6	28.9	28.5	
University or College Journalism Major*				
BA/BSc	41.1%	33.3%	25.81%	
CC+Cert	31.7	48.4	19.9	
MA/Phd	00.0	61.5	38.5	

¹ χ^2 $p < .05$. ² F $p < .05$. *, X-square non-significant $p > .05$.
 Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Data

Table 15b
Newsworker Education Attributes
by
Professionalism Index
for Females

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Post-secondary Education				
Yes	19.3%	30.9%	49.8%	
No	52.0	31.1	16.8	
Type of Post-secondary Education				
BA/BSc	31.9%	29.4%	38.7%	
Community Coll		8.7	31.9	59.4
MA/Phd	26.2	32.8	41.0	
Post-secondary Education in Journalism				
Yes	14.4%	34.0%	51.6%	
No	34.5	27.3	18.2	
University or College Journalism Major*				
BA/BSc	22.5%	48.0%	29.4%	
CC+Cert	13.7	29.3	57.0	
MA/Phd	00.0	39.2	60.8	

¹ χ^2 $p < .05$. ² F $p < .05$. * X-square non-significant $p > .05$. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 16a
Newswork Attributes
of Professionalism Index
for Print Medium

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Men	56.4%	27.6%	16.0%	
Women	39.3	20.9	39.7	
English*	49.3%	25.2%	25.5%	
French*	57.9	25.3	16.8	
Other*	35.7	28.6	35.7	
Married*	41.5%	29.6%	28.9%	
Single*	55.2	23.8	21.0	
Other*	00.0	33.3	66.7	
Age				
under 30	49.0%	18.8%	32.2%	
36 to 36	35.6	32.6	31.8	
37 +	62.1	20.9	17.0	
Income [monthly]				
0-2000	20.8%	25.7%	53.4%	
2001-3200	69.1	25.0	5.9	
3201 +	52.3	26.2	21.5	
Xtra Income [monthly]				
0-100	41.5%	30.6%	27.9%	
101-450	41.9	14.4	43.7	
451 +	79.8	16.0	4.2	
Education				
GR 13 or ls		60.2%	23.7%	16.1%
Some Col/Grad		59.0	27.9	13.1
Univ Grad +	36.6	23.5	39.9	
Journalism Education				
Unsatisfactory		00.0%	55.5%	44.5%
Indifferent		30.0	16.0	54.0
Satisfactory		45.6	36.7	17.7

¹ X^2 $p < .05$. ² F $p < .05$. *, X-square non-significant: $p > .05$. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 16b
Newsworker Educational Attributes
of Professionalism Index
for Print Medium

	Lo	Moderate	Hi
Col/Univ Grad			
Yes	38.4%	28.8%	32.8%
No	70.7	19.5	9.8
Deg/Diploma			
BA	39.4%	24.9%	35.6%
CC+Cert	38.9	41.8	19.3
MA/Phd	30.8	19.2	50.0
CC-Journalism			
Yes	38.8%	39.6%	21.6%
No	56.6	18.0	25.4
Journalism Deg			
BA	58.8%	41.2%	00.0%
CC+Cert	28.5	26.3	45.2
MA/Phd	00.0	68.2	31.8

¹ $X^2 p < .05$. ² $F p < .05$. *, X-square non-significant: $p > .05$. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 16c
 Newswork Occupational Attributes
 of Professionalism Index
 for Print Medium

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Work location**				
W-prairies	30.8%	30.8%	38.5%	
Ontario	56.4	20.1	23.6	
Quebec	61.1	24.8	14.2	
Atl + Terr	54.2	31.9	13.9	
Years in Current Job				
1-2yrs	2.0%	63.0%	35.0%	
3-6	42.7	21.8	35.5	
7+	61.5	22.0	16.6	
Years in Newswork Occupation*				
5yrs or less		29.1%	34.8%	36.1%
6-10	33.4	43.0	23.5	
More than 10		39.0	44.2	16.8
Years as a Newsworker				
5yrs or less		48.8%	22.1%	29.5%
6-10	27.8	28.7	43.6	
More than 10		57.4	25.4	17.2
Number of Newswork-related Jobs*				
1-2	52.7%	27.1%	20.2%	
3	53.8	20.6	25.6	
4+	46.9	27.0	26.1	
Newsroom Staff Size				
Up to 9 staff		32.3%	54.2%	13.5%
10-19	62.6	11.0	26.4	
20+	52.2	22.3	25.6	

¹ $X^2 p < .05$. ² $F p < .05$. *, X-square non-significant: $p > .05$. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 17a
Newswork Attributes
of Professionalism Index
for Television Medium

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Men*	19.6%	32.2%	48.1%	
Women*	7.3	32.6	60.1	
English	21.6%	23.9%	54.5%	
French	5.4	42.4	52.3	
Other	00.0	100.0	00.0	
Married	10.2%	27.6%	62.2%	
Single	25.0	23.6	51.4	
Other	8.1	58.4	33.5	
Age*				
Under 30	9.9%	31.2%	58.8%	
36 to 36	18.3	39.6	42.1	
37 +	18.3	27.3	54.4	
Income [monthly]				
0-2000	12.1%	19.0%	68.8%	
2001-3200	14.0	39.0	47.0	
3201 +	22.4	44.5	33.1	
Xtra Income [monthly]				
0-100	15.3%	26.5%	58.1%	
101-450	35.3	64.7	00.0	
451 +	00.0	52.8	47.2	
Education				
GR 13 or ls		30.3%	44.3%	25.4%
Some Col/Grad		11.5	22.9	65.6
Univ Grad +	14.0	46.9	39.1	
Journalism Education*				
Unsatisfactory		3.3%	37.9%	58.8%
Indifferent		4.7	30.4	64.9
Satisfactory		11.9	43.2	45.0

¹ $X^2 p < .05$. ² $F p < .05$. *, X-square non-significant: $p > .05$. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 17b
Newsworker Educational Attributes
of Professionalism Index
for Television Medium

	Lo	Moderate	Hi
Col/Univ Grad*			
Yes	14.0%	30.6%	55.4%
No	16.4	39.8	43.8
Deg/Diploma*			
BA	12.6%	43.8%	43.6%
CC+Cert	11.5	25.2	63.3
MA/Phd	28.8	28.8	42.4
CC-Journalism			
Yes	5.1%	38.8%	56.1%
No	22.7	26.6	50.6
Journalism Deg*			
BA	00.0%	33.3%	66.7%
CC+Cert	6.2	42.1	51.7
MA/Phd	00.0	00.0	100.0

¹ χ^2 $p < .05$. ² F $p < .05$. *, X-square non-significant: $p > .05$. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 17c
Newswork Occupational Attributes
of Professionalism Index
for Television Medium

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Work location**				
W-prairies	15.1%	20.7%	64.1%	
Ontario	11.9	33.3	54.8	
Quebec	6.7	40.0	53.3	
Atl + Terr	39.4	35.2	25.5	
Years in Current Job				
1-2yrs	6.9%	26.7%	66.5%	
3-6	8.3	41.9	49.8	
7+	40.1	35.7	24.2	
Years in Newswork Occupation				
5yrs or less		7.2%	25.9%	66.9%
6-10	26.1	30.6	43.3	
More than 10		14.4	45.6	40.9
Years as a Newsworker				
5yrs or less		7.1%	22.2%	70.7%
6-10	28.3	36.3	35.4	
More than 10		14.5	47.6	37.9
Number of Newswork-related Jobs*				
1-2	14.2%	37.2%	48.5%	
3	19.3	32.7	47.9	
4+	12.8	28.8	58.4	
Newsroom Staff Size*				
Up to 9 staff		8.9%	36.4%	54.7%
10-19	17.6	23.2	59.2	
20+	23.4	44.4	32.3	

¹ X^2 $p < .05$. ² F $p < .05$. *, X -square non-significant: $p > .05$. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 18a
Newswork Attributes
of Professionalism Index
for Radio Medium

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Men	37.7%	41.1%	21.3%	
Women	24.5	37.2	38.4	
English	36.8%	39.8%	23.4%	
French	21.0	40.8	38.2	
Other	00.0	27.3	72.7	
Married	25.6%	39.3%	35.1%	
Single	40.8	37.5	21.6	
Other	38.7	50.8	10.5	
Age				
Under 30	22.0%	38.1%	39.9%	
36 to 36	39.0	40.5	20.6	
37 +	44.4	41.1	14.2	
Income [monthly]*				
0-2000	31.0%	38.8%	30.3%	
2001-3200	34.2	37.3	28.5	
3201 +	37.5	44.6	17.9	
Xtra Income [monthly]				
0-100	35.1%	42.2%	22.7%	
101-450	22.0	30.1	47.8	
451 +	28.4	25.7	45.9	
Education				
GR 13 or ls		43.3%	28.9%	27.8%
Some Col/Grad		25.3	43.6	31.1
Univ Grad +	37.7	43.5	18.8	
Journalism Education*				
Unsatisfactory		19.8%	47.2%	33.0%
Indifferent		26.9	40.3	32.9
Satisfactory		32.8	39.7	27.5

¹ X² p < .05. ² F p < .05. *, X-square non-significant: p > .05. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 18b
Newsworker Educational Attributes
of Professionalism Index
for Radio Medium

	Lo	Moderate	Hi
Col/Univ Grad*			
Yes	30.2%	41.8%	28.0%
No	40.0	33.8	25.5
Deg/Diploma			
BA	45.1%	33.7%	21.2%
CC+Cert	24.2	43.8	32.0
MA/Phd	00.0	84.8	15.2
CC-Journalism*			
Yes	29.2%	40.2%	30.6%
No	36.1	39.2	24.7
Journalism Deg*			
BA	20.2%	37.6%	42.2%
CC+Cert	31.8	40.5	27.7
MA/Phd	00.0	58.8	41.2

¹ $X^2 p < .05$. ² $F p < .05$. *, X-square non-significant: $p > .05$. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 18c
Newswork Occupational Attributes
of Professionalism Index
for Radio Medium

	Lo	Moderate	Hi	
Work Location*				
W-prairies	42.6%	39.1%	19.4%	
Ontario	32.8	43.2	24.0	
Quebec	25.7	41.2	33.2	
Atl+Terr	25.3	37.1	37.7	
Years in Current Job*				
1-2yrs	32.4%	40.7%	26.8%	
3-6	28.7	39.4	31.9	
7+	40.7	38.3	21.1	
Years in Newswork Occupation*				
5yrs or less		29.1%	34.8%	36.1%
6-10	33.4	43.0	23.5	
More than 10		39.0	44.2	16.8
Years as a Newsworker*				
5yrs or less		27.7%	38.1%	34.1%
6-10	36.7	37.4	25.9	
More than 10		39.4	44.8	15.9
Number of Newswork-related Jobs				
1-2	35.3%	29.2%	35.5%	
3	35.8	37.8	26.4	
4+	28.6	53.0	18.3	
Newsroom Staff Size				
Up to 9 staff		35.7%	41.9%	22.4%
10-19	24.7	29.9	45.5	
20+	23.8	40.0	36.3	

¹ χ^2 $p < .05$. ² F $p < .05$. *, X-square non-significant: $p > .05$. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

Table 21
 Betas, Correlations, Partial Correlations for
 Multiple Regressions on
 Professional, Nonprofessional Factor Dimensions

	Beta	(SE)	ZOR	t-test	Prob
PROFESSIONAL ASPECT					
HX\$	.179	(.20)	.893	4.506	.0000
PRINT	-.161	(.14)	-.587	-4.074	.0001
DIS	.115	(.23)	.683	2.954	.0033
QUE	-.080	(.16)	-.326	-2.060	.0398
P: Multiple R, .248 . R-square, .06; Adjusted-R, .06; F=10.293; p < .0000; 6% total variance explained by these variables.					
NONPROFESSIONAL ASPECT					
QUE	-.177	(.08)	-.345	-4.392	.0000
PRINT	-.136	(.07)	-.238	-3.291	.0011
LJOBS	.125	(.07)	.211	3.207	.0014
LOJ	-.146	(.08)	-.243	-2.936	.0034
HX\$	.110	(.10)	.261	2.735	.0064
DIV	.101	(.10)	.271	2.598	.0096
HIJ	.114	(.09)	.190	2.221	.0267
WEST	-.086	(.07)	-.153	-2.123	.0341

NP: Multiple R, .339; R-square, .115; Adjusted-R, .104; F=10.191; p < .0000; 14% total variance explained.

P, professional dimension. NP, non-professional dimension. PI, professionalism index. HX\$, more than 450\$/m extra income to salary. PRINT, print medium. RADIO, radio medium. QUE, quebec. WEST, western provinces (BC to Manitoba). MJOBS, 3 newswork jobs. HJOBS, 4 or more newswork jobs. HIJ, 11 years or more in newswork. MODJ, 6-10 years in newswork. L\$, earn less than 2000\$ monthly. DIV, divorced. JCERT, college certificate in newswork. UGRAD, university degree (general BA/BSc). MAPHD, MA or Phd degree. DIS, dissatisfied with education. LJOBS, less than 2-newswork jobs. LOJ, less than 5-years newswork. HIJ, more than 10-years in newswork. SE, standard error of beta. ZOR, zero order correlation. PIN, < .05. FORWARD STEP-WISE FORMAT. Data Source: Pollard (1995, 1994).

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