

**Newsroom as a Social Setting: An Ethnographic Study of Workplace Social Interaction
and Professionalism in *Fana* Broadcasting Corporate**

Fitih Alemu

A Thesis Submitted to

The Graduate School of Journalism and Communication

**Presented In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication**

Addis Ababa University

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

December, 2014




Addis Ababa University

School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Fitihi Alemu, entitled *Newsroom as a Social Setting: An Ethnographic Study of Workplace social Interaction and Professionalism in Fana Broadcasting Corporate* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and notes the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

Examiner Hazila Gutema (PhD) Signature  Date Jan 01, 2015

Examiner Gobremedhin Simon (PhD) Signature  Date 30/12/14

Advisor Abdissa Zeraï (PhD) Signature  Date Dec. 30, 2014

Abdissa Zeraï (PhD) 

Chair of department or Graduate Coordinator

Abstract

NEWSROOM AS A SOCIAL SETTING: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF WORKPLACE SOCIAL INTERACTION AND PROFESSIONALISM IN *FANA* BROADCASTING CORPORATE

Fitih Alemu

Addis Ababa, 2014

Journalism is both an institutional and professional exercise where news making can be understood as both an institutional routine and interpretative reportage of the social world. As with any other profession, however, news making is subject to the social dynamics that prevails within the professional milieu.

Such interaction between disciplinary, institutional, and social factors calls for a need to study the inside story of the journalistic world: how the bureaucratic, institutional factors intervene with the final product of news. To this end, the study aimed at scrutinizing social and institutional factors at play in the day to day news making endeavor. The study was also informed by the concept of 'reflexive sociology' which is often used in studying especially as it applies to the sociology of work and the universe of journalism. This theoretical framework conceptualizes professional settings, in general and journalism in particular, as 'universes' whereby social and economic and structural factors interact with other universes and *Doxa*, ritual, and social capital play a pivotal role in defining practical realities.

What is more, qualitative study design was employed in order to address the research; within this, an ethnographic approach and interviewing were used as two important tools to gather the data. Accordingly, participant observation was conducted in the editorial meetings and news

production processes in the news-magazine department of *Fana* broadcasting Corporate for nearly two months. Besides, semi-structured, semi-formal interviews were carried out with 12 key informants.

The findings reveal that, social sensitivity; focus on the identification of wrong doings, and sensitivity to authority figures were considered as important virtues in news making process at the target media house. Even though much of journalists' professional standards in synchronize with that of professional journalism, such standards and principles were found to be based on ritualistic underpinnings than cogent professional rationales.

The study also identified a great deal of predictability of news while covering government institutions and authority figures. Other media houses and listenership were also found to be factors that the newsroom took into consideration while making journalistic decisions. In addition, high level of conformity to seniority was observed among journalists working in the newsroom.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my earnest gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Abdissa Zerai, for supervising the route of this thesis with his invaluable comments and advices. I thank him for his kind and unreserved intellectual support both as an advisor of my thesis and a teacher for the last two years.

I am dearly thankful to my loving and supportive parents: My father Alemu Feleke and my mother Enatagegn Mengistu

I thank my whole family living abroad and here for their unconditional love and care; your love has been a priceless blessing!

I would also like to thank journalists and administrative workers of *Fana* broadcasting corporate for their kind cooperation in the data collection process.

Content	Page
CHAPTER ONE	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem.....	11
1.3. Objectives	15
1.3.1 General Objective	15
1.3.2. Specific Objectives	16
1.4. Research Questions.....	16
1.5. Scope of the study	16
1.6. Significance of the Study.....	17
CHAPTER TWO	
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	18
2.1. Issues in the Sociology of Journalism	18
2.1.1. Journalism and the Social Sciences	18
2.1.2. Journalism and Sociology	24
2.1.2.1. Journalism as a Social Phenomenon.....	25
2.1.2.2. The Sociology of Media Reception	36
2.1.2.3. Organizational Studies of Journalism.....	46
2.1.2.4. The Sociology of Newsrooms	52
2.1.2.4.1. Newsroom Norms and Social Control.....	58
2.2. Theorizing Journalistic Action	60
2.2.1. Thinking Journalism through Pieerre Bourdieu	60
CHAPTER THREE	
III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	70
3.1. Research Design	70

3.2. Study area	74
3.3. Sample Selection	75
3.4. Data Collection Instruments	76
3.4.1. Primary Sources.....	76
3.4.2. Secondary Sources.....	79
3.5. Ethical Considerations	79
3.6. Data Analysis.....	80

CHAPTER FOUR

IV. DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION	81
4.1. Introduction.....	81
4.2. Newsroom Norms and major considerations.....	85
4.2.1. Norms on News Selection	85
4.2.2. News Negotiating Factors.....	86
4.2.3. News Quality as a Negotiating Factor	96
4.3. News ‘work’ and commitment	97
4.4. The Newsroom ‘Capital’	99
4.4.1. Major Social Precursors of the newsroom	101
4.41.1 Professional Rank as a Social Precursor.....	102
4.4.1.2. In Office Experience.....	104

CHAPTER FIVE

V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	106
5.1. Conclusion	106
5.2. Recommendations.....	109
References.....	
Appendices	

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The scientific study of news with reference to its professional essence, requirements and qualities of content, reception and effect on audience, and at large, its roles and responsibilities in democracy has a long and wide sphere. The praise that news gets in relation to various socio-political discourses for a considerable time has ensured news's timeless worth as a topic of scholastic interest.

The quest towards the heart of 'why we need News', can rather be a meander too intricate to settle. Yet, we might illustrate a few arguments that fall at different corners of the maze of reasons. To begin with, the importance of news for society may be owed to man's very nature. Kovach and Rosenstein (2007, p.9) argue that News satisfies a basic human impulse. People have an intrinsic need, i.e., an instinct to know what is occurring beyond their direct experience. Being aware of events we cannot see for ourselves engenders a sense of security, control, and confidence.

Besides, Asp (2007, p.33) noted that:

citizens are assumed to function as individual decision makers, and it is the duty of the (News) media to contribute to free and autonomous opinion formation by providing the citizens with a sufficient basis for the rational assessments that enable them to form opinions on issues of consequence to society and the actions of those in positions of power,

We turn to news from different media for countless reasons. Ranging from functional everyday decisions or more serious issues of informational as well as interpretative needs, our 'modern' lives are highly correlated with news consumption. This multifaceted attachment of society to news is a sensible reason for the need of its professional (as well as legal) protection and regulation. Walter Lippmann in his 1920 work 'Liberty and the News' (pp.69-70) argued:

We should never succeed even in fixing a standard of tolerance for opinions, if we concentrated liberty and the news all our attention on the opinions. For they are derived, not necessarily by reason, to be sure, but somehow, from the stream of news that reaches the public, and the protection of that stream is the critical interest in a modern state. In going behind opinion to the information which it exploits, and in making the validity of the news our ideal, we shall be fighting the battle where it is really being fought.

According to McNair (2000, p.5), in debates about the state of the democratic polity, journalists figure large, and those who criticize the way in which the public sphere has actually developed, focus their attacks on the media.

News media perform under plenty of hard and soft watches for the well being of the society. As Asp (2007, p. 35) contends:

Information value is closely related to the space accorded in an issue or election campaign. It is therefore necessary to assess how effective media are as information media: what I call their informativity score. A news medium may, for example, present relatively little information in absolute terms, but nonetheless be very informative and thus be of great value to the citizen.

We turn to news from different media for countless reasons. Ranging from functional everyday decisions or more serious issues of informational as well as interpretative needs, our 'modern' lives are highly correlated with news consumption. This multifaceted attachment of society to news is a sensible reason for the need of its professional (as well as legal) protection and regulation. Walter Lippmann in his 1920 work 'Liberty and the News' (pp.69-70) argued:

We should never succeed even in fixing a standard of tolerance for opinions, if we concentrated liberty and the news all our attention on the opinions. For they are derived, not necessarily by reason, to be sure, but somehow, from the stream of news that reaches the public, and the protection of that stream is the critical interest in a modern state. In going behind opinion to the information which it exploits, and in making the validity of the news our ideal, we shall be fighting the battle where it is really being fought.

According to McNair (2000, p.5), in debates about the state of the democratic polity, journalists figure large, and those who criticize the way in which the public sphere has actually developed, focus their attacks on the media.

News media perform under plenty of hard and soft watches for the well being of the society. As Asp (2007, p. 35) contends:

Information value is closely related to the space accorded in an issue or election campaign. It is therefore necessary to assess how effective media are as information media: what I call their informativity score. A news medium may, for example, present relatively little information in absolute terms, but nonetheless be very informative and thus be of great value to the citizen.

From the individual journalist's ethical dilemma, to the editor's finicky correction, the exhaustively detailed editorial policy, and media laws of different level, news is treated with much protection and regulation. The issue of multiple forms of 'gate keeping' comes at play at this juncture of understanding news as a powerful concept. Branston and Stafford (2010) have similarly argued for the power of information and that journalists' responsibility of information distribution is simultaneously the distribution of power to society. This implies that some ethical practices are necessary so as to ensure commitment to the proper and impartial use of power by journalists and media practitioners.

Any profession, although some having their own philosophical relations at the very source of their codes, has its own distinct and shared ethical values. Much of prior literature on news values and journalistic ethics indicate that these values of news are relatively stable across time, theories, and situations despite the different modifications that are rather surfaced than secluded in their philosophical underpinning (Ettema, 2007; McNair, 2002; Ibrahim, 2010; Opuamie-Ngoa, 2010; Shultz, 2007).

Theoretically arguing, at least, journalistic standards are similar across spheres and highly communal when the socio-political, institutional, and related aspects of context are narrower. This is to mean that media across similar ownership types are more likely to share similar news values than across ownership types, and media within similar localities of performance tend to act in more resemblance than those performing in different localities, e.t.c

While this can make only common sense, it should take us further to the question of what contexts underlie these distinctions. Editorial policies and other structures can be owed to the differences in practicing journalism. Yet, the study of structural factors would only mean a naïve account of explicitness only. Externally, any structure is affected by another structure and

internally (to the particular newsroom), structural factors are challenged by “cultural and ritual power, [sensitive] to the symbolic role of news actors and how they perform/enact within the conventions and textual structures of news representation – ritual, story, narrative. (Hout and Jacobs, 2008).

Arguing that learning professional norms is not primarily a matter of reading a journalism primer or studying the editorial code, but should rather be seen as a process of socialization into the professional culture of the news organization, Breed (1955), in Skjerdal (2012) has, for example, claimed the subtle approval of editorial norms in the newsroom.

David M. White, a renowned media researcher, in his classic book “gatekeeper” was the first to break the insight of journalists’ experiences while working on news. White (1950, pp.86-87)’s conclusion labeled the news judgment values of his case: “Mr. Gates”, as “highly subjective value judgments” rather than referent to such tangibles as editorial policy. His work has called for a remarkable scholastic interest towards in Reese and Ballinger (2001)’s words “up close and personal” study of certain social and professional structures.

Another highly acknowledged newsroom analysis by Breed (1955, p.327) came out with a relatively intertwined presentation of how policy and informal newsroom norms are related claiming that:

While policy is set by the executives, it is clear that they cannot personally gather and write the news by themselves. They must delegate these tasks to staffers, and at this point the attitudes or interests of staffers may-and often do-conflict with those of the executives.

Thus, it indicates that policies lack solitary determination of news. Shultz (2007, p.97) also reflects this idea in her ethnographic report of news values in newsrooms saying:

An important task for future studies of journalistic practice is to investigate the seemingly self-evident orthodox news values as well as making visible the doxic news values imbedded in journalistic practice.

Much research has followed white's and Beeman's interest in such critical analysis of newsroom lending emphasis to the issue in plenty of levels on a "hierarchy of influences" (Reese, 2001) ranging from views and roles of media workers (Azman M. et al, 2013; Iaban and Poler, 2007; Lo, Chan M., and Pan, 2005; Skjerdal, 2008, Blye, 2012; Hersckovitz, 2005 Volek and Jirak, 2005) and, at successively higher levels, the influences of media routines, media organizations, external pressures, and ideology (Beeman, 2001; Schultz, 2007a; Hovden, 2012; Reese and Ballinger, 2001; Willig, 2012; Schultz, 2007b; Ryfe, 2009; Hout and Jacobs, 2008; Elwell, ND, Reese, ND).

Beeman and Peterson (2001, p. 159) justify the idea of such interpretative insights as strategies:

....to look into the lives of those actors socially charged with responsibilities for interpretation: diviners whose proclamations articulate cultural meanings, journalists who must turn strips of experience into reportable and consumable events..... to engage with "interpretive practice," the ways that routine procedures, cultural categories, and social positions come together in particular "instances" of interpretation.

The miscellaneous 'Invisible' factors behind whether a story is covered or not, the angle from which it is taken, as well as the spot light exerted up on certain sides of a story than others, is

worth cavernous inquiry. Recent literature on media studies has largely treated such critical concepts as commercialization and concentration of media, the impact of conglomerates, conflict of interest, e.t.c. The superb contribution of these studies being undeniably interesting and of great impact, they tend to rest their focuses on a macro-level analysis of national and regional concerns. Harcourt and Jacobs (2008, p. 67), add up to the contention that micro-level study is rather lacked.

From an analytical point of view, most of the existing literature has largely disregarded journalistic agency in favor of organizational and institutional levels of analysis thereby reducing news making to a bureaucratic routine which, in turn, accounts for the relatively unconscious role played by news journalists in news manufacture.

However, studying such contexts as newsrooms through severance of constructs that appear independent at a face value, such as news, can be tricky since any social setting is complicated and is related to various other structures that lie at different sides. Equally important to the study of informal, social relations, activities and norms in newsrooms is the study of the relationship between the newsroom and other structures that might affect the newsroom's 'culture' in one way or another.

As Stinchcombe (1965, p. 142) illustrates, for any organizational structure:

...goals or purposes are generally functions performed for some larger structure.

For example, armies have the goal of winning possible military engagements. The fulfillment of this goal is a function performed for the larger political structure, which has functional requirements of defense and conquest.

worth cavernous inquiry. Recent literature on media studies has largely treated such critical concepts as commercialization and concentration of media, the impact of conglomerates, conflict of interest, e.t.c. The superb contribution of these studies being undeniably interesting and of great impact, they tend to rest their focuses on a macro-level analysis of national and regional concerns. Harcourt and Jacobs (2008, p. 67), add up to the contention that micro-level study is rather lacked.

From an analytical point of view, most of the existing literature has largely disregarded journalistic agency in favor of organizational and institutional levels of analysis thereby reducing news making to a bureaucratic routine which, in turn, accounts for the relatively unconscious role played by news journalists in news manufacture.

However, studying such contexts as newsrooms through severance of constructs that appear independent at a face value, such as news, can be tricky since any social setting is complicated and is related to various other structures that lie at different sides. Equally important to the study of informal, social relations, activities and norms in newsrooms is the study of the relationship between the newsroom and other structures that might affect the newsroom's 'culture' in one way or another.

As Stinchcombe (1965, p. 142) illustrates, for any organizational structure:

...goals or purposes are generally functions performed for some larger structure. For example, armies have the goal of winning possible military engagements. The fulfillment of this goal is a function performed for the larger political structure, which has functional requirements of defense and conquest.

Pierre Bourdieu, a highly acknowledged sociologist and specialist in studies of power relations in social structures is one of the pioneers to approach media and journalism through sociological eyes with influential works concerning media culture, news journalism, and the symbolic power of media (Willig, 2012).

Bourdieu (Cited in Schultz, 2007a, p. 2) claimed in one of his works that:

Journalism can be understood as a subfield within the larger, general field of cultural production. As all other fields, the field of cultural production is partly constituted by its relations to the economic and political fields, just as the specific field of news media and news journalism.

Thus, it is highly essential to pay a close insight to the selection, negotiation, and interpretative practices that the journalist goes through as he/she considers and violates his/her social and professional environment. The impact that larger structures exert on the newsroom and in turn on the journalist's performance should also go in line.

An Ethiopian Context of Journalism Profession

History of modern journalism in Ethiopia is not a long one. Even though newspaper and other publications started during the imperial regime of Haile Selassie I in the 1940s, modern media practice was introduced during the reign of *Menelik II*. The first medium to be introduced was a weekly newspaper called *La Se-maine d'Ethiopie* in 1890 which was published in French by a Franciscan Missionary.

The First Amharic newspaper was issued in 1895 by the name *Aemero* weekly in four pages. The first issues of *Aemero* were handwritten. Between 1912 and 1915 weekly newspapers like *Melkete Selam*, *Yetor Wore*, and many other publications emerged. Another Amharic

publication, *Ye Ethiopia Demts* then came out in 1934, and from 1934–1936 followed by *Addis Zemen* on May 5th, 1941. In 1942, The Press and Information Department was established, and *Sendek Alamachin* appeared in Amharic and Arabic, and the *Negarit* newspaper appeared in Amharic and English. A year later in 1943, the English language *The Ethiopian Herald* was started as a weekly. *The Ethiopian Herald* and *Addis Zemen* became dailies at the end of 1958, and are still being published by the Ethiopian Press Agency.

Between 1941–1974, 14 newspapers and magazines were published in Amharic and other national languages and 13 others came out in English and other foreign languages such as Italian and French. Most of these magazines and newspapers ceased to be published during the previous Derg period, while others, mostly publications of government institutions and ministries, continued to appear.

When the *Derg* regime took over *Haileseelassie's* reign in September 1974, the two national newspapers, *Addis Zemen* and *The Ethiopian Herald* were transformed to the new government's official presses along with Derg-born newspapers namely; *Meskerem* meaning September, and *Serto Ader* meaning Worker till the regime's overthrow. Magazines, such as *Tsedey* which covered social and political issues did not last for long, and *Goh* had been circulating for some time within a limited number of readers appeared.

According to an overview report of the Ethiopian media (2008, p. 30):

In the first two or three years of the *Derg* regime, there were promises and hope of freedom of the press. Dialogues between opposing political groups were seen in print and electronic media, and journalists became extremely open and critical of the government. Relevant national issues such as democracy, land tenure and the form of government the country should have etc. were openly discussed in the

public print media. That period, which Ethiopian journalists refer to, as “the golden days of Ethiopian journalism”, was unfortunately short lived.

EPRDF can be labeled the first regime of the country to give recognition to freedom of the press in such width. EPRDF declared the adoption of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights in its’ Charter and freedom of the press and speech, and eliminated The Censor Department of the Ministry of Information. The 1991 constitution contains an article of seven sub articles covering the Right of thought, opinion and expression. Article 29: 3 and 4 state:

3. Freedom of the press and other mass media and freedom of artistic creativity is guaranteed. Freedom of the press shall specifically include the following elements: (a) Prohibition of any form of censorship. (b) Access to information of public interest.

4. In the interest of the free flow of information, ideas and opinions which are essential to the functioning of a democratic order, the press shall, as an institution, enjoy legal protection to ensure its operational independence and its capacity to entertain diverse opinions.

The 1991 constitution has opened the door for a great deal of press institutions which can be attributed to the development of the profession in better pace than previous times. Particularly passage of the press freedom Bill of 1992 was a significant encouragement for the multiplication of newspapers and magazines.

Both private and state press started to proliferate as a result of the prestige given by the constitution. Between 1992 and 1997, about 287 publications have emerged (Shimelis, 2002, pp. 180-181) the number of private press has been relatively high but fluctuating since 1992.

Post 1993 Ethiopian media (particularly print media, since broadcast media has not yet been allowed for private ownership), have been subjects of critics for local and international researchers. Government owned media have usually been criticized of being celebratory mouthpieces of the government and party agenda (Shimelis, 2000, Getachew 2003, in Birhanu, 2006 P: 15), (Shimelis, 2002)

According to SIDA's Media Sustainability Index of 2008 (p. 126),

There is a serious lack of professional and ethical standards among journalists in government and private media. Most news stories and special programs are not well sourced. Both government and private journalists employ a great deal of partisanship in their reporting. Fact checking is not usually conducted in reporting news stories. Instead, methods of collecting information are a reminder that the media are still prisoners of Ethiopia's old culture of rumors.

Although a wide range of critics have questioned the professional orientation of Ethiopian journalists at large, a few have approached the question of professionalism from the angle of the journalist. Most of the critics are content/ news based, raising the matter of 'journalists' experience' only by inference. Journalism being a team work, it should be apparent that journalists' professional experience can be affected by the interaction and group behavior in the media houses. Some of the studies on Ethiopian journalists have also hinted the significance of newsroom interaction for the work of journalists. Skjerdal (2012, p. 147), proposes:

An alternative model which acknowledges that journalists face multiple commitments simultaneously, and that they cannot readily put a profound commitment aside, even if momentarily. Thus, as an [alternative to the shifting

loyalties model], the research arrives at a proposed model of competing loyalties.

Skjerdal's proposal for competing loyalties can also suggest a need for up-close and more elaborate studies to comprehend the journalists' experiences. Nebiyu (2008), Birhanu (2006), and a wide range of studies on journalistic professionalism also highlight a need for an elaborate 'behind the scene' study on the practical experiences of Ethiopian journalists.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The realm of Ethiopian media has been an area of interest for different critics in and outside the country for a long time now. Performance wise, many critics feature (especially on the state media) inaccuracy, fabrication, imbalance and other problems of genuineness. With regard to the environment for media practice, however, many interest groups as well as civil associations from different corners of the globe have been pointing fingers towards the government. These accusations concern the legal ground of media practice and the practical abuse on freedom of expression and the press as well as violation of related rights on journalists and citizens at large.

Although the concept of professionalism can be complex, the researcher of this study prefers to limit the idea of professionalism to the extent to which an occupation's standards are explicitly followed and adhered to. Since journalism is a discipline with a great deal of responsibility to society, the question of professionalism is a significant one.

Journalistic professionalism among Ethiopian journalists has been a subject of study for long in the history of modern journalism education of the country. While analyzing the level of professionalism among journalists of the country, researchers have taken different aspects ranging from self perception of journalist's own opinions to content analysis of the crafts

prepared by them. For instance, Hailegebriel (2005, pp. 59-60), from his content analysis of a state newspaper for ethical course of News stories reported that the paper depicted a considerable deal of lack of fairness, independence, and balance in sourcing. He further stated that journalists of the newspaper do not consider themselves to be independent and “What they are saying is that they are under the strict imposition of their bosses.”

Birhanu (2006, p. 137), on the other hand has surveyed Ethiopian state and private media journalists’ own perception of professional orientation and concluded:

Unlike their counterparts in other countries, [Ethiopian Journalists] need the licensing of professionals and place importance on accreditation mechanisms blaming the unprofessional service that has been provided by ‘unprofessional persons’. They perceive themselves as neutrals in serving the public and also view themselves as development advocates in their role of reporting events.

It is not surprising enough that the two studies of professionalism on closely related research subjects seem to despair with each other. It is inevitable that the attitudes and self perceptions of any performer towards their profession can differ from their actual acts and at least outsider perceptions.

Skjerdal (2012) problematized the issue of journalistic professionalism somehow further in his dissertation: “*Competing Loyalties: Journalistic Culture in Ethiopian State Media.*”

Giving special emphasis to the conflict of commitments they find themselves in, Skjerdal (2012, p. iv) noted:

Through a culture of self-censorship and discourses of fear in the newsroom, journalists produce and reproduce a subservient reporting style. At the same time,

reporters rescue a sense of professionalism by exploiting the journalistic adrophoron, trusting a critical public, and adhering to national interest. On the normative level, the journalists are found to express dual loyalty to the profession and the nation, while a potential loyalty to the government is observed as broken.

The query of the professional disposition of journalists has been an interest of many other scholars. However, most of the researches conducted in such course are limited to the journalists' self perception and report as well as the description and narration of tangible evidences to justify the presence or absence of professionalism. At the risk of hasty generalization, very few studies have attempted to look behind the scenes of ethical/non ethical, professional/unprofessional news stories and journalists.

In this regard, Welelaw (2012, p. 62) of Addis Ababa University has studied ethics of journalists in Amhara Television newsroom. In his study, he took a step beyond description and reported "the factors of journalists that influence ethical decision making." Personal, intrinsic values of the journalist, absence of work place co-operation, and ownership factors have been mentioned as major factors for the ethical problems in the newsroom. Although treated as sidelines of other research objectives (as in Welelaw 2012, and Skjerdal 2010 and 2012), the experience of journalists while identifying with their professions has not been a stand-alone research subject previously.

Generally, the previous studies of professionalism among Ethiopian journalists were highly dependent on self reports and they studied professionalism and its elements as distinctive and relatively independent. The focus of these studies were on whether professionalism prevails and at most to what extent. The results of these studies can be authentic implications of the need for a

closer look into these professional actualities and what things contribute to the professional aspects.

Some of these studies on individual journalists of Ethiopian state media have implied interesting concepts. For instance, Nebiyu (2008, p. 40) has concluded from his study that:

Journalists mostly practice self-censorship due to political, religious, nation and nationalities related issues; economic and cultural issues; editorial policy; fear of their boss; internal fear; to be on the safe-side or to be free from being accountable.

Skjerdal (2010, p. 116) has similarly disclosed that “there is a remarkable discrepancy between the relatively open-minded official editorial policy of the Ethiopian state media and the restrictive reporting practices followed by the journalists.”

Such implications are for a need for more angles to be studied in relation to journalistic practice. Some studies have also responded to this need through organizational studies of journalism. However, these laid their focuses on formal structures and procedures. The subtleties and that diffuse in the news rooms and have impact on professional practice of journalism are still overlooked despite their significance witnessed by studies of other cultures and professional environments.

From the very selection of a story while discarding others, to the final ‘angle’ the story comes out with, News is subject to succinct subjective touches of the newsroom crew. And subjectivity might be based on many different factors ranging from perception to the socio-cultural environment of the journalist.

Through an elongated and ever-changing discourse of power, ideology, group norm, and routines, any social entity goes through, the journalist grows to be 'socialized' (Reese and Ballinger, 2001) of the newsroom's social setting and constructed while simultaneously constructing a separate professional group of self-consciousness. These factors may not be mutually distinctive and stand alone which makes it difficult for the researcher to choose the role of one single factor to the journalistic practice. Thus, an account of the simultaneity of the journalist's environment have been found a more convenient approach. Again the simultaneous factors can be naturally complex in their pattern and highly scattered in time, place, implication, e.t.c. thus, this study will lessen the journalists' practical experience to their workplace which the researcher believes to be concurrently their social environment.

With these contentions in mind, this study intends to apprehend a close understanding of the journalist's personal experience, attitudes, and expectations he/she goes through his/her news production process. The perceived attributes to work related decisions and in turn their relations to the existing social-cultural, professional, economic, political, and other structures will also be considered for analysis.

1.3. Objectives

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study is to examines the overall impact that the social make up of the newsroom has on news production and professional autonomy of the individual journalists. The social and structural factors that affect the journalists' day to day work will be studied through up close scrutiny to see experiences of practical journalism.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

To pursue the concern of the impacts of social interactions in the newsroom on the production process of news, the study looks into the social and professional contingencies in the newsroom and pursue the specific objectives;

1. Identify key informal orthodoxies and routines of news production
2. Analyze newsroom norms' resonance or discord to the professional principles
3. Identify major structural factors acknowledged and addressed in the newsroom in the production process
4. Differentiate between the officially restrained and structurally triggered factors that interface with journalists' work and with their social and professional environment

1.4. Research Questions

With the intent to study the newsroom's social structure and its relation to larger structures as well as products, the study attempted to answer the following questions;

1. What are the 'norms' of writing news in the newsroom?
2. How are news selection norms related to editorial policies as well as other institutional and social attributes?
3. Under what conditions do journalists compromise newsroom specific norms?
4. Which structural factors are (at least explicitly) dominant in the process of news selection through final proofreading?

1.5. Scope of the study

The research focuses only on Fana Broadcasting Corporate; a commercial national radio station located in Addis Ababa. While the station has 12 stations all over the country, this study is concerned only with the Amharic transmission stream in Addis Ababa. The news magazine team

of the station is focused in full grip. Unless found worth for the analysis of the station's situation, any other media houses are not the focus of the study.

1.6. Significance of the Study

To the knowledge of the researcher, no ethnographic study has been conducted on Ethiopian journalists' professional experiences. This research will help in filling the gap of previous studies of journalistic professionalism in Ethiopia by introducing the journalists' side of the issue. While it could be too ambitious of the researcher to promise illuminating the whole picture of newsroom social interaction and its impact on journalistic performance, the study could;

1. Illuminate some ideas on the relationship between socio-cultural surroundings and journalistic settings.
2. Suggest some points on the relationship between socio-cultural surroundings and newsroom settings.
3. Hint some directions for those who would like to conduct wider and deeper studies .
4. Indicate certain areas of intervention for policy makers, academicians, and media managers

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1. Issues in the Sociology of Journalism

2.1.1. Journalism and the Social Sciences

Journalism is a cultural, social, and political concept, whether seen as a discipline, practical profession, or academia. Although these categories might come separately or in varying combinations, it has widely been argued that journalism is much more than a distant relative to socio-political aspects of life and social sciences. Arguably all models, theories, and discourses on journalism and the press entail the subtle assumption that journalism is omniscient at least in a normative level. Labeling a discipline political by itself suggests a subtle contention of socio-cultural, and other related notions. According to Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2004, p. 24):

Through the rituals of consuming and discussing the texts of journalism we come to understand and construct ourselves as subjects within local, national and, increasingly, global contexts. In particular, journalism is seen as intrinsically tied to democracy. It plays a key role in shaping our identities as citizens, making possible the conversations and deliberations between and among citizens and their representatives so essential to successful self-governance. In short, news is “the stuff which makes political action [...] possible.

The above assertion is a widely shared conception of media and journalism in the contemporary world. With all these functions at hand, the power attached to media might have a description of the following sort. Ekstrom (2007, p. 46) draws on report of ‘The Swedish Investigation of Democracy (*Demokratiutredningen*)’ to reflect on the power the media and journalism have in socio-political sphere of the nation:

It was emphasized that the power struggle in society is largely a struggle for media attention. Related to this is the intensification of lobbying activities. The spectacularization of politics was described as an important consequence of media logic. And what is perhaps the most significant difference compared to 'Maktutredningen, [Swedish investigation of power], the Internet and new communication technologies were described as unexploited potentials for the development of democracy, mainly in terms of citizen participation and power.

Especially since the start of the 20th century, a relatively holistic set of privilege and responsibility attached to journalism have dominated both the descriptive or normative thoughts on media and journalism. As an instance along the normative line of thought, Huspek (2007, p. 329) argued that journalism should prove meaningful in socio-political development by two requirements:

An independent and self-regulating media system that links political communication in the public sphere with both civil society and elites who occupy the political center, and an empowered citizenry who suffer no insuperable obstacles to genuine participation within deliberative democracy's communicative processes.

Contemporary analysis of media, journalism, and news do not go without acknowledging this 'political economic' concern for journalism which is widely questioned and criticized for surrendering its essence for primarily commercial motives. (Mcchesney, 2003; Ekstrom, 2007, Pickard, 2006). For instance, Mcchesney (2003, p. 300) recalls:

During the 19th century, the logic of newspaper publishing changed from being primarily political, to being primarily commercial. The press system remained

explicitly partisan, but it increasingly became an engine of great profits as costs plummeted, population increased, and advertising which emerged as a key source of revenues mushroomed.

Besides constraints of professional autonomy caused by the concentration of media ownership as well as commercial tendency of media institutions, the proliferation of internet technology is raised as a factor of the eventually deplored quality of journalism although their role in facilitating public dialogue and interaction attracted a great deal of observers (Dahlgren and Olsson, 2006; Kahn and Kellner, 2007; Loader 2007)

The relationship of journalism to the social sciences complex, thus, does not need much evidence since they are not only related but inseparable. Journalism, if seen as a craft, has centered humanism as a content, target, and source of the profession. Thus, some have also argued for journalism's seeming impotence without its socio political endeavors

According to Zelizer (2004, p. 29);

One of the most significant sources of uncertainty surrounds the conceptual dimensions of the relationship—what we study when we think about journalism. In that over the years academics have invoked a variety of prisms through which to consider journalism—among them its craft, its effect, its performance and its technology—they have not yet produced a scholarly picture of journalism that combines all of these prisms into a coherent reflection of all that journalism is and could be. Instead, the study of journalism remains incomplete, partial and divided, leaving its practitioners uncertain about what it means to think about journalism, writ broadly.

This has also been considered as a benefit. For instance, Josephi (2009, p. 44) stated:

What would history be without journalism? What would literature look like? How could we understand the workings of the polity? As a phenomenon, journalism stretches in various forms across all of the ways in which we come together as a collective, and yet the “it’s just journalism” rejoinder persists.

The relationship of journalism with the different social science and humanities has been explicated in different phases of academic quests. Cueing journalists as agents of modernity, the social sciences found their way into journalism research in accordance with an emphasis on people, focusing both on the patterns by which they grouped themselves into organizational and institutional settings and to the surrounding structures, functions, and effects through which they worked (Zelizer, 2004).

Research on journalism and news has developed on the basis of socio political matters around the world. Cissna et al (2009, p.4), describes the development of journalism research as part of the development of the communication discipline which involves the discipline’s search for respectability within the academy, the desire to prove validation of cultural knowledge, and solving social problems, Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009, pp. 25-27) have divided journalism studies in chronologies as:

The Normative Turn: the early 20th century studies following journalism’s emergence as a profession and social force. This is characterized by the ‘normative impulses’ contained in the works of Karl Marx, Albert Schäfle, Karl Knies, Karl Bücher, Ferdinand Tönnies, and Max Weber who have been particularly influential in their conceptions of the social place of journalism (Hardt, 2002, p. 15). According to Hardt (2002, p. 26):

Journalism scholars were more concerned with what journalism ought to be in the context of social communication and political deliberation than with the processes and structures of news production.

The Empirical Turn:

Journalism began to be backed up by scholarship and empirical supports besides the normative notion when early communication research began in 1950s. Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009, p. 26) owe this to disciplines of sociology, political science, and psychology spearheaded by figures such as Paul Lazarsfeld, Carl Hovland, Kurt Lewin, and Harold D. Lasswell.

While most research in this period was concerned with audiences and media effects, the emerging field of journalism studies slowly turned its attention to “news people” and their professional values, as well as to editorial structures and routines. Highly cited in the media effects and audience studies are Paul Lazarsfeld’s *Radio Research*, Herta Herzog on quiz programs and the gratifications derived from listening to soap operas, Suchman (1942) on the motives for getting interested in serious music on radio, John Fiske (1949) on the development of children's interest in comics (Katz, 1972, p. 73).

White (1950) seems to have shifted the attention of media studies from effects to more phenomenological turn by his work ‘*Gatekeeper*’ followed by an equivalent classic work of Epstein (1970) titled ‘*News From Nowhere*’ which is an extensive study of journalists’ individual experiences as they deal with news in American television studies. These have also been acknowledged as the pioneers in the sociological study of journalism.

Although time and subsequent research may have rendered them out of date, they are still important in establishing a tradition and model, whether later added to, adapted, or opposed. Reese and Ballinger (2001, p. 642).

The Sociological Turn:

With dominantly critical approaches, the organizational and professional studies that lay their focuses on routines, as well as processes in journalism that are related to power and ideology maintenance are the sociological trends of journalism studies that Jorgensen and Hanitzsch consider as significant in the history of journalism studies. Sociologists such as Gaye Tuchman, Herbert J. Gans, Philip Schlesinger, and Peter Golding, as well as cultural studies proponents such as James Carey, Stuart Hall, John Hartley, and Barbie Zelizer are prominent scholars of journalism sociology (Jorgensen and Hanitzsch, 2009, p. 27).

In each case of inquiry on journalism, sociology offered a valuable way of tracking journalists' simultaneous existence in occupations, organizations, professional communities, and institutional settings, revealing how they were constrained and empowered by their interactions with others Zelizer (2004, p. 51).

The Global Comparative Turn:

The era of global, comparative study of journalism refers to the shuffled communication between US and European trends of journalism studies. While communication research in the US leans towards empiricism, UK studies usually take cultural approaches, and French critical. (Jorgensen and Hanitzsch 2009: 27; Jensen and Jankowski, 1991)

2.1.2. Journalism and Sociology (The sociology of journalism)

The scientific field of sociology centers its attention on society and its structures, processes, as well as the functions (Mullen and Kahen, 2010, p. 115). Sociologists study society through different dimensions. According to Zelizer (2004, pp. 46-47):

They perform an anthropological function, showing people of one culture what it is like to live in another culture. They identify the complexity in social systems, dressing the simple and the everyday in complex frameworks, and they target the unintended, latent, and accidental consequences of everyday activities so as to make those consequences manifest.

The fact that sociology's concerns are ubiquitous and consummate of other social studies including journalism, has been generalized by Zelizer (2004, p. 45) as: "Discussing the sociological inquiry of journalism is much like discussing journalism scholarship without a frame." The bond of sociological inquiry with journalism has had tremendous branches since journalism study started to bloom as a standalone discipline

The sociological aspects of journalism are multi level and multidirectional. For this reason, discussing journalism and sociology together might be too vast for the present review. However, an attempt has been made to highlight a few of the sociological inquiries employed to journalism.

2.1.2.1. Journalism as a Social Phenomenon

One of the major interests of sociological inquiry is of systems. According to (Gonzalez and Requena, 2006, p. 162), a system is “An ordered or organized arrangement of elements.”

Studying journalism as a social entity with patterns of ideology, meaning making, and impact to other systems outside of it (and at large the whole social system), was an interest of sociology since the early days of journalism studies (Parsons, 1954; McChesney, 2012; Gonzalez and Requena, 2006; Ringoot, 2007). Accordingly, Zelizer (2004, p. 47) argues that sociology found its way into journalism:

With an eye to the patterns by which [journalists] grouped themselves into organizational and institutional settings and to the surrounding structures, functions, and effects through which they worked. Though the journalism of the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Latin America, and elsewhere differed markedly in form, common to all sociological inquiry into journalism was an emphasis on the systematic actions, practices, and interactions by which journalists maintained themselves as journalists.

Even though it is claimed that the emergence of journalism studies was not from curiosity or socially perceived need (Marroco, 2005; Winfield, 2008), the pact it brought with it has initiated much research on what media, thereby journalism ‘should do’ and ‘is doing’ (Winfield, 2008).

The researches, either descriptive or normative, have labeled the practice of journalism as a structure that was yet to result in grand impacts on the national and international cosmos. (Gonzalez and Requena, 2006). Journalism was thus considered as a social entity that played its own distinct role in the dynamics of society. Robert Park, earlier a sociologist, and later a

journalist, has for instance affirmed that he had become a journalist to be able to describe the behavior of society under the influence of news, in the precise and universal scientific language. (Marroco, 2005, p. 199).

The study of news media as a social entity can be approached in at least two ways; through its interior complexity and organization, and as a structured system that interacts with and is affected by surrounding systems. Related to this, Hallin and Mancini (2004, p. 8) argued:

One cannot understand the news media without understanding the nature of the state, the system of political parties, the pattern of relations between economic and political interests, and the development of civil society, among other elements of social structure... In many cases it may be reasonable to assume that the media system essentially “reflects” other aspects of social structure – the party system, for example. But there is good evidence that media institutions have an impact of their own on other social structures.

Along the same line, Wiik (2004, p. 12) adds:

Journalism is regarded as a democratic institution, and is, as such, always relevant for study. Development since 1989 is, however, characterized by trends focusing particularly on the role of journalists as mediators of information: Since it is a knowledge-intensive profession, journalism is particularly interesting in the light of a rapidly growing information society – the communicative revolution.

One might also argue that such pose of journalism on the stage of society is what makes the socio political responsibilities assigned to journalism more acute. With regard to journalism’s distinct facade in the profession’s early ages, Lippman (1920, p. 7) stated:

Editors have come to believe that their highest duty is not to report but to instruct, not to print news but to save civilization, not to publish what [Benjamin Harris] calls 'the Circumstances of Publique Affairs, both abroad and at home, but to keep the nation on the straight and narrow path. Like the Kings of England, they have elected themselves Defenders of the Faith.

Whether self assigned or not, argued Lippman (1920), the emergence of journalism as a separate and yet generally significant structure has called for much attention for statements of normative requirements of journalism. Sociologists including Robert Park, Robert Mead, Max Weber, Walter Lippman, and David Manning White have opened the way for the socially normative approach towards journalism and media. Particularly early mass communication theories have germinated from such sociological inquiries of what journalism could do in society (Zelizer, 2004).

Sociology has labeled journalism as a social institute engaged in cultural and interpretative productions that it appeared a highly demanded area of sociological scrutiny. Tonnieses (Cited in Marocco, 2005) argued that press investigation is an important area of empirical sociology and the establishment of a separate field of investigation was unnecessary since sociology itself could provide important contributions for a critical theory of the press.

Max Weber, originally a sociologist, believed that the study of journalism should go in triangulation with journalistic practice and society behavior (Hardt, 1979). He suggested a genuinely scientific study of the press in the field of sociology of the press, as he considered it important to carry on working in collaboration with journalists (Marocco 2005).

Such normative establishments of the news media have largely coincided with the early ages of journalism where the status of journalism was believed to be going in harmful direction for

society. The American and European press of mid 19th century were “often sensational and usually rocked the boat” (Kumar 2009, p. 138) producing news that was according to Fang (1997, p. 53), “colored as little as humanly possible by the [news] agency reporter’s point of view” which were followed by the elite’s views of news media as a structure of much dysfunction for the larger society that promoted disruption and endangered societal order (Kumar, 2009).

As a social institution, journalism was being seen as a considerably established system of destruction; “especially radical journalism was a threat to social order and the benevolent rule by the elites” (Allan, 2004 in Kumar, 2005, p. 9).

Walter Lippman was one of the leading scholars who came to the scene of journalism studies at such time when journalism was believed to fall needy of “elite supervision” (Kumar, 2005).

According to Lippman (1920, p. 4):

Everywhere today men are conscious that somehow they must deal with questions more intricate than any that church or school had prepared them to understand. Increasingly they know that they cannot understand them if the facts are not quickly and steadily available. Increasingly they are baffled because the facts are not available; and they are wondering whether government by consent can survive in a time when the manufacture of consent is an unregulated private enterprise. For in an exact sense, the present crisis of western democracy is a crisis in journalism.

Also, Lippman (1920, pp. 63-64) argued;

The really important thing is to try and make opinion increasingly responsible to the facts. There can be no liberty for a community which lacks the information by which to detect lies. Trite as the conclusion may at first seem, it has, I believe, immense practical consequences, and may perhaps offer an escape from the logomachy into which the contests of liberty so easily degenerate.

He highlighted such need for press responsibility through regulation in his earlier book: *Public Opinion* saying; “My conclusion is that public opinion must be organized for the press if they are to be sound, not by the press as is the case today” (Lippman 1920, cited in Kumar, 2005, p. 32).

Lippman’s and other social scientists’ eye towards the theorization and study of journalism and the media’s potential as an effective instrument both for constructive and destructive causes initiated the social and political elites to look for ways to use media at strategic services (Kumar, 2005). Many also argue that it is upon this recognition of media power that the study of media and society grew more prominent (e.g Neuman and Guggenheim, ND; Kumar, 2005; Jorgensen and Hanitzsch, 2009, Bernays, 1928; Lippman, 1922; and Laswell 1927.) As noted by Kumar (2005, pp. 139-140):

The astute observers of the media were convinced that mass communication was a double-edged sword that could be either a rabble-rouser or, if used strategically, could promote the political agenda and corporate capitalism in a guided democracy.

Whether in ways that Kumar (2005) had described or not, these days when media’s potential effectiveness at both good and evil ends was recognized, have had major blast both in the social

position that media had been given and the study of mass media and journalism that was to spread widely in the west during the following decades.

Baran and Davis (2012, pp. 79-80) claim this age when political elites initially recognized mass media's power to be marked by the mass reaction of Americans to callings during the first World War;

The war had demonstrated that modern propaganda techniques could be used with startling effectiveness to assemble massive armies and to maintain civilian morale through long years of warfare. Never before had so many people been mobilized to fight a war; never before had so many died with so little to show for it over such a long period of time and under such harsh conditions...

With the invention of electronic mass media channels and the role that media had during the war, the study of media effects and how best media could serve the society has proliferated. The massive social change that news media proved to have during and after the war, was of high significance (Fang, 1997; Kumar, 2009; Zelizer, 2004; Branston and Stafford, 2012; Baran and Davis, 2012; Neuman and Guggenheim, ND). Fang (1997, p. 120) recalls this age as of a major social revolution:

Broadcasting has exerted a push-pull on its citizens, both a centripetal and a centrifugal force. The centripetal force, uniting the nation, results from a conscious effort to exert government leadership, spread national culture, and share information. The use of a common language and a national accent in place of regional dialects also tends to hold a people together. On the other hand, radio pulls people apart not only by offering a variety of stations but by doing what every medium does that displaces direct with mediated communication. The

announcer's conversational tone regards the audience as one person and speaks to each person alone in his or her private world. The announcer sometimes creates an aura of intimate conversation, ignoring the truth that it is one-way mediated communication, not conversation at all. Listeners don't seem to care.

Seemingly agreeing with what fang had called the centripetal force of radio, many social researchers in the 1920s and 1930s continued to maintain that propaganda was an essential tool that had to be used to effectively manage modern social orders, especially when they are in deadly competition with other nations that rely on propaganda to mobilize their masses (Baran and Davis, 2012)

In these times when mass media (radio) was understood and used as a powerful message-exerting tool; the Magic Bullet ages are the earliest scholastic theories of media effect. Media message was believed to have direct, powerful effects on the audiences. The persuasive effect of media was thus thought to be direct, immediate, and evident (Kimmar, 2007).

Harrold Laswell, originally a political scientist and “whose work on propaganda and psychopathology posited an all-powerful government propagandist manipulating passive and atomized audience members who lacked independent sources of information” (Baren and Davis, 2012, p.) was the primary proponent of this line of media effect theories.

Citing Laswell, Baren and Davis (2012, p. 123), described the significance of propaganda as follows:

In the Great Society [modern industrial society] it is no longer possible to fuse the waywardness of individuals in the furnace of the war dance; a newer and subtler instrument must weld thousands and even millions of human beings into

one amalgamated mass of hate and will and hope. A new flame must burn out the canker of dissent and temper the steel of bellicose enthusiasm. The name of this new hammer and anvil of social solidarity is propaganda.

Media's place in society at these ages was apparently, as an entity of social control for the social elites to keep the mass informed, prevent communication chaos, and to promote the status quo of the social order (Kumar, 2005; Neuman and Guggenheim, ND). This is also reflected in Harold Lasswell's idea of 'propaganda for good'. Baren and Davis (2012, p. 108):

Could a democratic social order be forged by propaganda? Wouldn't essential principles of democracy be sacrificed? Is democracy possible without public discourse? In a world where rational political debate is impossible because average people are prisoners of their own conditioning and psychoses (remember behaviorism and Freudianism) and therefore subject to manipulation by propagandists, Lasswell argued, the only hope for us as a nation rested with social scientists who could harness the power of propaganda for Good rather than Evil. It is not surprising, then, that many of the early media researchers took their task very seriously. They believed that nothing less than the fate of the world lay in their hands

Bernays (1928), another magic bullet proponent cited in Kumar (2005, p. 139) stated: "elites should use mass media to "engineer consent" and manage "public opinion" for social control." As a phenomenon too, many researches of the time commonly agree that the coming of radio and mass communication has marked a whole new age of interaction for society. This suggests that the idea of propaganda during the magic bullet ages was not one of negative connotation

featuring deception as does the present time, but of administrative orthodoxy labeling the political elite as a guardian like entity.

The social mass of the time was not as much of a concern for these scholars as was the political elite and the mass media that was assumed as attached, if not synchronized structure to the state. To the extent that the mass was considered, it seems to have had a simplistic view. For this instance, Bennet (1981) argued that in its classical usage, the term 'mass' implied that the audience created by the new media was socially undifferentiated, lacking any clear divisions along class, sex or race lines.

Walter Lippman's concern of the time regarding the impact of propaganda on mass society is captured in Baren and Davis (2012, pp. 111-112) as follows:

Lippmann doubted that average people could govern themselves as classic democratic theory assumed they could. The world of the 1930s was an especially complex place, and the political forces were very dangerous. People simply couldn't learn enough from media to help them understand it all. Even if journalists took their responsibility seriously, they couldn't overcome the psychological and social barriers that prevented average people from developing useful pictures in their heads.

This can be a reflection of not only the perfectly vertical interaction that prevailed between the media and the larger social structure, but also that journalism, as a phenomenon was understood as an exclusive, patrician entity. This is well reflected in John Dewey's critics of the propagandist media; "the media's job is to interest the public in the public interest" (Miller, 2005, p. 26).

Yet, there was a concern among the propagandists that the mass was being exposed to too much propaganda and was vulnerable to undesirable challenges. The Nazi German's use of mass media being a major instant of such detriments (Baren and Davis, 2012), Walter Lippman suggested certain regulatory mechanisms for media so as to run the propaganda function for constructive ends.

Schaffel, a systemic theorist of sociology, as cited in Marroco, (2005) specified such need by suggesting a scientific management of journalism as an intellectual, yet, patriarch figure. According to Morroco, 2005, pp. 201-202):

As an opinion maker, the press was the first power of the state, the key to succeed in the social action and power, accomplishing two major functions; transmitting information and giving power visibility. In this picture, journalists performed the role of mediators, positioning themselves between the leaders of the society and the public. A journalist, as someone who thought felt, and experienced the routines of everyday life, would not normally create ideas; he was unable to do a serious intellectual job. To improve the quality of the newspapers, Schaffle suggested the intervention of science and more concretely the separation of advertising, information, and opinion.

Besides the social change that radio brought about among a large, heterogeneous mass, the academic realm of social studies has claimed new subjects of sociological inquiry in the sense that "these studies gave rise to the dominant paradigm in media research that produced a rich corpus of research on media effects" Kumar (2009, p. 143).

These inquiries did not begin any later from the broad popularization of the propaganda model. Some scholars of the 1930s and 40s of America and Europe have found the propaganda model unrealistic.

John Dewey, a major critic, presumed the idea of media as an entity of elites', "beneficence" that served to enlighten the mass of what they need to know (Lippman, 1922, cited in Baren and Davis, 2012, p. 113). He believed that the public should know what is good for itself and not from its leaders promoting a wide range of public education for true democracy (Hardt, 1999). As Baren and Davis (2012, p. 13) note:

[Dewey] argued that newspapers needed to do more than simply serve as bulletin boards for information about current happenings. He issued a challenge to journalists to do more to stimulate public interest in politics and world affairs to motivate people to actively seek out information and then talk about it with others. Newspapers should serve as vehicles for public education and debate.

John Dewey's proposal for the promotion of public's elaborate knowledge, thereby interest for better democracy and 'freedom', along with other consecutive critics and emergent mass communication theorists have diffused the study of journalism through social and political inquiries. The question of media's position in society is one that came with the germination of journalism in the modern world; however, the early days appeared to be somewhat less vibrant in establishing such a position.

Since the 1930s and 40s, however, the academic debates on news media and its role, and expectation have diffused highly just as the explosion of succinctly modified news media technology (Baren and Davis, 2012; Morroco, 2005; Fang 1997; Zelizer, 2004).

2.1.2.2. The Sociology of Media Reception

According to Bennet (1982, p. 31), “sociological inquiry positions its target of analysis squarely within the network of individuals engaged in patterned interaction in primarily complex settings.” The fact that media use messages reach a large mass simultaneously (particularly in broadcast media), the interest of sociologists in such patterned acts is most inevitable.

Along with the strengthened marriage of journalism and sociological inquiry, fast forward on the different media effects studies from the simplistic mathematical model of Wilbur Schramm to the current studies of critical propaganda model (Herman and Chomsky, 1988), the sociology-journalism blend has grown many different branches.

Among these lines of sociological inquiry was the study of how media messages are received and responded to among the audiences. According to Zelizer (2004, p. 60) “Although this area of interest became the signature of mass communication curricula more than of inquiry into journalism per se, it nonetheless was shaped in part through the sociological study of journalism.”

Media reception theories take the attention of the [media] researcher less towards the source, journalist, the media or other institutions and more towards the large audience. As Baran and Davis (2012) state, it is “Audience-centered rather than source-dominated.”

The focus of mass communication studies expanded from source-centered researches to audience when Herta Herzog conducted a famous study on audience’s choice of listening to radio.

According to Baren and Davis (2012, p. 245):

Herzog wanted to understand why so many housewives were attracted to radio soap operas. In contrast with the typical effects research conducted in Lazarsfeld’s

shop, her work didn't try to measure the influence that soap operas had on women. She was satisfied with assessing their reasons and experiences—their uses and gratifications.

Even if later in the study of audience media reception, the audience has started to be considered strategic in selecting and using media for its own purposes, the initial motive towards audience analysis was based on a functional perspective of sociology. Opponents of this school of thought took the study of audiences' use of media, to determine what social function the media of the time was playing (Emenyeonu, 1995, p. 92). Herta Herzog's study daytime soap opera listeners, for example, outlined the program's social benefits to the listeners. As Barren and Davis (2012) note, the then dominant paradigm of sociology-functionalism-was being commonly confused with media reception analysis results. In simple terms, researchers have risked hastily concluding that the audiences' use of media content is necessarily what media is doing for the society, which basically violates the idea of active, benefit seeking audience towards a function being played by a social system; the media, or as Baran and Davis (2012, p. 29) state, "to confuse intended functions with unintended effects."

Katz, Blumler, and Gruvetch, another group of media reception analysis proponents, revived the Uses and Gratification researches when they concluded that audiences are selective, strategic, and active, gratification-seeking in attending to media messages, claimed that the uses that audience's are making of media might not necessarily be the functions that media is actually playing. According to Barren and Davis (2012), the studies of audiences' motives in their use of media content have focused considerably on individuals and their self reports. What is more, Ruriego (2000, p. 4) argued that early U&G studies were primarily descriptive, seeking to

classify the responses of audience members into meaningful categories, thus attempting to constitute a mere summation of individual intentions to societal equivalents.

According to Barren and Davis (2012, p. 247), the individual centered researches were also intended for instrumental purposes:

Early media researchers devoted considerable effort and expense to developing scientific methods for measuring audience size and composition. These were things that advertisers wanted to know so they could better target their ads and gauge their effectiveness. But advertisers had little practical interest in why people sought out radio programs or read newspapers.

Most scholars also agree that early research had little theoretical coherence and was primarily behaviorist and individualist in its methodological tendencies (Katz et al; 1973, Rugiero; 2000, Barren and Davis, 2012; Emenyeonu, 1995). However wide ranged, social science researchers have also questioned what patterned intentions there are and how media message is (relatively) communally consumed (Katz et al, 1973; Barren and Davis, 2012).

Primarily using ethnographic methods, researchers guided by uses and gratifications and other social as well as communication theories have attempted to go beyond the descriptive concern of what, why, or, for how long people use mass media to study what psychological and sociological factors underpin these selections (Katz, et al, 1973, pp. 503).

On the other hand, Katz, Blumer, and Gurevitch (1973) have identified a range of social factors that might trigger individual audience's needs to seek media content. Even if all desires are not common among all members of the audience, the researchers argue, some psychological needs are caused by the different 'social situations' under which the audience finds itself (Katz,

Blumer, and Gurevitch (1973, pp.516-517). According to Katz, et al, (1973, p. 517), the social underpinnings might be involved in the generation of media-related needs in any of the following five ways:

- Social situation produces tensions and conflicts, leading to pressure for their easement via mass media consumption.
- Social situation creates an awareness of problems that demand attention, information about which may be sought in the media.
- Social situation offers impoverished real-life opportunities to satisfy certain needs, which are then directed to the mass media for complementary, supplementary, or substitute servicing.
- Social situation gives rise to certain values, the affirmation and reinforcement of which is facilitated by the consumption of congruent media materials.

Uses and gratifications model, however, cannot be seen as a rival school of thought to the earlier effects theories. It is a rather modified, more methodical explanation of the media-audience relations much better than the perception effects theories has. According to Littlejohn and Foss (2009, 211):

Both [Effects theories and Uses and Gratifications] seek to explain the outcomes of consequences of communication such as attitude or perception formation (e.g., cultivation, third-person effects), behavioral changes (e.g., dependency), and societal effects (knowledge gaps). Uses and gratifications does so, however, recognizing the greater potential for audience initiative, choice, and activity

While Katz, Blumler, and Gurevitch (1973) have had a significant impact on the development of uses and gratifications studies, their works, highly contentious of criticism over the earlier uses

and gratifications studies (Herta Herzog's time), did not intend for uses and gratifications study to be a sturdily social one. Rather, they suggested for researchers to consider the possibility of multiple psycho-social needs and gratifications than just seen at a face value (Katz, et al, p. 521). They have also succeeded in giving explanations at both micro and macro levels eliciting how these levels may feed each other in generating the needs and gratifications (Barren and Davis, 2012).

Not only the micro-macro integration, but also the interplay between the individual and group consuming society and the source, the media is also well established in the uses and gratifications theory of Katz and his colleagues (Littlejohn and Foss, 2009, p. 979).

The theory predicts that media-consumption gratifications are influenced by culture, social institutions, media opportunities, circumstances, personal traits, needs, beliefs, and values. In turn, one's beliefs about what media can provide are influenced by the gratifications one experiences by using those media.

The social nuance of the uses and gratifications theory can be considered brisk. The theory gives concrete recognition for the role of the social structure in the individual's demand and gratification. Baren and Davis (2012, p. 254), for example rephrase U & G's acknowledgement of a demanding, tension inciting social situation which leads to need for sense of certainty by means of media use.

You're worried about your body image and think you have a weight problem, so you read magazines that give advice about dieting or you watch movies or sitcoms in which characters struggle with similar problems. Or you decide to watch some of YouTube's anorexia-themed videos.

And Katz, et al (1973, p. 519) call this “the "feedback" from media use to the individual's performance of his [her] other social roles.” Although the determining factor of social situations on the need of the individual (and many other socially structured aspects of individual needs) seems to be somehow prominent in Katz and colleagues' U & G studies, it is also evident in their analysis that the vicious tie is not just between the audience and the social system, but the rotation of influences among all combinations of the audience, the social system, and the media content (Littlejohn and Foss, 2009).

Revived by the shift towards a conception of audience that is active, strategic, and at times dependent based on its needs, the audience analysis realm has also shifted in a more audience-focused, social contextual direction in the social science world (Baran and Davis, 2012, pp. 257-261). As Campanella (2009, 28) noted:

A media phenomenon should not be analyzed only in terms of a media product designed to provide entertainment and pleasure for the audience. It should also be viewed as a valuable opportunity to understand how this audience articulates their values and social norms around narratives presented by the reality show.

The Encoding-Decoding theory evolved much closer to the sociological spirit in that it gave serious attention for the study of social context and cultural situations in which mass media message is received and interpreted. According to this view, emphasis should be more on the context in which communication occurs than the act of communication (Baran and Davis, 2012).

One of the leading opponents of the encoding and decoding theory of communication was Stuart Hall, who originally emerged from the critical school of thought. According to Baran and Davis, (2012, p. 257):

Hall developed his approach in part as a reaction against a tradition of Marxist film criticism found in the film journal *Screen*, which viewed mainstream popular films as inherently deceptive and supportive of an elite-dominated status quo - a view pioneered by the Frankfurt School. *Screen*'s writers favored avant-garde films in which there was no pretense about depicting a "real" social world. Hall objected to the cultural elitism inherent in this perspective. He thought it wrong to assume that popular films necessarily served to deceive and subvert working-class audiences. There might well be cases in which these films actually made moviegoers less supportive of the status quo.

Breaking through media contents' effect or outcome (as U & G later came to consider), this theory emphasizes that media messages themselves cannot be considered as factors of the audience's resulting form of reception, even though media messages are produced with certain strategic intent. As for the encoding process, Hanitzsch (2009, p. 311) stated; "Cultural forms can be said to be encoded through a specific historical mix of institutional relations, professional norms and technical equipment."

However, according to the theory, these structurally shaped messages can be seen as primary but not only according to which the meanings are constructed, since there is no guarantee for the contents to be obtained as intended by the audience of multiple psycho-social backgrounds (Barren and Davis; 2012, pp. 255-258). Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009, p. 327) also noted that "Hall understood communication as a dynamic circuit. He argued that the same event can be encoded in different ways; encoding and decoding need not be symmetrical. Even though Hall argued that there is a preferred meaning, messages are inherently *polysemic*." Baran and Davis (2012, p. 257) define polysemy as "The characteristic of media texts as fundamentally ambiguous

and legitimately interpretable in different ways” suggesting the relative autonomy of the audience to interpret the messages in multiple distinct ways.”

According to Hannitzch (2009, p. 77), “the subjectivity of the audience is constructed through its interaction with certain material conditions of existence and a variety of symbolic forms. These concerns are usually connected with a symbolic conception of culture.”

Stuart Hall and his later associates are critical theorists who basically believed that mass media messages are produced with a primary intent to reassure the status quo. However, these critical theorists give grand acknowledgement to the audience’s relatively corresponding autonomy in decoding these messages in their own distinct way. Audiences might disagree, misinterpret, or even purely oppositely interpret the messages in ways that work for them nullifying the ‘duping’ factor of the mass media contents (Barbero, 1993; Barren and Davis, 2012; Littlejohn and Foss, 2009). This strand of audience watching has been developed by interpretative approaches to sociology and media studies. Against the more instrumental concerns of commercial organizations, these studies have sought to address the life – world contexts of media audiences. Here, the concerns of audience research are focused on offered interpretations and the social relations of reception.

The socially sensitive, audience stunt of the Encoding-Decoding model has been followed by a chain of researches, both qualitative and quantitative, on audiences’ socio cultural reality and how it facilitates their meaning making of media messages as well as their social realities.

A well reputed study of this type was that of David Morley (1988) who published his analysis of television watching in households from various societal levels in Britain (Littlejohn and Foss, 2009; Jensen and Jankowski, 1991; Barren and Davis, 2012; Jorgensen and Hanitzsch, 2009). The selected program, *nationwide*, was picked for the Morley’s research for it was previously rated as

a primary program of the nation which succinctly offered status-quo explanations (Brunston and Morley, 1978, cited in Baran and Davis, 2012).

According to Jorgensen and Hanitzsch, (2009, p. 327):

Morley examined the different interpretations of the popular current affairs program, *Nationwide*, by audience groups. Each group was homogenous, representing a distinct demographic profile. The study demonstrated that readings of the text were based on cultural differences embedded within the structure of society which guide and limit the individual's interpretation of messages

Morley used focus group discussions, interviews, and observation with 29 groups of 'ordinary' household settings to understand what pattern the TV watching habit entails in families around the country. In analyzing the social realities of the audience and its relation to their viewing and reception experiences, the role of different structural factors, such as gender and class were considered in the analysis.

While the details of Moley's analysis and interpretation can be set aside, the significant idea here is rather the sociological shape that media research eventually came to possess. As Barren and Davis, 2012 and Jensen and Jankowski, 1991) argued, audience analysis has grown rival to the media effects research age which overlooked the role that audience has in determining the outcome of mass communication. Thus, the growth of media reception research works simultaneously grew opposing and shunning positivist media research of the effects school.

The integration it materializes between micro and macro level situations was one of the rewards of audience reception analysis. According to Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009, p. 328,

Reception studies attempts to return to some of the more macroscopic concerns that initially motivated critical theorists. It represents an effort to integrate these critical theory concerns with reception analysis to establish a challenging research agenda.

Concerning the micro-macro integration in reception analysis, Jensen and Jakowski (1991, p. 141) contend that “Most studies of news audiences have grappled with notions of power and tried to map how it is played out in the context of news reception.”

Audience analysis theories have also braced a new realm of qualitative media research which employed the sociological instruments that provide interpretative, contextual, and reflexive insights of the research subjects. According to Alasuutari (1999, cited in Barren and Davis (2012, p. 260),

One does not necessarily abandon ethnographic case studies of audiences or analyses of individual programs, but the main focus is not restricted to finding out about the reception or “reading” of a program by a particular audience. Rather the objective is to get a grasp of our contemporary “media culture,” particularly as it can be seen in the role of the media in everyday life, both as a topic and as an activity structured by and structuring the discourses within which it is discussed....The big picture that one wants to shed light on, or the big question to pursue, is the cultural place of the media in the contemporary world. It may entail questions about the meaning and use of particular programs to particular groups of people, but it also includes questions about the frames within which we conceive of the media and their contents as reality and as representations —or

distortions —of reality The big research program also includes questioning the role of media research itself.

David Morley's ethnographic research has, thus, taken audience reception analysis as sociologist Pertti Alasuutari argues, as well as communication research one step ahead. Ethnographic research has since become a suitable approach to the study of actual practices of audiences. For instance, Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009, p. 332) argue that:

Through participant observation, the researcher can have access to the sphere of everyday life practices. The television text (the news) is not presumed important (as it is in a text-centered approach), but rather, it is investigated as part of a range of media (and, ideally, even non-media related) practices. The bottom up perspective allows for the categories of analysis to be derived from the data.

2.1.2.3. Organizational Studies of Journalism

The study of journalism as an organizational phenomenon has offered a widely attractive appreciation of news media as a social institution. This perspective offers a new idea that can change our otherwise 'simplified' conception of journalism. It challenges the traditional view of journalism under which the journalist (who we would otherwise interpret) performs. The 1960s' different perspective on journalism triggered curiosity among academics and led to a re-examination of the industry's manifest or latent dependence on advertising and the resulting controversies.

As Mierzejewski (2008) argues, journalism's interpretative nature makes the study of media organizations a more interesting and noble from other organizational studies. "....media organizations produce intangible products rather than tangible products, and the

underlying economic characteristics of information products differ from other types of goods in critical ways...”

From a wide set of literature on organizational studies, at least two concepts might offer interesting points to journalism as a cultural, interpretative entity.

At the external level, journalism’s symbolic and functional space in the face of society can be one line of inquiry. As sociologists Mullen and Klaehen (2012, p. 215) stated, “Analyzing the function, operation and effects of the media are essential to any understanding of contemporary societies,” since the discourse of social phenomenon and development goes through news media’s day to day reflection as well as its development (Mullen and kaehen, 2010; Deuze, 2008).

Seen in the structural-functionalist view, journalism is one of the pillars of social discourse, both as an institution and a symbolic figure, which mediates the social and political arena of the public. This role is also a matter of power, however. From David, M. White’s ‘Gatekeeping’ to recent studies of news media’s symbolic power, news media has been an integral subject of media studies as well as social and political studies. Mcnair (2000, p. 1) summarizes the place of journalism as:

Modern politics are largely mediated politics, experienced by the great majority of citizens... move through their print and broadcast media of choice. Any study of democracy in contemporary conditions is therefore also a study of how the media report and interpret political events and issues; of how they facilitate the efforts of politicians to persuade their electorates of the correctness of policies and programs; of how they themselves (i.e., editorial staff, management and proprietors) influence the political process and shape public opinion.

Besides the mediating role that Mcnair (2000) refers to, the symbolic and therefore cultural power of the news media has gotten a wide range of coverage in the social and academic realm.

Lousemery (2006, pp. 2-3) extends Mcnair (2000)'s idea noting that:

Journalism can be seen as an instrument of democracy, but also as a mechanism bolstering up existing power relations. Through the globalization discussion it is possible to consider journalism's ability and possibilities to organize public discussion and create meaningful explanations and concepts about modern phenomena for the general public.

Usually attached to the power analysis of media is the 'discourse' approach which asserts the structural construction as well as maintenance of power of the media mainly acknowledging the symbolic power of the media that has long been embedded in the language of mediation (Van Dijk, ND, p. 2; Andrew and Caren, 2012, p. 844; Weiss, 2009).

Although there is a tremendous literature drawn from the functional perspectives on media roles and functions that refer to the political, social, and cultural roles of media, the more recent assumptions seem to be dominated by the critically inclining, political economy approaches of description concerning the institutional aspects of media.

According to Van Dijk (2003, pp. 11-14), the contemporarily (dominant) critical approach to cultural commodification through media has well been founded by such appreciation of discourse in the study of institutional and social power of the media;

Within a more critical perspective, many analyses of social power, including those of media power, usually imply references to power abuse-that is, to various forms

of the illegitimate or otherwise unacceptable exercise of power, given specific standards, norms, or values.

Mullen and kaehen (2010, p. 215), on the other hand, owe the shift of critical media and society analysis to intentionally diagnose the actualities of social discourse and media's role in it:

If the job of sociologists is to understand and explain the development, stratification and functioning of societies, then attention must be paid to how members of those societies communicate. More specifically, given the long-standing hierarchical nature of societies, there is a need to analyze what, how and why the elites in societies communicate with the masses and what this means for the structures of power.

These scholarly recommendations and critical analysis of media institutions as well as society on one hand asserted media's 'fourth-state,' watchdog role (Liberal-Pluralist view), and the Critical-Marxist approach which saw contemporary media as a modern class instrument (Mullen and Kaehen, 2010; Van Dijk, ND; Deuze, 2008; Wiik, 2010). In the Liberal-pluralist conception, media's function is claimed to be a healthy, conversational instrument among the democratic sphere. Asp (2007, p. 33) asserts that in the normative realm, the liberal assertion of media function looks usually like the following:

News media should provide citizens with such information as enables them to freely and autonomously form opinions on issues of consequence to society. The better the media perform this task, the more they contribute to fulfilling that fundamental democratic value, free opinion formation.

And according to McNair (2000, p. 14), the actions of government and the state, and the efforts of competing parties and interests to exercise political power should be underpinned and legitimized by critical scrutiny and informed debate facilitated by the institutions of the media is a normative assumption uniting the political spectrum from left to right. While in the descriptive approach, Jorgensen and Hanitzsh (2012, p. 3) noted that:

Through the rituals of consuming and discussing the texts of journalism, we come to understand and construct ourselves as subjects within local, national, and, increasingly, global contexts. In particular, journalism is seen as intrinsically tied to democracy. It plays a key role in shaping our identities as citizens, making possible the conversations and deliberations between and among citizens and their representatives so essential to successful self-governance. In short, news is the stuff which makes political action possible.

The liberal- pluralist approach to media research can be considered an optimistically functional view of news media in contrast to its rival, the critical-Marxist approach. According to Mullen and Kaehen (2010, p. 216), the critical-Marxist views are contemporary versions of the classical Marxist view which mainly draws on ideas of class and elite- manipulation. “The critical-Marxist critique of political systems in capitalist, liberal-democratic societies purports that it reflects the class-based nature of those societies and the laws and policies that are enacted are those that serve to bring about and to maintain ruling class domination and exploitation.”

Barren and Davis, (2012, pp. 347-348) summarize this thought as following:

Elites are able to disrupt everyday cultures by using a rather insidious and ingenious strategy. They take bits and pieces of folk culture, weave them together to create attractive mass culture content, and then market the result as a substitute

for everyday forms of folk culture. Thus, elites not only subvert legitimate local cultures, but also earn profits doing so. People actually subsidize the subversion of their everyday culture. If you've ever debated hip-hop and rap artists "selling out," you've been part of a discussion of the commodification of culture.

In the aspect of justifying elite manipulation of media and news, arguably no scholar has provided such an acute model as did scholars Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky as explicated in the *Propaganda Model*. Referring to the propaganda model, Mullen and Kaehen (2010, pp. 217-218) argue that "In terms of its application, mainly by those working within the aforementioned tradition, it is one of the most tested models within the social sciences... More than 20 years after its formulation, the PM continues to provide an invaluable tool for understanding the media within contemporary capitalist societies." While this approach itself is beyond the scope of this discussion, the main mode of manipulation as asserted by the Critical-Marxist and specifically political economy school of thought include selective programming and spotlighting, discrimination by advertisement, source bias and coercion (Mullen and Kaehen, 2010, *Ibid*).

Hargraves (2005, pp. 78-81) contends that "... the myth of the hiring, firing, government-toppling press baron remains part of journalism's cultural heritage and it still informs the way journalists see themselves as buccaneering and hard driving heroes with dirty faces."

Although journalism, as a cultural product, might seem as though its changes are primarily of content production and the factual factors that constitute it, the institutional veracity has an equal, if not greater, role for journalistic actions. (Hovden, 2012; Wiik, 2010).

According to Caren (2010, p. 843), communication scholars, political scientists, and sociologists have developed rich and overlapping traditions of scholarship on the social construction of news.

Fundamental to these perspectives is the observation that news media are not neutral channels reflecting the events of the day. Like other institutions, media are shaped by organizational, economic, political, social, and cultural forces that influence the practices of news-gathering and the content of news.

2.1.2.4. The Sociology of Newsrooms

News media as institutions, and newsrooms as processors and producers of news, possess an interesting set of organizational realities that depict both communality and disparity from other institutions and are deemed interesting subjects of reflexive studies for the naturally unique features they have. As Boyer and Harnnez (2006, p. 8) stated:

The social and historical zone of intersection between the practical and the institutional-technical is precisely where the purer modes of instrumental and medial arguments concerning media tend to be least distinct and helpful....

....the final forms that news messages take are largely dependent on the micro-labors of research, information selection, collegial coordination, and editorial conversation that constitute their crafting. On the other hand, they are likewise co-constituted by the professional training that a journalist has completed; by the conceptions of journalism as a vocation s/he has absorbed; by the on-the-job apprenticeship in the craft offered by colleagues; by institutional expectations for productivity, efficiency, loyalty, and comportment; by the necessary interaction with 'real-time' technical systems of information transmission and management; and so on.

The scope of this literature review covers the thoughts that have been forwarded in the institutional explanations of newsrooms and there by news. It will cover the major parameters by which news works have been analyzed, especially by sociological inquiries of journalism and mass communication. From the organizational point of view, Routines; ('those patterned, routinized, repeated practices and forms that media workers use to do their jobs, created in response to the limited resources of the news organization and the vast amount of raw material that can be made into news). More specifically, according to Shoemaker and Reese (2001), cited in Becker and Vlad (2000, p.62), routines are dictated by technology, deadlines, space, and norms' are discussed as major signifiers of news making and journalism with equal institutional significance in journalistic work environments as in any other institution thereby validating the employment of the sociology of work to news media institutions.

Related to the first reason of studying news room routines, the fact that news making is subject to routines produces an even grander claim; That news presented as reflection of events and everyday reality is subject to routinised procedures of work which challenge news's conception as a mirror of reality.

As Tuchman (1972) argues, it might be more valuable to think of news not as distorting, but rather as reconstituting the everyday work. Journalists construct and reconstruct social reality, and researchers who want to understand news should focus on that construction, rather than on whether the end product was biased in some way.

As much as routinised news making has been considered a paradox to the interpretative and urgent nature of news making (Tuchman, 1973, Becker and Vlad, 2009), it has also been as an intrinsic component of journalism. As Tuchman (1973, p.111) argues;

Newsmen (and they are still overwhelmingly men) stand out as workers called upon to give accounts of a wide variety of disasters-unexpected events-on a routine basis. News work thrives upon processing unexpected events, events that "burst to the surface in some disruptive, exceptional (and hence newsworthy)" manner.

The reality construction realm of journalists is characterized by at least a three way interaction; news as a craft or product, the need of the news media (as institutions) for routinised procedures so as to deal with the unpredictable variety of events and issues, and the overall organization of work in the institution. (Tuchman, 1972; Tuchman 1973; Becker and Vlad, 2009)

Even if as informative institutions, news media have to abide by the principles of news making, as organizations too, they need to control both such resources as human power and time, as well as the overall flow of work in the organization which, unless strategically routinised (Tuchman, 1972), might be hard to comprehend given the otherwise slack nature of news making.

Of these organizational facts, pertaining equally for news rooms as they do to other organizational departments, are routines. The issue of routines seems to dominate the organizational discussions of journalism.

Routines in the newsroom

News making is one of the least likely types of work to go through routines since routines entail predictability; a concept much far from our idea of news as an everyday proclamation of new, strange happenings (Ryfe, 2009; Tuchman 1973; Tuchman 1973; Becker and Valnold, 2009). Reese (2001, pp.2982-2987) discusses routines in news room settings as necessary and certain components of new production since news media's stakes are structured in different directions. News making routines function as both results and causes of content production, Reese argues.

Among these relations that invite news making routines are; the psychological factors impinging on [an individual's] work: professional, personal, and political... The organizational routines within which an individual operates form a structure, constraining action while also enabling it.... Audience pressures in the “market” explanation of “giving the public what it wants”...e.t.c.

Ryfe (2009,p.199) elaborates the handiness of routines in news making for getting work done; “Deviations from their basic routines and practices may threaten journalists’ ability to find and transform information into news, and may also trouble deep-seated conceptions of identity and value within the profession.” In a sociology article titled “Objectivity as strategic Ritual: An examination of newsmen’s notions of Objectivity”, Tuchman (1972, p.663-664) established the importance of routines;

Every story entails dangers for news personnel and for the news organization.

Each story potentially affects the newsmen's ability to accomplish their daily tasks, affects their standing in the eyes of their superiors, and affects the ability of the news organization to make a profit. Inasmuch as the newspaper is made of many stories, these dangers are multiplied and omnipresent.

These scholars have depicted newsroom routines as not only normal but also essential components in the work of journalism. A proceeding argument can be that the embodiment of certain routines in the world of journalism for strategic ends, has offered journalism a certain customary shape that entails ‘normal’ journalistic activities. Bourdieu (1998, p.79) establishes the subtleness of routinization in what he calls ‘intellectual’ worlds saying; “Between agents and the social world, there is a relationship of infraconscious, infralinguistic complicity: in their practice, agents constantly engage in these which are not posed as such.”

In seemingly agreeing way to these arguments on the importance of routines, Bourdieu (1992) in Beeker and Vlad (2009, p. 59) acclaims;

The observation that journalists and media organizations follow identifiable routines in producing the news has had significant impact on the study of news work. The identification of these routines has contributed to a major theoretical argument in the literature, namely that news should be viewed as constructed social reality rather than a mirror image of events that have taken place.

The routinisation of work by journalists has been described differently in different literature. Primarily through participant observation and in depth interviews with journalists, many researchers have determined the different highlights and surrounding social environments of journalism. Jean Epstein (1972) conducted study of NBC TV and the everyday work habits of journalists and the impact of their mechanical, as well as social interactional works on their content. In a rich analysis made in his famous book, 'News from Nowhere' (1972, p. 231) claimed;

The picture of events that correspondents and commentators present is constantly questioned and modified and shaped by technicians, news editors, producers, and executives, with quite desperate values and objectives. This inevitably creates some tension. From the executive's point of view, it would be best for the organization- and the least trouble for them personally-if newsmen had no values whatsoever. But since this is recognized so as to limit the opportunities for newsmen to impose their personal views on sensitive issues for any prolonged period of time. Recruitment, training, supervision, rotation, editing controls and general policies all reinforce this purpose.

Also, Gaye Tuchman conducted a study on a local independent television station affiliated with a major network and a daily morning newspaper with a circulation of about 250,000 (Tuchman, 1972, p.112), some of whose arguments have been raised earlier in this review. From this study, Tuchman identified major ways through which journalistic work is predicted and controlled so as “to routinise the unexpected”.

‘Typifications as routines’: Tuchman argues that the types of news set up by the institutions are primarily for the convenience of the work flow of the newsroom. She identified major types of news in the research areas and characterized their function for institutional situations. Accordingly, Tuchman (1972, pp.115—116) identified;

- Hard News versus Soft News
- Spot News and Developing News
- Continuing News

The newsmen state that their categories are based upon the subject matter of events-as-news. But it is difficult to apply consistently their distinctions between hard news and soft news. Also, discussing spot news, developing news, and continuing news, the informants introduced a seemingly extraneous element: the subject matter of certain kinds of events-as-news tends to happen in certain kinds of ways. And so, newsmen "just happen" to be alerted to the need to process them in different ways.

Pierre Bourdieu argued that there is considerable harm created by customary working procedures of the journalist. In his famous work: *On Television* (Bourdieu 1987), he argued that Tv, with eagerness for a larger audience share (through sensation), denounces realities to create dangerous

mass delusions, ethnocentric and simplified thinking, and even to a more dangerous harm incitement.

2.1.2.4.1. Newsroom Norms and Social Control

One of the concerns of the sociology of work includes that of autonomy and interpersonal control (Reese, ND; Tumber 2006). Also in the construction of news that is partly characterized by the discussions highlighted earlier in this review, a lot of interpersonal interactions prevail in negotiating the news within the social and occupational setting of newsrooms (Reese 2001,p. 641). Social control comes as an issue in the study of newsrooms because the theoretical and ideological thoughts are translated to practice through the members in the practical arena, and the interpretative field of journalism is a team work of multiple stages of molding the product (Reese, 2001; Tuchman 1972; Ryfe 2010; Becker and Vlad, 2009).

According to Breed (1955, p.326);

Top leaders in formal organizations are makers of policy, but they must also secure and maintain conformity to that policy at lower levels. The situation of the news- paper publisher is a case in point. As owner or representative of ownership, he has the nominal right to set the paper's policy and see that staff activities are coordinated so that the policy is enforced. In actuality the problem of control is less simple, as the literature of "human relations" and informal group studies and of the professions' suggests.

As to norms as well, Breed (1955, p. 324-327) argues that staffers (reporters, copy editors, e.t.c.) are symbolically and latently guided by executives and older staff to adjust to the norms already existent in the newsroom while the norms include the official policy and laws as well as the

'routines' related to them. Breed particularly owes such trend of socialization in the newsroom for the daily editorial meetings. Whenever a staffer proposes a story idea to his/her crew, they also gain the chance to learn how the crew discusses to shape the proposed story into news,

Reese (2001), in his review of another notable sociological work, '*Journalists at work*' by Herbert Gans, argues that this has filled the gaps of both Breed (1955) and White (1950)'s studies.

The fact that Breed's study was conducted in the early fifties might imply the risk of citing an obsolete argument. Even if these the journalistic arena might have come through changes in many different kinds, still the study of newsroom socialization and the role of social control seem sensible.

Drawing on the collective, social control and power of the newsroom on the news and (famously discussed by Warren breed), and David Manning White's 'gate keeper' model, Reese (2001) acknowledges the integrative quality of Herbert Gans's (1993) organizational model of news production. According to Reese (2001, p.280);

[Gans] identifies sources of power within the organization, and the incentives journalists have to conform to group norms and follow practical considerations. This approach moves away from treating news as a question of bias and embeds it in the ongoing activities of organizations. Gans locates the construction of news not in the journalist, the publisher, or in the gate keeping editor, but in the process by which all parts, routines and arrangements of the organization are engaged for the creation of news.

In accordance, Pierre Bourdieu's relatively recent field theory, has been found an interesting insight to the 'journalistic field'; to see how the social-professional world of journalism, one of whose typical frames is the newsroom is affected and structured by the individual (and thus his/her *Illusio*), the '*field*', and the *Habitus* conjoin to make up a separately researchable social setting (Zelizer, 2004; Hovden, 2012). Bourdieu also emphasizes the role that the 'social space' or 'field' itself plays in constituting the interest of the 'agents' or practitioners. Interests related to the field and reinforced by it will turn the agent's interest in his/her actions (work as a journalist) towards *Illusio*: An investment of one's self to the game-the field (Bourdieu 1998; Bourdieu, 1992; Reese, 2001).

2.2. Theorizing Journalistic Actions

2.2.1. Thinking Journalism through Pierre Bourdieu

This study is informed mainly by the concept of 'reflexive sociology' and particularly Field Theory: a propositional complex containing a model commonly called field analysis. The field theory was first proposed by Pierre Bourdieu explicitly as such. However, a wide set of scholastic literature from Pierre Bourdieu and others have revolved around closely related approaches even earlier.

The framework of analysis for the current study is mainly informed by the two journalism-related works of Pierre Bourdieu; *Practical Reasons on the Theory of Action* (1996) and *On Television* 1998[1996]; the first one is a brief sociological presentation of the author's assumptions regarding especially the fields of knowledge and cultural production, while the later is a translated version of the author's influential description and diagnosis of the journalistic field.

In Bourdieu's field theory, society is understood as being composed of different fields which, although related, are fairly separate as each field has its own specific logic. From this perspective, journalism can be understood as a subfield within the larger, more general, field of cultural production. Bourdieu (1998, p.39) stated;

Journalism is a microcosm with its own laws, defined both by its position in the world at large and by the attractions and repulsions to which it is subject from other such microcosms. To say that it is independent or autonomous, that it has its own laws, is to say that what happens in it cannot be understood by looking only at external factors.

In explaining the need for separatist analysis of universes of different profession, Bourdieu asserts that every field lives up to its own laws as well as practices thus demanding specific analysis. According to Bourdieu (1994 [1998], pp.83-84)

We have social universes which have a fundamental law, a *nomos* which is independent from the laws of other universes, which are auto-nomes, which evaluate what is done in them, the stakes at play, according to which evaluate what is done in the stakes at play, according to principles and criteria that are irreducible to those of other universes.

Bourdieu sees a social field as a specific social microcosm created by long processes of social differentiation, or as Bourdieu (1998, p.96) states; "the site of a logic and a necessity that are specific and irreducible to those that regulate other fields", and simultaneously stresses their conflictual nature, where agents of unequal resources (capital) and dispositions (habituses) are locked in social struggles, the most fundamental of which is the question of who are "worthy" and "unworthy" agents (*nomos*), (Hovden, 2012,p. 58)

The field theory and Bourdieu's various thoughts on social and professional fields can be a fascinating guidance to study journalists and journalism in at least two ways. First, his elaborate explanations on what it means for a professional (particularly engaged in knowledge and cultural production (Bourdieu, 1998[1996]; Bourdieu, 1998) can inform us of how the journalist embeds himself in organizational culture which can mean plenty for his/her product as news.

Another reward from the field theory is that Bourdieu's eventual interest in studying the journalistic field separately can be highly relevant as conceptual as well as methodological framework for journalism research. While the field theory is an exhaustively extensive concept, this study has employed it as a theoretical framework insofar as the researcher thought is fit to the scope of the current research.

Regarding behavior of agents and their commitment to the 'game', Bourdieu claims the imposition of the structured game (Editorial Policy, newsroom guides) on the mind structure of the agent. Socialization or learning in this case is how the structure develops itself on the agents. (1994 [1998],p.74-77)

In his sociological work; 'Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action', Bourdieu (1998), claimed that the issue of interest is an interesting one especially for what he seems to consider his specialization: the sociology of knowledge and the intellectual universes "which are sites par-excellence of disinterestedness" (p.73). Intellectuals, the agents who have set themselves (or as science placed them) to be separate and "extraterrestrial", Bourdieu claimed, are really not so, they are involved with interest. They are not disinterested, not neutral.

Referring his assumption to 'the sociology of knowledge, he presents another reason for such non disinterestedness: that all agents seek and find 'sufficient reason' for what they do. They see the chances and justifications of what they are engaged in. But, Bourdieu argues, this does not

make them rational actors for they comprehend, relate to, see the reason, and justify what they do. This is not because of their rational behavior, but because of their commitment to the game, their forecast of a chance for success in that field, their belief that the game is worth playing: one of the most important components of the field theory *Illusio*. Bourdieu, (1996,p.76) argued;

Agents may engage in rational behavior without being rational; they may engage in behaviors one can explain, as the classical philosophers would say, with the hypothesis of rationality, without their behavior having reason as its principle. They may conduct themselves in such a way that, starting with a rational evaluation of their chances for success, it seems that they were right in doing what they did, without one being justified in saying that a rational calculation of chances was at the origin of the choices they made.

In this sense, Bourdieu argues, “Social agents do not engage in gratuitous acts”. ‘Gratuitous’ act being non costly as well as non beneficiary, the reason why social agents do not engage in it, implies that all (reasonable) actions have ends: economic end in Bourdieu’s view.

Bourdieu thus frames the social setting (Particularly the intellectual worlds) as economic settings in which investments of the agents’ selves are made. Through a reason of reasonable (yet not rational) interest, Bourdieu (1996, p.82) argues, the agents invest themselves to the game ;

If your mind is structured according to the structures of the world in which you play, everything will seem obvious and the question of knowing if the game is “worth the candle’ will not even be asked. In other words, social games are games that are forgotten qua games, and the illusion is the enchanted relation to a game that is the product of a relation of ontological complicity between mental structures and the objective structures of social space.

As Bourdieu (1992,pp.78-79) notes, *Illusio* is the investment of self to the game. It is;

The fact of being invested, of investing in the stakes existing in a certain game., through the effect of competition, and which only exist for people who, being caught up in that game and possessing the dispositions to recognize the stakes at play...we could thus also use the word investment in the double sense of psycho analysis and of economy.....*Illusio* is for a social setting what Libido is for human biology.

Regarding deviants and revolution seeking actors, Bourdieu (1998,p.78) explained that they struggle to change it because they give the field as much value as they think it should assume.

As to why *Illusio* comes so naturally for the agent, Bourdieu argues that psychoanalytically, people commit themselves for their respective fields so as to attain the most efficacy with the least cost. Anthropologically, Bourdieu rejects what he calls a ‘reductionist, simplified ‘hypothesis on the field theory that agents are in *Illusio* because it is the most reasonable way to seek money, since all interests of success are monetary interests. *Illusio* is about finding a right way to pursue this interest. What is more, Bourdieu (1998, p.79) argues, the concept of *Illusio* is basically subconscious and subtle. He argues that; “between the agent and the social world, there is a relationship of infraconscious, infralinguistic complicity...In their practice, agents constantly engage in theses that are not posed as such.” *Illusio* is a determinant and eminent concept for all the rest of the components in the field theory. Bourdieu’s field theory generally deals with;

Illusio/Doxa; According to (Bourdieu 1998) and (Willig, 2012), looking at journalism as a field means understanding journalism as a semi-autonomous field with its own logics of practice as an ongoing game or struggle over defining what journalism is, what good journalism is, and so forth. These symbolic establishments are made in the assumption of field theory through what

Bourdieu calls *Doxa*: 'The Journalistic *Doxa*': the unspoken, unquestioned, taken-for granted, understanding of the news game and the basic beliefs guiding journalistic practice.

Doxa concerns the common experience that the world seems self-explaining and self-evident to us (Bourdieu, 1998 [1996]). *Doxa* is the taken-for-granted social practice, the seemingly natural, which we rarely make explicit and which we rarely question (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 57).

The general *Doxa* of social practice can be described as "the universe of the tacit presuppositions that we accept as the natives of a certain society" (Bourdieu, 2005, cited in Shultz, 2007, p. 11). Speaking of the journalistic *Doxa* is naming a set of implicit, tacit presuppositions in the journalistic field, not least the practical schemes that editors and reporters take for granted. Shultz (2007, pp.194-195) asserted;

As many news ethnographies have shown, what constitutes a good news story is often very evident for journalists, while a new intern or a visiting ethnographer will need some time and experience before the good news story becomes evident or even recognizable. With the concept of *Doxa*, we can understand these practical schemes as principles of both 'vision and division'

The journalistic *Doxa*, as Shultz (2007) draws from Bourdieu, refers to the beliefs and values the agent (journalist) abides by resulting from his deep attachment to the field and its values. Journalistic *Doxa* comes as naturally from the *illusio* for engagement with full energy in the *game* (Bourdieu, 1998 [1996], Bourdieu, 1998).

Habitus: The concept of *Habitus* in the field perspective can be considered as a conceptual extension from the previously highlighted components. It is a concept of how an agent is well fit

in the field and used to the norms (*Doxa*) that they come naturally as predetermined routes of work. According to Bourdieu (1992, p.)

The *Habitus* fulfills a function which another philosophy consigns to a transcendental conscience: it is socialized body, a structured body, a body which has incorporated the immanent structures of the world or of a particular sector of that world—a field—and which structures the perception of that world.

Shultz (2007, p.203) extends the concept of *Habitus* to the realm of news making saying;

Journalistic practice is not the place for thorough detailed discussions of every little news story. Rather, news *Habitus* implies a fast decision making processes. There is no single recipe for “the good news story” or a single recipe for “newsworthiness” even though editors and reporters alike have a distinct gut feeling of what a good news story is and what newsworthiness is about.

Besides, the journalistic *Capital* is defined by Shultz (2007, p.11) as; “the internal currency of the journalistic field which also implies the cultural capital of the field (prestige, autonomy, internal recognition among peers) as opposed to the economic capital of the field.” Similarly, Shultz (2007) described newsroom *Capital* as a sub form of journalistic capital which structures the positions in the newsroom (for instance the amount and kind of experience, awards, track records, beat, education, etc.)

Pierre Bordieu seems to find a lot of problem with this routinized custom of the agents in the journalistic field. Across the different critiques he gave in his different works, he expresses his concern that the journalistic field is bound to be mechanical, and vicious in the production process of news.

An instance of Bourdieu's major concerns is how the journalistic field 'simplifies' the political information and ideas it is supposed to clarify for the large audience. In his critical speech on Television, Bourdieu (1998, pp. 2-3) argues;

In a world ruled by the fear of being boring and anxiety about being amusing at all costs, politics is bound to be unappealing, better kept out of prime time as much as possible. So, insofar as it does have to be addressed, this not very exciting even depressing spectacle, which is so difficult to deal with, has to be made interesting.

Another point noteworthy of the field theory is that; even though every social field is a separate universe with distinct realities, they are also deemed highly structured and related to many other fields whose borders against the single field can be hard to determine (Bourdieu, 1998; Willig, 2012).

Reflexive Sociology

The reflexive sociology model was one with an elusive impact on the social sciences since the 1970s. It is primarily identified with the conviction that every social setting, and these being continuously multiplying, can be a separate realm of analysis with common integrals.

As the word implies, reflexivity entails a social researcher's tendency to reflect on, to mirror a social world in which he/she is a part. This can be considered as a departure from the 'universalizing' approach that traditional social science takes. Bourdieu (1992, p. 234) explains the twofold viability of reflexive social research;

at once and without contradiction, both to particularize her object, to perceive it as a particular case, (this against one of the most common fallacies of social science, namely the universalization of the particular case), and to generalize it, to discover, through the application of general questions, the invariant properties that it conceals under the appearance of singularity.

According to Boyer and Harnez (2006, p.9), there are at least two reasons why reflexivity is a vivid approach to studying social settings;

On the one hand, as various thinkers would point out, such as Anthony Giddens (e.g. 1990), reflexivity is an overarching characteristic of modernity (or perhaps we would now prefer to say modernities, in the plural form). Society is engaged in monitoring itself, scrutinizing itself, portraying itself in a variety of ways, and feeding the resulting understandings back into organizing its activities. On the other hand, reflexivity, at least since the 1980s, has been identified, rather more intimately, as central to ethnographic work: we concern ourselves with our conduct in the field, with the relationships there between self and others, with the ways we write or otherwise report.

The reflexive sociology approach has been found rigorous for, as the method entails, understanding the social world is best done through an approach which can help show both the interior, phenomenological aspect of the social world, and at the same time forbid unnecessary generalization, which any study of social worlds should not fall victim to (Bourdieu, 2002).

It would be intriguing what journalists, professionals who identify and interpret the social world, are themselves constructing a set of codes and trends out of their workplace interaction and their interaction with other social circles.

The reflexive sociology approach also allows the researcher (who is also an instrument of the research) approach these subtle actualities through experiential, rather than objective eyes and deal with emergent constructs that appear significant during the research work.

Bordieu (1992,p. 251) has similarly argued that;

The power of mode of thinking never manifests itself more clearly than its capacity to constitute socially insignificant objects into scientific objects, or, what amounts to the same thing, to approach a major socially significant object from an unexpected angle.

Although the term reflexive sociology stems from the reflexive approach (reflexivity), its attachment to sociology is to be considered insofar as a study of agency and structure in a social 'world' are concerned. Thus, by reflexive sociology, we are referring to a study approach adopted from the discipline of sociology and sociologist Piere Bourdieu.

So as to get grip of such loose concepts as newsroom norms, perceptions, traditional ways of doing things, and justifications of action, a reflexive approach which lets the researcher get the most of the natural setting through engagement is rewarding.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study investigated the overall impact that the social interaction and structure of a newsroom has on journalists' day-to-day work and professional autonomy. It also assessed newsroom specific norms and customs along with the major structural factors that determine the work of journalists in the particular newsroom.

The study employed an ethnographic method substantially informed by Pierre Bourdeu's reflexive sociology approach. In this chapter, a brief introduction to the reflexive sociology approach is presented as continuity to the discussion on field theory that has been attempted in the earlier chapter.

The study adopted an ethnographic approach where participant observation was the principal data collection tool. Furthermore, semi-structured, semi-formal interviews were used as supplementary instruments. Both primary and secondary sources, along with the specific instruments that have been used are discussed in this section. The chapter also discusses the procedures and strategies used to present and analyze the obtained data.

3.1. Research Design

Qualitative field research mainly entails qualitative observations of natural situations or settings using mainly the techniques of participant observation or intensive interviewing, or both (Lofland and Lofland, 1995; Hodkinson, 2009). According to Hodkinson (2009, p.8), qualitative field researchers are interested in understanding how people give meaning to their lives by interpreting their thoughts, experiences, actions and expressions.

Also characteristic of such a research method, according to Hodkinson (2009, p.13), is: “As opposed to, for instance, laboratory research, the field research design has an emerging nature, and methods of data collection are used that enable close contact with the field research.”

The most important characteristic of ethnographic research is that it is conducted on certain settings while they are in their natural state so as to gain a naturalistic understanding and empathy of subjects as well as situations.

According to Bailey (2006, p.1); “field research is the systematic study of ordinary activities in the settings in which they occur. Its primary goal is to understand these activities and what they mean to those who engage in them”. According to Whitehead (1995, p.5), Ethnography is a form of inquiry that requires a researcher to be immersed personally in the ongoing social activities of some individual or group carrying out the research. It is aimed at finding out things that are often not seen as important but belong to the implicit structures of people’s lives. Asking is indeed very often the worst possible way of trying to find out.

Such a research design allows closure to a more sympathetic view towards people’s realities and information that can be seen from the subjects’ point of view that enable the ethnographer to comprehend a more contextualized information analysis.

Ethnography is often defined as a research method and a written text used to tell a credible and authentic story thereby giving voice to people (Fetterman, 2007). According to Harris and Johnson, 2000 (Cited in Genzuck, 2003,p.1); "Ethnography literally means 'a portrait of a people'. An ethnography is a written description of a particular culture - the customs, beliefs, and behavior - based on information collected through fieldwork”.

Fetterman, (2007, p.26) describes the ethnographer as; “a human instrument and must discriminate among different types of data and analyze the relative worth of one path over another at every turn in fieldwork...”

The use of ethnographic research methodology has been effective in investigations of social behaviors and norms and this has been espoused into other disciplines such as media studies. For example, Moores and Shaun (1993) noted that the use of ethnography in media studies has become increasingly popular.

Appropriate use of ethnography to understand media practices and gaining insights into what motivates these practices could make an interesting discovery. This supports the premise that ethnography is a preferred method in observing the practices of media in our country.

Thus, this study employed an ethnographic method using a combination of field observation aimed at observing the media practices of the participants in their environment/ news room, and semi structured, semi formal, in-depth interviews with selected informants.

Reflexive Field analysis Approach

Reflexive field analysis is a methodological extension from field research method. From the perspective that social realities can only be understood in their natural setting, field research method is primarily about conducting a direct, thorough engagement in research sites to gain authentic understanding of social realities. Reflexivity can thus be considered as an analytical strategy for the ethnographic method (Bailey, 2006; Shultz, 2007).

The field perspective suggests that a field should be analyzed in its ‘context’ for, without context, this dynamic concept is incomprehensible. According to Shultz (2007, p. 4), context can be reframed in lines with two basic queries; structure versus agency, and micro versus macro

levels of investigation. Both queries point to the conceptualization of the individual in relation to the social and to the conceptualization of social practice. Accordingly, Shultz (2007, p.21) argues that;

Bourdieu offers an analytical strategy for investigating the epistemologically problematic question of context, by bridging structure and agency, micro and macro, in a relational, constructivist-structuralist approach. This makes the field perspective highly suitable as a framework for ethnographic studies.

It is an even more rewarding convenience that Bourdieu's theory of social worlds/social spaces/ fields, e.t.c., has also been justified in some of his works with critical approach against the practice of journalism. Basic to most of Pierre Bourdieu's theorization of social spaces (in addition to *Habitus*, *Illusio/Doxa*, *Capital*, and other *components* of fields), is his argument on the need to consider structure while studying social spaces. According to Shultz (2007, p.12);

Social space is a system of relations, not different positions and fields. As an example, studying journalism means taking a critical look at the naturalized taken-for-granted positions in the journalistic field such as "serious newspaper" or "good journalism". The relational perspective forces the researcher to ask questions such as "Why serious", "What is serious" and "serious in relation to what" in order to draw a map of where the "serious newspaper" is placed in relation to for instance the "tabloid newspaper" or the "popular magazine"

One of the major rewards of the reflexive approach is that the researcher performs as an instrument of the research process and, as Bourdieu (1992, p.26) explains, takes part in the construction of the reality of that social world. That way, the research setting is not, as positivists attempt, an object, but a world where reality is continuously redefined.

Although highly interesting, the reflexive sociology approach can suggest a wide complex of information on the social spaces under study (Hovden, 2012; Shultz, 2007). So as to deal with the possibility of wide-ranged information that can be obtained from reflexive analysis, the researcher, assisted by previous literature review, has demarcated the segments of analysis along three themes.

As highlighted in the literature review, *Illusio/Doxa, and Habitus*, along with the social *Capital* and surrounding social spaces are identified as key separations through which the study of any field is subject to and can be studied against. To best explicate the social frame of the newsroom under study, the researcher has accordingly chosen the thematic parameters of the analysis. Thus, the analysis of this particular study revolves around these dimensions of the newsroom.

Therefore, this study would take a reflexive approach in presenting and analyzing the findings obtained from observation conducted and selected informants and would interpret them in light of the research questions.

3.2. Study area

The study area refers to the place where the research data is collected (Lofland and Lofland, 1995, p.64). As mentioned above, the study intends to determine the overall impact of the social interaction and social structure of the newsroom on journalists' day-to-day work and their professional autonomy. It also aims to analyze what impacts institutional and other structural factors have on the newsroom. The study was conducted in Fana Broadcasting Corporate, a commercial media house that primarily focuses on the radio medium. The population for the purpose of this study includes all news reporters, editors, and editor in chiefs in all the six newsrooms of the institution at its headquarter.

This particular media house was selected for the following reasons:

1. The availability of clearly organized newsroom setups that make scrutiny through observation more convenient.
2. The relatively high number of journalists in the station compared to other radio stations
3. The availability of acquaintances in the media house who would be of help in the research process for contacting research subjects as well as maintaining trust in the area.

3.3. Sample Selection

Sampling involves the process of selecting a group of people, events, behavior, or other elements, which enables the researcher to conduct a study (Burns and Grove, 2007). The sample in a study is the set of persons who meet the sampling criteria (Burns and Grove, 2007).

As Fetterman (2010, p.35) states; “Ethnographers usually use an informal strategy to begin fieldwork and the most common technique for this is to use judgmental sampling method which relies on the judgment of the ethnographer to select the most appropriate participants for the study”.

The researcher has thus used judgmental sampling technique to determine the specific setting where participant observation was conducted. The researcher made a brief assessment of the general features of the different newsrooms and determined the newsmagazine (*Zena Metshet*) department as an observation site.

Reasons for selecting the news magazine department include matters as convenient size, schedule for editorial meetings, length of editorial meetings, and language. As for the interviews, initially convenience and judgmental sampling techniques have been employed.

3.4. Data Collection Instruments

Both primary and secondary sources of information have been used for the study. Since the research objectives require a close up information and flexible consideration of themes, first hand information from participant observation and semi structured and semi formal interviews were used to gather information.

3.4.1. Primary Sources

Participant Observation

Participant observation is useful for gaining an understanding of the physical, social, cultural, and economic contexts in which study participants live, the relationships among and between people, contexts, ideas, norms, and events; and people's behaviors and activities – what they do, how frequently, and with whom (Bailey, 2006).

To attain the research objectives of determining newsroom norms, journalists' structural identifications, social control, and related concepts, participant observation was employed as a data collection instrument for this study. This was mainly guided by Pierre Bordieu's field theory and the assumption that instead of looking at what we immediately recognize as real, we should look behind the substantial and identify the relations between different positions in the social space.

Information obtained from participant observation have also assisted the researchers in improving certain decisions such as the selection of key informants and stakeholders for interviews. Thus, while conducting interviews, the areas of emphasis were varied based on the observation of specific experience, anecdotes (that concern particular informants), symbolic and professional rank, e.t..c.

The researcher attended editorial meetings of the newsroom every morning for nearly two months, i.e from April 14 to June 13; the net number of days excluding holidays, weekends, and the researcher's absence (2 days) is 39 days.

The researcher attended morning editorial briefs to determine the major constructs out of the newsroom setting, and engaged in some story developments, discussions, as well as evaluations of news stories.

As a complement for the observation made in the news magazine department, the researcher also worked as an assistant in a much smaller news department to gain a more authentic grip of the journalists' experiences. This was a two-week participation in the website news department which consisted of five journalists (a much smaller number compared to the news magazine department), but followed similar news briefing procedures as the main research site.

The data obtained from participant observation were sorted partly according to Pierre Bourdieu's components of a field: *Habitus and Illusio* whose detailed elements have been determined by the researcher from review of related literature. In addition to these, other elements such as structural identification and social control indicators have been checked against.

Besides the checklist that the researcher pre-determined, additional information regarding the observation setting have come up as important constructs. Moreover, participant observation has been invaluable in helping the researcher locate and adjust key informants as well as other material.

Interview

According to Marczyk et al (2005, p.117), “An interview can cover any number of content areas and is a relatively inexpensive and efficient way to collect a wide variety of data that does not require formal testing.”

Key informant for interview were framed on two basis; Firstly, newsroom members who own instructive positions such as the editor in chief and director of newsroom were selected. Secondly, the researcher framed certain informants based on observation of subtle position they hold in the newsroom during news brief sessions and other activities. The interview guides for reporters and news editors were sketched with basic guiding questions; however most of the interviews were extended (Minimum of 15 minutes and a maximum of 57 minutes) requiring the flexibility of the researcher to add more questions from the answers given. The interviews also helped the researcher as complementary resources to analyze the information obtained from participant observation.

12 interviews with reporters have been conducted along with and after the participant observation has been conducted. Basic specific and guiding questions were initially prepared and administered together with emergent questions. The general themes around which the interviews revolved included:

- Personal information (age, educational background, professional experience, specialisation, e.t.c.),
- Journalistic taste.
- Self-Perception of professionalism and professional autonomy .
- Institutional identification

- Workplace social experience

3.4.2. Secondary Sources

Guided by Pierre Bourdieu's field theory, the researcher considered the assumption that the inside of every setting should be studied in closure to the inside as well as in relation to the other structures surrounding it (Bourdieu, 1998[1996]; Bourdieu, 1998; Shultz, 2007). For this, background analysis of the institution including foundation, ownership, and editorial policy, have been very important to understand the context in which the newsroom rests. The secondary data sources that have been used for the study included:

- Editorial policy and Program manual of the institution and the news magazine department
- Published journals, pamphlets, and yearbooks
- Aired news stories on website
- Research works regarding the institution

3.5. Ethical Considerations

Since participant observation involves the researcher's involvement in the activities of the research setting, some ethical issues were reviewed and maintained throughout the study.

- **Self- Disclosure:** After acquiring all the necessary formal permissions from the media house and later from the director of the news department, the researcher had informed the members of the newsroom about herself and the purposes of the study on the first day of participant observation. A brief written statement of the purpose of the study has also been submitted to the director of news department beforehand.

- **Confidentiality:** both in the data collection and analysis phases, informants' identity has been kept confidential. No names have been identified in the note taking process and while recording interviews.
- **Informed Consent:** The participants have been asked for their permission before the participant observation and individual interviews. For the participant observation, the researcher orally disclosed her role in the research process both as a researcher and a participant. Separate formal letters were also submitted for the request of data collection and participation in the newsroom. Permission for voice recording was asked for all informants. Accordingly, all except two informants have been voice-recorded during interview

3.6. Data Analysis

Guided by field theory's contention that all fields should be understood as to where they stand in relation to other fields (Bordieu, 1998[1996], Bordieu, 1998, e.t.c.), data obtained from secondary sources regarding the historical background and institutional veracities of the media house were presented. This was believed to help in presenting a relative and contextual premise for the newsroom.

In presenting the data from participant observation, description of the research setting including demographic description of members, as well as organizational features were embedded and data obtained from participant observation was analyzed in accordance with the themes that have been used throughout data collection.

As for the analysis of the interviews, the discussions were sorted out according to thematic relevance, and then, presented in combination with specific responses. The analyses were also made thematically rather than using specific guiding questions so as to uphold analytical and contextual feasibility.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

As has been indicated earlier, the research is an ethnographic study of a newsroom at a commercial radio station. This section presents the details accounted by the researcher as imperatives for the analysis and later discussion in accordance to the research questions. The data collected via participant observation and semi-structured interviews are analyzed. For the analysis, the 'field theory' that has been discussed in the literature review is employed as a guide, particularly with the analytical strategy of reflexive sociology. The analysis of data from participant observation and semi structured interviews have been sorted in accordance to the model of 'components of a field' of Pierre Bourdieu,. Thus, issues of *Doxa/Illusio*, *Habitus*, and *Capital* are the major parameters of analysis. As supplementary elements for contextual introduction, the socio demographic features of the newsroom are presented. In order to analyze the newsroom within a frame of a social setting, there is a need to investigate what the components and the surrounding fields (at least those that are explicitly dealt with) are worth discussing.

Illustrations and extracts from conversational interviews as well as incidents from personal observation are repeatedly used in the thematic discussions with the view to employing a phenomenological approach to the setting. What is more, as Bourdieu (1992, pp 232-234) argues, such mode of approach to research subjects can serve as a methodological departure from;

Using formal conceptual constructions but through this particular manner of thinking the particular case which consists of actually thinking it as such. This

mode of thinking fully accomplishes itself logically in and through the comparative method that allows you to think rationally as a particular case constituted as a particular instance of the possible

The ‘Complementary polarity’ (Boyer and Harniez, 2006, p. 8) among these components will also be implied while discussing these components.

One must remember that ‘mediation is itself mediated’ by the settings, institutions and practices of journalism. Journalists themselves are certainly aware of the various social dimensions of the practice of journalism, albeit differentially on an individual basis. The ethnographer works from within the social space of journalism to help retrieve and coordinate this knowledge, to understand the rhythms, relations and textures of everyday professional experience, both inside and outside of newsrooms.

Brief Introduction to the Research Setting

Fana Broadcasting Corporate (FBC) is a commercially registered, profit making media complex with more than 12 local fm radio stations radio stations. (Fana broadcasting corporate, 2014 annual publication)

Establishment

According to the company’s 15th anniversary magazine, the establishment of the station dates back to 1995 when it was officially established as the Ethiopian People Peace, Democracy, and Freedom Voice. Prior to the change in government in 1991 G.C, the station had been run for a short while under the name “*Ye Democraciyawi Mekonenoch Demts*” (‘Voice of Democratic

Officers’) under the management of the then rebel wing Oromo People’s Democratic Organization (OPDO) in *Hagere Selam* and later in *Mekelle*.

According to the magazine, the then radio station was established and functioned as a “voice of rebellion and inspiration” voice that communicated issues such as peace and stability, economic restoration, national common good, unity in diversity, and taste of democracy. It was also used by the EPRDF administration as a communication channel that informed the people of developments in the struggle against the military government. After the collapse of the Derg in 1991, the radio was established as a permanent station with the name *Demtsi Weyane* (Voice of the rebels) in *Mekelle*.

In October 1994, the radio station was expanded to a national radio station as ‘*Radio Fana*’, increasing its transmission to 38 hours, which quickly developed to 52 hours in 1996 and 60 by 1997. By 2000, Radio Fana had acquired 72 hours of transmission in 41 different Ethiopian languages. Fana Broadcasting Corporate is a share of four regional endowment groups ; *Tumsa*, *Tiret*, *Timret* , and *Wondo*. A few individuals also possess small shares of the media complex.

Radio Fana started to function in FM format as Fana FM 98.1 in 2009 and had planted about 12 FM stations across the country both in local and national languages with a decentralized program format that broadcasts an average of 8 hours local programs in local languages (FBC pamphlet, October 2013).

Since 2010, FBC has had a decentralized, complex organizational set-up that goes in accordance with its continuously expanding, extensive size. However, there are basic structural fashions by which the station at large and the newsrooms in particular are governed.

The Editorial Policy

The station has a 92 page document of program manual and editorial policy that details both the administrative and professional imperatives of the function of the newsrooms. (Program Department, News show department and the News Magazine section)

Even though the specifications for the two departments have some basic differences, these are only concerned with such technical issues as time and length of editorial meetings.

The first chapter of the editorial policy introduces the missions, objectives and administrative set up of the news department (2000, pp. 1-4). Accordingly, it is stated that the administrative committee of the news department involves;

1. General Manager (optional):
2. Executive program manager (*program memriya halafi*) (Permanent): manager and secretary
3. Department managers (permanent)
4. News Editors (Permanent)
5. Program Editors (When necessary)

In the second chapter, the editorial policy outlines the major documents and principles based on which the editorial policy has been constructed. These include;

- EFDRE Constitution
- Broadcast and Press Proclamations
- National interest and foreign relation policies
- Principles that guarantee public participation
- Policies regarding peoples' culture, language, and custom (*Yehezibun*)

- Policies guaranteeing public benefit on economic and social fields
- Journalistic ethical principles
- Policies regarding the station's commercial competence, market excellence (*yegebeya merinet*) and attractiveness (*tedemachnet*) (Fana Broadcasting Corporate Program manual and Editorial Policy, 2000, pp.5-15).

In the consecutive chapters, the editorial policy draws principles of the editorial policy and the ABCs of Journalism (page 16), guidelines news and program covering law enforcement bodies, political parties, and parliament (Fana Broadcasting Corporate Program manual and Editorial Policy, 2000pp.21-23).

4.2. Newsroom Norms and major considerations

Throughout the researcher's stay in the newsroom in general and the editorial briefs in particular, different factors have been observed to be at stake while judging and negotiating news. Since the news magazine department handles all news production endeavors, the editorial briefs are widely sensitive to news value discussions. However, certain values and principles are much more prominently acknowledged in the editorial brief than others. This might be because the 'types' of news that are produced in the newsroom are specifically distinguished, which, in the researcher's belief, underlies the patterned and predictable news judgment and production habits.

4.2.1. Norms on News Selection

News selection in particular and other journalistic decisions in general, are handled in a seemingly predictable pattern without much dilemma per se for each individual details of work.

Most of the norms concerning news selection happen to be consistent to the written, codified requirements (in editorial policies, professional principles, e.t.c.). However, they are not

attributed as such by informants. This corresponds to Bourdieu (1994,p.77)'s statement regarding *Illusio* ;

Social games are forgotten *qua* games, and the *illusio* is the enchanted relation to a game that is the product of a relation of ontological complicity between mental structures and the objective structures of social space...games which matter to you are important and interesting because they have been imposed and introduced in your mind, in your body, in a form called the feel for the game.

Along with the doxic adherence to previous experience that are taken for granted as commonsense without a phenomenological 'bracketing' of their ideological underpinnings. The force of the pre constructed resides in the fact that being inscribed both in things and in minds, it presents itself under the cloak of self evident which goes unnoticed because it is by definition taken for granted. (Bourdieu, 1992)

Since the identification of all factors might be an endeavor too loose to grasp, one approach has been identifying those that are explicitly acknowledged as determinants. Based on the researcher's observation of frequency, the most prominent determinants are classified as follows;

4.2.2. News Negotiating Factors

A field, whatever its degree of independence indicates, continues to be affected by the laws of the field which encompasses it, which are economic and political profit (Bourdieu, 1992). The researcher attempted to see what surrounding structures were explicitly considered to determine news making endeavors.

A summary of the factors which have been acknowledged as such in the editorial briefs suggests that the most frequently considered factor in the editorial negotiating processes is the audience-*'The people'* or *'Listeners'* as commonly labeled by the editorial members.

However, the pattern with which the public is considered among the editorial crew seems a little skewed towards public interest and the desire to gain listeners' attention rather than the impact of the news on the public.

Since each editorial meeting starts with discussion of previous day's aired news stories, the editorial crew is given a chance to comment on their colleagues' stories, by positioning themselves as listeners rather than professionals. Although this particular trend has not been attributed to having such direct purpose (of placing one journalist's own self in the shoes of the listeners), it implies a presumable attempt to keep considerate of listeners. (During a personal interview, the editor in chief who chairs much of the editorial meetings reported that the commenting programs are primarily aimed at empowering journalists for better work through constructive comments from the house.)

Most of the commentaries begin with such a phrase as "As a listener I think,..." followed by comments that tilt towards content of news rather than the technicalities. As an example, a reporter once expressed his feeling of pride as a response to a story that reported the commemoration of a grand road project the previous afternoon. Another reporter also aired additional accusations towards Kebelle officials in his neighborhood after a story has been reported about a suspended inner-city road project.

These instances indicate that the newsroom generally considers listenership as a powerful parameter of the journalistic experience and a reference for the quality of news. In a weekly editorial brief, a reporter also once suggested that the listeners listen to the station's news

because it is the best around and that [the journalists] “should live up to that!” The editor-in - chief also regularly reminds of the members saying ‘we should think...what the people are expecting to hear’

“The public’s ears” is also a leading factor for news selection and judgment value as reported by most of the informants. For a list of alternatives given for informants to choose according to what comes to their minds first while writing news, most of the informants chose ‘the public’ or ‘the listener’. However, their explanations revolve around different spectrums.

A junior reporter who worked in the newsroom for about six month said;

We cover the public’s complaints. Our project stories center around the people. However, on one side, it is also the government’s deeds. As an example, the mayor [of a *woreda* city] was expelled from his position because of Fana’s news report. So, one way or another, every news story is done for the good of the people...yet, we report what the government is doing since governmental actions are for the people. The government is in charge of what happens in this country (Personal Interview: May 26, 2014).

Another relatively senior reporter who stayed for more than five years in journalism explained;

News’s sensitivity to public concerns contributes a lot to its listenership. We see that in practice since a lot of people choose to listen to Fana. People are motivated to listen if their issues are raised in the news; while their grievances are heard as well as the good things. This is what is done in Fana (personal Interview: June 10, 2014).

In most of the editorial meetings that the researcher attended, regular and strong commentaries are frequently forwarded from the newsroom, especially from the editor in chief, regarding the need to consider the public in every step of the work. These remarks, upon explanation, are either of listenership or attractiveness (comments on speaking manners while on air, on what the public would want to hear, on the need for seasonal information such as agricultural information and security, the need to follow up on developing public affairs.)

An editor-in-chief noted the following in an interview;

We always center our news around people...there are stories that we plan based on listeners. One of the major things we are known for is our attention for whether our news benefits the public...whether we can keep the listeners' attention by creating a feeling of concern...this is our major brand (Personal Interview: June 10, 2014).

Even though public interest is both observably and reportedly (from interviews) a significant determinant, the issue of impact does not seem to get as much attention in the newsroom. In most of the news brief sessions where news stories have been rejected, the defending points by reporters are backed up by the potential impact that the issues might have on the public.

For instance, a relatively new-coming reporter once suggested a story to be processed regarding internet fraud, which, according to her, is stealing legal film producers a considerable amount of money and affecting the entertainment market, thereby initiating the need for public awareness. Her explanation of the project was suddenly interrupted by an editor in chief who just went in inviting other new ideas.

A similar reaction occurred when a reporter proposed to cover a story on mental health. The reporter put forward certain numerical data to support his argument that awareness on mental health is not adequately created in the country. He then said that he intends to investigate what the concerned bodies are doing in response to the problems of awareness and mental health institutions. The editor in chief responded to this proposal in the following words; ‘we have done this too many times’. Unlike other kinds of stories (such as corruption and security threat), no content-oriented discussions have been made to these stories.

Although the most common sources of news are official statements and *project* stories, the audience seems to be seen as a significant implied factor in all news processes. The audience is discussed not as a source of news but as a receiver whose best interests need to be served by the media organization. It is the researcher’s understanding that the newsroom actors impose up on themselves a sense of symbolic guardianship. Here, a correspondence is seen between the editorial members’ repeated acknowledgement of audience needs and the written editorial policy which similarly declares a pro social responsibility paradigm.

Public/Government Institutions and officials

Another determinant with significant impact on the editorial meetings is official bodies and officers. While news stories are proposed by individual journalists for discussion, (these discussions of news are limited to only a certain range; the format and principle of the editorial policy states that news stories should be of investigative type and be watchful of official bodies, so as to bring information that the public deserves to know). It seems to be a common custom to *feature* individuals with power and popularity whenever such personalities are involved.

Up on discussing news items that feature government bodies, officials, and other popular personalities, journalists identify the news stories by the popular person involved in it rather than

the event on which the news was based. It is common among journalists to identify the stories as *the prime minister's* or *Dr. Tewodros*'. As far as the researcher's observation has gone, all news stories with top officials involved are discussed as eminent and irreversible.

In addition, While discussing news stories that feature officials and government bodies, no discussion of what angle the story should take has been made in the briefings. The only points of discussion on such issues were of assignment or time. During a Monday newsroom briefing, an editor in chief strongly requested the crew to give emphasis for the commemoration of the ruling party's ascendance to power on May 28, 1991.

Moreover, stories that come from official sources (whether involving top officials per se or not) are most likely to gain immediate approval for airing with little or no discussion of the newsworthiness of the official statements. It seems that all officially released statements from government bodies should be approved to be news.

In the editorial policy, section three, it is stated that priority of coverage is given to news related to parliament and chambers of people (*Ye hezebe meker betoch*). However, there is no other specification regarding the coverage and portrayal of government bodies and authorities in the editorial policy.

A reporter explained to the researcher that coverage of officials and authorities has to do with producing news of public interest (Personal Interview: May 23, 2014).

Virtually all the informants believed that featuring officials and authorities as necessary only for stories that need the officials' responses regarding grievances about public services. None but one of the informants referred to the editorial policy while defending this argument.

One informant backed up his argument about the need to put official sources and authorities under scrutiny by attributing to the newsroom's tradition of holding authorities accountable.

This is just the tradition in Fana. Just as any media house has its traditions, this describes how we work in Fana (Interview Clip: May 23, 2014)

On the other hand, other informants noted how they sometimes find these stories baffling and yet get to work on them because their newsroom needs them.

On a press conference [regarding the ruling party's victory commemoration], I raised questions to the speaker regarding lack of good governance....I was indeed sure that these angles will not be allowed by my editor and that these authorities would complain about my questions in the conference.... (Personal Interview: May 13, 2014)

He recalled a similar experience where he once confronted an official in an interview and was later reprimand by his editor (Personal Interview: May 13, 2014).

Another reporter also attributed this to the station's philosophy of journalism practice saying that

Both our government and Fana are now focused on development journalism. Such journalism should not dare to infringe government's performances...it should encourage the government success and point out short comings as well as show directions as to how they should be addressed. This is the experience I have acquired in here." (Personal Interview: May 26, 2014).

However, the researcher has repeatedly observed that in the website news department (where relevant news is continuously monitored), no news stories that discuss failures (of projects, services, e.t.c., designed by the government) are even raised for discussion. Again, there is no

explicit specification in the editorial policy of the station regarding this specific issue of covering success stories. A reporter explained this habit of avoiding negativity stories in the following words; “I do not see a problem with the policy, but the people in charge of the implementation have different priorities like caring for their position and promotion...” (Personal Interview May 23, 2014). He recalled that an investigative story that he was once working on was altered by an editor into a positive news story that refuted the initial complaints based on which his investigation was inspired. He concluded his experience claiming; “As you go up in the power line, you think only about your own interests, rather than others’. It is on the lower level of organizational rank that you get to do pure journalism” (Personal Interview: May 13, 2014)

The editorial policy also states that journalists should be regularly responsible for the progresses being made for the betterment of the country and take the responsibility to continuously inform the public of government’s activities. (Fana Broadcasting Corporate Program Manual and Editorial Policy: 31)

Other Media

The level of acknowledgement among the editorial group members for the coverage of stories by other media is also considerable. Both local and international media have been raised as frames of reference for how the newsroom has performed or should perform. BBC and CNN have been taken as references regarding news element or pattern of news analysis (especially the BBC has been repeatedly cited as a comparison point regarding the analysis it has made and how that should help the newsroom in handling its own stories.).

As for the local media, interestingly, the rare, brief, and sidelined discussions have been about learning from their mistakes in presentation and depth. In this regard an editor in a news brief

session said ; ‘We should not be weak enough to repeat news like [Another local media complex] Or [A local FM station] Do.’

Another point worth noting on this topic is that of sourcing from other media (local and international). While the editorial policy of the station explicitly states that certain sources of news are irrelevant for FBC, and a subtle pattern of consensus has been observed regarding a few media sources that are deliberately rejected as sources of news.

In one occasion, a reporter informed the editor that he has monitored a ‘special’ news on an economic issue. The editor asked which media organization the news was monitored from, for which the reporter mentioned a local private newspaper. Even though the editor initially looked highly interested while hearing the grip of the news, he ordered the reporter not to upload the news after he knew who the source was. However, later when the exact same news story was sent from a government news agency, the editor declared that it could be uploaded

Later in an interview, a deputy editor explained to the researcher that the station had implicitly rejected that particular newspaper as a source of news because there has been a personal disagreement among officials of the station and the owner of the newspaper. (Personal Interview: May, 13, 2014)

‘This is unquestionable! Individuals do as they please...Here just as is done elsewhere!’
(Personal interview: May 15, 2014)

Speaking generally of the problem with reliability of certain media as sources, an editor in chief told the researcher that there have been experiences where sourcing these media resulted in broadcasting inaccurate stories. (Personal interview: May 10, 2014)

After explaining a similar experience of self customization of news source selection, another informant also noted; “yet, I do not refrain from doing the best I can. While avoiding those things that my bosses do not want, I keep working as hard as I could” (Personal Interview: May 23, 2014). “It depends on the editors and editor in chief...but *Fana* usually favors its clients even though it is not an exaggerated deal” (Personal Interview: May 13, 2014).

The Editorial Policy

Though latent, the impact of the editorial policy was discernable for the researcher. At the explicit level, the editorial policy has not been much of a factor for discussion in the editorial meetings. It affirms the station as an agent for public forum, protection of citizens through uncovering and following up abuses of power. This is highly pertinent in the individual reporters’ response as to what responsibilities they assume as a journalist. In one instance while discussing a story of corruption committed by a private investor, an editor in chief smilingly noted the following;

When we find people like this, we warmly welcome them; this is what we need!’ . The enabling role of the editorial policy on the journalists’ efficiency has also been mentioned up on interview with the same editor-in-chief.

What I do is implement the editorial policy. We all perform under the mandate of the editorial policy. It is a must that we adhere to it and stick to the details as per the institution’s guiding principles. Under these conditions, one can say that the freedom in *Fana* is almost an absolute one; as far as one follows the editorial policy (Personal Interview: June 4, 2014).

In explaining what factors they consider while conceiving and writing a news item, none but one reporter mentioned the editorial policy as a primary consideration, although in slightly general terms.

Whenever you begin to conceive a story, you should make sure that you keep the interest of Fana....we were trained on this when we joined the institution. We have also seen the editorial policy and we accepted the editorial policy when we started working here. (Personal interview: June 10,2014)

The news criteria mentioned by the individual informants strongly correspond to the editorial policy. However, when asked about where they learnt their tastes for good news, they referred the news briefs, senior journalists, personal beliefs, academic trainings, and self evident reasoning. Another informant noted that her news judgment values were continuously ‘growing’ through editors’ corrections; “Since the editors know better from experience and we are relatively newer, whenever he edits my news stories, I try to come up with better ones next time” (Personal interview: May 10, 2014).

4.2.3. News Quality as Negotiating Factor

This section deals with the different parameters against which the news stories, both that have already been aired and those that are being suggested by the editorial members have been judged.

These include the following;

Content Related Factors

The negotiation of news regarding news quality usually included that of ‘news development’; almost all comments made on the news stories, whether positively or negatively, included the issue of how well the news was ‘ripe’

For most of the respondents, the qualities that constituted good news included; “public interest”, “boldness”, “human touch”. These qualities of news were often featured in the editor-in-chief’s everyday comments, the news brief evaluations, and the editorial policy.

Article 2 of the editorial policy identifies values that should be used to judge news as follows;

- Public Interest
- Enabling quality of thought and stirring role of public dialogue
- Problem solving capacity and inspiration of harmonious social relations
- Contribution for a better social environment

With respect to qualities that constitute good news, a junior reporter noted;

I like news that deals with a national issue...my ideal type of news are those that *Fana* does!...news that addresses public grievances...news that a development journalist would write..!” (Interview Clip: may, 26, 2014).

Other respondents acknowledged that they learnt their ideas of good news from their seniors in the newsroom.

4.3. News ‘work’ and commitment

This section examines the attachment of journalists in the newsroom to their working environment. Guided by Pierre Bourdieu’s (1996, p.78-79) idea of *Illusio* which advances the notion that there exists a certain level of ‘self investment’ both in the psychological and economic sense, the researcher has attempted to see to what level and how the target journalists identified themselves with their professional environment. Or, in Bourdieu’s (1996, p.134)’s words, “their feel for the game.”

Most of the respondents reported that they prefer to make news that involves abuse of power and wrongdoings especially by government bodies and investors. Upon evaluating their own professional autonomy, the majority of respondents attributed their professionalism to their autonomy and their role as watchdogs of public interest.

In order to test Bourdieu's idea that agents' 'ways' simply correspond to that of the 'social spaces in which they perform', the researcher attempted to see the similarity and differences across journalists of differing professional background, academic background, length of stay in the newsroom, and previous work environments.

Reporters who stayed longer (2 to 6 years) in the media house explicitly acknowledged that their newsroom was both the main reason and the best possible place for their professionalism.

A journalist whose journalism career started in the media house 6 years ago reported that; 'The system is both encouraging and supportive....given that, whether to take advantage of the system or not is up to the journalist's commitment and interest' (Personal interview: May 13, 2014)

Another senior journalist admitted that he considered the newsroom he was working in as a best place for practicing the profession.

I really, really like the profession, and there is no better media than this to serve the public very well and exercise journalism. That is the problem...you do not have many options... (Personal interview: June 3, 2014).

Another senior journalist concurred;

I plan my own stories, and receive the comments for my project. Nobody else decides what news story I should work on...so I work in a free work setting, so I am happy (Personal interview: May 13, 2014).

A reporter who previously worked in a state owned radio and another private FM station before joining this media house a reporter who stayed 6 months ago attributed her professional fulfillment directly to the working environment in this media house. She said;

If you work for the love of the profession, you won't feel the workload. So, Fana makes you a real journalist...It makes you competent! (Personal interview: May 22, 2014)

Another junior reporter who worked for 6 months in the profession shared a similar view;

Even if I leave this station, I now have a strong working habit...Fana teaches you in what depth, in what analytical efficiency, and how far you should develop a news story. Everything you do regarding your news is up to you. You are responsible for every detail. Thus, I believe I will come out as an efficient, strong journalist...You develop professionally and intellectually (Personal interview; May 4, 2014).

4.4. The Newsroom 'Capital'

According to Shultz (2007,p.3), Newsroom capital is the resources which the agent (media or journalist) has to put into the game, resources that are recognized in the field and by the other agents in the field. Since such capital is best explicated in the interactions and social (yet professional) dynamics, the researcher examined how the social interaction among and between editors and reporters intertwine with their journalistic work. This was implemented by observation of informal discussions that were handled in the newsroom and the target group members' self report regarding their social experiences and the common social constructs.

Bourdieu (1992,p.243) asserted that;

Everything becomes different, and much more difficult if instead of taking the notion of 'profession' at face value, I take seriously the work of aggregation and symbolic imposition that was necessary to produce it and if I treat it as a field, that is as a structured space of social forces and struggles.

Along a similar line, Boyer and Harnetz, (1992,p.8) argued;

One must remember that 'mediation is itself mediated' by the settings, institutions and practices of journalism. Journalists themselves are certainly aware of the various social dimensions of the practice of journalism, albeit differentially on an individual basis.

In order to explicate the role the role that relational and positional factors might play in the practical scheme of the research setting, the researcher determined three major spectrums with which the social setting was believed to be most vividly understandable. These are; *Professional rank, in-office experience, and academic (professional) background.*

Considering these area of professional practice to be equally social, arising from the differences in different socio demographic and psychological differences among the members, the researcher attempted to see what these differences might mean to the journalistic practices at hand.

Gender

Six of the members of the newsroom being female and the rest 16 males, a dominantly male group is identified in the newsroom. The place of gender cannot be clearly identified in this setting because of this small number which does not allow a reliable conclusion. Three of the

female journalists in the newsroom are junior employees (all six months) which again intervenes with the analysis of symbolic dominance either as an issue of gender or of apprenticeship.

An analysis of frequency of active participation in news negotiation suggests that much of the negotiation and revision process is dominated by men. In the negotiation processes, the only occasions where female members' participation was observed are those where they had to present their project proposals and a frequent assignment of a senior female journalist who revises (reading from a written copy) previous news stories. As to spontaneous negotiations whereby journalist forward opinions, female journalists rarely took part in commenting, suggestion, and clarification. (During the researcher's attendance of editorial meetings, two senior female journalists have spoken on such matters in three different occasions only.)

Educational Background

Even though a formal record of journalists' educational level and background is not available, the researcher has found out that majority of the members of the newsroom own Bachelor's degree. Among the 12 informants, ten have Bachelor's of Arts degree (Ethiopian Languages, English language and Literature, and Journalism and Communication), while two have a college diploma in English language. Among the deputy editors, two have acquired bachelors of Arts degree while another one has a diploma. The editor in chief and director have Masters of Arts degree in areas of language and linguistics.

4.4.1. Major Social Precursors of the newsroom

The social space of this particular journalistic world is best identified with the pattern of interaction where individuals take certain role positions.

4.4.1.1 Professional Rank as a Social Precursor

Seven of the journalists in the newsroom are deputy editors while one editor holds the title of editor in chief. The number of journalists with the title of editor and deputy editor holds half of the entire newsroom.

Organizational ranks in the newsroom ranges from that of junior reporter to editor in chief, subjecting the journalists to promotion to consecutive ranks (of levels of deputy editor and editor) every six months.

While only one journalist holds the title of editor in chief, there are five deputy editors with no special practical departure from the rest of the reporters. However, as has been informed by three of the junior reporters, continuous mentorship and follow up is rather a tradition in the newsroom.

While such hierarchical rank is relatively equivalent to experience in journalistic experience, it is clear to see the role of professional rank as symbolic powers. In most of the editorial discussions, the negotiations of news content, angle, relevance, e.t.c. are rounded up by members with editor and deputy editor titles. Such members of the newsroom almost always play the role of clarifying, assuring, and determining the ultimate decisions on news making before the editor in chief communicates the ultimate remarks. After the observation that a few reporters seem to have especial predetermined acceptance, the researcher has learned that all of these journalists have professional ranks of at least deputy editor. However, there are still journalists with such rank that do not demonstrate such symbolic roles.

Up on explaining experiences related to interaction with editors, most of the informants reported that such obvious conformity is attributed to the considerable experiences of the editors rather

than their title. A junior reporter explained that she simply adheres to the editors' comments, corrections, e.t.c. because they are more experienced than she is and that they know better. She also reported her confidence that whatever corrections are made by an editor is a deserving one and that she is eventually learning what to do and not to do from the corrections made by editors. This is very similar to the opinion reported by the rest of the junior reporters. (Personal Interview: June 10, 2014)

Another junior reporter explained that some editors who are in charge of editing news copy tend to encourage reporters to self censorship and that the quality of news report highly depends on which editor is making the script editing.

Another journalist with the title of deputy editor reported that rank is not a matter of competence in the newsroom and that some people continuously attempt to make good impressions for promotion. He also exclaimed that;

Some journalists desire favorability and interactional cohesion with their bosses, and different authority figure. This is evident since the newsroom has different levels of qualities as managers and editors change. (Personal Interview, June 13, 2014)

The researcher observed that while about four members including the editor in chief have been identified as prominently active in the discussion and negotiation process, there is a difference in the contents whereby these members give suggestions.

One reporter particularly clarifies issues, suggests angles and depth only of stories that are current and that entailing ministry offices. Another deputy editor always provides background information on how grievance news should be handled while the other two always perform an

elucidatory role regarding issues of authority. A significant degree of correspondence is captured among the roles that these journalists take and their individual opinions of what their responsibilities are as journalists.

A weekly schedule outlining the assignments of members to the different news formats is posted and announced to the members letting a journalist cover all kinds of news at certain intervals. However, due to technicalities such as double duties and time, these schedules are sometimes altered. Yet, as the editor in chief believes, such trend is essential for the exposure and professional development of journalists.

In the review segments of the editorial policies, reporters are mostly mentioned in their full names as the attributes of the news stories (*X's news or Y's news rather than the news on such and such event*) and discussed in more reference to the journalist than the story. Accordingly, personal references are made for the appreciation and critics of the stories. Such trend of personal attribute was specially observed on one incident where a journalist who was covering a corrupt institution was kept under custody (as reported proudly by the editor in chief) by the institution authorities. Many members of the newsroom, intrigued by the act demanded that what happened to the journalist should be included in the news for the public to know. However, the final news did not include the reporter's experience up on broadcast.

A significant degree of correspondence is captured among the roles that these journalists take and their individual opinions of what their responsibilities are as journalists.

4.4.1.2. In office experience

As has been explained in the previous section, the span of service in the newsroom is equivalent to the professional rank attained by the journalists. Thus, the longer a journalist has stayed in the

newsroom, the higher rank he/she attains. A latent role of guidance has been redundantly demonstrated by certain few members of the newsroom (All editors) especially while dealing with news that involves governmental bodies or political issues. One editor (Ee) took the role of clarifying and educating the rest of the crew on issues of politics while the editor in chief often plays a role of shaping the journalistic stunt that should be taken while covering certain controversial stories and on non specific but current issues of interest.

On one significant event that features demonstration against a governmental program, the editor in chief spoke for about twenty minutes on how irresponsible threats the actors are and what the government intended by designing the resultant plan. He gave no credit for alternative perspectives and strongly exclaimed that the actors are criminals. His elaboration, however, was not on a specific news story or a project. Rather, a presentation that seems to keep the members abreast of what figurative, righteous attitude to hold.

Although the news story on the issue has already been aired, the discussion continued by another editor who explained to the house the initial reason of such controversy (he attributed this to a private commercial media) and the stabilizing role that Fana is in charge of.

Up on asking the editor in chief on such activities (of attitudinal guidance), he reported;

“The journalist should know what he is doing, he should have a clear idea of such national issues and his role”

A junior reporter commented on these trends saying; “Since these editors have stayed long enough to know very well what the institutional interests are, I think it is a right thing to tell us”(Personal Interview, June 10, 2014)

In general, seniority and in office experience in the newsroom or the media house at large is most likely to correspond to attaining a symbolic state of guardianship, and guidance in the newsroom.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Conclusion

This study aimed at examining how the social environment of the journalistic field affects the individual journalists' professional attitude and experience. Treating the newsroom as a social setting where individual journalists interact with diverse backgrounds and attitudes, an attempt has been made to analyze the professional implications of such social interaction.

In doing so, the study also attempted to assess what norms are adopted in the workplace and how these interfere with the formal guidelines such as editorial policies, what forms deviation have, and which structural factors appear to be dominant in news selection and presentation processes.

- The newsroom under study can be labeled as norm-referenced (to mean highly dependent on norms). Although the most prominent of the traditional ways of doing things are highly similar to the formal imperatives, the members of the newsroom barely recall these formal requirements and claim their standards to be self evident and of their personal tastes. Through day to day negotiation sessions, straight forward reminders of the symbolic position that the newsroom and the journalists have, are provided by senior members of the group, which are equally reflected in the individual journalist's attitudinal reflection. These images basically reflect a symbolic self perception of guardianship to the public and an exposing role. However, the basic rationales behind such attitude have been found to differ greatly among individual journalists.

Most of the informants referred to focus on the need to play the watchdog role to listenership relevance and institution's intrinsic way of doing journalism. No explicit or implicit reference to such arguments as the public right to know or the aim of journalism have been mentioned.

The editorial policy of the institution states that the initial aim of the radio was to serve the watchdog role during times of civil war, which, according to the document, has now been adopted to 'People's voice'. These values seem to have been translated to pragmatic day to day journalism of the newsroom as routinised ways of working rather than justifiable professional decisions.

Such institutional conformity is again evident in the journalists' report of their opinion on qualities and values of news that are highly close to that of the specific newsroom's (*which operationalized news types as Kireta, Chilot, Project, business, e.t.c.*) which suggest what format and issues an ideal news is characterized by.

- The habit of covering official and authority centered news (which are usually scheduled) without any negotiations is directly corresponds to the editorial policy's requirement to bodies such as parliament, political parties, law enforcement bodies, e.t.c. However, the justifications provided by the informants show a blurred line between prioritizing such bodies for purposes of scrutiny and institutional and national interest. Most of the informants provided a circular reasoning that rotates around the institution's desire and 'the public's interest'. Although suggestions regarding how to cover these stories are presented in editorial meetings; the formats of these stories seem to be pre-determined. One informant, after covering a governmental press conference reported: "even though this tastes horrible to me, I know I should not report from the critical angle!"
- The level of deviance observed and reported is also very low among journalists. While responding to how far they might justify their opposition to their editor's or newsroom's decisions, most informants noted 'as far as I believe'. The elaborations included, "the newsroom usually convinces me," "since the institution has its own interests," "the editor(s) show me other sides and I accept them". Here, considerable discrepancy between informant's report of assertiveness and researcher's observation has been recorded.

- Throughout the team's negotiation of news stories, certain 'fields' have been repeatedly mentioned as stakeholders in the news making processes

The listener is the most prominent consideration in newsroom discussions as well as personal interviews with individual journalists. In these acknowledgements, one can simply sense a figure of fostered, deserving public whose interests determine the working domain of the newsroom. Listenership is repeatedly mentioned in relation to content rather than purpose (what the public wants, rather than needs); however these two might not always be mutually exclusive. There is also a considerable gap between the philosophical justifications presented formally, and the journalists' claims in considering the public.

Other local and international media are also observed to have influence in the newsroom. Local media are often taken as objects of comparison for how not to perform, explicitly stating better authenticity of *Fana*. Especially a government media complex and a local radio station have been repeatedly mentioned as not worthy of emulation. However, the international media are considered worthy of bench-marking in matters regarding international issues for purposes of multi-sourcing and choice of news angle.

At individual levels, other media are frames of comparison based on their convenience for journalistic practice. In discussing their convenience with working in the newsroom, most informants expressed beliefs that *Fana* is a much better working environment compared to especially government owned media.

5.2. Recommendations

The social dynamics of the newsroom is very crucial although it is generally wrapped up by professional attributes and justifications. Normative trends serve as the common guidance of the journalists' work with much less flexibility and professional elasticity. The tradition of working on *normal* basis, rather than professionally demanding ways, can have various impacts and implications for the journalistic trend of the newsroom. A brief highlight of possible recommendations in response to the grey areas is presented below;

- The institution should Make available editorial policies both up on journalists' entrance and throughout the production processes so as to avoid the risk of routine-dominated working tradition.
- The institution should set strategies that allow journalists reflect on their own experiences and question their own professional activities besides depending on judgmental, dichotomous mentoring. (e.g. on job trainings)
- Since regular and continuous professional trainings are essential, a versatile coalition between the media house and academic institutions is not only helpful, but also determinant in balancing the professional imperatives and in-house working approaches.
- Institutional mentoring can also be a reward if it is regularly monitored by acquainting junior journalists with the philosophical underpinnings on which the in house trends are based.

References

- Alcadilpani, R. and Hodgson, D. (2009). *By Any Means Necessary? Ethnographic Access, Ethics and the Critical Researcher*. Journal of Critical Postmodern Organization Science (Tamera Journal) 7(7.4).127-146.
- Algan, E. (2008) *What of Ethnography?* Television and New media. SAGE publications. Retrieved from ; <http://tvn.sagepub.com> Accessed: November 4, 2013
- Anderson, C.(2004) *Unbundling the News: Work, Authority, and the Unraveling of Metropolitan Journalism*. New York: Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation.
- Andrews, T.K. and Caren, N.(1999) *Making the News: movement Organizations, media Attention, and the Public Agenda*. American Sociological Review 75(6). 841-866. SAGE
- Ardevol, E. (2009). *Researching Media Through Practices: an Ethnographic Approach*. Retrieved from www.digithum.org: the Humanities in the Digital Era. Accessed 11/05/2013
- Asp, K. (2007). *Fairness, Informativeness and Scrutiny: The Role of News Media in Democracy*. Nordicom Review, Jubilee Issue, pp. 31-49
- Bailey, R. (2006). *Introduction to Qualitative Field Research*. (Unpublished lecture notes). University of Michigan
- Baran, J.S. and Davis, K. D. (2010). *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment, and Future*. (6th edition). Australia: Wadsworth CENGAGE learning
- Becker, L. and Vlad, T. (2009). *News Organizations and Routines*. In *Handbook of Journalism Studies*. (Jorgensen,K. and Hanitz, T.) (ed). New York, Routledge
- Beeman, W. And Peterson W., M (2001). *Situations and interpretations; exploration in Interpretative Practices*. Anthropological Quarterly. 4(74). 159-162. George Washington University institute for Ethnographic Research.
- Benson, R. (2004). *Bringing the Sociology of Media Back in*. Political Communication 21. 275-292. England: Tylor and Francis
- Birhanu Olana (2005). *The professional orientation of journalists in Ethiopia: Survey of their self-censorship*. Addis Ababa; Addis Ababa University
- Blommaert, J. (2006). *Ethnographic Fieldwork: A Beginner's Guide*. (Unpublished Paper). UK: University of London
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. London: Routledge

- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of Practice*. Oxford: Polity press
- Bourdieu, P. (1995). *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*. Translated by Emanuel, S. California: Stanford University Press
- Bourdieu, P. (1996). *On Television*. (Translated by Ferguson, P.P.) New York: The New Press
- Bourdieu, P. (1996). *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. European Perspectives: A Series in Social Thought and Cultural Criticism. Colombia University Press
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical Reasons on The Theory of Action* (2nd ed). Britain: Polity Press
- Bourdieu, P. and Jean Claude, P. (1990). *Reproduction in education, Society and Culture*. London:SAGE
- Bourdieu, P.and Waquant, L. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. USA: The University of Chicago Press
- Boyer, D. and Hannerz, U. (2006). *Introduction to worlds of journalism*. Ethnography7(1). 5-17
- Branston, G. and Stafford, R. (2010). *The Media Student's Handbook* (4th ed). New York: Routledge
- Breed, W. (1955). *Social Control in the Newsroom*. Social Forces 4(33). University of North Carolina press. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2573002>. Accessed Oct 8, 2013,
- Buckingham, D. (2000) *The Making of Citizens. Young People News and Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Chomsky, N. (1999). *Necessary Illusions: Thought control in Democratic Societies*. Pluto Press:London
- Coleman, M. R. (2009). *All Around the World Same Song: Blackness, Racism, and Popular Culture in China*. Journal of Sociology 1(1/2) 5-20
- Deuze, M. (2008). *Understanding journalism as news work: How It Changes, and How It Remains the Same* . Westminster papers in communication and Culture 5(2).4-23. Leiden University
- Domingo, D. (2008). *Interactivity in the Daily Routines of Online Newsrooms: Dealing with an*
- Ward, D. (2011). *Ethiopia Media Mapping*. Electoral Report International Services. Eris Democracy and Governance.

- Ettema, J. (2007). *Journalism as Reason Giving: Deliberative Democracy, Institutional Accountability, and the News Media's Mission*. *Journal of Political Communication*, 24:143-160: London, Routledge
- Fana Broadcasting Corporate Program Manual and editorial Policy (October, 2000)
- Fetterman, (1998). *Ethnography*, 2nd ed., Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Genzuk, M. (2003). *A Synthesis of Ethnographic Research*. Occasional Papers Series. Center for Multilingual, Multicultural Research. USA: University of Southern California
- Gollin, A. (1980). *Critiques and celebrations of the news making process: An expository review*. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 44 , 276-283.
- Hailegebriel Endeshaw. (2005). *Ethical issues in news reporting with particular reference to the Ethiopian Herald newspaper*. Unpublished Master's Thesis. Addis Ababa; addis Ababa University
- Hall, G.E. (1978). *Ethnographer and Ethnographic Data: Tip of an Iceberg of the First Order*. USA: National Institute of Education:
- Hallin, D. and Mancinni, P. (2004). *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge University Press
- Hout V. T. and Jacobs, G. (2008). *News Production Theory and Practice: Fieldwork Notes On Power, Interaction And Agency*. *Pragmatics* 18 (1). 59-85. International Pragmatics Association
- Hovden, F. (2012). *A Journalistic Cosmology A Sketch of Some Social and Mental Structures of the Norwegian Journalistic Field*: *Nordicom Review*. 2(33). 57-76.
- Hovden, F.J. (2013). *The Genesis and Anatomy of Journalistic Taste*. *Nordicom Review* 30(14).1-13
- Huspek, M. (2007). *Habermas and Deliberative Democracy: Introductory Remarks*. *Communication Theory*. Communication Theory Symposium Presentation
- Jorgensen, W.K. and Hanitzsch, T. (2009). *The Handbook of Journalism Studies* (ed). UK: Routledge
- Kaul, A. J. (1986) . *The Proletarian Journalist: A Critique of Professionalism*. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 1(2).47-55
- Khotari, C.R. (2004). *Research Methodology; methods and Techniques* (3rd ed.). New Delhi, Bangalore, Chennai, Guwahatai, Hyderabad, Jlandhar, Kolkata, Lucknow, Mumbai, Ranchi: New age International (P) Limited

- Kovach, B. & Rosenstiel, T. (2007). *The Elements of Journalism: What News People Should Know and the Public Should Expect* (Rev. ed.). New York: Three Rivers Press
- Kumar, A. (2011). *Looking Back and Looking Ahead: journalistic Rules, Social Control, Social Change and Relative Autonomy*. *Journal of Media Sociology* 1(3/4). 135-298. University of Illinois
- Lippmann, W. (1920). *Liberty and the News*. Harcourt, Brace and Howe: New York. Retrieved from www.archive.org
- Lippmann, W. (1921). *Public Opinion*. Long Island: Wading River. Retrieved from www.archive.org
- Madanou, M. (2009). *Audience Reception and news in everyday Life*. In *Handbook of Journalism Studies*. (Jorgensen, K. and Hanitzsch, T.) (ed). London, Routledge
- Manning, W.D.(1950). *The Gatekeeper: A case study in the Selection of News*. *Journalism Quarterly*. 383-390
- McGregor, J. (ND). *Restating News Values: Contemporary Criteria for Selecting the News*. Massey University
- McNair, B. (2000). *Journalism and Democracy: An Evaluation of the Political Public Sphere*. London and New York: Routledge.
- McQuail, D. (1994), *Mass Communication Theory. An Introduction*. London: Sage Publication
- Merton, R.K. (1949). *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Nebiyu Yonas (2008). *Self censorship among print journalists in Ethiopian government media*. (unpublished Master's thesis)
- Neuman, Gugennehiem, L. (2012). *The Evolution of Media Effects Theory: Fifty years of Cumulative*. University of Michigan
- Ngoa, N.S. (2010). *Functional Democracy and mass Media: A Critique*. *Global Media Journal: African Edition* 4(2). 1-16
- Opunamie N., S.(2004). *Functional Democracy and Mass Media: A critique*. *Global Media Journal, African Editions*. 4 (2).
- Parsons, T. (2005). *The Social System* (3rd ed). England: Tylor and Francis
- Pickard, W.V. (2006). *Assessing the Radical Democracy of Indymedia: Discursive, Technical, and Institutional Constructons*. *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 23(1). 19-38. Routledge

- Pucci, D.J. (2012). *Exploring the Professional Value Systems of Converged Journalists: What are Their Values, and Does the medium Matter?* Unpublished Master's Thesis. Columbia: University of Missouri
- Reese, D. S. (2008). *Media production and content*. W. Do Nsbach (ed.) ICA International Encyclopedia of Communication. London: Blackwell
- Reese, D.S. and Ballinger, J. (2001). *The Roots of Sociology of News: Remembering Mr., Gates and Social Control In The Newsroom*. Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly. 78(4). 641-658
- Ryfe, D. (2009). *Structure, agency, and change in an American Newsroom*. Journalism. 10(5): 665-683
- Shoemaker, P. & Reese, S. (1996). *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content* (2nd Ed.) New York: Longman
- Shultz, I. (2007). *Context in Newsroom Ethnography: Reflexive sociology and the concepts of journalistic field, News Habitus and Newsroom Capital*. (Unpublished). International Communication Association
- Shultz, I. (2007). *The Journalistic Gut Feeling*. Journalism Practice. 1(2). 190-207. Routledge
- Simone, A.M. (2010). *Deliberative Democracy Online: Bridging Networks with Digital Technologies*. The communication Review 13. 120-139. Tylor and Francis
- Skjerdal, T.S. (2008). *Conflicting professional obligations among government journalists in Ethiopia*. Unpublished PHD dissertation. Univeristy of Oslo
- Skjerdal T.S. (2010). *Justifying Self Censorship: A perspective From Ethiopia*. Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture. 7(2). Retrieved from www.westminster.ac.uk
- Sleeper, J. (1999). *Should American Journalism make Us Americans?*. (Discussion Paper). USA, the Joan Shorenstein Center
- Stinchcombe A. L. (1965). *Social Structure and Organizations*. Pp142-193. In Handbook of Organizations. Edited by James March. Chicago: Rand McNally
- Stromback, J. (2005). *In Search of a Standard: Four Models of Democracy and Their Normative Implications for Journalism*. Journalism Studies 6(5). 531-545. Taylor and Francis
- Thompson, J.B. 1984. *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Tsedey Wubshet. (2006). *Cultural and Social Values in Commercials of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa University. Unpublished Thesis.
- Tuchman, G. (1972). *Making news by doing work: Routinizing the Unexpected*. American Journal of sociology 79(1). 110-131. The University of Chicago Press. Retrieved from: www.jstor.org. Date of access: 21/01/2014
- Tuchman, G. (1979). *Objectivity as A Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notion of Reality*. American Journal of sociology 77(4). 660-679. The University of Chicago Press. Retrieved from: www.jstor.org. Date of access: 21/01/2014
- Tumber, H, (2006). *Journalists at Work Revisited*. 13(3). 57-68. Javnost the Public Uncomfortable Myth. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication 13(3). 680-704.
- Van Dijk, A. T. (2003). *Power and the News Media*. (Unpublished). University of Amsterdam
- Van Dijk, A.T. (2009). *News, Discourse, and Ideology*. In *Handbook of Journalism Studies*. (Jorgensen, K. and Hanitzch, T.) (ed). London, Routledge
- Watt, D. (2007). *On Becoming Qualitative Researcher*. The Qualitative Report.12(1).82-101. Canada: University of Ottawa Press
- Wax, R. and Wax, M. (1974). *Fieldwork as Education*. Kansas Journal of Sociology. 97-105. USA: Washington University. And Agency
- White D.M. (1950). *The "Gate Keeper": A case study in The Selection of News*. Journalism Quarterly 11: 383-96.
- Whitehead, T. (2005). *Basic Ethnographic Research Methods*. Ethnographically Informed Community and Cultural Assessment Research Systems Working Paper Series. USA: University of Maryland
- Wilik, J.(2010). *Journalism in Transition: The Professional Identity of Swedish Journalists*. University of Gothenberg. Unpublished Doctorial Thesis for PHD Degree
- Willig, I. (2012). *Newsroom Ethnography in a field Perspective*. Journalism. 1-16. Denmark:SAGE Publications
- Zelizer, B. (2004). *Taking journalism seriously: News and the academy*. Thousand Oaks, CA; Sage Publications inc. Accessed on 19 October, 2013
- Zelizer, B. (2009). *Journalism and the academy*. in *handbook of journalism studies*.UK: Tylor and Francis.

Appendix: A

Guiding Questions for Reporters

I. Personal Questions

1. Age _____
2. Level of Education _____
3. Field of Educational Background _____
4. Years of experience as Editor _____
5. Years of Experience in another position _____

II. What are your ideas of good news? What is your idea of good news for Fana? Is your idea any different from that of yours elsewhere? Why?

III. What news writing norms have you learned in fana? How is that different from your previous experience? (academy, previous work, previous media)

IV. When you present a project story to your editor/newsroom, what criteria do you consider? do you have any experiences in this regard?

V. What do you think matters most when it comes to content in writing News? What aspect of the message?

Do you at times repress your taste? For what reasons?

Official Statements

Personalities (officials or entertainment celebrities)

Events/what has happened

Numbers and other strike

- VI. How do you describe your communication with your editor? Was it always the same? If not, how did it change?

On news correction

On news selection

On order....

- VII. What about now? Do you have any discrepancies' regarding news selection (not the occasional thing, but a patterned discrepancy of taste....what is it like?)

- VIII. How much of the editorial policy are you aware of'?

- IX. Up on facing different controversies in the newsroom on what news should go, what seems to dominate the editorial dilemma?

Appendix: B

Guiding questions for interview with Editor in Chief and Director

I. Personal Questions

1. Age _____
2. Level of Education _____
3. Field of Educational Background _____
4. Years of experience as Editor _____
5. Years of Experience in another position _____

II. What are the major roles you carry out on daily basis?

III. What expectations do you have of the reporters?

(Journalistic/professional, manner/discipline, Attitude, subject matter knowledge, e.t.c.)

why?

IV. Is there any attribute you would call Fana's newsroom culture? How is it distinct from other stations?

V. Do you recall any instances where a journalist's personal opinion, attitude, e.t.c interfered in his/her work? How do you go about it?

VI. What kind of news is NOT for Fana? (How are these criteria related to the policy? Especially related to sourcing?)

VII. What factors besides the matter of news affect your evaluation of news?

Appendix: B

Guiding questions for interview with Editor in Chief and Director

I. Personal Questions

1. Age _____
2. Level of Education _____
3. Field of Educational Background _____
4. Years of experience as Editor _____
5. Years of Experience in another position _____

II. What are the major roles you carry out on daily basis?

III. What expectations do you have of the reporters?

(Journalistic/professional, manner/discipline, Attitude, subject matter knowledge, e.t.c.)

why?

IV. Is there any attribute you would call Fana's newsroom culture? How is it distinct from other stations?

V. Do you recall any instances where a journalist's personal opinion, attitude, e.t.c interfered in his/her work? How do you go about it?

VI. What kind of news is NOT for Fana? (How are these criteria related to the policy? Especially related to sourcing?)

VII. What factors besides the matter of news affect your evaluation of news?

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION

Editorial Meeting News Negotiation and Social Interaction Observation

Guiding Checklist

Acknowledged Factors in Negotiation	Indicators					Remarks
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Surrounding Fields 	Offices	Audience	Other Media	Editorial Policy	Other law	Other
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> News quality related (Specify) 	Source Related	Information/Content	Professional Judgment Values	Other		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Administrative/ resource 	Time	Finance	Other			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Other (Specify) 						