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SHIFTING JOURNALISTIC CAPITAL? Transparency and objectivity in the twenty-first century

Lea Hellmueller, Tim P. Vos, and **Mark A. Poepsel**

This study examines a normative shift from objectivity toward a transparency-oriented journalistic field. US newspaper journalists (N = 228) whose work is published online were surveyed to ascertain their adherence to truth-telling strategies of objectivity and transparency. The results suggest that forces unleashed by the online network might be creating pre-paradigmatic conflicts. Moreover, secondary principles divisions (e.g., gender and years of professional experience) indicate potential lines of division in how journalists embrace truth-telling strategies.

KEYWORDS field theory; journalistic capital; objectivity; survey; transparency; US journalists

Introduction

The nature of a social institution—with its shared procedures, practices, rules, and norms—is that it regulates human activity in the midst of a world in flux (Hall and Taylor, 1996; Pierson, 2004). But an institution's capacity to insulate its members from flux is limited. There come times in the life of an institution when the old procedures, practices, rules, and norms seem to be up for renegotiation (Pierson, 2004). Some journalism scholars (e.g., Elliot, 2008; McChesney and Nichols, 2010; Pavlik, 2001) argue that the news media stand at just such a juncture. The dominant funding model is cracking (Kawamoto, 2003), journalists' gatekeeping role is changing (Bruns, 2005), and the news media face a crisis of trust (Gans, 2003). As critical as these changes might be, the focus of this study is on an apparent change that strikes at the "supreme deity" (Mindich, 1998, p. 1) of journalism—objectivity. Elliot (2008) and Christians (2004) argue that objectivity, central to mainstream journalism in the twentieth century, is being displaced in a new, twenty-first-century paradigm. In its stead, some observers (e.g., Karlsson, 2010; Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2007; Singer, 2005, 2007) see transparency as a new occupational norm and strategy for truth-telling.

This study surveys US newspaper journalists to ascertain their understanding of objectivity and transparency as norms for journalistic truth-telling. Objectivity has been the central occupational norm of journalism for a century (Schudson, 2001). But Ward (2009, p. 71) argues that "the pillars of truth and objectivity show serious wear and tear." Whereas objectivity had been embraced as a means to truth-telling, some critics now argue that it obfuscates rather than illuminates truth (Gans, 2003). Or as an observer puts it: "Objectivity is a trust mechanism you rely on when your medium can't do links" (Weinberger, 2009). Nevertheless, conclusions about objectivity are far from unanimous. Objectivity has become such a catchall term that it contains a range of constituent concepts, some of which might attract supporters just as others draw detractors

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(Mindich, 1998; Ward, 2004). Likewise, transparency has its proponents and opponents (Allen, 2008; Craft and Heim, 2008). Thus, this study attempts to discern what journalists identify as normative truth-telling strategies.

Theory and Literature

Social institutions have been defined as ''groups of people who act collectively according to certain rules'' (Parsons, 2007, p. 66). These rules provide a structure that generally regulates the actions of institutional actors and produces what Bourdieu (1998) calls a structured social space, or field. Members of the journalistic field share ''a system of presuppositions inherent in membership in a field'' (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 37). These shared presuppositions—including shared occupational norms and shared approaches to truth-telling—constitute the cultural capital of the journalistic field (Hanitzsch, 2007). This shared cultural capital would prove to be amazingly resilient in twentieth-century journalism. For example, various attempts to recreate journalism, such as the literary journalism movement—while meeting with some modest success—failed to displace the objectivity norm (Schudson, 2003).

But, the cultural capital of journalism has been and is regularly challenged. Thus, Bourdieu (1998, p. 41) describes the journalistic field as a structured space where ''various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field.'' Even though actors are locked in a struggle for the future of a field, they also generally share presuppositions about the nature of that field. Vos et al. (2011) found that bloggers' criticism of the mainstream press largely reaffirmed journalism's well-established cultural capital. For example, bloggers criticized journalists for not living up to occupational norms, including not being objective enough.

While the economic capital of the journalistic field in the United States has been in great flux, signs of a shift in the cultural capital of the field are modest at best. Karlsson (2010) has provided perhaps the clearest empirical evidence, modest as it may be, that the ritual of transparency constitutes a new form of cultural capital. And while Karlsson finds that online news in three countries exhibits characteristics of transparency, he cautions that it is premature to conclude that transparency is an articulate occupational norm.

All this begs the question about how it is that transparency constitutes a new form of cultural capital in the field of journalism. How is transparency different from objectivity? For example, Kovach and Rosenstiel's (2007, p. 92) description of transparency, at least in part, bears more than a passing resemblance to objectivity. They state that journalists must ''reveal as much as possible about (their) sources and methods.'' This alone does not appear to be much different from the objectivity ritual of citing a journalist's sources. Here, transparency and objectivity bear strong conceptual, or at least operational, overlap. However, transparency is also put forward as a qualitative break with objectivity. Singer (2010, p. 122) has argued that '''transparency' trumps objectivity'', and Hayes et al. (2007) conclude that the transparency norm amounts to a large-scale reinterpretation of what journalism is and does.

Kuhn's (1970) classic account of paradigmatic shifts in science argues that a new paradigm is incommensurate with an old paradigm. Elliot (2008) argues that we do better to think of any normative battles in the twenty-first century as part of a pre-paradigmatic, rather than a paradigmatic, shift. This is a period in which paradigms clash but also

overlap. But, when journalists become more articulate about new, emerging normative standards, then we have a ''sign that the new paradigm is moving past its infancy'' (Elliot, 2008, p. 38). Hence, the effort to articulate a new occupational norm plays an important role in establishing it (Meyer and Rowan, 1991).

Before offering theoretical definitions of objectivity and transparency, one further distinction is necessary. Objectivity and transparency have been understood as practices, procedures, performances, rituals, strategies, standards and norms. Schudson (2001) distinguishes between practices and norms that inform journalistic practices. Clearly, the cultural capital of journalism contains both practices and norms—news as a product of journalists' practices with professional norms guiding such newsgathering processes (Bourdieu, 2005). However, for the purposes of theoretical focus, this study will emphasize occupational *norms*. Thus, while Karlsson (2010) examined news content for shifts in journalistic practice, this study surveys journalists to ask them about their procedural norms.

Objectivity and Transparency

Some have despaired that objectivity is a ''meaningless concept'' (Calcutt and Hammond, 2011, p. 97). Objectivity has long been advanced to legitimize journalism practice, even while the journalism profession struggled to articulate objectivity as a norm. As Schudson (1978, pp. 157–8) has argued, ''objectivity in journalism seems to have been destined to be as much a scapegoat as a belief and more an awkward defense than a forthright affirmation.'' Such is the fate of many occupational norms, which ''function as powerful myths, and many organizations adopt them ceremonially.'' The ''myths (become) embedded in the institutional environment'' (Meyer and Rowan, 1991, p. 41). Thus, in lieu of a formal definition, the normative ideal of objectivity has been ''filled'' with meaning based on social, cultural, and historical contexts. Such meanings have consisted, for example, in parts of Europe as impartiality and in the United States as a fact-checking, detached-watchdog approach. However, these ritualized definitions have largely been a temporary ''filling'', a quick fix; and as soon as journalism came under criticism or into a stage of redefinition, it led to new discussion about how to fill the objectivity ''hole'' with meaning. This uncertainty about objectivity's meaning has long supported calls for revisions to the objectivity norm (Deuze, 2005).

Most scholars have generally not tried to define objectivity in terms of some central essence. Thus, various scholars have broken objectivity into its constitutive parts. Mindich (1998) identifies objectivity as consisting of detachment, nonpartisanship, inverted pyramid, naïve empiricism or facticity, and balance. Ward (2004) defines objectivity as entailing factuality, fairness, non-bias, independence, non-interpretation, and neutrality and detachment. Calcutt and Hammond (2011, p. 98) identify objectivity as consisting of three related normative ideals—truthfulness, which refers to ''factually accurate information,'' neutrality, which includes balance and fairness, and detachment, which involves dispassionate separation of facts from comments. Westerstahl (1983) separates objectivity into factualness and impartiality. Factualness, in turn, involves truth and relevance; and impartiality includes balance and neutrality.

While each list of objectivity's constitutive parts is different, each also has something in common with the others. Factualness, balance, and neutrality are common threads. Truthfulness, impartiality, and detachment also find support. The goal of such norms,

according to Calcutt and Hammond (2011, p. 99), is ''an open-ended pursuit of truth.'' However, objectivity is not the only means to the truth.

Transparency is often put forward as a better means of truth-telling than objectivity (Singer, 2010). Definitions of the transparency norm generally focus on two aspects, openness and accountability (Karlsson, 2011; Singer, 2007). Karlsson (2010, p. 537) offers that if ''one word (could) sum up what transparency stand(s) for it is *openness*'' (italics in the original). Openness as a norm has broad implications for news practices. Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007) argue that transparency involves openness to practices of gathering, organizing, and disseminating information. The result is that anyone can see how the news is constructed. Deuze (2005) makes a similar argument—transparency means that those both inside and outside of the newsroom have the chance to monitor, check, criticize, and even intervene in the journalistic process. Likewise, Singer (2007, p. 83) argues that transparency involves ''connections to broader notions of social accountability and responsibility.''

Karlsson (2010) concludes from the discussions about transparency that two kinds of transparency can be identified—disclosure transparency and participatory transparency. Disclosure transparency involves ''whether news producers are being open about how news is being produced.'' Participatory transparency, meanwhile, ''aims at getting the audience involved in the news production process'' (Karlsson, 2010, p. 538). Allen (2008, p. 323) has emphasized similar aspects and concludes, ''At its most basic level, journalistic transparency can be defined as making public the traditionally private factors that influence the creation of news.'' In the process, the public comes to participate by holding journalists accountable.

Shift in Cultural Capital

If transparency is waxing while objectivity is waning, as a number of scholars have concluded, this would represent a notable shift in the cultural capital of journalism. And as Bourdieu (2005) has argued, cultural capital of any field is often resistant to change. But, fields can be and have been transformed (Kuhn, 1970). For example, the authority of journalists' truth claims shifted during the nineteenth century—once rooted in journalists' affinity to a partisan group, epistemological authority came to be defined in terms of journalists' own professional autonomy and objectivity (Mindich, 1998). In other words, the cultural capital of journalism, including occupational norms, shifted. So, how do such changes come about? Scholars offer a number of scenarios.

While changes in occupational practices and procedures can be driven by a variety of material and institutional factors, changes in occupational norms, according to Schudson (2001), ultimately happen for ideational reasons (see also, Parsons, 2007). Kuhn (1970) argues similarly when he concludes that mounting anomalies lead to a paradigm crisis. Indeed, critics of the objectivity norm have long pointed out objectivity's flaws (Boudana, 2011).

Objectivity has been faulted, in part, for the flawed outcomes it yields. Boykoff and Boykoff (2004, p. 126) conclude that ''when it comes to the coverage of global warming, balanced reporting can actually be a form of informational bias.'' And Clarke (2008) questions the utility of the balance norm in cases where significant scientific evidence favors one of two points of view. This notion of misguided or false balance has become a mounting criticism of objectivity (Clarke, 2011; Kim, 2011). One of bloggers' most powerful

critiques of mainstream journalism has been to point out the ways in which an insistence on balance has compromised truth-telling (Vos et al., 2011). It is worth noting that journalistic practice has already begun to shift, in some settings, away from balanced reporting and toward weight-of-evidence reporting (Dunwoody, 2005; Ettema and Glasser, 1998).

On the one hand, this movement away from balance appears to be key evidence for a kind of paradigm shift since occupational practice can influence the embrace of occupational norms (Schudson, 2001). Balance, long a constitutive component of objectivity (Mindich, 1998), is being abandoned by practicing journalists in exchange for weight-of-evidence reporting. On the other hand, balance, for a number of reasons, may be a poor indicator of objectivity's fate. First, weight-of-evidence reporting can be conceived just as much as an objectivity norm as a transparency norm. Second, balance seems to be a unique component of objectivity. While other aspects of objectivity reflect procedural norms, balance is a norm about content or output. Which leads to a third point, it remains an empirical question if a belief in balanced reporting does or does not correlate with objectivity as a procedural norm.

The sum of critiques of objectivity has led some critics to question the worth of objectivity as an occupational norm—what good is it if it leads to bias or inaccuracy rather than truth-telling? Some social actors respond to this crisis of paradigmatic coherence by putting forward a competing ideational, normative framework (Elliot, 2008), such as transparency (Karlsson, 2010). This conflict over objectivity and transparency is a battle over the cultural capital of the journalistic field.

The fate of the battle over cultural capital can pivot on the battle for ideational, normative allegiances: ''Bourdieu posits that influxes of new agents into the field can serve either as forces for transformation or conservation'' (Benson and Neveu, 2005, p. 5). Kuhn has argued, the newest entrants to a field are the least socialized to the norms of the field and thus the most likely agents of transformation. If Bourdieu and Kuhn are correct, and if transparency is emerging as normative competition to objectivity, we would expect that junior and senior members of the journalistic field would hold somewhat different normative allegiances.

Bourdieu ultimately concludes that structural changes in a field are most likely when internal momentum for transformation is reinforced by ''pressure from neighboring fields'' (Benson and Neveu, 2005, p. 6). Some have argued the most significant change in the calculus of power in the journalistic field has been precipitated by disruptive technologies. Bloggers, for example, represent an exogenous force, bringing challenges to journalists' cultural capital (Vos et al., 2011). Singer (2010, p. 118) argues that the Internet constitutes a network ecology that privileges openness: ''In a network, no single message is discrete; all messages connect to each other.'' The openness of the network militates against the closed process that objectivity embodies, because it becomes necessary to show what goes into the process of making news. Thus, the vitality of the network in the age of Internet journalism provides a strong exogenous force against objectivity and in favor of transparency (Singer, 2010). By virtue of one's regular exposure to the Internet, such as in the case of those who consider themselves to be digital or net natives (Palfrey and Gasser, 2008), persons have little choice but to become fluent in the ways of the digital world.

Benson (2009, p. 189), meanwhile, questions how transformative the Internet will ultimately be for journalism: ''While it is surely true that the social organization of the media and its relations with diverse publics is complicated by the Internet, it is highly debatable whether this has led to a postmodern disintegration or dispersal of power.''

Benson's words of caution are worth noting—technology does not necessarily trump other, institutionally-located, power. Thus, while much of the discussion about the nature of disruptive technologies can sound like technological determinism, it should be remembered that it is really how technology is institutionally developed and embraced that creates forces of transformation (Parsons, 2007). If Singer (2010), Karlsson (2010) and others are correct, it seems reasonable to suspect that those who work regularly in the new media environment will be the most likely to embrace transparency. That is, having been accustomed to the Internet's openness and procedures of reciprocity, those journalists who frequently use the Internet in their work environment will find transparency a more ''natural'' normative orientation (Metzger and Flanagin, 2008).

Even as these forces may or may not be pushing journalistic norms in the direction of transparency, other forces may be at play. For example, feminist theory has long held that objectivity is a masculine way of knowing (Allan, 1999; Chambers et al., 2004; Creedon and Cramer, 2007). As Allan (1998, p. 127) argues, ''each and every truth-claim is to be recognised as a site of dialogic, and thus gendered, interaction.'' The argument is that objectivity must be jettisoned, since it is the means of ''legitimizing patriarchal hegemony'' (1998, p. 122). Transparency, on the other hand, represents a more feminine way of knowing, given its open and dialogic nature. Thus, female journalists might be more likely to embrace transparency than objectivity. Indeed, Bourdieu (1984) points out that ''secondary principles division'' such as gender may indicate potential lines of division within a field. Thus, a group socially perceived as unitary—such as journalists—may diverge based on gender. However, principles that bring division into the journalistic capital are set in a hierarchy. That is, groups mobilized by a secondary criterion like gender are less likely to be bound together as deeply and permanently as groups bound together on the basis of ''the fundamental determinant of their conditions'' (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 107).

Hypotheses and Research Questions

As noted above, there must be ideational change for norms to change, but that ideational change is most likely to happen through a generational turnover. Thus, the contest is assumed to mostly happen between journalists who are more experienced in the profession and newcomers with less experience. Our first set of hypotheses posits that professional experience in the field leads to contested cultural capital. Thus, we hypothesize:

H1a: Senior journalists will more likely embrace objectivity as a truth-telling strategy than junior journalists.

H1b: Junior journalists will more likely embrace transparency as a truth-telling strategy than senior journalists.

Feminist epistemology suggests that objectivity is a masculine way of knowing and that women would embrace objectivity less than men. Thus, we want to see how gender enters into the construction or maintenance of journalism's cultural capital. Hence, we ask:

RQ1: How does journalists' gender influence adherence to objectivity and transparency?

The openness of the Internet seems to privilege transparency over objectivity. The extent to which a journalist has been socialized into the digital network environment should play a role in how she or he thinks about occupational norms. Therefore, the following hypotheses are posited:

H2a: Journalists who consider themselves to be net natives will be more likely to embrace transparency than those who do not consider themselves to be net natives.

H2b: The more journalists are socialized into the networked online environment the more they will embrace transparency as an occupational norm.

Balanced reporting as a journalistic outcome has been questioned in recent years. What role this has in the possibility of a broader shift in the cultural capital of journalism is, as yet, not entirely clear. Thus, we ask:

RQ2: How will journalists' belief in balanced reporting affect their embrace of objectivity and transparency?

Methodology

This study surveys newspaper journalists whose work is published online (unit of analysis) to ascertain their adherence to truth-telling strategies of objectivity and transparency. Our attempt to examine a normative shift in the journalism field led to a random sampling technique. Sampling decisions were made in order to ensure a heterogeneous sample representing the entire range of the target population and to enhance external validity. We selected our national random sample based on the 2009 *Editor & Publisher's International Yearbook*. A random number was chosen out of 414, which is the number of pages in the US newspaper section of the yearbook organized by states. Once on the corresponding page (e.g., p. 164), another random number was generated out of three in order to select the starting newspaper. One journalist from every third newspaper in the yearbook was selected. In order to randomize the selection within news organizations, a researcher visited each news website, counted the number of stories on each page, randomly generated a number from within the available stories, including news and news features but not sports. This process resulted in a sample of 499 journalists, each from a different newspaper. Journalists were then sent an email, followed by phone calls to non-respondents. Questionnaires were completed in late 2010. The final result was a valid response rate of 44.5 percent ($N = 228$).

Predictor Variables of Truth-telling Strategies

In a first step, journalists responded to three questions related to demographics (i.e., gender, net natives), and years of professional experience. Socialization into the net environment was measured with journalists' responses to five statements on a five-point Likert scale. Answers were then combined into an index of net socialization (Cronbach's alpha $= 0.73$) (Table 1).

The study also examines the extent to which journalists embrace balance as a truth-telling indicator. Agreement with balance was measured with a five-point item as, "I believe in giving at least two sides to every story and letting persons draw their own conclusions."

Dependent Variables: Objectivity and Transparency

Our assumption of a dimensional structure of the concepts of objectivity and transparency that comprise of the various truth-telling strategies was put to a test. A

TABLE 1
Descriptives

Variables	Mean	SD	Range
Professional experience			
(Q)* How many years have you worked fulltime in journalism?	12.70	11.15	0–42
Online socialization items†			
(Q) I generally read the comments posted online regarding my stories.	3.59	1.01	1–5
(Q) I use information gathered from a variety of online interactions with the public to improve my stories.	3.14	0.95	1–5
(Q) I include online user-generated information, including story details, pictures, and videos.	2.83	0.93	1–5
(Q) I make use of social networking sites to gather information during reporting and writing processes.	2.95	1.14	1–5
(Q) I read online forums to get story ideas, information for stories, and to gauge feedback.	3.52	0.99	1–5
Balanced reporting			
(Q) I believe in giving at least two sides to every story and letting persons draw their own conclusions.	4.25	0.73	1–4
Demographics			
(Q) Would you say you grew up using the Internet? (net natives) Yes: 35.2% (N = 82/151)			
Professional experience Juniors: 59% (N = 135/94)			
Gender Female: 46.2% (N = 109/124)			

*(Q) indicates wording from the original questionnaire.
†Responses coded from 5 = strongly agree to 1 = strongly disagree. Cronbach's alpha (online socialization) = 0.73.

pretest with a small group of working journalists helped refine the questions suggested by the literature and journalists agreed upon the face validity of each operational definition. The final questionnaire used a five-point Likert scale asking journalists to respond to 11 statements about aspects of objectivity and transparency. In a next step, an explorative factor analysis reduced the statements to four factors.

To identify latent social constructs, Principal Axis Factoring is superior to both Principal Component Analysis and Maximum Likelihood and does not require multivariate normality. Regarding rotation, Promax was chosen over Varimax, because such a method provides greater accuracy and generates empirical estimates of the correlations between factors, which are useful in interpreting the data (McCroskey and Young, 1979). The final Promax solution yielded four factors, accounting for 68.48 percent of the overall variance.

Four extracted factors were identified (Table 2); two dimensions that conceptually reflect the transparency norm and two dimensions that refer to the objectivity concept: (1) *Disclosure Transparency*, referring to truth-telling strategies "I believe in telling everyone who comes across my work where my facts originated," and "I believe it is essential to show anyone who comes across my work that I include all concerned parties in my news stories"; (2) *Participatory Transparency* as the second dimension, referring to "I believe it is important to allow readers to contribute to news content" and "I believe it is acceptable to include user-generated information in my work"; (3) *Factualness* as one dimension of objectivity, manifested in "I believe in writing stories around verifiable facts," and "I believe that as long as I don't willfully suppress relevant information I will write truthful stories"; (4) *Neutrality* as

TABLE 2
Means, standard deviations, and factor loadings

Items	Transparency (loadings)		Objectivity (loadings)	
	Disclosure	**Participatory**	**Factual**	**Neutrality**
Telling everyone where my facts originated (mean = 3.91, SD = 1.00)	**0.848**	−0.040	−0.075	−0.040
Show anyone that I include all concerned parties in my news stories (mean = 3.75, SD = 0.87)	**0.433**	0.087	0.190	−0.061
Allow readers to contribute to news content (mean = 2.94, SD = 1.00)	−0.039	**0.657**	−0.053	−0.187
Include user-generated information in my work (mean = 3.07, SD = 1.07)	0.067	**0.540**	0.006	0.214
Writing stories around verifiable facts (mean = 4.50, SD = 0.64)	−0.039	−0.086	**0.689**	−0.062
As long as I don't willfully suppress relevant information I will write truthful stories (mean = 3.83, SD = 0.90)	0.126	0.074	**0.437**	0.117
It is not acceptable to cause readers to feel one way or another (mean = 3.23, SD = 1.12)	0.063	−0.062	0.067	**0.601**
The way I write stories should not nudge readers to take a particular side (mean = 4.05, SD = 0.91)	−0.142	0.059	0.061	**0.527**
Eigenvalue	1.85	1.45	1.00	1.19
Variance explained (%)	23.10	18.15	12.38	14.84

the second dimension of objectivity, referring to "I believe it is not acceptable for my reporting to cause readers to feel one way or another" and "I believe that the way I write stories should not nudge readers to take a particular side of a debate or issue."

For a two-item factor, the inter-item correlations are reported, which should fall in the range of $r = 0.15–0.5$, instead of Cronbach's alpha (Clark and Watson, 1995). The extracted factors all fall in that accepted range: disclosure ($r(226) = 0.39$); participatory transparency ($r(226) = 0.29$); factualness ($r(226) = 0.39$); neutrality ($r(226) = 0.30$).

We explored how these four dimensions relate to each other that provided us with insights on how norms operate. Substantial correlations were found between the two dimensions of disclosure and participatory transparency ($r(226) = 0.21$, $p < 0.001$). However, the two dimensions of objectivity did not strongly correlate with each other ($r(227) = 0.12$, $p < 0.05$). Interestingly, dimensions of objectivity were indeed correlated with dimensions of transparency, i.e., factualness and disclosure correlated with each other ($r(228) = 0.19$, $p < 0.01$), and disclosure also correlated with neutrality ($r(228) = 0.14$, $p < 0.05$).

Results

The truth-telling strategy of factualness was perceived to be the most important procedural norm (mean = 4.17, SD = 0.63), followed by disclosure transparency (mean = 3.82, SD = 0.81) and neutrality (mean = 3.65, SD = 0.83). Participatory transparency, that is, including user-generated information and letting readers contribute to news content, was met with more skepticism (mean = 2.99, SD = 0.84).

The first set of hypotheses dealt with differences in embracing transparency and objectivity norms related to journalists' professional experience. H1a and H1b predicted that the longer journalists had been in the profession the more they will embrace objectivity. The positive relationship between years in the profession and objectivity was not supported by the data analysis. The negative correlation between professional experience and neutrality, $r(232) = 0.13$, $p < 0.05$, shows a reversed relationship. Factualness ($r(232) = 0.05$, ns) was not related to professional experience.

In a next step, we wanted to determine whether there was a difference when we split the professional experience category into junior and senior journalists. A mean-split divided professional experiences into two groups such as juniors (0–12.70 years) and seniors (12.71–42 years). To address RQ1, we included gender (female and male) into our model because feminist epistemology suggests that objectivity is a masculine way of knowing and that women would embrace objectivity less than men. To determine whether there was a difference, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was calculated using gender and professional experience as the independent variables and the journalists' scores for disclosure, participatory transparency, factualness, and neutrality as dependent variables. In essence, the dependent variables go together as a normative framework of journalists and are related. The Wilks' lambda criteria indicates significant group differences only for the interaction between gender and professional experiences for the overall model: Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.948$, $F(3, 224) = 3.06$, $p < 0.02$, multivariate $\eta^2_p = 0.05$. Results reveal that males (mean = 3.74, SD = 0.86) and females (mean = 3.97, SD = 0.71) significantly differ on disclosure: $F(1, 224) = 4.55$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2_p = 0.02$. Results also revealed that the interaction between gender and professional experience was significant in affecting disclosure ($F(1, 224) = 6.00$, $p < 0.02$, $\eta^2_p = 0.03$) and factualness ($F(1, 224) = 5.01$, $p < 0.03$, $\eta^2_p = 0.02$). Pairwise comparisons showed that this difference was significant for senior journalists (female: mean = 4.13, SD = 0.58; male: mean = 3.61, SD = 0.92) affecting disclosure ($t(89.5) = 3.21$, $p < 0.01$, Cohen's $d = 0.68$). Pairwise comparisons revealed that this difference was also significant for senior journalists (female: mean = 4.42, SD = 0.53; male: mean = 4.11, SD = 0.73) affecting factualness ($t(83.60) = 2.42$, $p < 0.02$, Cohen's $d = 0.49$). No significant difference was revealed for senior journalists' agreement to neutrality and participatory transparency. If female journalists have been in the profession for over 12 years, they are more likely than men to embrace factualness but also disclosure transparency as occupational norms. While there is no gender difference among junior journalists, professional experiences manifest normative differences between females and males, i.e., senior female journalists are more likely to embrace disclosure transparency and factualness than senior male journalists (Figures 1 and 2).

The second hypothesis predicted that journalists who grew up in a networked online environment will more likely embrace transparency. To test this hypothesis, a MANOVA was calculated. Results illustrate that net natives (mean = 4.02, SD = 0.72) and non-net natives (mean = 3.72, SD = 0.82) are only significantly different in embracing disclosure transparency $F(1, 230) = 6.95$, $p < 0.01$, $\eta^2_p = 0.03$. H2a was partially supported; i.e., net natives are more likely to embrace disclosure but not participatory transparency.

H2b predicted journalists who are socialized into the net environment would be more likely to embrace transparency. To analyze this question a MANOVA was calculated using online socialization as the independent variable, and journalists' scores for disclosure, participatory transparency, factualness, and neutrality as dependent variables. The Wilks' lambda criteria indicates significant group differences

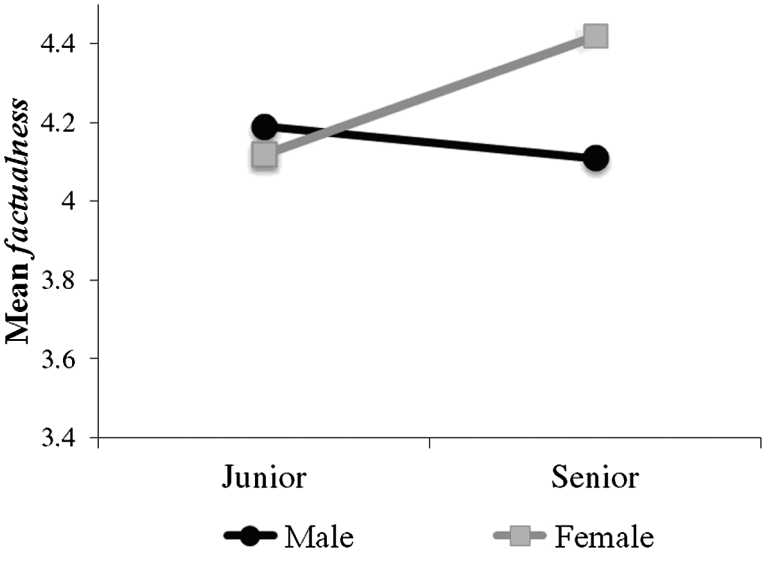

FIGURE 1
Agreement to factualness

for the overall model: Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.92$, $F(1, 223) = 4.95$, $p < 0.001$, multivariate $\eta_p^2 = 0.08$. Results reveal that journalists who are highly socialized (mean = 3.24, SD = 0.80) and journalists who are less socialized (mean = 2.78, SD = 0.83) differ significantly in embracing participatory transparency: $F(1, 223) = 18.81$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.08$. No such support was found for the other three occupational normative dimensions. Thus, H2b was partially supported. Journalists who are socialized into the online network believe that readers' contribution adds to journalists' truth-telling strategy. We proceeded to

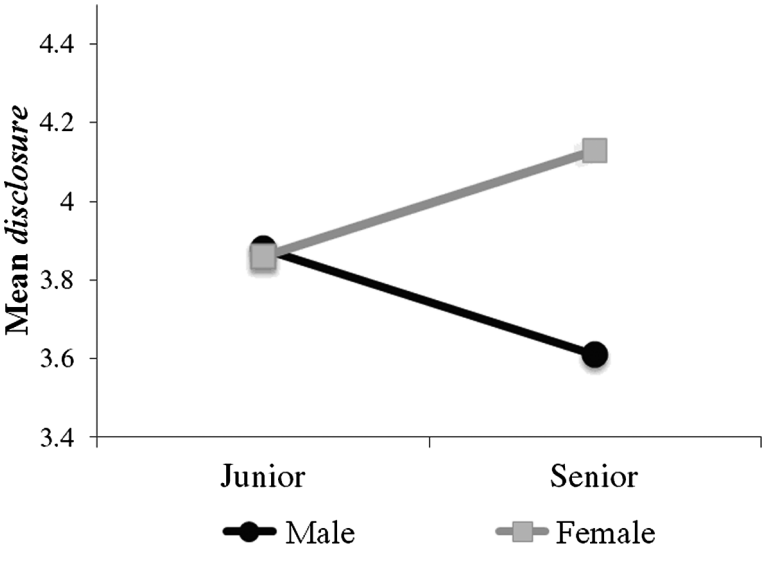

FIGURE 2
Agreement to disclosure

our second research question and included online socialization as an independent variable. However, to account for conceptually different newsgathering behaviors, work in the online environment was divided into high/low in *newsgathering* online and high/low in *including* online content.

RQ2 asked how journalists' belief in balanced reporting would influence their embrace of objectivity and transparency. To analyze this question a MANOVA was calculated using high and low balanced outcome, and including online content (i.e., the variable that divides journalists into high or low integrators of online content into their work) as an independent variable, and journalists' scores for disclosure, participatory transparency, factualness, and neutrality as dependent variables. The Wilks' lambda criteria indicate significant group differences for balance (Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.91$, $F(3, 230) = 5.47$, $p < 0.001$, multivariate $\eta_p^2 = 0.09$), for including online content (Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.84$, $F(3, 230) = 10.62$, $p < 0.001$, multivariate $\eta_p^2 = 0.16$), but only approaching significance for the interaction between balance and including online content (Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.96$, $F(3, 230) = 2.30$, $p < 0.06$, multivariate $\eta_p^2 = 0.04$).

Results illustrated that there is a significant difference between journalists who are high in attempting balanced reporting (mean = 3.84, SD = 0.98) and journalists who are low in attempting balanced reporting (mean = 3.70, SD = 0.70) and their agreement toward disclosure ($F(3, 226) = 7.05$, $p < 0.01$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.03$), and factualness ($F(3,226) = 17.09$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.07$) (Figures 3 and 4).

Pairwise comparisons illustrate that journalists who integrate videos, picture, or online content in their own reporting and attempt balanced reporting (mean = 4.11, SD = 0.72) compared to journalists who integrate online content but attempt less balanced reporting (mean = 3.70, SD = 0.79) show a significant difference in their agreement toward disclosure ($t(114) = 3.48$, $p < 0.001$, Cohen's $d = 0.54$).

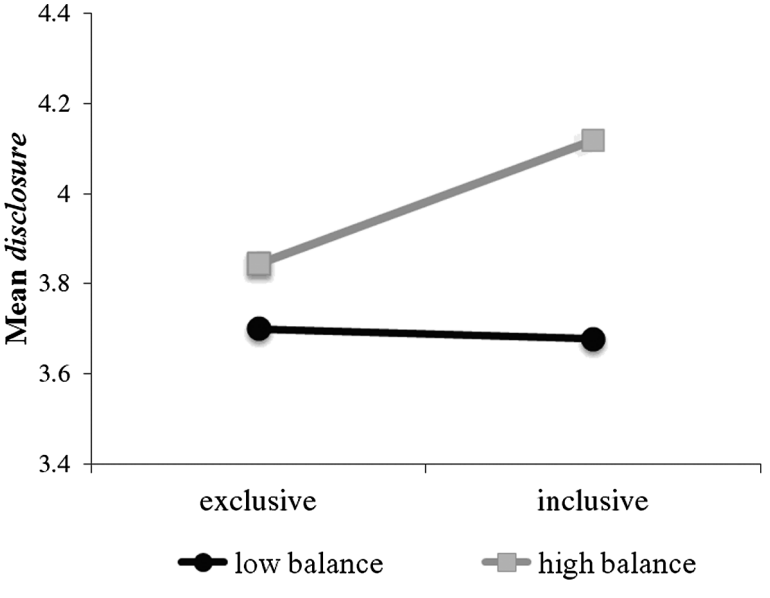

FIGURE 3
Agreement to disclosure

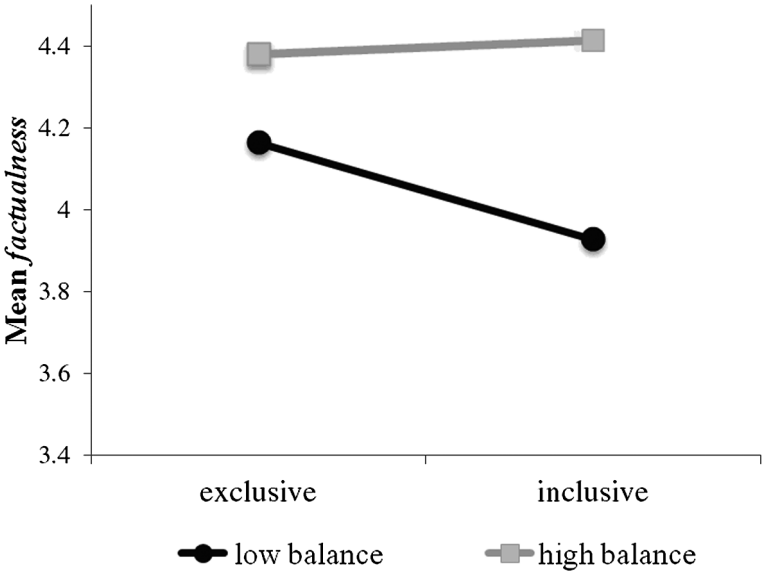

FIGURE 4
Agreement to factualness

Results also reveal that journalists who integrate online content and attempt balanced reporting (mean = 4.41, SD = 0.65), compared to journalists with a lower attempt at balance (mean = 3.93, SD = 0.63), differ in their agreement on factualness ($t(144) = 4.55$, $p < 0.001$, Cohen's $d = 0.67$). And, pairwise comparison results indicate the same pattern for neutrality ($t(144) = 2.67$, $p < 0.01$, Cohen's $d = 0.44$): journalists who are more willing to integrate online content with an attempt at balanced reporting (mean = 3.83, SD = 0.83) are significantly different from journalists who are willing to integrate online content but without a high motivation for balanced reporting (mean = 3.48, SD = 0.77) on neutrality (Figure 5). Thus, in answer to RQ2, journalists who attempt balanced reporting are more likely to embrace disclosure and factualness. Furthermore, the interaction between an attempt at balanced reporting and journalists' openness to include online content into their own work reveals that an attempt at balanced reporting may moderate the effect of openness to include online content on normative agreements of journalists. Journalists' aim for balanced reporting, combined with high frequency of including online content into their own work, contributes to an embrace of disclosure, factualness, and neutrality. Thus, balanced reporting still serves as an underlying motive to embrace objectivity, and to some extent transparency (i.e., disclosure).

Discussion and Conclusion

Our findings support Elliot's (2008) summation of a pre-paradigmatic ''conflict'' and suggest a relative commensurability of objectivity and transparency norms. Interestingly, this study speaks to a structural causality of a network of factors. As Bourdieu (1984, p. 105) argues, ''To account for infinite diversity of practices in a way that is both unitary and specific, one has to break with linear thinking.'' In essence, we found divisions and

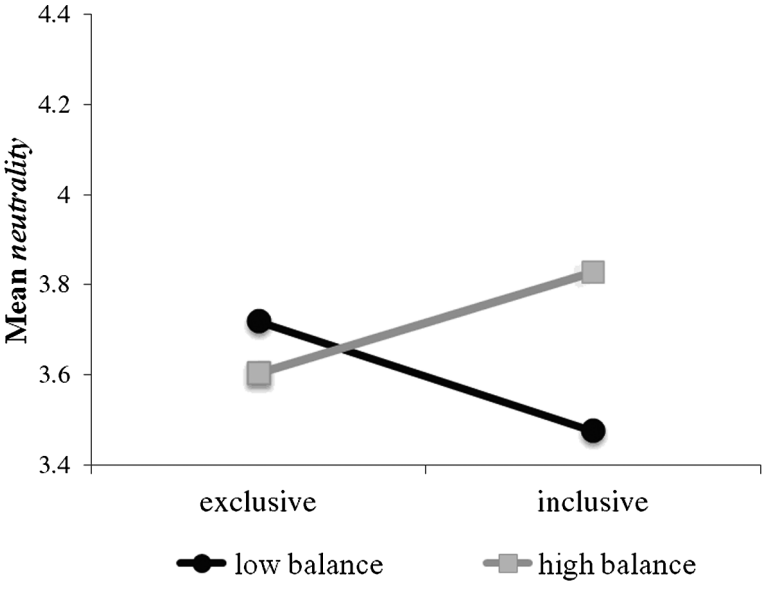

FIGURE 5
Agreement to neutrality

variations in journalistic capital (e.g., by gender and years in the profession) that helped us interpret adherence to truth-telling strategies.

Bourdieu has argued that new entrants to a field can be agents of transformation or conservation (Benson and Neveu, 2005). Based on Kuhn's (1970) arguments about the transformative nature of new agents, we hypothesized that journalists with more professional experience would embrace objectivity to a higher extent than transparency. The results showed something quite different. The longer journalists have been in the profession the less they embrace neutrality as an occupational norm. This may speak to the journalists' most vulnerable stage of their career, reporters' socialization into the newsroom. In such a formative phase, adherence to the established status system (i.e., ideal of objectivity) will eventually determine their position in the hierarchy (Darnton, 1975). On the other hand, gender brings division into the journalistic capital. Female journalists who have been working in journalism for more than 12 years were more likely to embrace disclosure transparency and factualness (objectivity) than men who have spent the same number of years in the profession. The results speak to newspaper journalists and cannot be generalized to a journalistic field *per se*. However, Lasorsa's (2012) study on how male and female journalists differ in their use of Twitter among old and new media supports secondary principles divisions: female journalists were found to be significantly more transparent than their male counterparts.

Bourdieu (2005) argued that the most likely force for change in the journalistic field would come from outside the institution. Based on the arguments of Singer (2010) and others, we examined how the network environment in which journalists live and work influences how they understand their occupational norms. Our second hypothesis was partially supported—journalists who grew up in the networked online environment more likely embraced disclosure. The immediacy of participatory journalism may have led to a new form of journalistic responsibility. Disclosure transparency, i.e., showing everyone

where facts originated, shifts the responsibility from the journalist's judgment to its source of origin. In other words, journalists act as gatewatchers (Bruns, 2005) by collaborating with their audience as mutually reliant tellers of the truth.

The study finds notable support for Singer's (2010) arguments about the transformative nature of the online network. Journalists who are socialized into the online network believe that readers' contributions to news content add to journalists' truth-telling strategy. This suggests a change in journalism's cultural capital—journalists who seem to be less insistent on professional autonomy, which has long been seen as essential to construction of truthful and authoritative accounts, believe reader contributions aid truth-telling. Thus, institutionalized tasks, routines, and procedures may become a normative battle, because ''the discourse of professional distance clearly stands in stark contrast to the rhetoric of inclusivity'' (Deuze, 2005, p. 456). In a time of change, such normative battles arise because the capacity to perform the task (i.e., journalism) is in a stage of transformation and battles weaken long-believed institutionalized claims for performing journalism. Thus, we find support for Deuze's (2005, p. 456) suggestion that calls for community-based reporting signals a shift toward collaborative autonomy (e.g., a shift toward participatory transparency).

The goal of producing balanced journalism plays a complicated role in how journalists understand norms of truth-telling. Balance, as traditional understandings of objectivity suggest (Mindich, 1998; Westerstahl, 1983), still align with objectivity. We found support for how the goal of balanced reporting contributes to journalists embracing factualness and disclosure as truth-telling strategies. If journalists are motivated by a balanced outcome in their work, they embrace factualness and disclosure to a higher extent than those journalists who are less motivated by a balanced outcome in their work. In other words, journalists motivated by a balanced outcome will more likely apply truth-telling strategies, such as not willfully suppressing any relevant information, telling everyone where their facts originated, and including all concerned parties to let readers draw their own conclusions.

Interestingly, whereas online work experience did predict journalists' embrace of participatory transparency, we see a difference when we include the motivation for a balanced outcome to that analysis. Journalists with longer online work experience and belief in balanced reporting also show significantly higher agreement with disclosure, factualness, and neutrality. Only to the extent that journalists experienced in online work are also motivated by a balanced outcome of their work will they more likely embrace disclosure, factualness, and neutrality as truth-telling strategies. Thus, we still see balanced reporting as a force to embrace certain norms even among journalists experienced in working online. Hence, in a way, our findings argue against a participatory sensitivity that challenges objectivity and ''supposedly offers a way out of the binary paradigm of 'getting both sides of the story' in favor of a more complex or multiperspectival reading of events'' (Deuze, 2005, p. 456). However, that remains an empirical question, as adherence to multiperspectival ideals would have to be tested directly.

This study is not without limitations. Our measure is a first attempt to shed light on ongoing normative struggles within the journalism field in the United States. We encourage any scholarly work that attempts to enhance the construct validity of our framework. With no doubt, international comparative research—on the basis of our findings—would provide new perspectives on whether normative shifts may become global or remain local concerns.

Nevertheless, this study provides important insights into how battles over normative claims mirror disagreement over the social function of journalism. Contemporary forces, particularly forces unleashed by the online network, might eventually provoke a paradigmatic shift after a period of relative commensurability of objectivity and transparency. Journalists are either blessed or cursed to live in interesting times. But for scholars who are interested in how changes happen in social institutions and how the cultural capital of journalism might be transformed or conserved, these are indeed valuable times.

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