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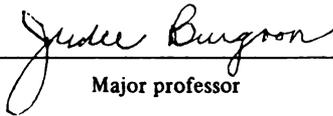
Communication Patterns and Upward Job Mobility
Among Journalists

presented by

Julia G. Crystler

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in Communication


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COMMUNICATION PATTERNS AND UPWARD JOB MOBILITY AMONG JOURNALISTS

By

Julia Gluesing Crystler

A THESIS

Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

COMMUNICATION PATTERNS AND UPWARD JOB MOBILITY AMONG JOURNALISTS

By

Julia G. Crystler

This study develops a model of upward job mobility within an expectancy theory framework which includes communication as a significant variable. Mobility can be considered a product of a wide range of contacts, opportunities and relationships that extend through all the activities of organizational members. Achieving and managing this interactive process within an organization is a function of communication. The study examines the relationship of communication to individual job mobility in comparison with other noncommunication factors such as job performance, job satisfaction, age and tenure, and individual perceptions of the work environment.

The research was carried out in the specific organizational setting of corporate journalism and also explores the relationship between upward job mobility characteristics of journalists and their communication patterns. A survey of 1,118 journalists provided the data for this study. Items in the survey were subjected to both exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses which yielded 13 composite indices. These indices were then entered into regression analyses.

The results indicate that journalists who have career aspirations and who are upwardly mobile in their profession communicate largely with other journalists, often to the exclusion of contacts with the public. The results also support the conclusion that communication should be included as a variable in any model of upward job mobility. A modified version of the mobility model is suggested for future research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

2. Next, it is important to gather relevant information and resources. This may include conducting research, consulting experts, or reviewing existing data.

3. Once the information is gathered, the next step is to analyze it and identify the key factors that influence the outcome. This often involves breaking down the problem into smaller, more manageable parts.

4. After analysis, a plan or strategy should be developed to address the problem. This plan should be based on the gathered information and the identified key factors.

5. The final step is to implement the plan and monitor the results. This involves putting the strategy into action and regularly checking progress to ensure that the problem is being solved effectively.

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CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Job Mobility and Communication Among Journalists

Individual organizational members are generally concerned at some time in their careers with job mobility. When an individual is promoted upward through the hierarchical levels of an organization, organizational members generally view this upward mobility as a reward (Katz, Kahn, 1978; Jennings, 1967). Vertical mobility typically indicates that the individual's behaviors are perceived as appropriate within the organizational culture and that the individual is worthy of more responsibility and authority (Schneider, 1982). Job mobility can be considered part of the organizational behaviors closely related to work climates. Schneider (1982) suggests that work climates emerge from naturally occurring patterns of the goal-oriented interactions of people with each other and of the changing facets of their work environment. He states that people tend to be attracted to, selected by, and leave from organizations, in a way that yields settings characterized by particular or similar kinds of people. It is difficult to separate the nature of the person from the nature of the setting.

Mobility can be considered a product of a wide range of contacts, opportunities and relationships that extend through all the activities of organizational members (Jennings, 1967). Achieving and managing this interactive process within an organization is a function of communication (Farace, Monge, & Russell, 1977). Weick (1979) believes that it is possible to obtain a more complete view of the behaviors that occur in organizations if we consider communication as a critical commodity on which organizations function and to which they direct their processes and establish their relations.

Job mobility has been studied as an outcome of various organizational processes such as job performance, job satisfaction, age and tenure and individual perceptions of the work environment (Vardi, 1980). However, communication as a factor related to promotion in organizations has been largely ignored. This paper will examine the questions "What difference does communication make for an individual's job mobility in comparison with other noncommunication factors?" and "What kind of communication patterns positively influence upward job mobility?" Communication is not the sole determinant of job mobility but should be considered along with noncommunication factors to obtain a more complete understanding of this organizational process.

In the literature on organizational behavior and career development, job mobility has been broadly defined as organizational-related job movement. Job mobility is usually viewed as a retrospective assessment of a series of events that have occurred over time. Job mobility is conceptualized for this study as the degree of vertical movement in the organizational hierarchy within a specified period of time; mobility is measured by the number of promotions one receives in a given number of years. This definition is consistent with Grusky's (1966) conceptualization of job mobility as upward organizational movement. It includes mobility from one geographic area to another and from one functional organizational area to another (if the move can be classified as a promotion). The more promotions an individual receives in a given time period, the more mobile he or she is. The research on job mobility conducted for this paper was carried out in the specific organizational setting of corporate journalism. There is a need for communication scientists to study the organizational environment of the modern



journalist. In the past 50 years this country has seen a rapid rise in the number of corporate investments in the newspaper industry (Bagdikian, 1971). While journalists remain the keepers of the public information domain, they must also focus attention on the demands of their organization. The professional journalist must be concerned with more than simply improving his or her skills as a reporter. He or she must also look after the progress of a career in the organization that oversees his or her trade. The news stories that fill the papers cannot be evaluated without understanding the organizational context in which they are written.

In 1981, the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) sponsored a study of the attitudes, beliefs, behavior and communication patterns of working journalists as part of the national Newspaper Readership Project. (1) The ASNE findings indicated a potential relationship between upward job mobility in the organization and a restricted flow of information into the newsroom. The ASNE report suggests that some journalists have "lost touch" with their public, contributing to a decline in newspaper readership. Journalists are possibly in danger of becoming a professional elite who communicate primarily among themselves.

In a later study, the Gannett Group sponsored a project similar to the ASNE survey, but focusing on its own newsroom personnel. (2) The results of the Gannett study also indicated that journalists are removed from the American public. Subsequently, Burgoon, Burgoon, Buller and Atkin (1983) further assessed journalists' communication practices by examining 1) attitudes toward public involvement, 2) actual contacts with nonjournalists, 3) work-related communication in the newsroom, and 4) social contacts with co-workers.



Burgoon et al. (1983) express a concern that journalists are not well integrated into their communities and that they substitute interactions with colleagues for interactions with the public. They suggest that expectations for upward mobility are one of the important variables related to the communication practices of journalists. Newspaper organizations reward those journalists who are "well connected" in the newsroom. They state that:

"The young journalists with advancement aspirations may realize that cultivation of contact with other journalists is beneficial and thus spend social time with co-workers at the expense of contacts with nonjournalists." (3)

Those journalists who are integrated in their communication practices (i.e., also have contacts outside the newsroom) are less likely to remain with the newspaper or advance into editorial positions, thus increasing the staff's isolation in the newsroom.

The concern that journalists are becoming an elite group in American society is shared by professional journalists. Halberstam cautioned his colleagues to avoid this elitist tendency:

"...we pretend the press is a body separate of the people, like government, a true Fourth Estate.

That is dangerous because the press should protect people's rights. We are people's information-gatherers and the only rights we have are rights people have."
(Chien, 1982))

This study develops a model of mobility which includes communication as a significant variable. More specifically, the study is designed to explore the relationship between the upward job mobility characteristics of journalists and their communication patterns. The study addresses the following research question:

Is there a positive linear relationship between the amount of communication journalists have with their colleagues and their upward job

mobility in the journalism industry?

Organization of the Thesis

This paper is organized into four chapters. In Chapter 2, the pertinent literature on job mobility is reviewed and expectancy theory of organizational behavior is presented as a useful framework studying job mobility. Chapter 3 discusses the design of the study, including sample, measures, hypotheses, procedures and analysis. In Chapter 4, the results of the analyses are given. The final chapter is a summary and discussion of the results, including implications for future research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE JOB MOBILITY LITERATURE

Several authors have discussed the range of theoretical constructs and levels of analyses which comprise the literature on occupational mobility (Vardi, 1980; Zaleznik, Dalton & Barnes, 1970; Glaser, 1968; Schein, 1978). Vardi presents a useful categorization of the various approaches to job mobility by synthesizing the literature into four major models based on differences in paradigms, units of interest, levels of analyses and methodologies. According to Vardi, the four models are psychological, sociological, economic and administrative.

The psychological models emphasize the contribution of individual-level factors to mobility. Attitudes, motivation, expectations and behaviors of the individual all contribute to occupational mobility. The sociological models attribute mobility to a process of continuous adjustment to the social and organizational environment. The interaction of organizational and individual characteristics determine the mobility an individual experiences. In the economic models, mobility is regulated by external economic constraints and labor markets which influence the availability of jobs and the potential for mobility of members in the organization. The administrative models attribute mobility to individual merit which is assessed by job performance, seniority, job level and demographic factors such as age and sex. In these models, mobility is conceived of as reward (i.e., promotion).

The present study is concerned with the primary variables in the administrative, sociological and psychological models which research findings indicate have an influential impact on vertical job mobility. The variables in the economic models are not considered here since they

are related only to influences external to the organization. The important variables are demographic characteristics [age and tenure (both time spent in an industry and time spent in a particular job)], individual motivating factors (such as job satisfaction, work relations, and the opinions one holds of the company where he or she works and of the industry in general), job performance and communication patterns. These variables are all hypothesized to be predictors of actual vertical job mobility. The following sections summarize the research findings which relate to each of these variables:

Age and Tenure. Age and tenure are consistent predictors of upward mobility (Michaels & Spector, 1982; Vardi, 1980; Wanous, 1980; Rosenbaum, 1979; Glaser, 1978; Schein, 1978; Spillman, 1972; and Zalenik et al., 1970). From an organizational perspective, these variables become the contingencies on which upward mobility is dependent. Both Schein (1978) and Vardi (1980) discuss age with respect to career opportunities and life stages. They state that age reflects the process of "coming of age" in an organization and is related to increasing seniority or tenure. At a younger age, upward mobility usually occurs at a more rapid rate. Tenure refers to both length of time in the job and length of time in the organization. Rosenbaum (1979) and Michaels and Spector (1982) have researched the changes in status and career mobility related to this variable. Mobility in the earlier portions of one's employment in an organization bears an unequivocal relationship with one's later career, predicting career "ceilings" and career "floors", and successive mobility. In other words, the longer the time one spends in a job the less likely he or she is to be promoted and the fewer the promotions he or she will receive. Length of time in the organization has an inverse relationship to upward mobility. The more time spent in an organization,



the fewer the promotions, implying stability in one's later career.

Job satisfaction. Job satisfaction is defined as an employee's general overall rating of his/her job as satisfying his/her needs. Several researchers have studied the relationship between job satisfaction and job mobility and have found that an individual's propensity to stay with an organization and to strive for an upwardly mobile career is partially a function of his or her satisfaction with the job. Michaels and Spector (1982), Greenhalgh (1980), Schein (1978), and Hall and Schneider (1973) all state that a person's career mobility is positively related to satisfaction with the job, but that job satisfaction does not lead to upward mobility in and of itself. Other variables such as career expectations and job performance mediate the relationship between satisfaction and vertical job mobility. Job satisfaction is thought to be a motivating variable which can lead an individual to pursue upward mobility in an organization.

Work relations. Burgoon et al. (1982) studied work relationships, attitudinal similarity or subordinates with their supervisors, and newsroom conflict. They related these factors to the communication practices of journalists and reported that journalists with frequent interaction in the newsroom were likely to have high quality relationships with other members of the newsroom, perceptions that their organization shared their attitudes, beliefs and values, and perceptions that their supervisors shared their attitudes toward the job. These same journalists were also more likely to have received a promotion in the last two years.

Mowday, Steers and Porter (1979) viewed an individual's work relations as an important part of organizational commitment. They define

commitment as the relative strength of an individual's identification with and involvement in a particular organization. Porter and Crampon (1976) and Grusky (1966) studied career mobility and organizational commitment and found that highly mobile managers were generally the most committed.

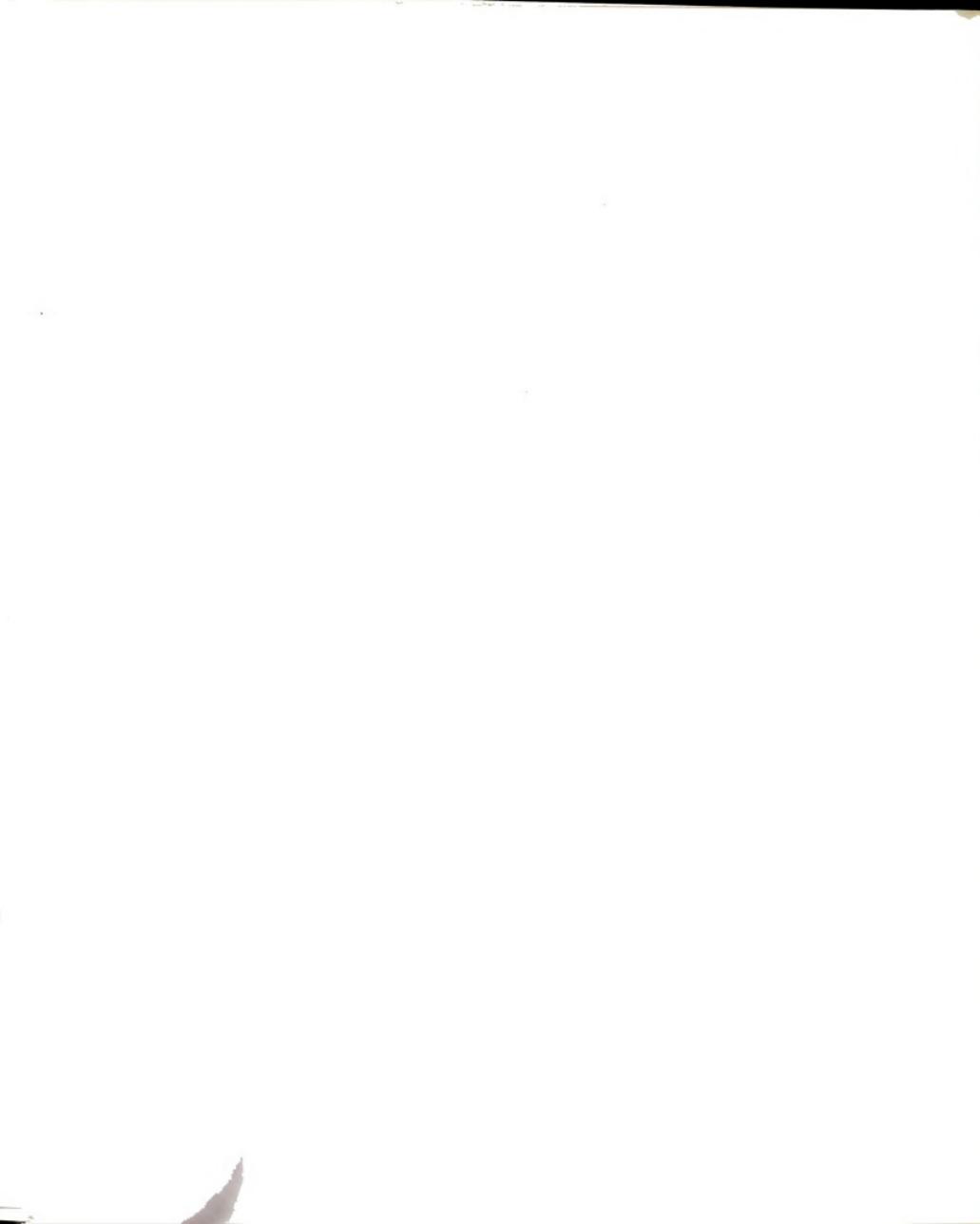
Perceptions. The image an individual holds of the company where he or she is employed and of the industry in general is also related to organizational commitment and to vertical job mobility. These perceptions are believed to contribute to an individual's desire for upward mobility. They provide career motivation (Mowday, Steers & Porter, 1979; Grusky, 1966). Bernstein, Burgoon and Burgoon (1984) analyzed attitudes held by a broad cross-section of journalists toward the future of their industry and toward their individual organizations. They factor analyzed 10 attitudinal items related to the newspaper industry's future. The results revealed three independent clusters of attitudes: (1) a pessimistic, gloomy attitude about the future, (2) a confident attitude and commitment to the industry's future, and (3) a present-oriented faith in the industry, both now and in the future.

In a regression analysis of these attitudinal clusters with other variables, Bernstein et al. found that those journalists who were pessimistic about the future of their industry were less likely to expect upward mobility and that those who expressed assuredness and commitment to their organization and to the industry intended to make lifelong careers in journalism.

Job Performance. Wanous (1980), Michaels and Spector (1982) Spencer and Steers (1981) and Rothman and Perrucci (1970) have all found that job performance can open or close doors to career mobility. When an individual performs poorly on the job, an organization will offer fewer

opportunities for promotion. For persons who perform well, of course, the reverse is true.

Communication Patterns. Implicit in many of the sociological models of job mobility is the notion of an individual's "fit" in the organization. Pellegrin and Coates (1957) view the vertical mobility of an individual through a corporate hierarchy as dependent on the individual's ability to determine the behaviors appropriate in the organization and to act accordingly. Schein (1978) also proposes that job mobility is dependent on the individual's ability to interact with the key decision-makers in an organization. Interaction with "core managers" is necessary for mobility. To follow an upwardly mobile career path, one must make the proper contacts and maintain positive relationships with coworkers and supervisors. Inclusion in a core group is essential to job mobility because it affords the individual access to and inclusion in information exchange activities which allow him or her to perform a job well. Jennings (1967) states that access to this informal information about appropriate organizational behaviors and expectations can be a powerful determinant of upward mobility. He says that "before the manager is promoted he has talked and behaved as one who belongs at a higher level. He appears so much like his superiors that they formalize the relationship" (p.36). Individuals who are more upwardly mobile tend to belong to cliques of influential organization and industry members (Tichy, 1973). Both Hall (1976) and Janowitz (1968) conducted studies to determine the factors influencing upward mobility. Hall (1976) surveyed 11,000 managers in more than 50 companies and found that in order to move up in the organization and achieve a management position, one must learn to behave like a manager. Janowitz (1968) studied promotion in the military and found that the informal lines of



communication were a strong factor influencing promotability.

Upward mobility in an organization is also related to an organizational member's communication patterns. Insularity is conceptualized as a communication continuum based on the degree to which an individual communicates with others in his or her own and related professions in proportion to the degree of external nonprofessional communication contacts. A highly insular individual engages in exclusive communication within the profession. Time on and off the job is spent communicating with other journalists to cultivate the contacts and glean the information necessary to become a professional, upwardly mobile individual. There is no time left for substantial contacts with people from the "outside world" who represent contacts that are not directly job related.

The Burgoon et al. (1982) ASNE monograph led to further exploratory analyses of the relationship of communication patterns and job mobility (Burgoon, Burgoon, Buller & Atkin, 1984). The communication items in Figures 1 and 2 are grouped according to the results of a principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation.



FIGURE 1

ITEMS ASSESSING COMMUNICATION PRACTICES OF JOURNALISTS -- SURVEY I
GROUPED BY FACTORS

Isolation from the Community

I have a lot of contact with people in walks of life very different from my own.

I think journalists should be involved with outside groups and activities.

I am involved with a variety of groups and people in the community.

Communication with Nonjournalists Regarding News Topics

I rarely discuss news events with non-journalists.

I feel discussion of news events is best kept in the office.

Communication with Journalists

I socialize frequently with other members of the newspaper staff.

The majority of my friends are associated with the newspaper business in one way or another.

My co-workers frequently discuss their stories with me.

My editor and I frequently discuss the content of various stories.

Isolates

Nonjournalists often ask my opinion about things in the news.

I regularly seek out nonjournalists' opinions about the news.



FIGURE 2

ITEMS ASSESSING COMMUNICATION PRACTICES OF JOURNALISTS -- SURVEY II
GROUPED BY FACTORS

Isolation from the Community

Off the job, I have a lot of contacts with people in walks of life very different from my own.

The demands of this job leave little time for social contacts with people outside the newsroom.

I regularly seek out nonjournalists' opinions about the news.

I think it is vitally important that a journalist be integrated into the local community.

I have enough contacts with people outside the newsroom to have a good feel for what is going on in the community.

The majority of my friends are associated with the news business in one way or another.

I am involved with a variety of groups and people in the community.

Communication with Journalists

My co-workers and I frequently discuss news stories with one another.

I feel well informed about what is going on here at this paper/station.

I have a lot of influence on decisions that are made about what stories are covered and what kind of play they receive.

In Survey I, the ASNE survey, a four factor structure emerged, accounting for 44.7% of the variance. Three factors are related to the insularity issue, with the fourth factor including only one item (it asked about the effectiveness of memos and posted communications). Factor analysis of the communication items in Survey II, the Gannett survey, resulted in a six factor solution accounting for 52.8% of the variance. Two of the factors were related to insular communication practices -- one factor assessing isolation from the community and the other assessing communication with journalists. Burgoon et al (1984) further probed the insularity issue among journalists by classifying respondents into four categories from their scores on the two insularity factors found in Survey II. Based on respondents' scores measuring their contact with the public, they were classified as high or low in their amount of work-related and social communication with other journalists. Table 1 indicates the percentage of respondents falling into the four categories of communicator types.

TABLE 1

CO-WORKER VS. PUBLIC COMMUNICATION PRACTICES OF JOURNALISTS --SURVEY II

		Communication with Other Journalists			
		Low		High (1)	
Communication With the Public	Low	I	I	I	I
		I	Isolates	I	Fast-trackers
		I		I	
		I	27%	I	25%
	High (2)	I	I	I	I
		I	Externals	I	Talkers
		I		I	
		I	25%	I	23%

- (1) Based on having a score of 10.38 or above in Survey II (on a scale ranging from 3 to 15 with a midpoint of 9).
- (2) Based on having a score of 23.25 or higher in Survey II (on a scale ranging from 7 to 35 with a midpoint of 21).

The respondents were distributed about equally across the four quadrants. The journalists grouped in each quadrant have been labeled according to their communication patterns. "Isolates" communicate neither with the public nor with their colleagues. "Fast-trackers" fall at the opposite end of the scale. They communicate almost exclusively with their industry coworkers. "Externals" communicate primarily with the public and not with co-workers. Finally, "Talkers" engage in communication with both the public and their fellow coworkers.

The four communicator types were also analyzed to see how they differed on job-related characteristics. The results are listed in Figure 3.

FIGURE 3

JOB-RELATED CHARACTERISTICS OF FOUR TYPES OF JOURNALIST COMMUNICATORS

ISOLATES

- ... in the industry and on current job slightly longer than average
- ... predominantly in nonsupervisory roles (80% hold jobs as reporters, copy editors, photographers and the like)
- ... less likely to be promoted (74% had not in last 2 years)
- ... less likely to receive merit raises (59% had not received one in last 2 years)
- ... read fewer magazines and professional journals than others
- ... read own newspaper less thoroughly than others
- ... see their newspaper as nonsensational
- ... hold more negative views toward new technology
- ... less likely to believe their paper values and uses research
- ... more likely to see themselves as dissimilar to readers

EXTERNALS

- ... in industry longer than average (65% exceed 10 years)
- ... in current job longer than average
- ... older than average (45 % are aged 45 or older)
- ... mostly in nonsupervisory roles (80% are)

- ... somewhat below average in job satisfaction
- ... least likely to be promoted (80% had not in last 2 years)
- ... less likely to receive merit raises (54% had not in last 2 years)
- ... read more magazines than others but fewer professional journals
- ... consistently rate their paper lower on all facets of image
- ... hold more negative views toward new technology
- ... less likely to believe their paper values and uses research
- ... more likely to see themselves as similar to readers
- ... hold higher estimates of how many people read the newspaper

FAST-TRACKERS

- ... in industry least time (62% report 10 years or less)
- ... are newcomers to their job (65% have held current position less than 3 years)
- ... are younger and especially likely to fall in 25-34 age bracket (55% are)
- ... include more supervisors than average (32% are)
- ... are most likely to be promoted (53% have in last 2 years)
- ... are more likely to receive merit raises (66% have in last 2 years)
- ... read fewer magazines but more professional journals
- ... hold consistently more favorable image of their paper on all facets
- ... hold more favorable attitudes toward new technology
- ... more likely to believe their paper uses and values research
- ... more likely to see themselves as dissimilar to the reader
- ... hold lower estimates of number of readers in community

TALKERS

- ... in industry less time than average (52% report 10 years or less)
- ... are newcomers to current job (62% have held it less than 3 years)
- ... are slightly younger than average
- ... include more supervisors than average (32% are)
- ... slightly above average on job satisfaction
- ... more likely to be promoted (44% have in last 2 years)
- ... more likely to receive merit raises (64% have in last 2 years)
- ... consume more print media than others (magazines, professional journals, own newspaper)
- ... hold more negative image of paper on sensationalism
- ... more likely to believe newspaper values and uses research
- ... more favorable toward new technology
- ... more likely to see themselves as similar to readers

Fast-trackers were more mobile than the other types (53% had been promoted in the last two years). Of the talkers, 44% had been promoted past two years. Externals were least likely to be promoted (only 20% had been promoted in the past two years). Externals were least likely to be promoted (only 20% had been promoted in the past two years); among the

isolates, only 26% had been promoted. It is expected that the more communication effort one expends to initiate and maintain the necessary contacts and engage in the insular communication patterns that accompany career advancement, the better able one is to perform well in the job and the more upward mobility will be experienced as a result.

Expectancy Theory of Job Mobility

Little past research on job mobility has been structured by theory. Researchers have built models of job mobility derived from exploratory analyses and conceptualizations based on different units of interest from the individual to the organization (Vardi, 1980). However, Beehr, Taber and Walsh (1980) in a factor analytic study of intraorganizational job mobility, suggest that the expectancy theory of motivation is a significant theoretical domain for the study of mobility. This theory posits that motivation acts as a generalized expectancy about the relationship between one's behavior and various outcomes (Phares, 1976). Expectancy theory has been applied to initial job choice (Wanous, 1972; Vroom, 1964) and in the present study is applied to the expectations of news personnel for obtaining a second position once one already has a job. Since expectancy theory will serve as a framework for this study summary of the theory's basic tenets and the empirical support it has received is presented here.

Wanous (1980), Schein (1977), Vroom (1964) and Berlew and Hall (1966) have found that expectations are positively related to job mobility. Expectations for upward mobility lead an individual to behave in consonance with those expectations. The individual might work harder, spend more time on the job and seek the support of coworkers more often in he or she expects that these behaviors might increase the likelihood of obtaining a promotion. Schein (1977) discusses

expectations as "career anchors" which influence an individual's career paths. Those who do not expect to be promoted will behave differently and seek different career paths than those who do expect upward job mobility.

There are four main assumptions that supporters of expectancy theory make. First, behavior is assumed to be determined by a combination of forces in the individual and forces in the environment. These forces arise from the psychological and social history of the individual and from specific workplace features. For example, individual forces which might influence the behavior of journalists are their tenure in the profession and their job satisfaction, while environmental forces might arise out of the work relations among journalists in the newsroom.

Expectancy theory also assumes that people make decisions about their own behavior in organizations. For example, individuals make decisions about membership behavior, e.g. whether to work late hours or to socialize with coworkers. Individuals also make decisions about the amount of effort they devote to their jobs.

A third assumption is that different people have different types of needs, desires and goals. Rewards and outcomes should correspond or "match" these needs. Some newspaper reporters may seek to become an editor, whereas others desire to be better reporters but not necessarily rise in the organization.

The final assumption of expectancy theory is that people choose among alternative behaviors based on their perceptions (expectancies) of the degree to which a given behavior will lead to desired outcomes. For instance, journalists might feel that it is important to make contact with people in their profession who are well known and well respected and thus further their own careers.

Expectancy theory is generally based on a simplified model in which work motivation is treated as the choice between different levels of job performance in light of anticipated outcomes (Connolly, 1976; Reinharth & Wahba, 1975; Mitchell, 1974; Lawler & Suttle, 1973; Mitchell & Albright, 1972; Hackman & Porter, 1968). The original model proposed by Vroom (1964) provides a framework for understanding how behavior may be assessed and directed to meet both individual and organizational needs (Nadler & Lawler, 1983).

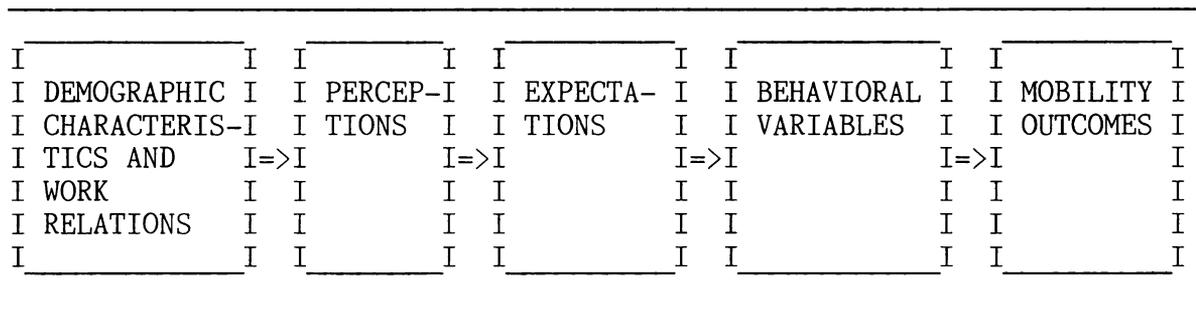
Expectancy theory has been tested primarily in derivative models of work motivation (Mitchell & Albright, 1972), job satisfaction and performance (Lawler & Suttle, 1973), and needs satisfaction (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1977). In their reviews of the conceptual and methodological issues in expectancy theory, Mitchell (1974) and Connolly (1976) both state that empirical support for the models tested has been uneven. They suggest that part of the variability in empirical support is due both to inaccurate representations of Vroom's basic model and to unreliable measures of the variables in question. However, the evidence for causal relationships between expectancy formulations and behavior is small but positive (Mitchell, 1974). The overall reliability of the constructs is good (coefficient alpha = .74). Only Dachler and Mobley's study (1973) has reported reliability coefficients of less than .40, primarily for test-retests of two months or longer. There is some support for the overall external validity of various expectancy models. Widely different measures, subject populations and criteria produce consistent positive results, although large amounts of variance have not been reliably predicted with expectancy models (Mitchell, 1974).

Lawler and Suttle (1973, p. 502) in their review of the theory, suggest "the theory has become so complex that it has exceeded the measures which exist to test it". Behling and Starke (1973) support this statement when they argue that enough questions have been raised to justify a reemphasis in research from extensions of the model to testing of the basic interactive relationship between expectations and behavior.

The job mobility model which structures the research in this study is an examination of the theoretical links between motivating variables, expectations, behavior and outcomes. The model reflects the impact of individual forces such as age, tenure in the job, tenure in the profession of journalism and job satisfaction, and environmental forces such as work relations in the newsroom, and expectations for upward mobility. The model also examines the role of expectations in predicting the job performance and communication behaviors of journalists. These behaviors are hypothesized to lead to a specific outcome, vertical job mobility. The basic theoretical model of upward job mobility is illustrated in Figure 4. The proposed research is designed to further explore the relationship between communication behavior and vertical job mobility in an expectancy framework which takes into account the important predictors of mobility.

FIGURE 4

THEORETICAL MODEL OF UPWARD JOB MOBILITY



CHAPTER 3

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

This chapter describes the selection of the sample, the questionnaire design and administration, measurement, and the statistical procedures used to analyze the data, and also states the research hypothesis.

Sample

The sample was drawn from the newsroom staffs of 83 newspapers and seven television stations included in the Gannett Group. The sampled newsrooms mix geographic (regional) location, urban/non-urban locales, publication cycles, circulation sizes, market dominance, degree of competition from other newspapers, presence of a guild (union), presence of a readership committee or ombudsman, size of newspaper staff, history, and presence of a VDT system.

Questionnaires were mailed to about 3,500 working journalists in the newsrooms of these organizations. All journalists in each newsroom were requested to voluntarily complete the questionnaire. Of the mailed questionnaires, 1,118 (30%) were returned in usable form and provide the sample data on which the present analysis was conducted.

A demographic profile of the survey respondents is given below.

- The majority of the respondents are male (67%).
- The average age of the journalists is 35, with half (51%) of them falling within 25 to 34 years of age. The age distribution by category is: under 25 years - 11%; 25 to 34 years - 51%; 35 to 44 years - 21%; 45 to 54 years - 10%; over 55 years - 7%.
- The average newsperson has been in the industry for 12 years, with half (52%) reporting between three and 10 years of experience. The breakdown by years of experience is: under 3 years - 8%; 3 to 5

- years - 22%; 6 to 10 years - 30%; 11 to 20 years - 24%; over 20 years - 16%.
- Staffers averaged eight years of work for their newspaper or station. The most frequent job title is "reporter/on-the-air newsperson" (32%). The breakdown of job titles is: reporter/on-the air newsperson - 32%; copy editor - 11%; columnist/staff writer - 10%; photographer/graphic artist - 5%; supervising editor (section/assistant/desk)/assignment editor/news editor/news producer - 26% executive editor/editor/publisher/managing editor/news director/station manager - 3%; other - 13%.
 - Nearly seven out of 10 members of the newsroom staff (69%) hold a bachelor's degree. The distribution of education levels among the newsperson respondents is: high school or less - 4%; some college or A.A. - 14%; B.A. or B.S. - 69%; M.A. or M.S. - 13%; Ph.D. - <1%.
 - Eight out of 10 of the newsroom employees who earned a journalism degree cited reporting, news, and editorial as their major area of interest. The major interest areas of those with journalism degrees are: reporting/news/editorial - 33%; mass communication - 7%; broadcast journalism - 3%; photojournalism - 3%; advertising/public relations - 1%; journalism management - 1%; radio-TV-film - <1%; other - 5%
 - The largest group of respondents with a nonjournalism degree are English majors (35%). The degree backgrounds of nonjournalism majors are: English - 35%; liberal arts/humanities - 20%; social science - 17%; business - 4%; natural science - 2%; technical field - 2%; other - 20%.
 - About half (52%) of the respondents are employed by the smaller newspapers (those with circulations under 50,000). The distribution

of journalists by size of newspapers, and within TV stations, is: less than 50,000 circulation - 52%; 50,000 to 99,999 - 30%; over 100,000 - 15%; TV stations - 3%.

Procedures

The questions studied in the Gannett research project concerned the influence of naturally occurring phenomena on the interactions of people as they pursue their daily activities. To obtain their reports about these experiences, a survey research design was considered most appropriate for this study.

The surveys were distributed to the Gannett newsrooms by mail. Before the surveys were mailed to the newsrooms, the project was announced in the company newsletter and all journalists were encouraged to participate. At each newsroom, a contact person distributed the questionnaires to the journalists and returned the completed surveys to the researchers. Respondents sealed their completed surveys in envelopes which were collected at a central location within the newsroom and then mailed to the researchers for analysis.

Measurement

In the survey, a series of questions assessing communication practices was included in a larger questionnaire. That questionnaire focused on several issues in the journalists' work environment, including job mobility, work relations, and job satisfaction. [The questionnaire also contained items on variables beyond those of specific interest in this study (these other items served the concerns of other researchers collaborating in the research project).(4)]

The discussion below describes the measurement of the independent and dependent variables in the job mobility model. Unless otherwise specified, all variables are measured on a five-point Likert-type scale.

All variables were measured on an interval level metric.

Communication Practices of Journalism. The survey contained 10 items to assess the actual communication practices of the respondents with both journalists and nonjournalists, the nature and frequency of these contacts, and their perceived need to communicate with persons and organizations outside the newsroom. Together, the items were expected to reveal a journalist's insularity from the public -- e.g., the extent to which the person had fewer contacts, perceived less community awareness and/or believed that community integration is undesirable. Figure 5 lists these items.

Figure 5

COMMUNICATION PRACTICES OF JOURNALISTS

Off the job, I have a lot of contacts with people in walks of life very different from my own.

The demands of this job leave little time for social contacts with people outside the newsroom.

I regularly seek out nonjournalists' opinions about the news.

I think it is vitally important that a journalist be integrated into the local community.

I have enough contacts with people outside the newsroom to have a good feel for what is going on in the community.

The majority of my friends are associated with the news business in one way or another.

I am involved with a variety of groups and people in the community.

My co-workers and I frequently discuss news stories with one another.

I feel well informed about what is going on here at this paper/station.

I have a lot of influence on decisions that are made about what stories are covered and what kind of play they receive.

Work Relations. Also included in the survey were 16 items focusing on work relations. These items addressed issues related to supervisor-

subordinate relations, supervisor-subordinate similarity, and conflict within the newsroom. Since the "fit" of an individual with his or her work environment is one determinant of upward mobility, the work relations items were designed to assess the degree to which an individual feels a part of (or at odds with) the organization. The work relations items are listed in Figure 6.

FIGURE 6
WORK RELATIONS

My supervisor and I frequently discuss my work.

Communication among people on this staff is strained.

Editors on this staff work to develop the creative potential of the reporters.

People in this newsroom are more interested in their own career advancement than in producing a good news product.

The information I receive from bulletin boards, memos and other internal communication is insufficient.

My professional goals are often at odds with the demands placed on me in this organization.

There is not enough leadership by top management in this newspaper/station.

I feel I receive sufficient guidance and feedback from my supervisors.

There is a spirit of camaraderie in this newsroom.

There is a difference between the way my supervisor thinks things should be done and the way I think they should be done.

My supervisors in this newsroom share my values.

My supervisors are different than me.

I have a hard time satisfying the conflicting demands of people I work with.

There is a definite lack of clear policy and guidelines for doing one's job here.

FIGURE 6

WORK RELATIONS (CON'T)

This organization really inspires the very best in me in the way of job performance.

I find that my values and this paper's/station's values are very similar.

Job Satisfaction. Job satisfaction is closely related to work relations, but is not synonymous. Satisfaction with one's job -- with the actual day-to--day work involved in the job -- is separate from the issue of interpersonal relations in the work environment. To assess job satisfaction, a modified version of the Job Description Index (Smith, Kendall & Hulin, 1975) was used to measure employees' satisfaction with the nature of their work. The 18 items which form this scale are included in Figure 7.

FIGURE 7

JOB SATISFACTION

Listed below are words and phrases that may describe your current job. For each item, either circle Y (for Yes) if it describes your job, N (for No) if it does not describe your job, or ? if you can't decide.

The work that I do is:

Fascinating	Y ? N	Good	Y ? N	Pleasant	Y ? N
Routine	Y ? N	Creative	Y ? N	Useful	Y ? N
Satisfying	Y ? N	Respected	Y ? N	Tiresome	Y ? N
Boring	Y ? N	High Pressure	Y ? N	Healthful	Y ? N
Challenging	Y ? N	Frustrating	Y ? N	Endless	Y ? N
Important	Y ? N	Simple	Y ? N	Gives sense of accomplishment	Y ? N

Perceptions. Since the perceptions an individual holds of the company where a person works and of the industry in general are expected to contribute to an individual's desire for upward mobility, several items were included to analyze journalists' attitudes toward their

organization and toward the field of journalism. A five-point semantic differential-type scale was used by respondents to rate their paper/TV on several issues concerning the quality of news reporting and the paper's position in the community. This scale was designed to assess the journalists' current image of their organization. To measure their outlook toward the future of their industry, another 10 items on a five-point Likert-type scale were also incorporated in the questionnaire. Figures 8 and 9 list both the image and the outlook scales.

FIGURE 8

PERCEPTIONS -- IMAGE OF THE NEWSPAPER/TV STATION

Below are a number of adjectives and phrases that have been used to describe news organizations. For each pair of words or phrases, please rate your newspaper/station as you see it:

Inaccurate	1	2	3	4	5	Accurate
Doesn't have the latest news	1	2	3	4	5	Has the latest news
Not courageous	1	2	3	4	5	Courageous
Impersonal	1	2	3	4	5	Personal
Can't be trusted	1	2	3	4	5	Can be trusted
Not concerned about the community's well-being	1	2	3	4	5	Concerned about the community's well-being
Does sensationalize	1	2	3	4	5	Doesn't sensationalize
Dull	1	2	3	4	5	Lively
Not respected	1	2	3	4	5	Respected
Doesn't act as a community watchdog	1	2	3	4	5	Does act as a community watchdog
Incompetent	1	2	3	4	5	Competent
Doesn't represent the whole whole community	1	2	3	4	5	Does represent the whole community
Biased	1	2	3	4	5	Unbiased
Uninteresting	1	2	3	4	5	Interesting

FIGURE 9

PERCEPTIONS -- OUTLOOK TOWARD THE FUTURE

I feel that in the future, newspaper readers will turn more and more to broadcast media for news and information.

The future for the newspaper industry looks rather gloomy.

It is likely our local daily newspaper will lose readers, relative to our

population, in the next five years.

I feel we have been making progressive changes in content and format in our coverage of news.

It is quite likely that I will remain in the field of journalism for as long as I can work.

People read our daily newspaper because they have no alternative.

The public has more confidence and trust in the local newspaper than in local television news.

Our community has a very favorable image of our newspaper/station.

Our news presentations have an important impact on readers'/viewers' attitudes toward political and social issues.

Advances in new technology will give the newspaper a stronger competitive edge in the future.

Job Performance. Two questions were used to assess the journalists' job performance. First, respondents indicated whether they had received a merit raise in the past two years, using three response categories: No; Yes, once; and Yes, more than once. The second question asked if they had been formally evaluated in the past year, and if so, how they were evaluated. These performance items and their scoring are presented in Figure 10.

FIGURE 10

JOB PERFORMANCE

Have you received a merit raise in the last two years?

No	Yes, Once	Yes, More Than Once
(1)	(2)	(3)

Have you received any formal evaluation in the past two years?

No	Yes -- If Yes, how were you evaluated?
(0)	Very Negatively 1 2 3 4 5 Very Positively

Expectations. Two questions addressed the journalists' expectations for upward mobility in their careers. One question asked if

they expected to hold their present position five years from now. If they thought this was somewhat or very unlikely, a second question asked whether they expected to be promoted, change to a lateral position, or to leave the profession. The first item was measured on a five point Likert-type scale and the second contained five response categories. The two items were combined and recoded to measure the degree to which each journalist expected upward job mobility, from low mobility to high. The questions are listed in Figure 11, along with the recoding scheme.

FIGURE 11

EXPECTATIONS FOR UPWARD JOB MOBILITY, AND AGE AND TENURE

I - EXPECTATIONS FOR UPWARD JOB MOBILITY

1. How likely do you think it is that you will hold the same position five years from now (whether here or in another location)?

Very Likely 1 2 3 4 5 Very Unlikely

2. If Somewhat or Very Unlikely -- Do you expect to be promoted, to change to a lateral position here or elsewhere, or to leave the profession?

Be Promoted	Change Position Laterally	Leave This Profession	Not Sure	Other
1	2	3	4	5

Recoding Scheme:

If the response to Q1 equals (1) or (2), Mobility Expectations = 0
 If the response to Q1 equals (3),.....Mobility Expectations = 1
 If the response to Q1 equals (4) or (5), and the response to
 Q2 equals (1),.....Mobility Expectations = 2
 If the response to Q1 equals (4) or (5), and the response to
 Q2 equals (2),.....Mobility Expectations = 0
 If the response to Q1 equals (4) or (5), and the response to
 Q2 equals (4),.....Mobility Expectations = 1

Mobility Expectations:

Low Expectations = 0 Medium Expectations = 1 High Expectations = 2

II - AGE AND TENURE

Age

What is your age? (In Years)

Years in Industry

How many years have you worked in the newspaper/television industry? (In Years)

Years In Present Job

How long have you held this present job? (In Years)

Have you been promoted in the last two years?

No	Yes, Once	Yes, More Than Once
1	2	3

Age and Tenure. Three demographic items asked journalists to give their age in years and to indicate both the number of years they had spent in the journalism industry and the number of years they had held their present job. Figure 11 includes these questions.

Job Mobility. Job mobility, the dependent variable in this analysis, was measured by the number of promotions a journalist received in the last two years. This question is also found in Figure 11.

An exploratory factor analysis was run on all the items included in the independent variables described above. Factor analysis was used both as a data reduction tool and to verify the conceptual grouping of the items. Factor analysis is a procedure for evaluating whether a set of variables has a smaller number of underlying dimensions which account for its correlations. Factor analysis reduces a complex set of variables into one or more groups or clusters and can provide insight into the underlying dimension which each cluster represents. Factor loadings indicate the extent of the relationship between the cluster and each variable or item. The researcher must interpret the results and



determine whether there are meaningful patterns in the clusters. Factor analysis can provide a clearer understanding of the observed relations in the data by reducing the data to a smaller set of factors.

The items which comprised the initial set of variables formed a 74 x 74 correlation matrix. This matrix was subjected to a principal components analysis with communalities in the main diagonal, followed by a varimax rotation of factors having eigenvalues greater than or equal to one (Nie, Hall, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, & Bent, 1975). The resulting 16 factors accounted for 57.1% of the variance in the correlation matrix. The 16 factors corresponded closely to the eight concepts presented above in the discussion of questionnaire design and measurement.

Next, the variables in the 16 factors were further analyzed to provide additional confirmation of the factors as underlying indicators of the concepts. First, each of the 16 factors was explored conceptually for patterning in the variables. Variables which grouped together both conceptually and statistically were identified. In some cases, the variables in one of the initial 16 factors were selected out for subsequent analysis, while in other cases, the variables from more than one factor were isolated and factor analyzed. When this step was completed, 11 sets of variables were then analyzed in 11 separate principal components factor analyses (with communalities in the diagonal and varimax rotation of factors having eigenvalues greater than or equal to one). The number of factors expected to result from each analysis was specified a priori, on the basis of the conceptual and statistical grouping which had just been completed.

The confirmatory analyses yielded 14 significant factors having eigenvalues greater than one. Only those analyses which yielded factors that accounted for 35% or more of the variance were selected for the next

stage of the analysis. Of the 14 factors from the confirmatory analyses, 10 were selected for the next analysis stage, following the theoretical framework of expectancy theory and the conceptual focus of this research on job mobility. The final 10 factors forming composite variables for regression analysis are listed in Table 2, along with the communalities, eigenvalues, and percentage of total variance accounted for in the set of variables subjected to each confirmatory analysis.

TABLE 2
FINAL FACTORS -- VARIABLES IN REGRESSION EQUATIONS

<u>Factor 1 - Demographics (Age, Tenure in Industry, Tenure in Job)</u>			
<u>Items</u>	<u>Communality</u>	<u>Factor Loading</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>
What is your age?	.76	.92	2.34
How many years in industry?	.77	.95	
How many years in job?	.34	.60	
Percent of Variance Accounted for:	78.0		
Reliability - Coefficient Alpha:	.86		
<u>Factor 2 - Job Satisfaction</u>			
<u>Items</u>	<u>Communality</u>	<u>Factor Loading</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>
Fascinating	.27	.52	4.49
Satisfying	.45	.68	
Challenging	.42	.63	
Creative	.29	.55	
Gives sense of accomplishment	.40	.54	
Percent of Variance Accounted for:	37.0		
Reliability - Coefficient Alpha:	.79		
<u>Factors 3, 4 and 5 - Work Relations</u>			
<u>Items in Factor 3 - Sup/Sub Similarity</u>	<u>Communality</u>	<u>Factor Loading</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>
There is a difference between the way my supervisor thinks things should be done and the way I think they should be done.	.36	.58	6.43
My supervisors in this newsroom share my values.	.45	.61	
My supervisors are different than me.	.32	.60	

TABLE 2

FINAL FACTORS -- VARIABLES IN REGRESSION EQUATIONS (CON'T)

I have a hard time satisfying the conflicting demands of people I work with.	.32	.42
I find that my values and this paper's/station's values are very similar.	.51	.56
My professional goals are often at odds with the demands placed on me in this organization.	.40	.42

Percent of Variance Accounted for: 40.2
Reliability - Coefficient Alpha: .80

<u>Items in Factor 4 - Conflict</u>	<u>Communality</u>	<u>Factor Loading</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>
Communication among people on this staff is strained.	.43	.65	1.18
People in this newsroom are more interested in their own career advancement than in producing a good news product.	.27	.50	
There is a spirit of camaraderie in this newsroom.	.43	.65	

Percent of Variance Accounted for: 7.4
Reliability - Coefficient Alpha: .73

<u>Items in Factor 5 - Leadership</u>	<u>Communality</u>	<u>Factor Loading</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>
My supervisor and I frequently discuss my work.	.28	.55	1.13
Editors on this staff work to develop the creative potential of the reporters.	.46	.58	
There is not enough leadership by top management in this newspaper/station.	.41	.47	
I feel I receive sufficient guidance and feedback from my supervisors.	.45	.64	
There is a definite lack of clear policy and guidelines for doing one's job here.	.51	.46	
This organization really inspires the very best in me in the way of job performance.	.58	.49	

Percent of Variance Accounted for: 7.1
Reliability - Coefficient Alpha: .83

Factors 6 and 7 - Outlook

<u>Items in Factor 6 - Pessimistic Outlook</u>	<u>Communality</u>	<u>Factor Loading</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>
I feel that in the future, newspaper readers will turn more and more to	.21	.55	1.28

TABLE 2

FINAL FACTORS -- VARIABLES IN REGRESSION EQUATIONS (CON'T)

broadcast media for news and information. The future for the newspaper industry looks rather gloomy.	.28	.67
It is likely that our local daily news- paper will lose readers, relative to our population, in the next five years.	.15	.45
Advances in new technology will give the newspaper a stronger competitive edge in the future.	.17	.40

Percent of Variance Accounted for: 12.8
Reliability - Coefficient Alpha: .61

<u>Items in Factor 7 - Optimistic Outlook</u>	<u>Communality</u>	<u>Factor Loading</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>
I feel we have been making progressive changes in content and format in our coverage of news.	.19	.40	2.64
People read our daily newspaper because they have no alternative.	.15	.40	
The public has more confidence and trust in the local newspaper than in local television news.	.17	.41	
Our community has a very favorable image of our newspaper/station.	.27	.71	

Percent of Variance Accounted for: 26.4
Reliability - Coefficient Alpha: .54

Factor 8 - Image of Newspaper/Station

<u>Items</u>	<u>Communality</u>	<u>Factor Loading</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>
Inaccurate/Accurate	.38	.46	6.64
Can't be Trusted/Can be Trusted	.52	.70	
Not Concerned About the Community's Well-being/Concerned About the Community's Well-being	.44	.63	
Dull/Lively	.57	.40	
Doesn't Care What the Public Thinks/ Does Care What the Public Thinks	.38	.59	
Incompetent/Competent	.57	.60	
Doesn't Represent the Whole Community/ Does Represent the Whole Community	.42	.48	
Biased/Unbiased	.33	.53	

Percent of Variance Accounted for: 41.5
Reliability - Coefficient Alpha: .84

TABLE 2

FINAL FACTORS -- VARIABLES IN REGRESSION EQUATIONS (CON'T)

Factors 9 and 10 - Communication Patterns

<u>Items in Factor 9 - Communication with Public</u>	<u>Communality</u>	<u>Factor Loading</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>
Off the job, I have a lot of contacts with people in walks of life very different from my own.	.42	.75	2.76
The demands of this job leave me little time for social contacts with people outside the newsroom.	.17	.42	
I regularly seek out the nonjournalists' opinions about the news.	.19	.43	
I have enough contacts with people outside the newsroom to have a good feel for what is going on in the community.	.31	.62	
The majority of my friends are associated with the news business in one way or another.	.28	.54	
I am involved with a variety of groups and people in the community.	.33	.66	
Percent of Variance Accounted for:	27.6		
Reliability - Coefficient Alpha:	.74		

<u>Items in Factor 10 - Communication with Journalists</u>	<u>Communality</u>	<u>Factor Loading</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>
My coworkers and I frequently discuss news stories with one another.	.18	.55	1.76
I feel well-informed about what is going on here at this paper/station.	.20	.60	
I have a lot of influence on decisions that are made about what stories are covered and what kind of play they receive.	.15	.49	

Percent of Variance Accounted for: 17.6

Reliability - Coefficient Alpha: .59

Note: In all factors, negative items have been reverse scored.

Two criteria were used to retain a variable within a factor: (1) the variable had a strong conceptual tie with the underlying dimension of the factor, and (2) the variable loaded .40 or greater on the factor. A variable was deleted if it did not discriminate among the factors, i.e., loaded highly on more than one factor.

On the basis of the results of the confirmatory analysis, the composite indices were created by summing the unit-weighted scores of the items in each factor which met the above criteria. Reliability analysis was conducted on the 10 indices. Table 11 also reports the coefficient alpha for each index. The indices were labeled by the underlying conceptual dimension they appeared to represent. These labels will be used to refer to these composite variables in the following discussion of statistical analyses and results.

Procedures for Statistical Analysis

The data were analyzed using the routines of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

Initial frequencies were run to determine measures of central tendency and distribution for each variable. Scattergrams were run, and indicated that the variables were linearly dependent. Overall, the results of this analysis indicated that most variables approximated a normal distribution. Three variables were skewed somewhat positively; Mobility Expectations and Demographic Characteristics of age and tenure on the job and in the industry (independent variables) and Job Mobility (a dependent variable). The measurement of the expectation and mobility variables allowed for limited variance (a three-point measurement scale) and most respondents did not have high expectations for mobility and had received only one or no promotions in the past two years. Demographically, respondents were in their mid-30's (35 years of age, on the average), and had been in the industry an average of 12 years and at their present jobs an average of four years. Their Job Satisfaction was negatively skewed, indicating that journalists are generally highly satisfied with their work. (See Appendix A for descriptive statistics for all the variables included in the regression analysis.)

Regression analyses were conducted to test the main research hypothesis and to evaluate the mobility model as a whole. Hierarchical and stepwise solutions were employed conjointly. Hierarchical regression models include the variables in the regression equation as specified a priori. These a priori specifications were established according to theoretical, causal or logical considerations. A hierarchy among sets of variables was specified: First, the demographic characteristics of journalists and the work relations variables are considered to logically precede any variables related to future attitudes or expectations about the job, therefore, this block of variables entered as specified in the expectancy model.

The second block of variables included the image and outlook variables which reflected respondents' perceptions about their paper/TV station and their attitudes toward the future of the journalism industry. The variable measuring respondents' expectations for job mobility was entered into the regression equation third, since the preceding variables are thought to heavily influence expectations about job mobility. And finally, job performance and communication patterns, hypothesized to be largely influenced by expectations and to lead to actual mobility, were entered into the equation as the fourth block of variables.

In stepwise estimations, variables are typically entered into the analysis beginning with the variable that explains the largest amount of variance in the dependent variable. This is followed by the variable that explains the largest amount of variance not already accounted for by the variable just entered into the regression equation. This procedure is continued until all the variables have been entered. Therefore, variables are entered and removed from the equation based on their unique contribution to the dependent variable. Since no specific causal

ordering was designated for the variables within the first block but a notable influence from them was expected, these variables were entered in a stepwise fashion so that each variable could account for its unique contribution to the dependent variable.

Three main regression analyses were performed. First, job mobility was regressed on all the variables in the full model. Then each of the two major portions of the model was analyzed, the portion of the model preceding and that following the expectations variable. In the second regression analysis, expectations was regressed on the image and outlook variables, and the demographic and work relations variables. Third, job mobility was regressed on the performance and communication variables and expectations for mobility. The same entry procedures were followed in all three analyses. No direct link between the variables preceding expectations and the dependent variable is hypothesized in the expectancy model in this study. Therefore, a regression analysis specifically testing this relationship was not performed.

Hypothesis

A research question regarding the relationship between communication patterns among journalists and upward job mobility was stated in Chapter One. The following hypothesis constitutes a testable restatement of this relationship:

H: The greater the amount of journalists' communication with their colleagues the greater their upward job mobility.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS, SUMMARY, AND DISCUSSION

The results of the regression analysis are presented in Tables 3, 4 and 5. Table 3 lists, by step, the variables entered into the regression equation to test the full model of Upward Job Mobility (Figure 12). Table 4 presents the results of the regression analysis testing Part 1 of the model (Figure 13), and Table 5 indicates the results for Part 2 of the model (Figure 14). An "overall" test for the goodness of fit of the regression equations and the expectancy model of upward job mobility was performed, and the contribution of each variable to the prediction of job mobility was examined. SPSS Regression provides values for the F test of statistical significance. If statistically significant, this test indicates that there is a significant relationship between the set of predictors and the criterion variable. In all the regression analyses, the probability level of .05 was used to establish statistically significant results. The significant beta weights at the $p \leq .05$ level will be denoted by an asterisk (*) in the tables reported with the results of the regression analysis.

The analyses are described below, followed by a discussion of their implications for the overall Upward Job Mobility model and the limitations to interpretation of the results. Recommendations for future research are also presented.

RESULTS

Full Model of Upward Job Mobility. The full model is presented in Figure 12 below, followed by Table 3, in which the results of the regression analysis of this model are presented. In this model, the dependent variable is Upward Job Mobility, and the dependent variables

are those presented in the four blocks of variables leading to the dependent variable.

FIGURE 12

FULL REGRESSION MODEL OF UPWARD JOB MOBILITY

<u>IDemographics</u>	<u>IOutlook</u>	<u>IMobility</u>	<u>IJob Perfor-</u>	<u>IUpward</u>
<u>I(Age & Tenure)</u>	<u>I(Pessi-</u>	<u>I=>IExpecta-</u>	<u>I=>Imance l&2</u>	<u>I=>IJob</u>
<u>IJob Satisfac-</u>	<u>Imistic &</u>	<u>Itions</u>	<u>ICommunica-</u>	<u>IMobility</u>
<u>Ition</u>	<u>I Optimistic</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>I tion with</u>	<u>I</u>
<u>IWork Relations</u>	<u>I Image</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>IPublic</u>	<u>I</u>
<u>IConflict</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>ICommunica-</u>	<u>I</u>
<u>ISupervisor/</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>I tion with</u>	<u>I</u>
<u>I Subordinate</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>I Journalists</u>	<u>I</u>
<u>I Similarity</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>I</u>

BLOCK ONE:	BLOCK TWO:	BLOCK THREE:	BLOCK FOUR:	DEPENDENT VARIABLE:
Demographic Characteristics And Work Relations	Perceptions	Expectations	Behavioral Variables	Mobility Outcomes

The overall accuracy of a prediction equation is given by the R-square statistic, the proportion of variance explained in the dependent variable by the independent variables included in a regression equation. In Table 3, the R-square statistic and the other results of the analysis of the full model are presented. The independent variables in the full model of Upward Job Mobility accounted for 18.6% of the variance in the dependent variable. The overall contribution of the independent variables was significant at the $p \leq .05$ level with an overall F of 14.91.

TABLE 3

RESULTS OF FULL REGRESSION MODEL OF UPWARD JOB MOBILITY

<u>Step</u>	<u>Variables</u> <u>in the Equation</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>95%</u>	<u>Conf. Interval</u>	<u>R-Square</u>	<u>R-Square</u> <u>Change</u>
<u>Block 1</u>						
1	Demographics (Age, Tenure)	-.006*	P(-.008<B<-.004)=.95		.079	.079
2	Job Satisfaction	.022*	P(.005<B<.038)=.95		.103	.024
3	Work Relations (Leadership)	.000	P(-.012<B<.012)=.95		.109	.005
4	Conflict	-.021*	P(-.040<B<-.003)=.95		.110	.001
5	Supervisor/Sub. Similarity	.005	P(-.008<B<.017)=.95		.111	.001
<u>Block 2</u>						
6	Pessimistic Outlook	-.004	P(-.018<B<.011)=.95		.111	.000
	Optimistic Outlook	.008	P(-.010<B<.026)=.95		.113	.002
	Image	-.005	P(-.017<B<.006)=.95		.113	.000
<u>Block 3</u>						
7	Mobility Expectation	.117*	P(.063<B<.172)=.95		.137	.024
<u>Block 4</u>						
8	Job Performance 1	.096*	P(.046<B<.146)=.95		.157	.020
	Communication with Public	.010*	P(.001<B<.019)=.95		.161	.004
	Job Performance 2	.005	P(-.016<B<.027)=.95		.162	.001
	Communication with Journalists	.048*	P(.029<B<.067)=.95		.186	.024
<u>Multiple R</u> = .431						
<u>R-Square</u> = .186						
<u>Overall F</u> = 14.91						
<u>Significance</u> = .002*						

Significant at $p < .05$

To estimate the relative effects of the predictor variables on Upward Job Mobility, the standardized Beta weights for each of the variables can be compared. Both the Beta weights and their confidence intervals are presented in Table 12. Seven of the 13 predictors have Beta weights which are significant at the $p < .05$ level. Expectations for Upward Job Mobility make the largest contribution ($B=0.117$) to the

combined effects of the predictor variables. Two behavioral variables, Job Performance 1/Merit Raise ($B=0.096$) and Journalists' Communication with Colleagues ($B=0.048$) also make relatively large contributions. Following the behavioral variables, two of the variables in Block One, Job Satisfaction ($B=0.022$) and the perceived Absence of Conflict ($B=-0.021$) add about equally to the predictions of Upward Job Mobility, but to a lesser degree than the Job Performance 1/Merit Raise and Journalists' Communication with Colleagues measures. Journalists' Communication With the Public ($B=0.010$) is also positively related to Upward Job Mobility; however, it is much less important in predicting Upward Job Mobility than Journalists' Communication with Colleagues in the newsroom. Of the significant predictors of Upward Job Mobility, Journalists' Demographic Characteristics (age and tenure in their jobs and in the industry) ($B=0.006$) do not contribute as much to the prediction of mobility as do some of the work relations and behavioral variables and Journalists Expectations of Upward Job Mobility.

The variables in the regression equation that are not significant predictors of Upward Job Mobility are: Work Relations/Leadership ($B=0.000$); Superior/Subordinate Similarity ($B=0.005$); Pessimistic Outlook Toward the Future of the Journalism Industry ($B=-0.004$); Optimistic Outlook Toward the Future ($B=0.008$); Image of Newspaper/TV Station ($B=-0.005$); Job Performance 2/Performance Review ($B=0.005$).

The proportion of the variance accounted for by all the independent variables can be partitioned incrementally to study the effects of all predictor variables on the criterion variable, after having controlled for other variables. The column in Table 3 headed "R-Square Change" indicates the increment in the proportion of variance accounted for by

change=0.024)]. Job Satisfaction was the second variable entered into the regression equation, Expectations was the 9th, Job Performance/Merit Raise was 10th, and Journalists' Communication with Colleagues was the last of the 13 independent variables to be entered into the equation.

Journalists' Communication with Colleagues has an R-square change of 2.5%, which reflects only its direct effect on the dependent variable, after the effects of all the other independent variables have been controlled. The remaining eight variables in the regression equation each account for 0.5% or less of the total variance in the dependent variable: Work Relations/Leadership, R-square change = 0.006; Absence of Conflict, R-square change = 0.001; Supervisor/Subordinate Similarity, R-square change = 0.001; Pessimistic Outlook, R-square change = 0.000; Optimistic Outlook, R-square Change = 0.002; Image, R-square change = 0.000; Communication with the Public, R-square change = 0.004; Job Performance/Performance Review, R-square change = 0.001).

The simple correlations of each independent variable with the dependent variable, upward job mobility, support this pattern of efforts. Appendix A includes these correlations. The independent variables with the strongest correlations with upward Job Mobility are Job Performance 1/Merit Raises (.20), Journalists' Communication with Colleagues (.25), Expectations for Mobility (.23), and the Demographic characteristics of Age and Tenure (-.28).

Partial Model of Upward Job Mobility -- Model 1. Model 1 represents the second regression analysis conducted to test the expectancy theory framework of Upward Job Mobility. The model uses all the variables in the model preceding Mobility Expectations as independent variables. These variables are Demographic Characteristics of Journalists (Age and

Tenure), Work Relations/Leadership, Supervisor/Subordinate Similarity, Absence of Conflict, Job Satisfaction, Pessimistic Outlook, Optimistic Outlook, and Image of the Newspaper/TV Station. The independent variables were entered into the regression equation in two blocks as depicted in Figure 13. The first block contained the variables Demographics through Supervisor/Subordinate Similarity. The second block included the Outlook and Image variables.

FIGURE 13

PARATIAL REGRESSION MODEL OF UPWARD JOB MOBILITY -- Model I

I Demographics I	I Pessimistic I	I Mobility I
I (Age & Tenure) I	I Outlook I	I Expecta- I
I Work Relations I	I Optimistic I	I tions I
I (Leadership) I	I Outlook I	I I I
I Supervisor/ I =====>	I I =====>	I I I
I Subordinate I	I Image I	I I I
I Similarity I	I I I	I I I
I Conflict I	I I I	I I I
I Job Satisfac- I	I I I	I I I
I tion I	I I I	I I I
BLOCK ONE:	BLOCK TWO:	DEPENDENT VARIABLE:
Demographic	Perceptions	Expectations
Characteristics		
And		
Work Relations		

The results of the analysis are shown below in Table 4. The prediction equation has an R-square of (.083) and an overall F of (9.63), which is significant at the $p < .05$ level. Only two of the eight variables have Beta weights significant at the $p < .05$ level -- Demographic Characteristics ($B=-0.009$) and Work Relations/Leadership ($B=0.021$). Work Relations makes the largest contribution to the prediction of Mobility Expectations compared with the other variables in the equation.

An examination of the changes in R-square shows that Demographic Characteristics (age and tenure) and Work Relations/Leadership account for almost all (7.7%) of the explained variance in the dependent variable, Mobility Expectations. Demographic Characteristics, which was entered into the equation first, accounts for the largest percentage of the variance (R-square change = 4.6%). Work Relations/Leadership was entered the equation second, and has an R-square change of 3.1%. The remaining variables in the equation together account for only 0.6% of the total explained variance in Mobility Expectations.

TABLE 4

RESULTS OF PARTIAL REGRESSION MODEL OF UPWARD JOB MOBILITY --MODEL 1

<u>Step</u>	<u>Variables</u> <u>in the Equation</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>95% Conf. Interval</u>	<u>R-Square</u>	<u>R-Square Change</u>
<u>Block 1</u>					
1	Demographics (Age, Tenure)	-.009*	P(-.012<B<-.007)=.95	.046	.046
2	Work Relations (Leadership)	.021*	P(.007<B<.036)=.95	.077	.031
3	Supervisor/Sub. Similarity	.012	P(-.003<B<.028)=.95	.080	.003
4	Conflict	-.006*	P(-.028<B<-.017)=.95	.080	.000
5	Job Satisfaction	-.006*	P(-.027<B<.038)=.95	.080	.000
<u>Block 2</u>					
6	Pessimistic Outlook	.014	P(-.004<B<.032)=.95	.083	.003
6	Optimistic Outlook	.002	P(-.024<B<.020)=.95	.083	.000
6	Image	-.003	P(-.017<B<.012)=.95	.083	.000
<u>Multiple R</u> = .430					
<u>R-Square</u> = .185					
<u>Overall F</u> = 193.31					
<u>Significance</u> = .000					

Significant at $p \leq .05$

Dependent Variable is Mobility Expectations

Partial Model of Upward Job Mobility -- Model 2. Model 2 (see Figure 14) tests the portion of the full model of Upward Job Mobility containing only the last two blocks of independent variables from the

Colleagues, after controlling for Mobility Expectations, Job Performance 2/Performance Review and Communication with the public, accounts for an additional 4% (R-square change = 0.042) of the explained variance. Job performance 1/Merit Raise, after all the independent variables have been entered into the equation, accounts for 1.5% (R-square change = 0.015) of the variance. Job Performance 2/Performance Review and Communication With the Public, after controlling for Mobility Expectations, contribute about 2% to the total R-square (R-square change = 0.013 and 0.014, respectively).

TABLE 5

RESULTS OF PARTIAL REGRESSION MODEL OF UPWARD JOB MOBILITY --MODEL 2

Step	Variables in the Equation	Beta	95% Conf. Interval	R- Square	R-Square Change
1	<u>Block 1</u> Mobility Expectations	.146*	P(.092<B< .200)=.95	.053	.053
2	<u>Block 2</u> Job Performance 2 Communication with Public	.016 .017*	P(-.005<B< .037)=.95 P(.008<B< .026)=.95	.066 .080	.013 .014
	Communication with Journalists	.049*	P(.033<B< .066)=.95	.122	.042
	Job Performance 1	.099*	P(.049<B< .150)=.95	.137	.015
<u>Multiple R</u> = .370					
<u>R-Square</u> = .137					
<u>Overall F</u> = 27.21					
<u>Significance</u> = .000*					

Significant at $p \leq .05$

Dependent Variable is Upward Job Mobility

Assumptions of Regression Analysis

Before beginning a discussion of the results presented above, the assumptions of multiple regression and their implication for the analysis conducted in the present study will be discussed. The various significance tests associated with multiple regression are based on the

following sets of assumptions:

1. The sample is drawn randomly.
2. There is a bivariate normality, e.g., each array of Y for a given combination of X's follows the normal distribution.
3. The relationship between the predictor variables and the criterion variable are linear.
4. There is homoscedasticity, e.g., all the Y arrays have the same variance.

The first assumption, random sampling, has not been fully met in this study since respondents were asked to voluntarily complete the questionnaires, which had been mailed in batch quantities for distribution in newsrooms. However, since the sample exceeded 1,000 respondents, the random sampling assumption can be relaxed. A large sample decreases the likelihood of sampling error significantly. In addition, if the sample size is large, the assumption of normal distribution can also be relaxed. As sample size increases, the distribution approaches normality and sampling error is reduced.

The homogeneity of variance assumption and the linearity assumption can be evaluated through a direct examination of residuals. A residual is a deviation of an observed Y score from an estimated Y value, and in regression, residuals are conceived of as measures of the error component. An examination of residuals will indicate curvilinearity and identify any outliers, which would indicate a violation of linearity assumption. Residuals also show whether the assumptions about the errors are met. It is assumed that the error components are independent, have a mean of zero, and have the same variance throughout the range of Y values.

A direct examination of residuals arrayed in the regression analysis conducted to test the expectancy model of Upward Job Mobility

reveals an overall straight band pattern in the scatter plot. The straight band pattern indicates linearity and relative freedom from abnormalities. It should also be noted that regression analysis is robust to the violation of assumptions.

Discussion of Results

The results of the regression analysis of both the full and partial expectancy models of Upward Job Mobility suggest strongly that the communication patterns of Journalists are positively related to their career mobility, and that an expectancy theory framework is indeed a useful tool for studying Upward Job Mobility.

The null hypothesis can be rejected in favor of the alternative -- those journalists who communicate more with their colleagues in the industry are more upwardly mobile in their jobs. While the two communication variables in the analysis were significant predictors of Upward Job Mobility, Journalists Communication with Colleagues was a stronger predictor of career mobility and contributed more to the strength of the overall equation than did Communication with the Public, even after the effects of all the other variables in the model were partialled out. It can be concluded that while both Communication with the Public and Journalists' Communication with Colleagues are important communication patterns for an aspiring journalist to develop if he or she hopes to be promoted, it is especially important for journalists to cultivate communication contacts within their own industry. The "Fast Trackers" and the "Talkers" who spend a lot of time communicating in the journalism field are more likely to achieve upward mobility than are the "Externals" or the "Isolates," who communicate with the public to the exclusion of those in their own industry, or who largely keep to themselves. It is more important for journalists seeking upward career

mobility to spend their time cultivating contacts within their own industry than within their community.

All of the above models tested included variables in the regression equation that were significant contributors to the prediction of Upward Job Mobility and Mobility Expectations. The test of the overall fit of the full expectancy model of Upward Job Mobility indicates support for the expectancy framework and a modified version of the model to include those variables that were relatively strong as predictors of Upward Job Mobility and that contributed uniquely to an increase in the strength of effect.

The results support the conclusion that communication patterns should be included in any model of Upward Job Mobility. Other important predictors of career mobility are Demographics (age, tenure in the job and tenure in the industry), Job Satisfaction, generally smooth Relations in the Work Environment, and the absence of Conflict among co-workers, Expectations for Upward Mobility, and overall Job Performance.

There is support for the first block of the theoretical mobility model since Demographic Characteristics and the two work attitudes and relations variables (Job Satisfaction and Conflict), were significant predictors of upward mobility. Journalists who are younger and who have spent less time in their present jobs and in the industry are more likely to be upwardly mobile. Those who are more satisfied with their work and who experience less conflict in their work relations with colleagues will also experience more career mobility.

The second theoretical block contained the "perception" variables, both optimistic and pessimistic outlook toward the future, and journalists' image of their newspaper/station. None of these variables

was found to be significant in predicting Upward Job Mobility, at least as they have been conceptualized and measured in this study. These results suggest that journalists' perceptions about their industry are not important in predicting their career mobility.

The third block in the theoretical model, expectations for Upward Job Mobility, was found to be a strong predictor of actual job mobility, adding further support for the validity of an expectancy theory framework for studying upward mobility. Those journalists who expect to be promoted are more likely to experience Upward Job Mobility.

The validity of the fourth block of the theoretical model containing the behavioral variables of Job Performance and Communication Patterns was also supported by the results of the regression analysis. Job Performance as indicated by merit raises and the two communication measures (Communication with the Public and Communication among journalists) were all found to be significant predictors of job mobility, suggesting that these behaviors strongly influence mobility outcomes. Performing well on the job and developing positive, frequent communication with other journalists, both in the newsroom and in the journalism field in general, is likely to lead to upward career mobility.

The results of the regression analysis testing the first partial regression model of Upward Job Mobility, in which mobility expectations is the dependent variable, are useful in interpreting the link in the hypothesized expectancy model of Upward Job Mobility. The demographics variable was found to be a strong predictor of both Upward Job Mobility and mobility expectations, with the general pattern emerging that younger journalists and these journalists who have spent less time in the industry and in their jobs are the most likely to be promoted and to also have expectation for mobility. The results indicate that a hypothesized

expectancy model of Upward Job Mobility, Demographic Characteristics should link directly in an inverse relationship to both Mobility Expectations and to Upward Job Mobility.

In the full model, the work relation/leadership variable was not found to be a significant predictor of Upward Job Mobility. However, in the first partial model, Work Relations was a significant predictor of mobility expectations, contributing largely to the total effect over and above the effect of demographics. These results suggest that Work Relations should be included in an expectancy model of Upward Job Mobility as a direct predictor of Mobility Expectations, but with little or no direct effect on upward Job Mobility itself. The first partial model also indicated that journalists' Job Satisfaction was a significant predictor of upward job mobility expectations. In any future model of Upward Job Mobility, Job Satisfaction should be hypothesized to have a direct link with Upward Mobility, unmediated by expectations.

The relationships between the predictor variables in the second partial model of upward mobility, testing the links between expectations, behavior and outcomes, revealed positive relationships between expectations and mobility outcomes, and between communication patterns and job performance and mobility outcomes. These results provide further support for the hypothesized relationships in the overall expectancy model of Upward Job Mobility.

Limitations

In any research study there are limitations which affect the interpretations and conclusions drawn from the results of statistical analysis. There are several limitations to the present study related to measurement issues, sampling, relationships among the predictor variables, survey research, and the research design itself.

Measurement errors in the dependent or the independent variables lead to a downward bias in the estimation of R-square. Errors in the measurement of the dependent variables lead to a downward bias in the estimation of the Beta weights; however, measurement errors in the independent variables in multiple regression analysis may lead to either an upward or a downward bias in the estimation of the regression coefficients. In general, the lower the reliability of the measures, the greater the distortion in the estimation of the regression coefficients that result from measurement errors. It should also be noted that even if some of the independent variables are measured without error, the estimation of their regression coefficients may not be bias-free because of the relations of these variables with others that are measured with errors. Thus, interpretation of the relative sizes of different regression coefficients may be distorted by error of measurement.

The reliability coefficients of the composite variables in the regression equations are provided in Table 2. These coefficients range from a low of 0.54 for the variable optimistic outlook to a high coefficient alpha of 0.86 for the variable demographics. It is evident that error of measurement could affect the results presented in this study. It is especially significant that one of the most critical variables in the expectancy model of Upward Job Mobility, Communication with Journalists, is a composite variable with a reliability coefficient of 0.59. Given this evidence of measurement error, one can only conclude with partial confidence that the extent of Journalists Communication with others in their field will predict their Upward Career Mobility.

To remedy the complications due to measurement error, one can introduce corrections for attenuation prior to the calculation of regression statistics, if one is willing to assume that the errors are

random and the reliabilities of the measures are relative high. However, correction for attenuation can create other problems, such as high sampling error, especially when there are high correlations among the variables and there is a fair amount of variability in the reliabilities of the measures being used, as is the case in this study. It was decided in this analysis that correction for attenuation was not visible since it could create more complications than the measurement error itself, and that knowledge of the degree of measurement error should temper the interpretation of the results. In any further testing of the mobility model and the role of communication in predicting Upward Job Mobility, the construction of more valid and reliable measures deserves greater attention.

Although it is not possible nor advisable to eliminate survey research, the effects of error of measurement due to self-report could be better controlled by also obtaining more objective measures of variables. For example, future research could use archival data to determine individual histories of promotion as well as relying on self-report measures of career mobility.

Restriction of range (skewness) in the measurement of expectations and Upward Job Mobility (range of 0-2 and 1-3, respectively) could have also led to measurement error in this study. Restriction of range leads to lower correlations, a lower multiple R and a downward bias in the estimation of regression coefficients. In future research, it is recommended that the range of responses for these variables be increased. For instance, job mobility could be measured as the actual number of promotions a respondent receives within a given time period, i.e., 5 promotions in 5 years.

Multicollinearity is another limitation which could be distorting the results of the regression analysis. Multicollinearity refers to the absence of orthogonality in a set of independent variables. High multicollinearity has adverse effects on the standard error of the regression coefficients, and hence on their confidence intervals. High multicollinearity will lead to larger confidence intervals and unstable regression coefficients. While there are few high correlations among the independent variables in the regression equation (the highest correlation is between work relations/leadership and supervisor/subordinate similarity, $r = 0.67$), the variables are still correlated to some extent. This is a recurring and almost unavoidable problem in social science research. However, an attempt was made to minimize corrections in this analysis by employing varimax (orthogonal) rotation in factor analysis to create the composite scales of highly correlated variables. It should also be noted that the confidence intervals (Tables 12-14) around each of the Beta coefficients is relatively small and thus indicates fairly stable estimates of the regression coefficients.

The sampling procedures used in the collection of the data for this study created another limitation to the interpretation of the results. It has already been mentioned that respondents were asked to voluntarily complete the surveys and return them to the researchers. This sampling technique creates a "selection" problem. The results of the analysis could be biased either positively or negatively, depending on the types of journalists who chose to complete the survey. For example, journalists with positive attitudes about their jobs and the industry could have been more interested or motivated to complete the lengthy survey than those journalists who are generally dissatisfied. Or the reverse could be true. In any event, this type of "selection" error

could lead to greater sampling error, thereby lowering the multiple R. However, this study has the advantage of large sample size which decreases the effects of sampling error. Future researchers of Upward Job Mobility should attempt to exercise more control over the drawing of a sample, to obtain a random sample by paying closer attention to the administration of the surveys.

Finally, there is an inherent limitation in the survey design employed in the present study. A static, single point-in-time research design was used to test a model of Upward Job Mobility, which is itself inherently an over-time process. The measurement of Upward Job Mobility was based on self-report measures of past promotion. But the prediction of this mobility was based on journalists' reports of their expectations for future career mobility. It is not inconceivable that the reverse relationship is true -- past job mobility predicts expectations for future career mobility.

What is needed to correct this design problem is data gathered over time, in which researchers can follow individual career mobility patterns over several years. Respondents would first be asked about their expectations for Upward Job Mobility and then, two to five years later, both self-report and archival data could be gathered to test the relationship between expectations, behavior, and outcomes. While an over-time research design, especially one which requires a number of years, is much more difficult to conduct, the results could be more valid and reliable.

Implications for Future Research

The results of the regression analysis support the earlier findings that journalists who have career aspirations and who are upwardly mobile in their profession communicate largely with other journalists, often to

the exclusion of contacts with the public. The "insulated" journalist may be less capable of performing the tasks of story assignments, direct story development, and priority assignment. If the journalist has a restricted range of social contacts, particularly with the public, it could inhibit his or her ability to accurately construct a portrayal of the reader. Journalists might not be able to identify important stories and present them to the reader in an interesting fashion. Insularity in communication patterns could threaten the newsroom's "ability to identify newsworthy developments in the community, to present accurate accounts of people and events and to critically assess its failures and successes" (Burgoon, Burgoon, Buller & Atkin, 1983, p. 16).

Weick (1979) states that the long-term success or survival of an organization depends on the ability of its participants to both doubt and to question the acts of its members, especially the way the organization "behaves" towards its environment. Weick also suggests that an organization should strive to promote "variety" among its members. Differing opinions and experiences should be encouraged to maintain the organization's adaptability to its environment. The results of this study suggest that the communication behavior of organizational members following upwardly mobile career paths could be detrimental to the health of the organization.

Communication patterns which largely exclude external contacts limit the ability of the organization to survive by restricting the flow of information into the organization. For the field of journalism, the implications of the insular communication patterns characteristic of Upward Job Mobility have already been discussed. Future research should concentrate on further explaining the relationship of communication

patterns and Upward Job Mobility in the journalism field and in other industries as well.

In both the discussion of the results of the multiple regression analysis of Upward Job Mobility and in the discussion of the limitations to this study, it was suggested that future researchers could test a version of the expectancy of Upward Job Mobility. This model should incorporate the significant predictors of Upward Mobility in an over-time setting to test the time-dependent relationships among the variables.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) sponsored the study of working journalists conducted by researchers at Michigan State University. For more information about the study, contact Dr. Judee K. Burgoon and Dr. Michael Burgoon, Department of Communication, University of Arizona, Phoenix, AZ.
2. This study was conducted through a grant to Michigan State University, Department of Communication, funded by The Gannett Corporation. For further information, please contact Drs. Michael and Judee Burgoon, Department of Communication, University of Arizona, Phoenix, AZ.
3. Other variables assessed in the questionnaire included: the definition of news and factors affecting it, newsroom decision-making procedures and attitudes toward them, attitudes toward readership research, perceptions of the public, the newspaper, the newsroom organization, the journalism profession and the present job, the use and consumption of various media forms, and several demographic characteristics.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations For All Variables
In Full Regression Model of Upward Job Mobility

N = 862

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Range</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Skewness</u>
Demographics (Age, Tenure)	27-137	49.48	21.75	1.22
Job Satisfaction	5-15	12.83	2.68	-1.32
Work Relations (Leadership)	6-30	16.46	5.54	0.15
Conflict	3-15	9.59	2.91	-0.20
Supervisor/Subordinate Similarity	6-30	17.86	4.82	0.02
Pessimistic Outlook	4-20	11.55	3.06	0.05
Otpтимistic Outlook	4-20	13.06	2.99	-0.33
Image of Newspaper/Station	8-40	29.35	4.94	-0.60
Mobility Expectations	0-2	0.60	0.80	0.92
Job Performance 1 (Merit Raise)	1-3	2.32	0.87	0.73
Job Performance 2 (Perf. Review)	0-5	3.22	2.07	0.21
Communication w/Public	6-30	16.88	4.82	0.13
Communication w/Journalists	3-15	10.49	2.20	-0.26
<u>Dependent Variable</u>				
Upward Job Mobility (Promotion)	1-3	1.50	0.68	1.02

APPENDIX A (CON'T)

Correlation Matrix

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
1. Performance 1	1.00								
2. Performance 2	.23	1.00							
3. Comm w/Journ	.21	.17	1.00						
4. Comm w/Public	.07	.06	-.05	1.00					
5. Expectations	.09	.08	.17	.09	1.00				
6. Image	.20	.09	.34	-.05	.07	1.00			
7. Optim. Outlook	.09	.02	.33	-.07	.05	.57	1.00		
8. Pessim. Outlook	.08	.00	.18	-.09	.08	.31	.31	1.00	
9. Demographics	-.09	-.16	-.07	-.29	-.21	.15	.16	.07	1.00
10. Sup/Sub Simil.	.12	.08	.36	-.07	.11	.54	.47	.30	.18
11. Leadership	.18	.17	.43	-.10	.14	.58	.48	.30	.15
12. Conflict	.14	.07	.39	-.02	.09	.48	.38	.20	.03
13. Jos Satis.	.17	.14	.31	-.03	.06	.26	.23	.16	-.02
14. Upward Job Mob.	.20	.13	.25	.14	.23	.04	.05	.02	-.28
	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>				
10. Sup/Sub Simil.	1.00								
11. Leadership	.67	1.00							
12. Conflict	.54	.57	1.00						
13. Job Satis.	.33	.35	.25	1.00					
14. Upward Job Mob.	.06	.08	.03	.16	1.00				

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