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Comparison between the professional roles of Spanish and U.S. journalists: Importance of the Media System as the Main Predictor of the Professional Roles of a Journalist

Una comparación entre los roles profesionales de los periodistas españoles y estadounidenses: Importancia del sistema de medios como principal predictor de los roles profesionales de un periodista

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ABSTRACT: A secondary analysis of data collected from two cross-national surveys based on a survey of U.S. journalists in 2007 (n=402) and a survey of Spanish journalists in 2011 (n=762) was conducted to compare the attitudes of U.S. and Spanish journalists about their professional roles. The results of the study were used to assess whether the media system of a country is the best predictor of the professional role of journalists. The findings showed that Spanish journalists were more likely to see themselves as mobilizers of the citizenship of their country and less likely to give importance to the function of a journalist as a disseminator of information relative to U.S. journalists. In addition, the media system of the respective countries was the most relevant predictor of the value given by journalists to the majority of journalistic functions.

RESUMEN: *Se condujo un análisis secundario de datos de encuestas transversales suministradas a periodistas estadounidenses en 2007 (n=402) y periodistas españoles en 2011 (n=762) para comparar sus actitudes sobre roles profesionales, y para evaluar si el sistema de medios es su mejor predictor. Los resultados demostraron que los periodistas españoles tendieron, en mayor medida, a verse a sí mismos como mobilizadores de la ciudadanía y, en menor medida, a dar importancia a las funciones difusoras que los periodistas estadounidenses. El sistema de medios fue el predictor más influyente de la importancia dada a la mayoría de las funciones periodísticas analizadas.*

Keywords: Journalists, professionalism, journalism culture, professional roles, media systems.

Palabras clave: *periodistas, profesionalismo, cultura periodística, roles profesionales, sistemas de medios.*

1. Introduction

Research has suggested that the professional roles of journalists depend on the media systems¹ in which the journalists are located. However, some scholars have hypothesized a homogenization among media systems and a move in journalistic practices toward a liberal media model². Transnational phenomena tied with globalization, such as commercialization, press business model crises, the technological development of communications, and world economic crises, are transforming news media organizations and media markets in both Spain and the U.S. Thus, if media systems indeed are becoming more similar, the professional roles of journalists should also be converging. However, despite these hybridization forces, the cultural and political traits of media systems could be more relevant in shaping the attitudes of journalists than individual and organizational characteristics. This paper³ compares the professional roles of journalists in two different media systems. This research also tests assumptions about the relevance of a media system as a predictor of the importance of journalistic functions through a secondary data analysis of a sample of 762 Spanish journalists and 402 U.S. journalists surveyed by Farias⁴ and by Beam, Weaver, and Brownlee⁵.

2. Review of related literature

2.1. Professional roles

The attitudes and perceptions of journalists have been studied extensively. Professional roles are crucial to the way in which journalists shape media content, including the responsibility

¹ HALLIN, D. & MACINI, P., *Comparing Media Systems*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004.

² For example, HALLIN, D. & MANCINI, P., *op. cit.*; MCQUAIL, D., *Mass Communication Theory, An Introduction*, Sage, London, 1994; HARDY, J., *Western media system*, Routledge, NY, 2008.

³ The authors wish to thank David Weaver for their generosity sharing the U.S. data, and Lars Willnat and two anonymous referees for their valuable and brilliant comments on this manuscript.

⁴ FARIAS, P. (dir.), *Informe Anual de la Profesión Periodística 2011*, Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid, 2011.

⁵ BEAN, R.A., WEAVER, D. H. & BROWNLEE, B., "Changes in professionalism of U.S. journalists in the turbulent twenty-first century", *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 86, 2, 2009, pp. 277-298.

for the degree of “tabloidization” in a country⁶. In the early years of journalism research, Cohen⁷ distinguished between a neutral and a participant role among journalists; where “neutrals” were presented as observers and “participants” were presented as interpreters and activists⁸. Janowitz⁹ preferred to talk about “gatekeepers” and an “advocacy” role that highlights the social commitment function of journalists. Subsequently, Weaver and Wilhoit¹⁰ identified three different functions or professional roles of journalists through the analysis of survey data collected from U.S. journalists: “disseminator”, “interpretative”, and “adversarial”. In a later study, Weaver and colleagues¹¹ reported a new professional role, which they referred to as the “mobilizer of the audience”.

Since the seminal study of Weaver and Wilhoit on American journalists¹², scholars throughout the world have replicated their work¹³. The replication of national questionnaires in other nations is problematic due to different meanings of the roles of journalists between nations. For instance, Humanes¹⁴ suggested that the adversarial role of journalism toward politics and economic power does not have the same meaning among journalists in Anglo-Saxon nations as it does in Latin American nations. Accordingly, different conceptualizations of journalistic roles have been developed in Europe and elsewhere. For instance, Canel and Piqué¹⁵ used different categorizations, finding five roles of Spanish journalists: “disseminator”, “analyst-interpretative”, “adversarial”, “cause defender”, and “entertainment”. Hanitzsch¹⁶ employed a larger set of items, finding five professional roles among Indonesian journalists: “public oriented news journalism”, “popular service journalism”, “critical watchdog journalism”, “objective precision journalism”, and “opinion-oriented news journalism”. Similarly, Mellado¹⁷ used items from several studies and reported the five roles of Chilean journalists: “watchdog”, “citizen-oriented journalism”, “propagandist”, “consumer”, and “disseminator”. In addition, journalists in various other nations have also been studied¹⁸. Exploratory factor analyses found different professional roles among Egyptian journalists, namely “sustain democracy”, “support Arabism and

⁶ ESSER, F., “Tabloidization of News: A Comparative Analysis of Anglo-American and German Press Journalism”, *European Journal of Communication*, 14, 3, 1999, pp. 291-324.

⁷ COHEN, B., *The press and foreign policy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1963.

⁸ JOHNSTONE, J.W.C., SLAWSKI, E.J. & BOWMAN, W.W., *The news people: A sociological portrait of American journalists and their work*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1976.

⁹ JANOWITZ, M., “Professional Models in Journalism: The Gatekeeper and the Advocate”, *Journalism Quarterly*, 52, 4, 1975, 618-626.

¹⁰ WEAVER, D. H. & WILHOIT, G.C., *The American Journalist: a portrait of U.S. news people and their work*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1986.

¹¹ WEAVER, D.H., BEAM, R., BROWNLEE, et al., *The American Journalist in the 21st Century: U.S. News people at the dawn of a new millennium*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, 2007.

¹² WEAVER, D.H. & WILHOIT, G.C., *The American Journalist: a portrait...*, op. cit.

¹³ WEAVER, D.H. (ed.), *The Global Journalist: news people around the world*, Hampton Press, Cresskill, 1998.

¹⁴ HUMANES, M.L., “Evolución de roles y actitudes. Cultura y modelos profesionales del periodismo”, *Telos*, 54, 2003, retrieved [10/11/2011] from <http://sociedadinformacion.fundacion.telefonica.com/telos/>

¹⁵ CANEL, M.J. & PIQUÉ, A., “Journalists for Emerging Democracies: The Case of Spain”, in Weaver, D. (ed.) *The Global Journalist*, Hampton Press, Cresskill, 1998, pp. 299-319.

¹⁶ HANITZSCH, T., “Journalists in Indonesia: educated but timid watchdogs”, *Journalism Studies*, 6, 4, 2005, pp. 493-508.

¹⁷ MELLADO, C., “Modeling individual and organizational effects on Chilean journalism: A multilevel analysis of professional role conceptions”, *Comunicación y Sociedad*, XXIV, 2, 2011, pp. 254-269.

¹⁸ PINTAK, L. & GINGES, J., “Inside the Arab newsroom. Arab journalists evaluate themselves and the competition”, *Journalism Studies*, 10, 2, 2009, pp. 157-177.

national /values”, “support government”, and “provide entertainment”¹⁹. Similar roles have been investigated among journalists in Tanzania²⁰, Nepal²¹, and Bangladesh²².

Recently, Hanitzsch²³ used a different theoretical approach, suggesting three dimensions for his institutional roles: “interventionism” (ranging from active to passive journalists), “power distance” (ranging from journalists who are adversarial to power to journalists who are loyal to power), and “market orientation” (ranging from journalists who understand the audience as consumers to journalists who think of the public as citizens). Recently, using a cluster analysis on data collected in 18 countries, Hanitzsch²⁴ identified four global professional milieus of journalism: “the populist disseminator” (similar to Weaver’s disseminator role), “the detached watchdog” (a journalist skeptical of power elites, who provides political information but is not an interventionist), “the critical change agent” (similar to a detached watchdog, but more of an advocate and an interventionist), and “the opportunist facilitator” (a supporter of official policies).

Researchers have also addressed the question of why journalists throughout the world think differently about their functions in society. Shoemaker and Reese’s framework of the Hierarchy-of-Influences Model²⁵ can be partially applied to explain the forces that influence journalistic perceptions and attitudes about the profession of journalism²⁶. This theory establishes levels of influence that range from micro to macro, including individuals, routines, organizations, extra-media, and ideologies, with each successive level viewed as subsuming the prior level. Subsequently, the model used by Hanitzsch and Mellado²⁷ included a super level (globalization, diffusion, and interdependence), a macro level of societies or nations (political, economic, legal, social, and cultural contexts as well as media systems), a meso-level (editorial organizations, media organizations, and the medium), and a micro level of the journalist as an individual (the backgrounds and individual characteristics of journalists). In sum, at least three levels of variables have been studied or suggested as possible predictors of the perceptions of journalistic functions in national and comparative studies²⁸: individual, organizational, and systemic. At the individual level, scholars have found some significant variables, such as education²⁹, work status³⁰, perceptions about autonomy (this predicts a

¹⁹ RAMAPRASAD, J. & HAMDY, N.N., “Functions of Egyptian journalists: Perceived importance and actual performance”, *Gazette*, 68, 2, 2006, pp. 167-185.

²⁰ RAMAPRASAD, J., “A Profile of Journalists in Post-Independence Tanzania”, *Gazette*, 63, 6, 2001, pp. 539-55.

²¹ RAMAPRASAD, J. & KELLY, J.D., “Reporting the News from the World’s Rooftop: A Survey of Nepalese Journalists”, *Gazette* 65, 3, 2003, pp. 291-315.

²² RAMAPRASAD, J. & RAHMAN, S., “Tradition with a twist. A Survey of Bangladeshi Journalists”, *Gazette*, 68, 2, 2006, pp. 148-165.

²³ HANITZSCH, T., “Deconstructing Journalism Culture: Toward a Universal Theory”, *Communication Theory*, 17, 2007, pp. 367-385.

²⁴ HANITZSCH, T., “Populist disseminators, detached watchdogs, critical change agents and opportunist facilitators: Professional milieus, the journalistic field and autonomy in 18 countries”, *Gazette*, 73, 6, 2011, pp. 477-494.

²⁵ SHOEMAKER, P. & REESE, S., *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*, Longman, White Plains, 1996.

²⁶ REESE, S.D., “Understanding the Global Journalist: a hierarchy of influences approach”, *Journalism Studies*, 2, 2, 2001, pp. 173-187. DOI: 10.1080/14616700120042060.

²⁷ HANITZSCH, T., MELLADO, C. “What Shapes the News around the World? How Journalists in Eighteen Countries Perceive Influences on Their Work”, *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 16, pp. 408.

²⁸ Cfr. HANITZSCH, T., ANIKINA, M., BERGANZA, R., *et al.*, “Modeling perceived influences on journalism: Evidence from a cross-national survey of journalists”, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 87, 1, 2010, pp. 5-22.

²⁹ CHAN, J., LEE, P. & LEE, C-C., “East Meets West: Hong Kong Journalists in Transition”, in WEAVER, D. H. (ed.), *The Global Journalist: News people around the world*, Hampton Press, Cresskill, 1998, pp. 31-54; HENNINGHAM, J., “Australian journalists”, in WEAVER, D.H. (ed.), *The Global Journalist: News people*

tendency toward disseminative roles)³¹, personal value systems³², political leanings (this predicts adversarial roles)³³, and involvement with the editorial policies of the media³⁴. At the organizational level, scholars also identified some significant predictors of mobilization roles such media type³⁵, media size (predict a populist mobilizer roles)³⁶, and the ownership of media³⁷.

Overall, organizational predictors seem stronger than individual traits, while individual and organizational factors hardly seem to matter³⁸. However, a number of scholars³⁹ have suggested that the systemic level, that is, the political, historical, and cultural traditions of each nation or each media system, provide the best explanation for the professional roles of journalists all over the world. The truth is that most empirical comparative studies on journalists did not include a “media system” variable among the predictors of journalistic roles; therefore, its importance has not been quantified. Because of the suggested relevance of the systemic variable, scholars have demanded a broader approach with a greater emphasis on the connection between a media system and professional journalistic practices to discover a emerging trend in transnational global professionalism⁴⁰. In addition, current studies have argued that more a conceptual approach to the culture of journalism is required because “together with already existing studies, [this approach] will lead to a more holistic understanding of journalistic practice around the World”⁴¹. Unfortunately, cross-national comparisons of national news culture and national journalism systems have been conducted

around the world, Hampton Press, Cresskill, 1998, pp. 91-107. Otherwise, in SANDERS, K.; HANNA, M.; BERGANZA *et al.*, “Becoming Journalists. A Comparison of the Professional Attitudes and Values of British and Spanish Journalism Students”, *European Journal of Communication*, 23, 2, 2008, pp. 133-152, it suggested that journalism education has hardly importance in the conception roles of journalism students.

³⁰ WEAVER, D.H. & WILHOIT, G.C., *The American Journalist: a portrait...*, *op. cit.*

³¹ WU, W., WEAVER, D., JOHNSON, O., “Professional roles of Russian, and U.S. journalists: A comparative study”, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 73, 3, 1996, pp. 534-548.

³² PLAISANCE, P.L. & SKEWES, E.A., “Personal and professional dimensions of news work: Exploring the link between Journalists’ values and roles”, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 80, 4, 2003, pp. 833-848.

³³ WU, W., WEAVER, D., JOHNSON, O., *op. cit.*; WEAVER, D. H., BEAM, R., BROWNLEE, B. J., *et al.*, *op. cit.*

³⁴ WEISCHENBERG, S., LOEFFELHOLZ, M., & SCHOLL, A., “Journalism in Germany”, in WEAVER, D.H. (ed.), *The Global Journalist: News people around the world*, Hampton Press, Cresskill, 1998, pp. 229-256.

³⁵ CANEL, M.J. & PIQUÉ, A., *op. cit.*; CASSIDY, W. P., “Variations on a theme: the professional role conceptions of print and online newspaper journalists”, *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82, 2, 2005, pp. 264-280; VOAKES, Paul, “Civic Duties: Newspaper Journalists’ Views on Public Journalism”, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 76, 4, 1999, pp. 756-774.

³⁶ WEAVER, D. H., BEAM, R., BROWNLEE, B. J., *et al.*, *op. cit.*

³⁷ HANITZSCH, T., *Deconstructing Journalism Culture...*, *op. cit.*

³⁸ MELLADO, C., *op. cit.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*; HANITZSCH, T., *Deconstructing Journalism Culture...*, *op. cit.*; WU, W., WEAVER, D., JOHNSON, O., *op. cit.*; ZHU, J.-H., WEAVER, D. H., LO, V.-H., *et al.*, “Individual, Organizational, and Societal Influences on Media Role Perceptions: a comparative study of journalists in China, Taiwan, and the United States”, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74, 1, 1997, pp. 84-96; HALLIN, D. & MACINI, P., *op. cit.*; DEUZE, M., “National News Cultures: A comparison of Dutch, German, British, Australian and U.S. journalists”, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 79, 1, 2002, p. 144; HERSCOVITZ, H. G., “Brazilian journalists’ perceptions of media roles, ethics and foreign influences on Brazilian journalism”, *Journalism Studies*, 5, 1, 2004, pp. 71-86; QUANDT, T., LÖFFELHOLZ, M., WEAVER, *et al.*, “American and German online journalists at the beginning of the 21st Century”, *Journalism Studies*, 7, 2, 2006.

⁴⁰ REESE, S. D., *op. cit.*

⁴¹ HANUSCH, F., “A product of their culture. Using a value system approach to understand the work practices of journalist”, *Gazette*, 71, 7, 2009, p. 624.

more like a “game of guesswork”⁴² because data collection has often been based on studies conducted with different aims and methods. Furthermore, because we cannot measure journalistic behavior very well, the responses of journalists to surveys may be shaped by normative expectations and aspirations⁴³. Despite such limitations, multi-national studies on journalistic roles are valued because “not only do such studies offer new information and insights about other countries’ journalism, but they also allow for a re-evaluation of the data from one’s own country”⁴⁴.

2.2. *The global convergence in journalism*

As we have mentioned before, comparative research has been linked to the hypothesis that a homogenization of media systems and journalistic practices reflects a move toward a liberal model of journalism⁴⁵. “International journalism research has produced much evidence in support of the view that the onward march of globalization coincides with a convergence in journalistic orientations and practices.”⁴⁶ In fact, “data comparison suggests perceptions on media roles and ethics are shifting throughout the profession, articulating public and private functions with all types of journalists, regardless of beat, media type, genre, or affiliation.”⁴⁷ For instance, changes in the professional roles of American journalists are similar to changes that were found among European journalists by Witschge and Nygren in 2009⁴⁸. These changes also appear in countries such as Brazil⁴⁹. Therefore, there are signs that the professional roles of journalists in countries with an existing liberal prevalence are becoming more alike⁵⁰. However, studies have shown how perceptions and attitudes of journalists in different countries can vary considerably, even between countries with similar political systems and traits⁵¹. Although Western standards such as the ideals of detachment and government watchdog journalism seem to be accepted by journalists around the world⁵², “Seen from a global perspective, the distribution of professional milieus suggests no clear dominance of any given group.”⁵³ In addition, studies focusing on Greek journalism⁵⁴ reported how the changing structure of the media system does not automatically influence journalists to perceive changes in their work as an Americanization of news culture.

Our study tests whether the Global Convergence Theory on Journalism Culture is applicable in the case of Spain and the United States. Although these nations are both Western countries,

⁴² WEAVER, D. H., “Journalists Around the World: commonalities and differences, in WEAVER, D.H. (ed.), *The Global Journalist: news people around the world*, Hampton Press, Cresskill, 1998, p. 455.

⁴³ JOSEPHI, B., “Journalism in the global age: Between normative and empirical”, *Gazette*, 67, 2006, pp. 575-590; HALLIN, D. & MACINI, P., *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ QUANDT, T., LÖFFELHOLZ, M., WEAVER, D.H., *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

⁴⁵ HALLIN, D. & MANCINI, P., *op. cit.*; MCQUAIL, D., *op. cit.*; HARDY, J., *op. cit.*

⁴⁶ HANITZSCH, T., *Deconstructing Journalism Culture...*, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

⁴⁷ DEUZE, M., *op. cit.*

⁴⁸ WITSCHGE, T. & NYGREN, G., “Journalistic Work: a profession under pressure?”, *Journal of Media Business Studies*, 6, 2009, pp. 37-59.

⁴⁹ HANITZSCH, T., MELLADO, C., “What Shapes the News around the World? How Journalists in Eighteen Countries Perceive Influences on Their Work”, *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 16, pp. 408.

⁵⁰ HERSCOVITZ, H. G., *op. cit.*; WEAVER, D. H. (Ed.), *The Global Journalist...*, *op. cit.*

⁵¹ WEAVER, D. H., *Journalists Around the...*, *op. cit.*

⁵² HANITZSCH, T., HANUSCH, F., MELLADO, C., *et al.*, “Mapping journalism cultures across nations”, *Journalism Studies*, 12, 3, 2011, pp. 273-29.

⁵³ HANITZSCH, T., *Deconstructing Journalism Culture...*, *op. cit.*, p. 491.

⁵⁴ PAPATHANASSOPOULOS, S., “Media Commercialization and Journalism in Greece”, *European Journal of Communication*, 16, 4, 2001, pp. 505-521.

major differences have been highlighted in their media systems and, consequently, in the professionalization of their journalists. Spain has been grouped in the “pluralist polarized media system” that is characterized by integration of the media into party politics (e.g., political parallelism, external pluralism), by weaker historical development of commercial media, and by a strong role of the state in the media, generally. On the other hand, the United States has been grouped in the “liberal media system”, characterized by a relative dominance of market mechanisms and commercialized media⁵⁵.

The professionalization of journalism in the pluralist polarized media systems is not as strongly developed as in a liberal model. Therefore, Spanish journalism should be closely aligned with political activism, while the autonomy of journalists should be limited. Several surveys⁵⁶ conducted among Spanish journalists have shown that most journalists have been pressured by political powers. In addition, the recent economic crisis has put great pressure on the work conditions of journalists and the journalistic independence of journalists in Spain⁵⁷.

Previous research has found a generational shift among younger Spanish journalists who have been moving “from the traditional partisan-ideological paradigm towards a more adversarial-nonpartisan one.”⁵⁸ Canel, Sánchez, and Rodríguez⁵⁹ reported that a disseminative function was most supported by Spanish journalists (82.4%). A majority also supported an analyst-interpretative role (59.7%) and a cause defender role (52.4%), but far fewer journalists felt that they were adversaries (39.4%) or entertainers (35.1%). In addition, Van Dalen, Albæk, and Vreese⁶⁰ showed that Spanish political journalists (N = 66) spread a more cynical view of politics than their Western counterparts. A recent qualitative study by Berganza, Oller, and Meier⁶¹ reported that political journalists in Spain denied the concept of absolute objectivity, and they believed that they can only report from their individual points of view.

On the other hand, changes among U.S. journalists have also been reported. Weaver and Wilhoit⁶² found that the conceptions of the interpretive and investigative roles were the most relevant to U.S. journalists with nearly 62.9% of journalists rating it as very important. The disseminator role was very important to 51.1% of journalists, whereas the adversarial role was only very important to 17.6% of journalists and the populist mobilizer role was rated as very important by only 6% of respondents. Two decades later, Beam and his colleagues⁶³ found more support for the importance of analyzing complex problems and being an adversary of public officials in journalism and a general decline in support by journalists for analyzing

⁵⁵ Cfr. HALLIN, D. & MACINI, P., *op. cit.*

⁵⁶ FARIAS, P. (dir.), *Informe Anual de la Profesión Periodística 2006*, Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid, Madrid, 2006; FARIAS, P. (dir.), *Informe Anual de la Profesión Periodística 2007*, Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid, Madrid, 2007; FARIAS, P. (dir.), *Informe Anual de la Profesión Periodística 2008*, Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid, Madrid, 2008; FARIAS, P. (dir.), *Informe Anual de la Profesión Periodística 2009*, Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid, Madrid, 2009; FARIAS, P. (dir.), *Informe Anual de la Profesión Periodística 2010*, Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid, Madrid, 2010.

⁵⁷ FARIAS, P., PANIAGUA, F.J. & ROSES, S., “Journalists in Spain”, in WEAVER, D.H. & WILLNAT, L. (eds.), *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century*, Routledge, NY, 2012; ROSES, S., “Journalists’ salary structure in Spain during the crisis”, *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 66, 2011, pp. 178-209.

⁵⁸ CANEL, M.J. & PIQUÉ, A., *op. cit.*, p. 318.

⁵⁹ CANEL, M.J., SÁNCHEZ ARANDA, J.J. & RODRÍGUEZ, R., *Periodistas al descubierto. Retrato de los profesionales de la información*, Centro de Investigación Sociológica (CIS), Madrid, 2000.

⁶⁰ VAN DALEN, A., ALBÆK, E. & VREESE, C., “Suspicious minds: Explaining political cynicism among political journalists in Europe”, *European Journal of Communication*, 26, 2, 2011, pp. 147-162.

⁶¹ BERGANZA, M.R., OLLER, M. & MEIER, K., “Los roles periodísticos y la objetividad en el periodismo político escrito suizo y español. Un modelo de análisis de la cultura periodística aplicado”, *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 65, 2010, pp. 488-502.

⁶² WEAVER, D.H. & WILHOIT, G.C., *The American Journalist in the 1990s: U.S. news people at the end of an era*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, 1996.

⁶³ BEAN, R.A., WEAVER, D.H. & BROWNLEE, B., *op. cit.*

international developments. Furthermore, a recent pilot comparative study conducted by Hanitzsch and his colleagues⁶⁴ reported that Spanish journalists felt less close to the ideal values of Western journalism culture such as non-involvement, detachment, monitoring of the government, and the provision of political and interesting information. Spanish journalists instead felt closer to the journalistic goals of setting the political agenda and influencing public opinion than U.S. journalists did. In addition, Spanish journalists showed stronger support for providing analysis and political direction for their audience rather than depicting reality compared to U.S. journalists.

Even taking into account that there are transnational homogenization forces (for instance commercialization, business model crises, a larger cross-national mobility of journalists, easier communication methods for cross-national professionals, technological development of communication, and a more international approach in journalism education) that contribute to a larger similarity between Spanish and U.S. journalists, we think that most of the homogenization changes have been produced at the organizational level. Ultimately, we believe that the media systems of these two countries are still broadly different. The differences in the media systems of Spain and the U.S. should limit the cultural hybridization of journalism between Spain and the U.S. Therefore, based on previous discussions and the empirical evidence discussed above, we investigated the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Spanish and U.S. journalists will have dissimilar perceptions about their professional roles in society. Accordingly, the expected dissimilarities among journalists from these countries regarding their roles and functions in the media and consequently, on the importance that they give to these roles and functions, should not be mainly caused by individual or organizational variables. We expect such differences to be due to the substantial differences between the Liberal model and the Pluralist Polarized model.

Hypothesis 2: The media system of the country will be the best predictor of the importance given to the journalistic functions by journalists in each respective country.

3. *Research design and sources*

A secondary analysis of data concerning the professional roles of journalists collected in two cross-national surveys of Spain⁶⁵ and the United States⁶⁶ was conducted. Both represent the most recent surveys of journalists (with large samples) available in each country. The Madrid Press Association and the Spanish Ministry of Science funded the Spanish study. A sample of 1,001 journalists was selected randomly from a membership list of the Spanish Federation of Press Association. Telephone interviews were conducted between August and September in 2011⁶⁷. The U.S. data were collected from a panel survey of 402 journalists who were re-interviewed in 2007 as part of the original⁶⁸ 2002 American Journalist study⁶⁹.

Of course, both surveys were planned with different goals and purposes. That is, their questionnaires were not designed for a comparative research project. First, the operationalization of a “journalist” was different. While the U.S. sample included only

⁶⁴ HANITZSCH, T., HANUSCH, F., MELLADO, C. *et al.*, *op. cit.*

⁶⁵ FARIAS, P. (dir.), Informe Anual de la Profesión Periodística 2011, *op. cit.*

⁶⁶ BEAN, R.A., WEAVER, D.H. & BROWNEE, B., *op. cit.*

⁶⁷ The response rate for the Spanish survey was 68.09%.

⁶⁸ WEAVER, D.H., BEAM, R., BROWNEE, B. J., *et al.*, *op. cit.*

⁶⁹ The response rate for the U.S. survey was 67%.

workers in the news media, the Spanish sample included members⁷⁰ of the Spanish Press Association, which includes members outside of the news media. Therefore, the original Spanish sample (N = 1,001) also included public relations journalists, unemployed or retired journalists, and journalists who work as technicians, professors, or in other occupations. To make the samples comparable, only journalists working in news media were selected for the Spanish sample (N = 762)⁷¹. Both the Spanish and the U.S. surveys included several indicators of professionalism and ethical values, which were selected for our comparative analysis.

3.1. *Dependent variables*

Indicators of professional roles. Fifteen questions about journalistic functions⁷² were used to assess professional roles. Although the meanings of the items were analogous in the two surveys, different scales were used. The Spanish five-point scale ranging from “not important at all” to “very important” was recoded into a four-point scale ranging from “not important at all” to “extremely important” to match the scale used in the U.S. survey⁷³.

Professional roles. Principal Component Analyses with Varimax rotation were conducted for each country to explore the differences in dimensionality of the professional roles. The sampling adequacy was verified by Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin for the Spanish sample (KMO = .81) and the U.S. sample (KMO = .70). Bartlett’s test of sphericity for the Spanish sample ($\chi^2 = 1862.021$, df = 105, p = .000) and the U.S. sample ($\chi^2 = 1387.519$, df = 105, p = .000) showed that the correlations between the items were sufficiently large. The fifteen items were grouped into four professional roles for each country. The final four dimensions accounted for a variance of 50.9% in the Spanish model and a variance of 53.6% in the U.S. model.

3.2. *Independent Variables*

Individual level. Both surveys included various demographic variables that were used in this analysis. However, some of these variables had to be recoded to make them comparable. Gender was operationalized as a dummy variable (1 = female, 0 = male). Political leaning used two dummy variables, one for “leaning to the left” (1 = left, 0 = else) and one for “leaning to the right” (1 = right, 0 = else). “Years of journalistic experience” was measured with a scale variable (number of years). “Work status” was operationalized with a four-point ordinal variable (1 = lowest status; 4 = highest status) after recoding the income variables in each country. “Reporting” was a dummy variable (1 = yes) that indicated whether journalists usually report news in their work. “Specialty” was also a dummy variable (1 = yes) that denoted whether journalists usually cover a specific topic. “Degree in journalism” was a

⁷⁰ Lack of journalists not joined to a professional organization in the Spanish sample didn’t affect the analysis. Significant differences were not found between journalists joined and not-joined in a professional organization in the U.S. sample.

⁷¹ The adjusted response rate was 51.82%.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ The two lower categories in the Spanish scale (“not important at all” and “hardly important”) were combined to “not important at all”. We checked that the percentages of “not important at all” in the five-point scale were minimal and the recoding didn’t change the data’s central tendency.

dummy variable (1 = hold a degree in journalism, 0 = other), which distinguished journalists who majored in journalism.

Organizational level. “Media organization belongs to a larger multimedia company” was measured as a dummy variable (1 = yes). “Media size” was measured with a four-point ordinal scale (1 = small, 4 = large) after recoding the U.S. scale-variable and the Spanish ordinal-variable.⁷⁴ “Media type” was operationalized with seven dummy variables, which indicated the type of media in which the journalists worked: “newspaper” (1 = newspaper, 0 = else), “magazine” (1 = magazine, 0 = else), “radio” (1 = radio, 0 = else), “television” (1 = TV, 0 = else), “online” (1 = online, 0 = else), “wire service” (1 = wire service, 0 = else), “other” (1 = other, 0 = else).

System level. This dummy variable was created to distinguish the “media system” (1 = Liberal model, 0 = Polarized Pluralist model) in which each journalist worked.

3.3. Analysis Procedure

Most comparative studies of journalists have run statistical analyses for each country data set separately, and most studies did not include a “media system” variable as a predictor of the roles of journalists. As a result, the potential importance of a “media system” in the professional roles and ethical values has been deduced by the absence of other robust predictors. This study sought to quantify the importance of the “media system” in the professional roles of journalists. Consequently, the U.S. data and the Spanish data have been combined and analyzed together, allowing the addition of “media system” as an independent variable in all predictive models⁷⁵.

The analyses proceeded in two steps. In the first step, factor analyses were conducted to show differences across the roles and to develop composite indexes for comparing roles; however, professional role structures were not analogous for the two countries, so using composite scores was not prudent. Finally, T-tests for the two independent samples were conducted to test for the potential differences in the indicators of professional roles between the Spanish journalists and the U.S. journalists. The effect sizes were reported with Cohen’s d.

In the second step, fifteen hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to examine the contribution of the individual-level, the organizational-level, and the system-level variables (“media system”) for each of the journalistic functions of Spanish and U.S. journalists. We report the standardized betas for fixed effect regression parameters. The first block of regressions included gender, political leaning, years of journalistic experience, work status, reporting, specialty, and degree in journalism. The second block included multimedia company, media size, and media type. The third and final block included the media system.

⁷⁴ The U.S. variable measured “newsroom size” and the Spanish variable, “media size”. Those variables didn’t measure exactly the same although, mostly, newsroom size is directly correlated with media size. Besides, size is relative across a country. That is the smallest average media size in US might be the largest average media size in Spain. To find the best possible indicator using the variables we had, the ordinal scale was considered a reasonable solution.

⁷⁵ A procedure similar to Berkowitz’s international comparison of ethical decisions between Israel and US journalists was employed. Cfr. BERKOWITZ, D., LIMOR, Y. & SINGER, J., “Cross-cultural Look at Serving the Public Interest: American and Israeli journalists consider ethical scenarios”, *Journalism*, 5, 2, 2004, pp. 159-81.

4. Findings

The first hypothesis stated that Spanish and U.S. journalists would not share similar perceptions about their professional roles. According to the factor loadings of the two exploratory factor analyses conducted, some differences in the professional roles of the Spanish (see Table 1) journalists and the U.S. journalists (see Table 2) emerged. While four clusters were reported in former studies of U.S. journalists, “set the political agenda” (.41) and “avoid stories where facts cannot be verified” (.24) did not obtain a robust factor loading for the professional roles of journalists in the present U.S. model. In general, we found dissimilar professional roles among Spanish journalists. Some items loaded into different clusters compared to the clusters that were identified among the U.S. journalists. The “interpreter/investigator role” was similar in both countries. The Spanish dimension of the “populist mobilizer role” included “avoid stories where facts cannot be verified” instead of “set the political agenda”. For that reason, we have labeled the dimension as a “citizen oriented role”. The Spanish “adversarial role” included “set the political agenda” while the matching U.S. role did not include this dimension. Finally, unlike the U.S. dimension, the Spanish “disseminator role” did not include “avoid stories where facts cannot be verified” so we have labeled this dimension as a “market oriented role”.

Table 3 indicates the differences and the similarities in the importance of fifteen indicators of professional roles among the groups⁷⁶. “Analyze and interpret complex problems”, “discuss the development of national policies” and “avoid stories where facts cannot be verified” did not show significant differences. T-tests for the two independent samples showed significant differences at the .05 significance level for 12 indicators of journalistic functions. However, most of them were small, and, in general, the hierarchy of importance between the journalistic functions was similar between Spanish and U.S. journalists. That is, journalists from both countries thought that “investigate and keep watch the government”, “analyze and interpret complex problems”, “get information to the public quickly”, and “avoid stories where the facts cannot be verified” are very important journalistic functions. In addition, “give ordinary people the chance to express views”, “analyze and interpret international developments”, “discuss the development of national policies”, and “point people toward solutions to society’s problems” were rated as quite important by both Spanish and U.S. journalists. “Be an adversary of businesses” and “provide entertainment and relaxation” were rated as somewhat important by journalists in both of the countries. Additionally, Spanish and U.S. journalists agreed in their rating of “set the political agenda” as the least important journalistic function. However, some large significant differences were found. Spanish journalists rated “develop intellectual and cultural interests of the public” as very important ($M = 3.43$, $SD = .75$), while U.S. journalists rated this function as only somewhat important ($M = 2.53$, $SD = .91$), $t(688.24) = 16.92$, $p = .000$, $d = 1.04$). “Motivate ordinary people to get involved” was also rated as very important by Spanish journalists ($M = 3.32$, $SD = .80$) and was rated only “quite important” by U.S. journalists ($M = 2.85$, $SD = .94$), $t(709.53) = 8.49$, $p = .000$, $d = .52$). Finally, “concentrate on the news of interest to the widest audience” ($M = 2.25$, $SD = 1.08$) was rated less important by Spanish journalists than by U.S. journalists ($M = 2.53$, $SD = .93$), who perceived this function to be somewhat important ($t(927.18) = -4.60$, $p = .000$, $d = -.28$).

Overall, the findings also indicate that Spanish journalists believed that the “interpreter/investigative” functions were important and that the “mobilizer” and “disseminator” functions carried the same importance, while the “adversarial” functions was much less important. U.S. journalists thought that the “interpreter/investigative” and

⁷⁶ Some of these differences will be clarified through the regression analyses.

“disseminator” functions were very important, while evaluating the “mobilizer” function and the “adversarial” function were only rated as somewhat important. Based on the related findings, H1 is mostly supported; however, of course, these findings could be influenced by different characteristics of the journalists who were part of each sample. Therefore, in the second step of the data analysis, we controlled the analysis for demographic and organizational factors.

The second hypothesis stated that the media system would be the best predictor for explaining the differences in the importance given by journalists in each country to journalistic functions. Table 4 indicates the limited capacity of the proposed models to predict the importance of the fifteen journalistic functions that were tested among the journalists. The set of individual-level, organizational-level, and system-level variables only predicted a small amount of the variance for most of the indicators, nearly seven percent, on average. The explained variance in the regression models was small but similar, in accordance with other previous studies⁷⁷ where a systemic variable was not included in the equations. In addition, we employed journalistic functions instead of the composite indexes of professional roles for the regression analysis. The largest variance was predicted for “develop intellectual and cultural interests” (23.7%) and “motivate ordinary people to get involved” (9.3%). The least variance was found for “provide entertainment and relaxation” (3.1%). Notably, our goal was to focus on the relevance of the “media system” as a predictor of professional roles while controlling for all other variables.

The media system was not a significant predictor of the importance of five of fifteen journalistic functions (See table 4). “Discuss the development of national policies” and “analyze and interpret international developments” were mainly influenced by working in a larger media organization, among other factors. The importance given to “point people toward solutions to society’s problems” was mainly determined by not working in wire services, and the most relevant predictor for “provide entertainment and relaxation” and “avoid stories where facts cannot be verified” was working for a media outlet that belongs to a larger company.

However, the regression analyses showed that, in the final model, the “media system” was the best or the second best predictor for ten of the fifteen indicators of professional roles (table 4). That was true for “develop intellectual and cultural interest” ($\beta = -.433$); “motivate ordinary people to get involved” ($\beta = -.273$), and “give ordinary people the chance to express views” ($\beta = -.162$), indicating that, controlling for all other variables, journalists from a pluralist polarized model were more willing to give importance to those functions. “Investigate and keep watch the government” ($\beta = .178$); “be an adversary of public officials” ($\beta = .160$); “be an adversary of business” ($\beta = .168$); “get information to the public quickly” ($\beta = .178$); “concentrate on the news of interest to the widest audience” ($\beta = .095$) and “analyze and interpret complex problems” ($\beta = .170$), were ranked higher by journalists from a liberal media system model, who were more willing to give more relevance to these functions⁷⁸, controlling for all other variables. In consideration of all these findings, “media system” seems to be an important variable for ten journalistic functions; therefore, H2 was partly supported.

⁷⁷ For instance, in WU, W., WEAVER, D., JOHNSON, O., *op. cit.*, low explained variances for the disseminator role among the Russian journalists ($R^2=.03$) and US journalists ($R^2=.04$) were reported; also low for the interpreter (Russian, $R^2=.06$; US, $R^2=.14$), and also for the adversarial role (Russians, $R^2=.02$; US, $R^2=.08$). In BEAN, R. A., WEAVER, D. H. and BROWNLEE, B., *op. cit.*, similar explained variances for disseminator ($R^2=.05$), adversarial ($R^2=.06$), mobilizer ($R^2=.04$) and interpreter roles ($R^2=.04$) were reported.

⁷⁸ All this findings were agreed with the T-tests results except with “Analyze and interpret complex problems” where T-test didn’t found significant differences.

5. Conclusion

This study revealed some interesting dissimilarities between journalists from Spain and journalists from the United States, which can be explained based on the cultural, historical, and political differences of the media systems in these countries.

As stated in the first hypothesis, despite the globalization or hybridization forces within the global media industry, such as commercialization, journalists from these two countries are not much closer in terms of their professional attitudes than they were ten years ago. As recent studies⁷⁹ highlight, it is possible that “the polarized pluralist media system commercialization seems to have led to more partisan reporting and an increase rather than decrease of political pressure”. Concerning the conceptions of journalistic roles, differences in the professional role clusters in our study were found between Spanish and U.S. journalists. The journalists in our survey did not understand their professions in quite the same way. Perhaps the most interesting point was the inclusion of “set the political agenda” in the “Spanish adversarial role” in the survey results. This classification of the adversarial role by Spanish journalists could stem from a high political instrumentalization of the media by politicians. These journalists could thus be interpreting their role in setting the agenda as another way to face the power of the political parties (an adversarial strategy). Moreover, the “Spanish disseminator role”, did not include “avoid stories where facts cannot be verified”. Spanish journalists most likely believe that factuality and truthfulness are a core part of the essence of their commitment to the citizenship. That could explain the inclusion of that function into the “citizen-oriented role”, which exceeds the boundaries of the U.S. “mobilizer role”.

Concerning the second hypothesis, this study provided empirical evidence for the importance of media systems in shaping the professional attitudes of journalists. Actually, this was not true for the importance given to “discuss the development of national policies”, “analyze and interpret international developments”, “point people toward solutions to society’s problems”, “provide entertainment and relaxation”, and “avoid stories where facts cannot be verified”. These differences were exclusively based on individual and organizational variables because, regardless of the media system, journalists recognized the importance of these functions of their work. These can be understood as idiosyncratic features of the western journalism culture, a part of the common frame of thought in these countries. Nonetheless, the analyses revealed that the media system in the country was a significant predictor of the importance of ten journalistic functions.

We found that journalists in a pluralist polarized media system tended to give more importance to “develop intellectual and cultural interests” because, as in other Mediterranean countries, literature historically has played an important role in Spanish journalism. Some writers start as journalists and then later embrace literature as a profession. Others authors the newsrooms to be a way to make money while they develop a literary career. Numerous examples can be named in several instances in Spanish History, such as Azorín, Larra, Pérez Galdós, Umbral, and Pérez-Reverte. In addition, Spanish the news media has been traditionally aimed at the elite, and culture has been an important interest for this social class. Consequently, Spanish journalists think they have to satisfy these members of their audience.

⁷⁹ VAN DALEN, A., “The people behind the political headlines: A comparison of political journalists in Denmark, Germany, The United Kingdom and Spain”, *International Communication Gazette*, 74, 5, 2012, pp. 464-483.

Findings also showed that journalists from a pluralist polarized media system were more likely to give importance to “set the political agenda”, “motivate people to get involved” and “give people the chance to express views”, whereas they tended to give less importance to some adversarial functions and the watchdog function. This may be the result of the Spanish media’s high degree of political polarization, a common feature of the Mediterranean countries, which occurred prior to the period of dictatorship in Spain, and high degree of ideological implications in the work of journalists. Spanish journalists have historically played the role of political actors. In fact, many Spanish journalists have even made political careers for themselves by taking the side of a certain ideological party. In this sense, rather than act as a monitoring institution, the Spanish media forms an opposition to the powers that disagree with the ideologies and values of the media. In addition, the Spanish press has played an important role as a political mobilizer and adviser during the years that followed the death of the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco in 1975. Due to a general lack of democratic institutions, discussions about the most important public issues were centralized in the news media. Thus, it makes sense that Spanish journalists still see themselves as political mobilizers today.

In accordance with earlier studies⁸⁰, journalists from liberal media systems see themselves mainly as disseminators and interpreters, while only some of them support a public mobilizer role in journalism. In contrast, journalists from pluralist polarized systems are more likely to align themselves with a public mobilizer role rather than a disseminator role. Common characteristics of the liberal model, such as a more neutral and commercial press and a more informative rather than opinionated journalism, could explain the stronger endorsement of disseminator functions by U.S. journalists. As we mentioned previously, the market in the pluralist polarized media system is small (e.g., *El País*, the most selling newspaper in Spain – with a population over 40 million people– sold only 267 thousand copies in March, 2011) aimed at the elite. This could explain why Spanish journalists are more likely to give less importance to “Concentrate on the news of interest to the widest audience”. In addition, a longer history of press freedom, a larger news media, and less political pressure on journalists might explain the stronger support of the investigative function among U.S. journalists. Moreover, other reasons, such as the different approaches in journalism education, may play a role in the configuration of the culture of journalism in these two countries.

This study provides three noteworthy contributions to the field. First, the findings support, but qualify, differences between the professional roles of Spanish journalists and U.S. journalists with a comparative study of the journalism culture of the 21st Century. Second, the findings update the empirical evidence about professionalism for a theoretical framework of media systems in Western nations. For instance, most of the empirical evidence cited by Hallin and Mancini⁸¹ to support their assumptions about the professionalism of Spanish journalism was published more than ten years ago⁸². Our study updates this empirical evidence with empirical data collected in 2007 and 2011. Third, the methodological approach employed in this study provides an improvement over previous studies, which compared country samples separately. Our study combines Spanish and U.S. data and analyses them together. This allows the addition of the “media system” as an independent variable in all of our predictive models.

⁸⁰ WEAVER, D. H., BEAM, R., BROWNLEE, B. J., *et al.*, *op. cit.*; BEAN, R. A., WEAVER, D.H. & BROWNLEE, B., *op. cit.*; HANITZSCH, T., *Deconstructing Journalism Culture...*, *op. cit.*

⁸¹ HALLIN, D. & MACINI, P., *op. cit.*

⁸² CANEL, M.J. & PIQUÉ, A., *op. cit.*; CANEL, M.J., SÁNCHEZ ARANDA, J.J. & RODRÍGUEZ, R., *op. cit.*; ORTEGA, F. & HUMANES, M.L., *op. cit.*; FERNÁNDEZ, R., “Communication workers in Spain: The Reward of Appearance”, *The Communication Review*, 2, 3, 1997, pp. 381-393.

Consequently, we can quantify the importance of “media system” in the models employed; however, this approach should be developed further in the future.

Some important limitations of this study must also be mentioned. The data used in our secondary analysis came from independent studies that were not designed for an international comparative analysis. Different sample designs and different variable operations in each survey entail delicate recoding and a predictable but unavoidable loss of information. In addition, the surveys were not only conducted in different years, but the surveys also did not include important predictors reported by other researchers. While the secondary analysis was based on a valid strategy, future research should develop more exigent designs. A comparison between countries with the same media system (for example, Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, and Greece) would provide more reliable modeling of professional roles. Finally, the media system operationalization as a dummy variable clearly could be improved. Future research should attempt to design a set of variables for the systemic level that represents media system dimensions instead of a country variable. Furthermore, researchers should complement their quantitative findings with qualitative information through focus groups and in-depth interviews.

6. Tables

Table 1

A factor analysis of professional roles. Spain (2011)

Indicators	Factors			
	I	II	III	IV
Interpreter/investigative role				
Analyze and interpret complex problems	.701			
Investigate and keep watch the government	.617			
Analyze and interpret international developments	.746			
Discuss the development of national policies	.583			
Citizen-oriented role				
Give ordinary people the chance to express views		.563		
Develop intellectual and cultural interests		.603		
Motivate ordinary people to get involved		.676		
Point people toward solutions to society's problems		.592		
Avoid stories where facts cannot be verified		.612		
Adversarial role				
Be an adversary of public officials			.777	
Be an adversary of businesses			.811	
Set the political agenda			.570	
Market-oriented role				
Get information to the public quickly				.604
Provide entertainment and relaxation				.741
Concentrate on the news of interest to the widest audience				.619

Table 2

A factor analysis of professional roles. U.S. (2007)

Indicators	Factors			
	I	II	III	IV
Interpreter/investigative role				
Analyze and interpret complex problems	.723			
Investigate and keep watch the government	.687			
Analyze and interpret international developments	.795			
Discuss the development of national policies	.660			
Populist mobilizer role				
Give ordinary people the chance to express views		.696		
Develop intellectual and cultural interests		.566		
Motivate ordinary people to get involved		.809		
Point people toward solutions to society's problems		.712		
Set the political agenda		.407	.388	
Adversarial role				
Be an adversary of public officials			.913	
Be an adversary of businesses			.869	
Disseminator role				
Get information to the public quickly				.729
Provide entertainment and relaxation				.632
Avoid stories where facts cannot be verified				.239
Concentrate on the news of interest to the widest audience				.526

Table 3

Differences in the indicators of professional roles			
	Spain 2011	U.S. 2007	
	M (SD)	M (SD)	t(df), p, d
Items			
Analyze and interpret complex problems	3.31 (.80)	3.41 (.79)	n.s.
Investigate and keep watch the government*	3.43 (.81)	3.65 (.62)	t(1011.87)= -5.18, p= .000, d= -.32
Analyze and interpret international developments*	3.22 (.80)	2.99 (.99)	t(685.90)= 4.02, p= .000, d= .24
Discuss the development of national policies*	3.02 (.90)	3.00 (.96)	n.s.
Be an adversary of public officials *	2.37 (1.10)	2.56 (1.03)	t(860.73)= -2.935, p= .003, d= -.10
Be an adversary of businesses *	2.21 (1.06)	2.35 (.99)	t(860.19)= -2.22, p= .026, d= -.13
Get information to the public quickly*	3.27 (.79)	3.49 (.66)	t(950.78)= -5.08, p= .000, d= -.31
Provide entertainment and relaxation*	2.44 (.98)	2.29 (.86)	t(917.27)= 2.68, p= .007, d= .16
Avoid stories where facts cannot be verified	3.32 (.96)	3.26 (.94)	n.s.
Concentrate on the news of interest to the widest audience*	2.25 (1.08)	2.53 (.93)	t(927.18)= -4.60, p= .000, d= -.28
Give ordinary people the chance to express views*	3.28 (.82)	3.09 (.90)	t(752.61)= 3.57, p= .000, d= .22
Develop intellectual and cultural interests*	3.43 (.75)	2.53 (.91)	t(688.24)= 16.92, p= .000, d= 1.04
Motivate ordinary people to get involved*	3.32 (.80)	2.85 (.94)	t(709.53)= 8.49, p= .000, d= .52
Point people toward solutions to society's problems*	2.89 (1.01)	2.70 (.93)	t(1157)= 3.18, p= .002, d= .19
Set the political agenda*	1.82 (.96)	1.58 (.83)	t(915.49)=4.32, p= .000, d= .26

*Significant at the conventional $p \leq .05$ level. N varies slightly for each item.

Table 4A

Regression predicting the professional roles of Western journalists ^a

Predictors/Blocks	Analyze and interpret complex problems			Investigate and keep watch the government			Analyze and interpret international developments			Discuss the development of national policies		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Individual level												
Gender (1=female)												
Political leaning rather left							.075*	.070*				
Political leaning rather right	-.089*	-.083*	-.093*							-.100*	-.092*	-.096*
Years of journalistic experience							-.088*	-.090*	-.091*	-.112*	-.106*	-.111*
Work status							.152*	.118*	.119*	.115		.091*
Report news				.073*	.068*							
Specialty							.064*					
Journalism degree												
Organization level												
Belongs to a larger company								-.077*	-.078*			
Media size			.089*					.154*	.156*		.100*	.118*
Newspaper												
Magazine			.074*									
Radio		-.073*										
TV												
Online					-.072*			.072*	.074*			
Wire service												
Other					-.067*							
System level												
Media system model (1=Liberal model)			.170*			.178*						

R-square change for Block	.025	.015	.018	.018	.011	.019	.046	.033	.000	.028	.016	.003
Total R-square	.025	.039	.057	.018	.030	.046	.078	.078	.065	.028	.044	.047
F-value	2.978	2.378	3.297	2.199	1.771	2.807	5.592	4.927	4.635	3.418	2.684	2.686
p for Block	.003	.002	.000	.025	.031	.000	.000	.000	.000	.001	.000	.000

^a Columns show standardized coefficients beta.

*Significant at the conventional $p \leq .05$ level.

Table 4B

Regression predicting the professional roles of Western journalists ^a

Predictors/Blocks	Be an adversary of public officials			Be an adversary of businesses			Get information to the public quickly			Provide entertainment and relaxation		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Individual level												
Gender (1=female)							.069*	.073*	.099*			
Political leaning rather left												
Political leaning rather right	-.076*	-.074*	-.084*	-.091*	-.087*	-.099*						-.073*
Years of journalistic experience				-.089*		-.078*						
Work status												
Report news												
Specialty												
Journalism degree								-.072*				
Organization level												
Belongs to a larger company										.073*		.081*
Media size		.080*	.122*		.126*	.172*			.106*	0.79*		
Newspaper												
Magazine												
Radio		-.082*			-.070*			-.072*				

TV												
Online						.083*						
Wire service												
Other												
System level												
Media system model (1=Liberal model)			.160*			.168*			.178*			
R-square change for Block	.015	.017	.015	.026	.025	.017	0.17	0.10	0.19	.007	.020	.003
Total R-square	.015	.032	.047	.026	.051	.068	0.17	0.27	0.46	.007	.028	.031
F-value	-	1.883	2.671	3.066	3.037	3.877	2.030	1.614	2.649	-	-	1.733
p for Block	n.s.	.019	.000	.002	.000	.000	.040	.050	.000	n.s.	n.s.	.032

^a Columns show standardized coefficients beta.

*Significant at the conventional $p \leq .05$ level.

Table 4C

Regression predicting the professional roles of Western journalists ^a

Predictors/Blocks	Avoid stories where facts cannot be verified			Concentrate on the news of interest to the widest audience			Give ordinary people the chance to express views			Develop intellectual and cultural interests		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Individual level												
Gender (1=female)										.150*	.121*	
Political leaning rather left												
Political leaning rather right				.089*	.086*	.080*				-.089*	-.081*	
Years of journalistic experience		.079*	.083*	.113*	.110*	.103*						
Work status				-.104*	-.089*					.155*	.093*	
Report news	-.114*	-.109*	-.105*									
Specialty												
Journalism degree										.117*	.091*	

Organization level												
Belongs to a larger company		.085*	.092*									
Media size											.137*	
Newspaper												
Magazine									-.081		.068*	
Radio											.121*	
TV											.083*	
Online					-.067						.110*	
Wire service		.074*	.075*						-.094*	-.093*		
Other												
System level												
Media system model (1=Liberal model)						.095*				-.162*		-.433
R-square change for Block	.023	.012	.002	.040	.012	.006	.008	.014	.016	.087	.037	.114
Total R-square	.023	.036	.038	.040	.053	.058	.008	.022	.038	.087	.123	.237
F-value	2.797	2.128	2.144	4.931	3.234	3.378	-	-	2.175	11.127	8.171	16.999
p for Block	.005	.006	.005	.000	.000	.000	n.s.	n.s.	.004	.000	.000	.000

^a Columns show standardized coefficients beta.

*Significant at the conventional $p \leq .05$ level.

Table 4D									
Regression predicting the professional roles of Western journalists ^a									
Predictors/Blocks	Motivate ordinary people to get involved			Point people toward solutions to society's problems			Set the political agenda		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Individual level									
Gender (1=female)	.074*	.072*							
Political leaning rather left	.074*	.076*							
Political leaning rather right									
Years of journalistic experience							-.140*	-.118*	-.111*
Work status	.113*	.134*					.111*		
Report news									
Specialty							-.077*	-.084*	-.089*
Journalism degree	.066*	.076*		.094*	.091*	.074*	.078*	.067*	
Organization level									
Belongs to a larger company									
Media size			-.117*						
Newspaper									
Magazine									
Radio									
TV									
Online									
Wire service		-.104*	-.102*		-.095*	-.094*			
Other									
System level									
Media system model (1=Liberal model)			-.273*						-.106*

R-square change for Block	.031	.016	.045	.017	.017	.006	.041	.013	.007
Total R-square	.031	.047	.093	.017	.034	.037	.041	.054	.061
F-value	3.802	2.887	5.574	2.039	2.067	2.118	4.907	3.267	3.485
p for Block	.000	.000	.000	.039	.008	.005	.000	.000	.000

^a Columns show standardized coefficients beta.

*Significant at the conventional $p \leq .05$ level.

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