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Efectos individuales y organizacionales en el periodismo chileno: Un análisis multinivel de la concepción de roles profesionales

Modeling Individual and Organizational Effects on Chilean Journalism: A Multilevel Analysis of Professional Role Conceptions

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RESUMEN: Usando una muestra representativa de periodistas chilenos (n=570), así como información recolectada en los medios a los que éstos pertenecen (n=114), este artículo examina efectos individuales y organizacionales en la percepción de sus roles profesionales, a través de un análisis multinivel. Los resultados demuestran la existencia de efectos contextuales en la importancia que los periodistas dan a sus diferentes funciones sociales, aunque no todos los roles profesionales son igualmente afectados en forma y magnitud, por el contexto organizacional. El estudio muestra que los roles más políticos del periodismo son modelados por una interrelación entre los factores individuales y organizacionales, donde las características personales y las creencias de los periodistas tienden a ser más predictivas. En cambio, las funciones profesionales vinculadas a las necesidades del público y la comercialización de las noticias, aparecen más afectadas por las características estructurales de los medios

ABSTRACT: Using a representative survey of Chilean journalists (n= 570) and data collected from each news media organization (n= 114), this paper examines individual and organizational effects on professional role conceptions via hierarchical linear modeling. The findings demonstrate the existence of significant contextual effects on the importance that journalists give to their different functions in society, although not all professional roles are equally affected in form and magnitude by the news media context. This study shows that the journalism's more political roles are modeled for an interrelation between individual and organizational factors, where journalists' background and beliefs tend to be more predictive than news media characteristics. In turn, professional functions linked to the need of the public and to the commercialization of news, appeared to be more tied to the structural characteristics of the news organizations where the journalists belong. The results also

de comunicación donde los periodistas trabajan. Asimismo, los datos revelan que factores políticos individuales y organizacionales preciden la mayoría de los roles, mientras que la propiedad y el tipo de medio no tienen ninguna influencia sobre éstos.

Palabras clave: periodismo, periodistas, roles profesionales, análisis multinivel

reveal that individual and organizational political factors predict the majority of the professional roles, while ownership and media type do not have any direct influence on the journalists' attitudes.

Key words: Journalism, Journalists, professional role conceptions, multilevel analysis

1. Introduction

Communication phenomena have been described as a variable field[1] existing within, between, and across levels of analysis[2]. This is truly important in journalism decision-making, where individual journalists are nested within news media organizations and territories; therefore context must be taken into account by considering both individual and contextual factors[3].

Given that it is clear that journalists influence news decisions[4], studying the way they perceive their professional roles, as well as the forces that shape their attitudes and practices, has become an important task within

[1] Cfr. HAYES, Andrew, "A Primer on multilevel modeling", *Human Communication Research*, vol. 32, n° 4, 2006, pp. 385-410.

[2] Cfr. PAN, Zhongdang and McLEOD, Jack, "Multilevel analysis in mass communication research", *Communication Research*, vol. 18, n° 2, 1991, pp. 140-173.

[3] Cfr. PAEK, Hye-Jin, YOON, So-Hyang, and SHAH, Dhavan, "Local news, social integration, and community participation: Hierarchical linear modeling of contextual and cross-level effects", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol. 82, n° 2, 2005, pp. 587-606.

[4] Cfr. DONSBACH, Wolfgang, "Factors behind journalists' professional behavior. A psychological approach to Journalism Research", in LÖFFELHOLZ Martin and WEAVER, David (eds.), *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future*, Blackwell, New York, 2008, pp. 65-78; PLAISANCE, Patrick and SKEWES, Elizabeth, "Personal and professional dimensions of news work: exploring the link between journalists' values and roles", *Journalism & Mass Communciation Quarterly*, vol. 80, n° 4, 2003, pp. 833-848; GRABER, Doris, *Mass Media and American Politics*, CQ Press, Washington (DC), 2002; WEAVER, David, "Journalists around the world: Commonalities and differences", in WEAVER, David (ed.), *The global journalist: News people around the world*, Hampton Press, Cresskill, NJ, 1998, pp. 455-480; STARCK, Ken and SOLOSKI, John, "Effect of reporter predisposicion in covering controversial story", *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 54, 1977, pp. 120-125.

the field[5]. Evidence regarding the relative contribution of individual, organizational and societal factors to the overall variance in journalism gives a variety of candidate explanations: while earlier studies suggest that individual factors are of primary importance[6], most recent work supports the view that organizational and societal influences are superior[7].

Nevertheless, there have been several theoretical and methodological limitations that have prevented a satisfactory answer to the questions of what make journalists think is important and what causes them to make the decision they do.

First, the majority of the studies have been theoreticaly limited in scope, addressing only one level of analysis at a time. Another weakness is methodological in nature: although some theory-driven studies have tested the supremacy of some levels over others in the analysis of journalists' professional roles, they have not had the statistical solutions necessary for handling multilevel data, lying in the difficulty of distinguishing between the influences that came from individuals, and those that stem from organizational or societal variability.

[5] Cfr. WEAVER, David and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *The American Journalist. A portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN, 1986; WEAVER, David and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *The American Journalist in the 1990s: U.S. News People and the End of an Era*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ, 1996; WEAVER, David, BEAM, Randal, BROWNLEE, Bonnie, VOAKES, Paul and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *The American Journalist in the 21st Century: U.S. News People at the Dawn of a New Millenium*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ, 2007; SHOEMAKER, Pamela and REESSE, Stephen, *Mediating the message: Theories of influence on mass media content*, Longman, White Plains, NY, 1996; PATTERSON, Thomas and DONSBACH, Wolfgang, "News Decisions: Journalists as partisan actors", *Political Communication*, vol. 13, nº 4, 1996, pp. 455-468. HANITZSCH, Thomas, HANUSCH, Folker, MELLADO, Claudia et al, "Mapping Journalism Cultures across Nations: A Comparative Study of 18 Countries", *Journalism Studies*, vol. 12, nº 4, 2011, pp. 273-293; HANITZSCH, Thomas, ANIKINA, María, BERGANZA, Rosa et al, "Modeling perceived influences on journalism: Evidence from a cross-national survey of journalists", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol. 87, nº 1, 2010, pp. 7-24; CANEL, María José and SÁDABA, Teresa, "La investigación académica sobre las actitudes profesionales de los periodistas. Una descripción del estado de la cuestión", *Comunicación y Sociedad*, vol. XII, nº 2, 1999, pp. 9-32.

[6] Cfr. FLEGEL, Ruth and CHAFFEE, Steve, "Influences of editors, readers, and personal influences on reporters", *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 48, nº 4, 1971, pp. 645-651.

[7] Cfr. WEAVER, David, BEAM, Randal, BROWNLEE, Bonnie, VOAKES, Paul and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *op. cit.*; WEAVER, David, "Journalists around the world...", *op. cit.*; ZHU, Jian-Hua, WEAVER, David, LO, Ven-hwei, CHEN, Chongshan, and WU, Wei, "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*, vol. 74, nº 1, 1997, pp. 84-96.

Weaver and Wilhoit[8], for instance, tried to simultaneously trace the influence of individual and organizational predictors in journalist's role conceptions, via ordinary least squares regression (OLS). Meanwhile, Zhu et al[9] included individual, organizational and societal factors in studying Chinese, Taiwanese and U.S journalists, via loglinear modeling. Both cases, however, share similar problems: by ignoring any potential interdependence among journalists from the same news organization or territory, and between news organizations and territories, different levels of analysis are merged as analytically equivalent to individual differences. Doing this, empirical tests run the risk of ecological or atomistic fallacies, potentially resulting in significant underestimation of standard errors, and therefore, incorrect p-values[10].

Considering these shortcomings, the main goal of this article is to assess the effects of different forces on Chilean journalists' role conceptions across two levels of analysis, recognizing the nested structure of the data in the estimation process[11].

Based on a theory-driven design, the current study tests a hierarchical linear modeling in a monocultural setting. We specifically investigate individual and organizational levels of influences on five professional roles extracted from a wide-ranging list of media functions: watchdog, propagandistic, citizen-oriented, consumer-oriented and disseminator. To assess these relationships between both levels of analysis, we integrated organizational and individual level data obtained from a representative survey of Chilean journalists, as well as from each of the news media organizations where they belong.

2. Journalistic Role Conceptions

Journalistic roles –also called media roles– have been widely understood by the literature as the normative and actual functions of journalism in

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[8] Cfr. WEAVER, David and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *The American Journalist. A portrait...*, *op. cit.*

[9] Cfr. ZHU, Jian-Hua, WEAVER, David, LO, Ven-hwei, CHEN, Chongshan and WU, Wei, *op. cit.*

[10] Cfr. HAYES, Andrew, *op. cit.*

[11] Cfr. SLATER, Michael, SNYDER, Leslie and HAYES, Andrew, "Thinking and Modeling at Multiple Levels: The Potential Contribution of Multilevel Modeling to Communication Theory and Research", *Human Communication Research*, vol. 32, n° 4, 2006, pp. 375-384.

society[12]; a set of expectations, values, norms and standards defining how news people and organizations should and do work[13].

Although different structural components of journalistic roles were first studied during the 1960s and 1970s[14], those who have gone into greatest depth in this line of research are Weaver and his team from Indiana University[15]. These scholars have carried out national surveys on American journalists every ten years for the past three decades. At first, they replicated Johnstone, Slawski and Bowman's study[16], and found three roles: the disseminator, the interpreter, and the watchdog. In their last two surveys, they found a fourth dimension: the "populist mobilizer" role. The "American Journalist study" has been largely used for international studies, with the objective of analyzing the differences and similarities between and within nations[17].

Other researchers have also comparatively studied the journalists' professional orientations from different perspectives. Köcher[18] investigated German and British journalists and detected two models of profesional roles:

[12] Cfr. HANITZSCH, Thomas, HANUSCH, Folker, MELLADO, Claudia et al, *op. cit.*
[13] Cfr. NORRIS, Pipa and ODUGBEMI, Sina, "The Roles of the News Media in the Governance Agenda: Watch-dogs, Agenda-Setters", paper presented at the Harvard-World Bank Workshop *The roles of the news media in the Governance Reform Agenda*, Cambrigde, MA, 2008, p. 28.
[14] Cfr. COHEN, Bernard, *The press and foreign policy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1963; JOHNSTONE, John W.C., SLAWSKI, Edward, J. and BOWMAN, William, *The news people. A Sociological portrait of American Journalists and their work*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, IL, 1976; JANOWITZ, Morris, "Professional Models in Journalism: The Gatekeeper and the Advocate", *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 52, 1975, pp. 618-626, 662.
[15] See WEAVER, David and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *The American Journalist. A portrait...*, *op. cit.*; WEAVER, David and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *The American Journalist in the 1990s...*, *op. cit.*; WEAVER, David, BEAM, Randal, BROWNLEE, Bonnie, VOAKES, Paul and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *op. cit.*
[16] Cfr. JOHNSTONE, John W.C., SLAWSKI, Edward, J. and BOWMAN, William, *op. cit.*
[17] Cfr. RAMAPRASAD, Jyotika and KELLY, James, "Reporting the news from the world's rooftop: A survey of Nepalese journalists", *International Communication Gazette*, vol. 65, n° 3, 2003, pp. 291-315; DEUZE, Mark, "National News Cultures: A comparison of Dutch, German, British, Australian and U.S. journalists", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol. 79, n° 1, 2002, pp. 134-149; ZHU, Jian-Hua, WEAVER, David, LO, Ven-hwei, CHEN, Chongshan and WU, Wei, *op. cit.*; WU, Wei, WEAVER, David and JOHNSON, Owen W., "Professional roles of Russian, and U.S. journalists: A comparative study", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol. 73, n° 3, 1996, pp. 534-548, among many others.
[18] Cfr. KÖCHER, Renate, "Bloodhounds or Missionaries: Role definitions of German and British journalists", *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 1, n° 3, 1986, pp. 43-64.

the bloodhound and the missionary journalist. Patterson and Donsbach[19] analyzed the political press in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Switzerland, and suggested two dimensions: the passive-active dimension, and the advocate-neutral dimension.

One of the latest international studies on journalism professional attitudes was the international *Worlds of Journalism* project (2007-2009), where more than 20 countries, including Chile, participated. Based on a heuristic model proposed by Hanitzsch[20], the study recognizes three dimensions within the media roles –interventionism, power distance and market orientation– each one divided into two ideal poles on a continuum. Only two other studies have been directly or indirectly associated with the analysis of the Chilean journalist's role conceptions, although none of them investigated the determinants of those professional views. The first was developed by Wilke[21], who carried out a comparative analysis among Chilean, Mexican and Ecuadorian journalists. In the Chilean case, Wilke described the journalists as "neutral" reporters and "public entertainers." The second, done by Gronemeyer[22], studied the journalists' levels of autonomy and independence, and found that Chilean reporters and editors gave great importance to values such as veracity and critical thought.

3. Effects on Journalistic Role Conceptions: Level of Influences Approach

During the last decades research has identified several forces that may influence news decision and journalists' professional worldviews. The work of Shoemaker and Reese[23] is the most widely known model of levels of influence on journalism, consisting of five nested levels: individual, media routines, organizational, the extra-media level, and the ideological or system-level. Other authors have also proposed different divisions of influences[24].

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[19] Cfr. PATTERSON, Thomas and DONSBACH, Wolfgang, *op. cit.*
[20] Cfr. HANITZSCH, Thomas, "Deconstructing Journalism Culture: Towards a universal theory", *Communication Theory*, vol. 17, n° 4, 2007, pp. 367-385.
[21] Cfr. WILKE, Jürgen, "Journalists in Chile, Ecuador and México", in WEAVER, David (ed.), *The global journalist: News people around the world*, Hampton Press, Cresskill, NJ, 1998, pp. 433-452.
[22] Cfr. GRONEMEYER, María Elena, "Periodistas chilenos: El reto de formar profesionales autónomos e independientes", *Cuadernos de Información*, vol. 15, 2002, pp. 53-70.
[23] Cfr. SHOEMAKER, Pamela and REESE, Stephen, *op. cit.*
[24] Cfr. VOAKES, Paul, "Social influences on journalists' decision making in ethical situa-

Although the conceptual equivalence between those typologies is not particularly strong[25], all the models distinguish at least three clear three basic levels of aggregation: the micro level of individuals (journalists), the meso level of organizations (newsrooms and news organizations) and the macro level of systems (nations).

Assuming that the individuals do not live in an environment free of social and structural influences[26], the first expectation of this study is that the context where journalists work should explain some of the variance in their professional role conceptions. In fact, the level of influences approach offers a general theoretical justification for expecting a significant relationship between the organizational level and the journalists' professional worldviews. Thus:

Hypothesis 1: News media organizations significantly differ on average in the importance given to the different components of journalists's role conceptions.

3.1. Individual-level factors

There are several individual-level factors that studies show to be significant in predicting journalistic roles with a certain level of consistency.

Long after Max Weber spoke of the journalist as a political person, research has demonstrated that the news workers' political orientations lead them to embrace particular roles over others. Patterson and Donsbach[27] found a significat link between European and U.S. journalists' political beliefs and their professional attitudes. Wu et al[28] observed that the individual political belief was a significant predictor of the disseminator, interpreter and the adversary roles among American and Russian journalists. In the last American Journalist study, Weaver et al[29] showed that the strongest individual-level predictor of media role was political orientation.

tions", *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, vol. 12, n° 1, 1997, pp. 18-35; McQUAIL, Dennis, *McQuail's mass communication theory*, Sage, London, 2000; PRESTON, Paschal, *Making the news: Journalism and news cultures in Europe*, Routledge, London, 2009.

[25] Cfr. HANITZSCH, Thomas, ANIKINA, María, BERGANZA, Rosa et al, *op. cit.*

[26] Cfr. BOURDIEU, Pierre, "Social space and symbolic power", *Sociological Theory*, vol. 7, n° 1, 1989, pp. 14-25.

[27] Cfr. PATTERSON, Thomas and DONSBACH, Wolfgang, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

[28] Cfr. WU, Wei, WEAVER, David and JOHNSON, Owen W., *op. cit.*

[29] Cfr. WEAVER, David, BEAM, Randal, BROWNLEE, Bonnie, VOAKES, Paul and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *op. cit.*

The journalist's education level has been another factor linked to their professional views. Johnstone et al[30] observed that education was the strongest predictor of both the neutral and the participant role. Chan et al[31] in Hong Kong, as well as Henningham[32] in Australia, discovered that besides political orientation, educational level makes a difference. In the first case, journalists with tertiary education tend to give less importance to the role of meeting popular taste, while in the latter, they tend to give less support to the information-seeking role.

Researh has also suggested that journalists' profesional attitudes tend to vary according to their hierarchical status. Weaver and Wilhoit[33] found that reporters were more likely to be interpretative and adversarial, while editors tend to lean toward the disseminator role. Chen et al[34] reported that Chinese rank-and-file journalists tend to give less importance to the promotion of the Communist role model than directors and editors.

There are important reasons to think that the journalists' perceived levels of autonomy and influence on their work, should also matter. Wu et al[35] discovered that the perception of job freedom was able to predict the disseminator and interpretative roles. Meanwhile, Weaver et al[36] observed a positive relationship between the perceived levels of autonomy and the importance given to the disseminator, adversary and populist mobilizer roles.

Because most of the studies tend to only research full-time journalists, job commitment has not been habitually included as a variable in the analysis of professional roles. However, considering the constant growing number of

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[30] Cfr. JOHNSTONE, John W.C., SLAWSKI, Edward, J. and BOWMAN, William, *op. cit.*

[31] Cfr. CHAN, Joseph, LEE, Paul and LEE, Chin-Chuan, "East Meets West: Hong Kong Journalists in Transition", in WEAVER, David (ed.), *The global journalist: News people around the world*, Hampton Press, Cresskill, NJ, 1998, pp. 31-54.

[32] Cfr. HENNINGHAM, John, "Australian journalists", in WEAVER, David (ed.), *The global journalist: News people around the world*, Hampton Press, Cresskill, NJ, 1998, pp. 91-107.

[33] Cfr. WEAVER, David and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *The American Journalist. A portrait...*, *op. cit.*

[34] Cfr. CHEN, Chongshan, ZHU, Jian-Hua and WU, Wei, "The Chinese journalist", in WEAVER, David (ed.), *The global journalist: News people around the world*, Hampton Press, Cresskill, NJ, 1998, pp. 9-30.

[35] Cfr. WU, Wei, WEAVER, David and JOHNSON, Owen W., *op. cit.*

[36] Cfr. WEAVER, David, BEAM, Randal, BROWNLEE, Bonnie, VOAKES, Paul and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *op. cit.*

freelance or temporarily employed journalists present today in the work force –which in Chile is true for almost 25% of journalists[37]– our expectation is that said variable also has a direct relationship with the conception of professional roles. Thus:

Hypothesis 2: Political orientation, education level, job rank, perceived levels of influence on newswork, and the journalists' job commitment have a significant effect on their professional role conceptions.

In addition to this, our third hypothetical expectation is that each journalist nested under the same news organization would likely be similarly influenced by attributes that are characteristic of those organizations, so the uniqueness of each news organization where the individual journalist works would influence the individual level predictors to vary by organization.

Hypothesis 3: The influence of the individual-level predictors on journalists's role conceptions vary among news media organizations.

3.2. Organizational level factors

Empirical evidence suggests that several organizational-level characteristics can significantly predict professional roles. Moreover, several studies have determined that the organizational context is most predictive of journalists's professional worldviews, and usually removes or diminishes the individual effects on those attitudes[38]. Thus, there are reasons to expect that the organizational context affects journalists' role conceptions independent of other individual-level characteristics.

Media type has frequently been stated as an important determinant of professional roles. Weaver et al[39] found that the type of medium was a strong

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[37] Cfr. MELLADO, Claudia, SALINAS, Paulina, DEL VALLE, Carlos and GONZÁLEZ, Gustavo, "Mercado laboral y perfil del periodista y educador de periodismo en Chile: Estudio comparativo de las regiones de Antofagasta, Biobío, Araucanía y Metropolitana", *Cuadernos de información*, vol. 26, n° 1, 2010, pp. 45-64.

[38] Cfr. GANS, Herbert, *Deciding what's news*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1979; BEAM, Randal, "Journalism professionalism as an organizational-level concept", *Journalism Monographs*, vol. 121, 1990, pp. 1-43; WEAVER, David and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *The American Journalist. A portrait...*, *op. cit.*; WEAVER, David and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *The American Journalist in the 1990s...*, *op. cit.*; ZHU, Jian-Hua, WEAVER, David, LO, Ven-hwei, CHEN, Chongshan and WU, Wei, *op. cit.*; WEAVER, David, BEAM, Randal, BROWNLEE, Bonnie, VOAKES, Paul and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *op. cit.*

[39] Cfr. WEAVER, David, BEAM, Randal, BROWNLEE, Bonnie, VOAKES, Paul and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *op. cit.*

predictor of the adversary and populist mobilizer roles. Canel and Piqué[40] also suggest differences among Spanish media types. While radio was the medium for informing people, television entertained and the press interpreted events.

Media size, as well as the media outlet's reach and ownership are variables that have also been repeatedly linked to journalists' professional worldviews. Akhavan–Majid and Boundreau[41] compared chain-owned and independent newspapers, and found that the organizational size was the most important influence on the editorial role conception. Voakes[42] found that journalists from small newspapers are more likely to support public journalism than large news organizations. Weischengberg et al[43] encountered that journalists working for public media were less likely to approve of unscrupulous practice than private media journalists. Kim[44] found that U.S. network journalists select news with a global view, while local television journalists adopt a more pragmatic and local stance. Meanwhile, Weaver et al[45] found that being locally or nationally owned has a powerful impact on how the journalists perceive the populist mobilizer role.

The media's political orientation is another factor that turned out to be important at the organizational level. Weischengberg et al[46] concluded that the media's political orientation is a condition that may facilitate or complicate the journalists' professional attitudes: the relationship is closer if the journalist's attitude corresponds to the editorial policies of the media, or at least to that of the majority of the newsroom.

[40] Cfr. CANEL, María José and PIQUÉ, Antoni, "Journalists in emerging democracies: The case of Spain", in WEAVER, David (ed.), *The global journalist: News people around the world*, Hampton Press, Cresskill, NJ, 1998, pp. 299-319, 308.

[41] Cfr. AKHAVAN-MAJID, Roya and BOUDREAU, Timothy, "Chain ownership, organizational size, and editorial role conception", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol. 72, n° 4, 1995, pp. 863-873.

[42] Cfr. VOAKES, Paul, "Civic Duties: Newspaper Journalists' Views on Public Journalism", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol. 76, n° 4, 1999, pp. 756-774.

[43] Cfr. WEISCHENBERG, Siegfried, LOEFFELHOLZ, Martin and SCHOLL, Armin, "Journalism in Germany", in WEAVER, David (ed.), *The global journalist: News people around the world*, Hampton Press, Cresskill, NJ, 1998, pp. 229-256.

[44] Cfr. KIM, Hun Shik, "Gatekeeping international news: An attitudinal profile of U.S. television journalists", *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, vol. 46, n° 3, 2002, pp. 431-453.

[45] Cfr. WEAVER, David, BEAM, Randal, BROWNLEE, Bonnie, VOAKES, Paul and WIL-HOIT, Cleveland, *op. cit.*

[46] Cfr. WEISCHENBERG, Siegfried, LOEFFELHOLZ, Martin and SCHOLL, Armin, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

Since most of the studies on professional roles tend to obtain their data from sources located at the individual level of analysis (i.e. journalists), media reliance on advertising is a factor that has not been regularily measured. However, the justification for including this factor in our study is straightforward, since literature has widely cataloged it as an important organizational constriction to the journalists' work. Some works have determined that commercial pressure is a part of everyday life in the journalists' news agendas and newsrooms[47], forcing them to be closer to the supposed audience demands (Preston, 2009). Research conducted in several countries has documented, for example, tabloidization, as well as information oriented less towards "hard" news[48]. Based on the previous empirical evidence:

Hypothesis 4: Media type, media size, media outlet's reach, ownership, media's political orientation and reliance on advertising have a significant effect on the journalists's role conceptions, after controlling for individual-level factors.

In addition to testing these specific hypotheses, this paper would like to resolve if there are any cross-level interaction effects between individual and organizational level factors. In light of the nested structure of influences on journalism[49], we might determine whether specific organizational characteristics serve as moderators of individual-level relationships on journalists role conceptions. Since there is no strong empirical evidence on this matter, we decided to pose the following research question:

Research Question 1: Are there any cross-level interaction between different factors situated at both levels of analysis that explain some variance in journalistic role conceptions?

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[47] Cfr. GEORGE, Lisa, "What's Fit to Print: The effect of ownership concentration on product variety in daily newspaper markets", *Information Economics and Policy*, vol. 19, n° 3-4, 2007, pp. 285-303; McMANUS, John, *Market Driven Journalism: Let Citizen Beware?*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, 1994; GAUNT, Philip, *Choosing the news: Profit factor in news selection*, Greenwood Press, New York, 1990.

[48] Cfr. SPARKS, Collin, "Introduction: The Panic over Tabloid News", in SPARKS, Collin and TULLOCH, John (eds.), *Tabloid Tales:Global Debates Over Media Standards*, Rowman & Littlefield, London, 2000, pp. 1-40.

[49] Cfr. SHOEMAKER, Pamela and REESSE, Stephen, *op. cit.*

4. Method

4.1. Research Design and Population

Applying hierarchical linear modeling within a single country, this study independently collected information for two levels of analyses. A Web-based survey of professsional role conceptions was carried out with Chilean journalists from four regions in the country (Antofagasta, Bíobio, Araucanía, and Metropolitana), representing the north, center, and south of the territory, as well as 70% of the nation's population. Also, external data was obtained from each of the news media organizations where the journalists belong.

All the daily and weekly newspapers, news magazines, radio stations, television channels, newswires and professional Internet media were taken into account for this study. Following Weaver and Wilhoit's definition, a journalist was considered as someone who has "editorial responsibility for the preparation or transmission of news stories or other information...rather than those who created fiction, drama, art, or other media content"[50].

Because the objective was to analyze different types of journalists, people working for "hard news", as well as "soft news" beats were included. The population comprised not only of full-time, but also part-time news media workers, including reporters, news writers, commentators, columnists, copy editors, editors, publishers, news anchors and producers of news.

4.2. Procedures

At the individual level, a self-administered questionnaire was distributed to the entire population of journalists (N=1979) working in the territory under study. The media list, the journalists e-mails addresses, as well as the population's basic parameters, were available because of the first census of Chilean journalists carried out between August 2008 and April 2009, in the frame of the larger research project ("Comparative Study of Chilean Journalists, Communication Professionals and Journalism Educators"[51]) to which this study belongs.

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[50] WEAVER, David and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *The American Journalist. A portrait...*, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
[51] This study was financed by the Chilean National Fund for Scientific & Technological Development (Fondecyt n° 1080066). For more information see www.periodistasycomunicadoresdechile.cl.

The Web-based survey was carried out during a 5-week period between November and December of 2009. The research team emailed the population an invitation to participate in the study. Four days later, the link to the survey was sent to their email, instructing them to respond to the questionnaire at the time of their convenience by using any computer with Internet access. Before beginning with the questions, the surveyed were asked to give their informed consent by clicking on a particular button on their computer screen. The survey's instructions established that in the case of having more than one job, the journalists should answer the questionnaire considering their most important workplace, so the response rate could be monitored through the census's database.

After four follow-up email reminders, a total of 570 usable surveys were completed, yielding a response rate of 29%. With the objective of controlling non-response error, each sociodemographic, geographical and work related variable –sex, age, level of education, region, media type, and full-time/part-time contract– was checked against the results of the census. According to the analysis, there were no significant differences among respondents and non-respondents in terms of gender (χ^2= .22, p > .05), education level (χ^2=6,814; p > .05), or full-time/part-time positions (χ^2 = .754; p >.05). The age variable presented significant differences between the sample and the population, but only in the 31-35 age group (Kolmogorov-Smirnov= .108; p < .01). Another difference was observed in the sample's geographic distribution (χ^2 =15.5; p < .001). Although the representation of journalists from Santiago was almost perfect, journalists from the Bíobio and Araucania regions were over-represented, while journalists from the Antofagasta Region were underrepresented.

At the *organizational level*, a questionnaire was completed from each one of the news organizations located in the region under study (N=186). The information was obtained through telephone or personal interviews with representatives, directors and/or owners of each news media, as well as official sources like *National Press Association* (ANP), and *Chilean Association of Publicist Agencies* (ACHAP), during the period from December of 2009 to April of 2010. However, 72 organizations were left out of the analysis, as no completed questionnaire was received from the journalists who worked there. As a result, the range of the individual-level sample size per organization was 3-5.

With the objective of controlling differences between the organizations that were included in the analysis and those not considered, different tests of similarity were carried out considering several characteristics of both groups. No significant differences were found in terms of size (Kolmogorov-Smirnov=

.022; p > .05), reach (χ^2= .17; p > .05), media type (χ^2= 2.22; p > .05), media ownership (χ^2= .69; p > .05), media's political orientation (χ^2= 2.61; p> .05), and reliance on advertising (Kolmogorov-Smirnov= .031; p > .05).

4.3. Measurements

4.3.1. Dependent variables

The set of scales used to measure the journalist's professional role conceptions was drawn following past journalist surveys conducted by Weaver and Wilhoit[52], Hanitzsch et al[53], and Ramaprasad and Kelly[54]. We took different key aspects from those three instruments in order to get a more fine-grained picture of the Chilean journalist (see table 1). However, due to cultural and social characteristics specific to Chile, some questions were eliminated, others were added, and still others were reworded, in order to explore important local issues. Specifically, the questionnaire included twenty eight statements regarding the importance of different media functions. Respondents were asked to rate each of them into one of five categories, on a 5-point scale, where one corresponded to "not important at all", and five corresponded to "extremely important".

Based on the results of Principal Component Analysis (PCA) with Varimax rotation, journalists' beliefs about various media functions were grouped into five different components[55]. Cronbach's alpha obtained by a sixth component –composed of two items– indicated a very low reliability (less than .5), causing its elimination from the model. Likewise, three other items were excluded because they did not exhibit a theoretical tie with the component where they were loaded, or because they did not fit clearly with any of the components. The final five components account for 62.4% of the variance.

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[52] Cfr. WEAVER, David and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *The American Journalist. A portrait...*, *op. cit.*; WEAVER, David and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *The American Journalist in the 1990s...*, *op. cit.*; WEAVER, David, BEAM, Randal, BROWNLEE, Bonnie, VOAKES, Paul and WIL-HOIT, Cleveland, *op. cit.*

[53] Cfr. HANITZSCH, Thomas, HANUSCH, Folker, MELLADO, Claudia et al, *op. cit.*; HA-NITZSCH, Thomas, ANIKINA, María, BERGANZA, Rosa et al, *op. cit.*

[54] Cfr. RAMAPRASAD, Jyotika and KELLY, James, *op. cit.*

[55] Cfr. MELLADO, Claudia, "The Chilean journalist", in WEAVER, David and WILLNAT, Lars (eds.), *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century: News People Around the World*, Routledge, New York, 2012 (forthcoming).

Sampling adequacy was verified by Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin=0.86. Bartlett's test of sphericity (χ^2=5298.739, df=253, p<0.001), indicated that correlations between items were sufficiently large for PCA. Each extracted dimension had eigenvalues over one. In all cases, factor loadings above 0.5 were retained.

The watchdog role is the main component, explaining 15.4% of the variance (α = .85). As in Weaver's studies, this role conception makes reference to the monitoring function of journalism (M= 3.69, SD= 1.01). The items that loaded in the second component explained 14.9% of the total variance and can be called the propagandist role (α = .83). It dealt with the positive image that media can give to the country's leaders, by supporting public policies that contribute to national development. In the Chilean context, this role also relates to national patriotism (M= 2.39, SD= .805).

The citizen-oriented journalism role is the third component, explaining 14.5% of the variance (α = .84). This approach considers the public as a citizen and focuses on informing what they "should know" (M= 3.91; SD= .748). The consumer-oriented journalism role is the fourth component, explaining 10.2% of the total variance (α = .71). It emphasizes everyday life and consumerism, focusing on the logic of the market, and on what the public "wants to know" (M=. 3.74; SD= .712). The final component explains 7.4% of the variance and corresponds to the disseminator role (α = .75). It includes aspects typically found in Western journalism cultures, like being a passive observer who neutrally describes reality without getting involved. (M= 2.77; SD= 1.14).

The functions that get the most general support among Chilean journalists are those realeted to the citizen-oriented role, followed by the consumer-oriented and the watchdog role. In contrast, the classic values of detachment and non-involvement, as well as the function related to the propagandistic role are not rated as very important (see table 1).

Table 1. Perceived Importance of Professional Roles by Chilean Journalists

Media roles	Mean	SD	Percentage Saying "extremely important"
Watchdog function			
Act as watchdog of the government	3.84	1.21	38.9

Media roles	Mean	SD	Percentage Saying "extremely important"
Act as watchdog of the business elites	3.79	1.25	37.5
Act as watchdog of political parties	3.56	1.31	31.0
Act as a watchdog of citizens	3.33	1.30	24.0
Propagandist function			
Give relevance to the country's advances and triumphs in relation to Latin America and the developed world	3.23	1.15	14.4
Actively support government policy on national development	2.64	1.14	6.0
Cultivate nationalism/patriotism	2.24	1.19	5.1
Highlight the benefits of the current economic model	2.18	1.07	2.3
Convey a positive image of political leadership	2.04	1.00	2.1
Convey a positive image of business leadership	2.01	1.03	2.1
Citizen-oriented journalism function			
Develop the intellectual and cultural interest of the public	4.11	.95	41.4
Promote democracy	4.01	1.08	41.1
Provide citizens with the information they need to make political decisions.	4.08	1.03	44.1
Educate people about controversial and complex topics	3.97	1.08	39.3
Motivate people to participate in civic activity and political discussion.	3.73	1.04	25.9
Ensure coverage of local issues	3.70	1.16	31.6
Advocate for social change	3.67	1.10	26.7

Media roles	Mean	SD	Percentage Saying "extremely important"
Consumer-oriented journalism function			
Provide the audience with the information that is most interesting	4.20	.86	44.6
Give the audience concrete help to manage their everyday problems	3.77	.95	24.9
Concentrate on news that is of interest to the widest possible audience	3.49	1.04	18.7
Provide entertainment and relaxation	3.38	.97	11.2
Disseminator function			
Be a detached observer	3.21	1.24	15.8
Be a passive observer	2.36	1.29	6.5
Other ungrouped functions			
Get information to the public quickly	4.10	.94	40.7
Influence public opinión	3.89	1.03	33.0
Set the political agenda	3.26	1.17	15.6
Promote ethical or moral values, either conservative or liberal	3.18	1.28	18.0
Debate and evaluate international policies that affect Latin America	3.47	1.17	22.2

4.3.2. Individual level factors

At the individual level –from now on called Level 1–, specific factors were hypothesized to significantly predict the journalists' role conceptions.

With regard to political orientation, all respondents were asked to place their political leaning on a seven-point scale where 1 is left, 7 is right, and 4 is center (M = 3.46, SD= 1.44).

The journalists' education level was measured by estimates of completed years of schooling, with no college education equivalent to 12 years, incomplete university education to 14 years, a university degree to 16 years, master's degree to 18 years, and doctoral degree to 20 years. (M=16.0; SD= 1.04). The journalist's hierarchy level was measured with a dichotomous scale, asking the respondents if they clasify as "managemet staff" (29.2%) or "non-management staff" (70.8%). Job commitment was also measured on a dichotomous scale with "full-time" (78.2%) and "part-time" (21.8%).

To access perceived levels of influence on news work, we asked participants to use a five-point scale, ranging from 1 (not influential at all) to 5 (extremely influential) indicating how influential they felt that 27 different statements were in their day-to-day job. The scores for each item were then averaged and converted into different indexes, according to the six-dimensional scale proposed by Hanitzsch et al[56]: six items measured perceived political influences (α= .85; M= 2.50; SD= .950); four items were related to economic influences (α= .84; M= .3.59; SD= 1.01); three items measured organizational influences (α= .78; M= .3.27; SD= .819); seven items assessed profesional influences (α= .73; M= .2.29; SD= .800); three items corresponded to procedural influences (α= .69; M= 3.50; SD= .846), and four items measured reference groups influences (α = .63; M= 2.57; SD= .739).

In addition, sex (61.9% men), age (M= 35.21, SD = 9.04), media experience (M=11.09; SD= 6.72) and membership in professional organizations (yes = 13.5%) were also included in the analysis as a control variables.

4.3.3. Organizacional level factors

At an organizational level –from now on called Level 2–, information related to different characteristics of the media was expected to significantly relate to journalists' role conceptions.

Media type was categorized into "radio" (28.1%), "television" (20.2%), and written press"[57] (51.8%). Media outlet's reach was measured in a dicotomic scale with "local news organization" (45.6%) and "national news organization" (54.4%). Ownership was measured in a categorical scale with "independently-owned" (34.2%), "chain-owned" (57.9%) and state-owned

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56 Cfr. HANITZSCH, Thomas, ANIKINA, María, BERGANZA, Rosa et al, *op. cit.*
57 Because of the small sample size that on-line newspaper, news wires and magazine represented, they were grouped together with newspaper journalists in the category.

(7.9%). Media size was measured in term of the number of journalists who work in each news organization.

Media outlet's political orientation was measured on a categorical scale with "Left from center" (8.8%), "Right from center" (51.8%), and "No political leaning" (39.5%). Finally, reliance on advertising indicates the news organization's percentage of revenue that is derived from advertising (M= 72.1; SD= 31.1).

4.4. Analitic Strategy

In order to analize our data, we employed hierarchical linear modeling (HLM)[58]. We examined the influence of individual and organizational-level predictors on each dependent variable separately, using a two-level model. The level-1 model would capture the relationship among the journalist's role conceptions and the journalist's independent variables obtained by the individual survey data; while the level-2 model would represent the influence of the organizational level in journalist's role conception as well as posible interactions between level-1 and level-2 predictors.

As with HLM, the level-2 model treats the intercept (average) and slopes (nature and strengh of the influences) as an outcome, all the level-1 predictors that did not have a meaningful zero-point were grand-mean centered prior to the analysis. The results were interpreted from regression coefficients, as well as fixed and random components at both levels. We report standardized betas for fixed effect regression parameters, and we employed full maximum likelihood method for variance components. We estimated the *pseudo R2* or the proportional reduction of error in prediction for the level-1 effect size (R_1^2), and for the level-2 effect size (R_2^2), using Snijders and Bosker's formulas[59]. As another indicator of model fit, we also report differences in deviance (*–2LL*).

[58] Cfr. RAUDENBUSH, Stephen, BRYK, Anthony and CONGDON, Richard, *HLM 6 for Windows, Scientific Software International*, Inc, Lincolnwood, IL, 2004.
[59] Cfr. SNIJDERS, Tom and BOSKER, Roel, *Multilevel analysis: An introduction to basic and advanced multilevel modeling*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, 1999, pp. 102-103.

4.5. Model specification

Following Hox's suggestions[60], we began using a null or baseline model of each dependent variable that included ony a random intercept and that has no level-1 or level–2 predictors (intercept-only model). Through the Inter-class Correlation Coefficient $ICC = \pi_{00}/\pi_{00}–O^2$, where σ^2 and τ_{00} were the estimates of the level-1 and level-2 variances, respectively, we calculated the proportion of total variation that existed between and within news media organizations, testing if the level-2 units of analysis significantly differ on average on the dependent variable (*H1*).

To test *H2* we ran a model with all the level-1 potential predictors as fixed effect, and we reestimated the model, omitting the predictors that turned out to be non significant. To obtain the best fit, we first looked for random intercepts (means-as-outcome model), and then we allowed that both intercepts and slopes vary across level –2 (random-regression coefficients model), testing *H3*. We checked if changing fixed level-1 predictors into random ones improves the model (–2LL). We also checked if random slopes of level-1 predictors were significant as preliminary step. In the case that they were not significant, we set the effects to fixed.

Finally, we included all the level-2 potential predictors. We recalculated the model if predictors turned out to be non-significant (*H4*). In the cases where random slopes of level-1 predictors were significant we looked for cross interactions (intercepts- and slopes-as-outcomes model) testing level-2 predictors as a moderator of the impact of level-1 variables (*RQ1*). For reasons of parsimony, the tables illustrated generally show the reanalysis after predictors or variance components no significant to each dependent variable were eliminated from the equation.

5. Results

The first set of models shows the effects that explain the watchdog role (see table 2). Model 1 supports *H1*. The ICC suggests that the organizational level accounts for 7.4% of the variability of journalists's role conception. Moreover, the difference among the news organizations in terms of the average importance given by the journalists to this role was statistically significant ($X^2 = 170.765$; $p < .001$)

[60] Cfr. HOX, Joop, *Multilevel Analysis: Techniques and Applications*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ, 2002.

Model 2 tested *H2* and *H3*. Our data provided mixed support for *H2* within this role. While the journalists' levels of education, and their perceived levels of organizational, profesional, and procedural influences, as well as references groups turned out to be non-significant, the data show that those who have some type of hierarchical responsibility (γ_{10}=.128; p<.001), full-time commitment (γ_{20}=.099; p<.05), a political tendency closer to the left (γ_{30}= −.151; p<.001), as well as those who perceived less economical (γ_{40}= −.139; p<.01), but more political preasures (γ_{50}=.196; p<.001), give significantly more importance to the watchdog role. H3 only got limited support. The variance components indicate that after controlling for level-1 predictors, only perceived level of political influences (τ_{55} = .142) varies significantly from organization to organization (X^2= 148.645; p<.01).

Model 3 tested *H4*, introducing the level-2 predictors. *H4* is partially supported, since only two of the five hypothesized organizational factors significantly predict the watchdog role conception. The results indicate that journalists from national (γ_{01}= .172; p<.01), as well as from larger media (γ_{02}= .046; p<.01) tend to be significantly more watchdog than local and smaller media.

Once we add these two level-2 predictors, the level-1 predictors included in the previous stage remained significant within the model, altough the effects of the journalist's job commitment and perceived political influences decrease. Standardized beta coefficients also show that although media reach turned out to be the most predictive factor, all the individual-level variables included in the model were better predictors than media size.

Since the slope coefficient of the journalist's perceived political influences was set as random, we also looked for cross-level interactions. Controlling for other individual and organizational variables, media size appears to be a moderator of perceived level of political influences' effect and the importance given to the watchdog role (γ_{12}= -.056; p<.05). This means that the effect of perceived political influences depends on media size, and that said effect tends to be weaker in bigger media outlets.

Including the level-1 and level-2 factors in the model has produced a significant reduction in the proportion of variability that occurs within and between news media organizations. The five level-1 factors manage to explain 17.7% of the variance existing within organizations, while the two level-2 predictors account for 21.9% of the between organization variance[61].

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[61] In order to calculate R_1^2 and R_2^2 for each role, we follow Snijder and Bosker 's (1999) sugestion to refit the model without the random slope, using only the intercept variability for level-2 and the residual variance for level-1.

Table 2. Watchdog Role Conception

Fixed effects		Watchdog		
		Model1	Model 2	Model3
Level 1				
Intercept	γ_{00}	3.693***		
(.055)	3.682***			
(.054)	3.846***			
(.089)				
Hierarchy (1= managerial position)	γ_{10}		0.128***	0.134***
Job commitment (full-time)	γ_{20}		0.099*	0.097**
Political tendency	γ_{30}		−0.151***	−0.169***
Perceived economic influences	γ_{40}		−0.139**	−0.146**
Perceived politic influences	γ_{50}		0.196***	0.099*
Level 2				
Reach (National)	γ_{01}			0.172**
Media size	γ_{02}			0.046**
Cross-level interaction				
Perceived political influences x Media size	γ_{12}			−0.056*
				(.002)
Variance of random components				
Intercept	τ_{00}	0.076***	0.078***	0.039***
Perceived political influence slope	τ_{55}		0.142**	0.014*
Level 1 residual	σ^2	0.955	0.847	0.811
Deviance (-2LL)		1,619.456	1,455.047	1,444.334

*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

Table 3 summarizes the modeling of the propagandistic role. Model 1 suggests that approximately 13% of the total variance lies between organizations, and that the difference among news media in the average importance given by the journalists to this role was statistically significant (X^2= 186.451; p < .001). Thus, *H1* is supported.

The second model gives partial support to H2 and H3. While job rank and job commitment are not significant, the data shows that the lower the journalists' education level is (γ_{10}= −.077; p<.05), the closer they are to the

political right (γ_{20}=.232; p<.001), and the greater the level of perceived political influences (γ_{30}= .102; p<.001) and professional influences (γ_{40}=.220; p<.001), the more they tend to value the propagandistic role. At the same time, the data indicate that the impact of the journalist's political tendency varies significantly from group to group (τ_{22} = .022; X^2= 131.160; p<.01).

H4, which deal with whether level-2 factors are significaty related to the journalists' role conception, is given very limited support by Model 3. Of all the hypothesized level-2 predictors, only media's political orientation turned out to be significant, after controlling for level-1 predictors. Unlike the effect of the journalist's political tendency, the media's political orientation produces an inverse influence, since less importance on average tends to be given to the propagandistic role for media closer to the right (γ_{01}= −.101; p<.05).

The results show that all level-1 factors continue to be significant predictors for the model, although the effect of the journalist's political orientation slightly decreased. Standardized beta coefficients also indicate that media's political orientation is more predictive than journalist's years of education, but less predictive than all of the other level-1 factors. Meanwhile, the data indicates that the cross-level interation term between journalist' perceived level of political influences and media's political orientation was not significant (γ_{11}= −0.046; p>.01).

The four significant level-1 predictors account for 24.8% of the variance that occurs within organizations, while media's political orientation explains 36.9% of the variance between organizations by itself.

Table 3. Propagandistic Role Conception

Fixed effect		Propagandistic		
		Model1	Model 2	Model3
Level 1				
Intercept	γ_{00}	2.415***	2.398***	2.462***
		(.048)	(.039)	(.044)
Completed years of schooling	γ_{10}		−0.077*	−0.086**
Political tendency	γ_{20}		0.232***	0.201**
Perceived political influence	γ_{30}		0.102**	0.111**
Perceived professional influence	γ_{40}		0.220***	0.229***
Level 2				
Political orientation (right from center)	γ_{01}			−0.101***

Fixed effect		Propagandistic		
		Model1	Model 2	Model3
Cross-level interaction				
Political tendency x Media's political orientation (Right)	γ_{11}			–0.049 (.056)
Variance of random components				
Intercept	τ_{00}	0.083***	0.033*	0.014
Political tendency slope	τ_{22}		0.022***	0.021***
Level 1 residual	σ^2	0.554	0.454	0.455
Deviance (-2LL)		1,205.166	1,116.0166	1,055.578

*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

The third set of models presented in table 4, examined the citizen-oriented role. The results of Model 1 strongly support *H1*, indicating that news media did significantly differ on the average importance given by the journalists to this role (X^2= 147.778; p < .001), and that approximately 9.6% of the total variance lies between organizations.

Model 2 gives partial support to *H2*, since only some of the hypothesized level-1 factors had a significant effect. Journalists closer to the political left (γ_{10}=.–.202; p<.001), as well as those who perceived more professional (γ_{20}=.181; p<.001) but less economic preasures (γ_{30}= –.093; p<.05), give significantly more importance to the citizen-oriented role in journalism. *H3* was not supported. According to the data, the impact of the journalist's political tendency (X^2= 38.875; p>.05), sex (X^2= 34.433; p>.05), and both perceived level of economic (X^2= 29.180; p>.05) and professional influences on news work (X^2= 38.000; p>.05) did not vary from organization to organization.

Model 3 provides also partial support to *H4* within this role. The data shows that two organizational predictors have an important effect: media's political orientation and media reach. Media outlets with a national reach (γ_{01}= –.159; p<.01) are often less citizen-oriented, while media closer to the political left (γ_{02}= .099; p<.05), or those without a clear political tendency (γ_{03}= .106; p<.01), tend to give more importance to this role. Nevertheless, standardized beta coefficients indicate that two level-1 factors –political tendency and perceived professional influences– have bigger effects than level-2 factors on the citizen role.

By including the level-1 and level-2 significant predictors, an interesting reduction is produced in the proportion of variability that occurs between and within organizations. Specifically, organizational level factors account

for 26.5% of the variance between organizations, while the level-1 factors manage to explain 16.3% of the variance within organizations.

Table 4. Citizen-oriented Role Conception

Fixed effects		Citizen - Oriented		
		Model 1	Model2	Model 3
Level 1				
Intercept	γ_{00}	3.937*** (.041)	3.872*** (.050)	3.787*** (.114)
Political tendency	γ_{10}		–0.202***	–0.202***
Perceived professional influences	γ_{20}		0.181***	0.172***
Perceived economic influences	γ_{30}		–0.093*	–0.090*
Level 2				
Reach (National)	γ_{01}			–0.159**
Political orientation				
Left from center	γ_{02}			0.099*
No Political tendency	γ_{03}			0.106**
Variance of random components				
Intercept	τ_{00}	0.051***	0.051***	0.010
Level 1 residual	σ^2	0.484	0.437	0.438
Deviance (-2LL)		1,124.282	1,074.581	1,052.190

*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

The results regarding the consumer-oriented role are presented in table 5. The baseline model gives great support to H1, showing that organizations did significantly differ on the perception of this role (X^2= 172.120; p < .001), and that 12.6% of the total variance occurs between organizations.

As observed in Model 2, H2 gets mixed support. The more pressure the journalists feels from reference groups (γ_{10}= .157; p<.001), and the closer they are to the political right (γ_{20}= .142; p<.001), the greater importance they tend to give to this role. The rest of the hypothesized predictors, however, do not have a significant effect.

The impact of the journalist's political tendency (X^2= 30.822; p>.05) and the levels of influence perceived from reference groups (X^2= 30.744; p>.05) do not significantly vary between organization. Thus, *H3 is not supported.*

H4, meanwhile, is highly supported. Model 3 shows that ownership is the only level-2 factor that does not have a main effect on this role, after controlling for level-1 predictors. Not surprisingly, journalists working in news media that depend more on advertising (γ_{01}= .248; p<.01), tend to give greater importance to the consumer-oriented approach. The same occurs with journalists working for TV (γ_{02}= .143; p<.05), national media (γ_{03}= .134; p<.05), and larger news organizations (γ_{04}= .166; p<.05). In terms of political orientation, journalists from organizations closer to the political left (γ_{01}= −.083; p<.01), on average, tend to give less importance to this role.

Including these five level-2 predictors, the effect of the journalist's political tendency and the journalist's perceived influences from reference groups notably decrease. The analysis also shows that all level-2 factors are more predictive of consumer-oriented role than level-1 factors.

The two level-1 significant predictors manage to explain 13.1% of the variance that exists within news media, while the five level-2 predictors are able to explain 24% of the variation that occurs between organizations.

Table 5. Consumer-oriented Role Conception

Fixed effect		Consumer - Oriented		
		Model 1	Model2	Model 3
Level 1				
Intercept	γ_{00}	3.674*** (.042)	3.662*** (.041)	3.766*** (.073)
Perceived reference group influences	γ_{10}		0.157***	0.133**
Political tendency	γ_{20}		0.142***	0.074*
Level 2				
Reliance on advertising	γ_{01}			0.248**
Media type (TV)	γ_{02}			0.143*
Media reach (National)	γ_{03}			0.134*
Media size	γ_{04}			0.166*
Political orientation (Left from center)	γ_{05}			–0.083**
Variance of random components				
Intercept	τ_{00}	0.061***	0.065***	0.020***
Level 1 residual	σ^2	0.423	0.390	0.401
Deviance (-2LL)		1,065.552	1,029.365	1,009.977

*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

Finally, table 6 shows the results for the disseminator role. Unlike the four previous analyses, *H1* is not supported. In fact, the organizational level only accounts for 0.3% of the total variance, and the difference among organziations on average importance given to this role was not significant (X^2= 130.800; p > 0.1).

According to Model 2, *H2* is partially supported, while *H3* is not supported. Journalists that perceive lower levels of economic influences (γ_{10}= −.184; p<.001), but greater levels of organizational influences (γ_{20}= .1491; p<.001), tend to give on average greater importance to this role. Media experience also has a significant effect, as those who have fewer years of professional experience (γ_{30}= −.079; p<.01) give it less importance. Political tendency, education level, job rank and job commitment, nevertheless, were not significant predictors. Consonant with the rejection of *H1*, neither media experience (X^2= 38.875; p>0.1), nor the journalists' perceived level of economic (X^2= 33.848; p>0.1), or organizational influences (X^2= 24.901; p>0.5), vary significantly from organization to organization.

The last model shows that two level-2 factors were significant predictors of the disseminator role. Journalists from organizations closer to the political left (γ_{01}= −.036; p<.01) tend to give less importante to this role. Media with a national reach (γ_{02}= .085; p<.01), on the contrary, tend on average to value this function of journalism much more than local media. Thus, *H4* is partially suported.

Nevertheles, after including these organizational variables into the equation, the level-1 predictors still remain significant for the model, and their effect on the disseminator role conception increases. The analysis of the standardized betas also show that all level-1 factors are more predictive of disemminator role than level-2 factors.

Although the deviance indicate a better fit of model 3, the three level-1 factors included in the model are only able to explain 6.4% of the within organization variance, while the inclusion of the two organizational factors, account for only 6.8% of the 0.3% between organization variance.

Table 6. Disseminator Role Conception

Fixed effect		Disseminator		
		Model1	Model 2	Model3
Level 1				
Intercept	γ_{00}	2.755*** (.049)	2.748*** (.048)	2.648*** (.083)
Perceived economic influences	γ_{10}		–0.184***	–0.211***
Perceived organizational influences	γ_{20}		0.149***	0.151***
Media experience	γ_{30}		–0.079**	–0.087**
Level 2				
Political orientation (Left from center)	γ_{01}			–0.036**
Media reach (National)	γ_{02}			0.122**
Variance of random components				
Intercept	τ_{00}	0.003	0.002	0.000
Level 1 residual	σ^2	1.238	1.192	1.161
Deviance (-2LL)		1569.867	1550.292	1535.680

*p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

6. Discussion and final remarks

By aplying hierachical linear modeling, this study simultaneously tested the effects of individual and organizational potential sources of influences widely upheld by international literature on five different Chilean journalists' professional role conceptions, informing both general theory and research in several ways.

Following the hierarchy of influences model[62], this article provides empirical evidence of the importance, utility and applicability of approaching journalism as a multilevel phenomenon, offering new insights to the study of journalists' professional attitudes and orientation. The data reveal that there are significant organizational effects on the importance that journalists

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[62] Cfr. SHOEMAKER, Pamela and REESSE, Stephen, *op. cit.*

give to their function in society, although not all professional roles are equally affected in form and magnitude by the news media context. Indeed, the results show interesting differences in the influence and interrelationship of the individual and organizational levels factors between both the more political and more comercial functions of journalism.

Consistent with our theoretical assumptions, *H1* is mosty supported by the data. The analysis showed significant contextual effects on the importance that journalists give to the watchdog, citizen-oriented, propagandistic and consumer-oriented roles, and that an important proportion of the total variance (between 7.4% and 13%) lies between media organizations. Decomposition of the variance indicates that, in the case of the Chilean journalists, the role most affected by the organizational environment is the consumer-oriented.

The disseminator role conception, meanwhile, does not appear to be significantly affected by the news media's structural characteristics. However, the large amount of variance not explained by the individual variables included in the model makes us think that social factors such as the country's media systems, political and economic context could better model this role. Indeed, traditional western ideals of detachment coincide with this dimension, and its universality comes from being widely questioned by several authors[63].

H2 recieved mixed support from the five professional roles under study. The findings show that the journalists' subjective beliefs made a significant contribution to the explanation of their worldviews, indicating the importance of two individual factors backed up by previous evidence: political orientation and levels of perceived influence on news work[64]. The journalist's political orientation manages to predict the watchdog, citizen, propagandistic and consumer-oriented roles, but not the disseminator role. Among the different perceived influences, meanwhile, the importance given to economic, political and professional pressures stands out: while the levels of economic preassures are negatively related to the watchdog, citizen-oriented and diseminator roles, political influences are positively related to the watchdog

[63] Cfr. CURRAN, James and PARK, Myung-Jin, *De-Westernizing Media Studies*, Routledge, London, 2000; JOSEPHI, Beate, "Journalism In The Global Age: Between Normative and Empirical", *International Communication Gazette*, vol. 67, n° 6, 2005, pp. 575-590; NORRIS, Pipa and ODUGBEMI, Sina, *op. cit.*
[64] Cfr. WEAVER, David, BEAM, Randal, BROWNLEE, Bonnie, VOAKES, Paul and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *op. cit.*; PATTERSON, Thomas and DONSBACH, Wolfgang, *op. cit.*

and propagandistic roles, and professional influences are positively related to the citizen and propagandistic functions of the press. The other three factors hypothesized as significant only manage to predict one of the five profesional roles on their own.

H3 is rejected in three of the five roles analyzed –citizen, consumer and diseminator– obtaining support in the other two –watchdog and propagandistic–, where news media characteristics regulate the effects that the journalists' political orientation have on their attitudes, specifically in the more political roles of journalism.

H4 is strongly supported by the modeling of the consumer-oriented role, and receives mixed support in the other four professional views. The data mainly confirm the direct effects of political orientation, media reach and media size, supporting the findings documented in previous studies in Germany[65] and the United States[66].

Media's political orientation is the only level-2 factor able to predict the propagandistic role, while the only professional role not significantly related to media's political orientation is the watchdog role. This finding is surprising, especially considering the Chilean levels of political parallelism[67], although it clarifies the supremecy that the journalist's individual political beliefs have on the way that they conceive this function of the press.

On the other extreme, and contradicting several past findings[68], our data do not show any direct contextual effects of media type in any of the professional roles analyzed, which could be caused by a more pronounced newsroom convergence in Chilean journalism. Also, while ownership has been documented as an important factor in journalists' attitudes and news decision in other territories[69], this study does not find significant associations between media ownership and any of the five different components of Chilean journalists' role conceptions. One possible explanation is that the political and economic interests are often so interrelated in the Chilean media system,

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[65] Cfr. WEISCHENBERG, Siegfried, LOEFFELHOLZ, Martin and SCHOLL, Armin, *op. cit.*
[66] Cfr. VOAKES, Paul, "Civic Duties...", *op. cit.*; KIM, Hun Shik, *op. cit.*; WEAVER, David, BEAM, Randal, BROWNLEE, Bonnie, VOAKES, Paul and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *op. cit.*
[67] Cfr. MÖNCKEBERG, María Olivia, *Los magnates de la prensa. Concentración de los medios de comunicación en Chile*, Random House, Santiago de Chile, 2009.
[68] Cfr. WEAVER, David, BEAM, Randal, BROWNLEE, Bonnie, VOAKES, Paul and WILHOIT, Cleveland, *op. cit.*; ZHU, Jian-Hua, WEAVER, David, LO, Ven-hwei, CHEN, Chongshan and WU, Wei, *op. cit.*; CANEL, María José and PIQUÉ, Antoni, *op. cit.*
[69] Cfr. AKHAVAN-MAJID, Roya and BOUDREAU, Timothy, *op. cit.*; WEISCHENBERG, Siegfried, LOEFFELHOLZ, Martin and SCHOLL, Armin, *op. cit.*, among others.

that journalists may not be able to distinguish between the power and consequences of who owns the media under the circumstances of routine news and their everyday activities.

Reliance on advertising, meanwhile, only predicts the importance given to the consumer-oriented role. This result is highly revealing, as it shows that the economic dependence that each media experiences do not significantly influence the importance that journalists give to journalism's political or educative roles, but it does manage to model the conception they have of the press's most commercial function.

In adittion, the standarized beta coefficients for fixed effects show that only in the consumer-oriented role are all level-2 factors more predictive than level-1 factors. Also, with the introduction of level-2 predictors, the individual factors still remain significant for the five roles, and the size of the effect of those factors only tends to decrease in the citizen and consumer-oriented approaches. The important influence of level-1 over level-2 predictors are relevant for considering theoretical assumptions of the level of influences approach, as well as most of the last studies that assure that organizational factors are more relevant than individual factors in predicting professional role conceptions (Weaver et al, 2007; Zhu et al, 1997, among others). According to our results, it seems that the preponderance of the media's organizational characteristics is more evident when it is not concerned with the most political roles of the press.

We also wanted to know if any of the level-2 predictors manage to moderate the effect of the level-1 predictors in some of the professional roles. The analysis revealed that in general, the impact of individual factors tends to exist independently from organizational specific factors. Nevertheless, a significant cross-level interaction term was found in the modeling of the watchdog role between media size and journalist's perceived political influences. When media outlets are larger in size, naturally there are more people involved in the decision-making process, which can hide or disguise the possibe political influences recieved; this would explain why the effect of political influences percieved by they journalists on their watchdog role perception decreases as the size of their organization increases.

In summary, considering the larger frameworks used to understand what models the journalists' worldviews, this study found that – with the exception of the disseminator role - journalists' role conceptions are influenced by the organizational context, but can be be affected differently according to the nature of the role they think they should play. Roles more related to political functions seem to be modeled by a battle between individual and organizational factors, where the journalists' personal characteristics and beliefs have

more power. In turn, role conceptions linked to the need of the public and to the commercialization of news, appeared to be more tied to the structural characteristics of the news organizations where the journalists belong.

There are, however, important limitations that shoud be mentioned. First, as this is a quantitative, monocultural study, we were only able to work with two levels of analysis. In this line, we suggest the need for future research, where the hypotheses tested here must be retested in different national cultures, using cross-national samples, standardized instruments, and a larger context for assesing the validity of its findings. Indeed, it is important to note that at both levels of analysis –especially at an individual level– there is a considerable amount of unaccounted variance for the prediciting variables, which indicates some problems of misspecification that need to be refined for future efforts, including other indicators that still have not been considered by the literature.

Second, the plurality of the dimensions on which the studies have followed to measure professional roles, as well as their different forms of operationalizing both individual as well as organizational factors, prevent our suggestion of directional and more specific hypotheses.

Thirdly, in multilevel modeling multistage sampling should be used so that organizations are randomly selected first, followed by individual journalists from each of the organizations. Because of the design of the larger research project to which this study belongs, we did not follow this path, rather we took a census of the journalist population and then we surveyed them, obtaining a determined answer rate. Nevertheless, the almost compete lack of bias from the non-responses, both at an individual (journalists) and organizational (newsrooms) levels assure a high representation in the sample.

Finally, this study was based on the journalists' professional self-perception, which may not fully correspond to their actions[70]. This situation should motivate the design of future methodological strategies –such as combining surveys with news content analysis– able to model not only the perceived roles, but also those roles assumed by Chilean journalism.

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[70] Cfr. HALLIN, Daniel and MANCINI, Paolo, *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2004.

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