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CONTEMPORARY Media Ethics

A Practical Guide for Students, Scholars and Professionals

Edited by

MITCHELL LAND

BILL W. HORNADAY

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To the memory of Daniel Pearl and all other journalists who have suffered death and persecution for writing the truth.

To Lea Land and to our families, for their love, support and patience during the development of this project.

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PREFACE

This book is organized into five major sections. The first section, which we have called "Foundations," contains four chapters designed to introduce students to concepts in media ethics and to the framework for analyzing the case studies that are examined in the rest of the chapters.

In Chapter 1, Edmund Lambeth summarizes the elements of media ethics instruction, beginning with an apologetic for analyzing case studies as the best way to hone one's moral reasoning skills. He also challenges the reader to embrace freedom and the pursuit of justice when studying media ethics.

Mitch Land, one of the editors of this volume, provides a brief introduction to the history of ethics and defines key concepts in Chapter 2. He also introduces the Spiral-of-Decision Pyramid, a new deductive model that emphasizes a philosophical foundation as a starting point and ends with a detailed analysis based on both the utilitarian and communitarian ethical perspectives. Should mass communicators take a utilitarian approach, which means making decisions based upon "the greatest good for the greatest number?" Or should they take a communitarian approach, which calls upon decision makers to balance personal ethics with an appeal to community values? These questions become a touchstone for analyzing the case studies.

In Chapter 3, John Merrill acknowledges the weaknesses of utilitarianism, but sees it as a champion of individual rights and freedom. In contrast, Clifford Christians in Chapter 4 argues for a communitarian ethic, which currently offers the most powerful alternative to utilitarianism. He reminds the reader that a communitarian ethic does not reject selfhood but rather reorients it to community.

The second section of the book contains seven chapters of case studies of ethical dilemmas faced by print and electronic news media practitioners. Jacqueline J. Lambiase (Chapter 5) presents the challenge of stereotypes and the competitive pressures that often foster and perpetuate their use. She examines the 1993 murders of two Texas teenagers and the subsequent coverage by two print media rivals—*The*

Dallas Morning News and the Fort Worth Star-Telegram.

The crux of Michael S. Bruner's case study (Chapter 6), for the most part, does not cover so much ground as it does events that—for more than two years—played out in the branches of an "old growth" redwood tree. In a study particularly relevant to the growing field of environmental journalism, Bruner looks at a radio station's role in covering this aerial "sit-in" staged by activist Julia Butterfly Hill.

The next case takes the readers from the usually peaceful setting of the north California wilderness to an armed gang's murderous rampage through parts of Australia. David Conley (Chapter 7) focuses on the dilemma posed when media outlets that seek to scoop the competition in one of the year's biggest news events become part of the story. It is a story full of twists and turns, one in which law enforcement officials at times employ trickery in dealing with the media while reporters, eager to circumvent such stonewalling, contact the fugitives directly by phone—an act that hampers negotiators' efforts to free two children held hostage.

Such circumstances are quite the opposite of those encountered by CBS News during the capital murder trial of Shaun Berry in connection with the June 1998 death of James Byrd Jr. near Jasper, Texas. Information abounds and a witness speaks, only now it's the authorities who want more—in particular statements by Berry that did not air during a "60 Minutes II" interview that preceded the trial. CBS refused, citing First Amendment rights that guarantee freedom of the press. In this examination, co-editor Bill W. Hornaday (Chapter 8) asks readers to make their own judgment. Is the "threat" to press freedom urgent enough for a CBS producer to be jailed on contempt of court charges? Or does CBS perform a greater service by complying with a judge's order to turn over its material?

Alan Albarran (Chapter 9) offers yet another perspective into the oftencontentious relationship between media and the authorities. This case focuses on an ill-fated attempt at investigative journalism. Suspecting that a toy drive for needy children conducted by Detroit police was corrupt, a local television station made its own donation—a Sony PlayStation—in which the internal components are replaced with a tracking device to see if it ends up in an officer's home. Instead, an 11-yearold child on Detroit's east side met disappointment on Christmas morning when the opened gift did not work.

A couple of cases address social issues that stand to gain more prominence than they already have as they affect ever-greater numbers of media consumers worldwide. The nation of South Africa serves as the setting for Herman Wasserman and Arnold S. De Beer's look at the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the ethical challenges that reporters face in calling the public's attention to this controversial subject. Chapter 10 adds a unique African philosophical perspective that resonates with the

NI Preface

communitarian ideal.

Elizabeth Koehler (Chapter 11) likewise details a similar situation within the bounds of sexual orientation, specifically whether it is ethical to "out" a gay or lesbian person in a news account without knowing whether others—relatives, friends, acquaintances, perhaps even the spouse—are aware as well.

The third section of the book focuses on terrorism and international reporting and contains six chapters. In Chapter 12, Michael Nitz examines the tragic and graphic death of Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl, a case that shares some similarities to that of the Australian fugitives, yet firmly distinguishes itself with the political message and violence contained in a videotape made by Pearl's captors. Bound and blindfolded much like a prisoner of war, Pearl is forced to read propaganda into a video camera and moments later—as the camera continues to run—is slaughtered for all the world to see.

In Chapter 13, Nitz calls attention to the patriotic tendencies of journalists in the post-9/11 era by discussing the delicate balance between reporting and cheerleading during times of war.

The stakes extend well beyond mere ratings when Dan Malone in Chapter 14 assesses Cable News Network's actions in Iraq in the years that led up to the 2003 overthrow of dictator Saddam Hussein—an action the United States attributes to the war on terror.

Continuing the theme of reporting international news under challenging conditions, former *U.S. News and World Report* reporter Nicholas Daniloff (Chapter 15) discusses the increased pressures of self-censorship and the "four ethics" he imposed upon himself after the Soviet Union lifted constant oversight of U.S. journalists based in Moscow in 1961. As the Soviet Union began to dissolve and censorship was banned altogether in 1991, Daniloff also describes how more than just self-imposed "off-the-peg" ethics were required in a media environment suddenly awash in unabated freedom.

Throughout this book, many cases seek to determine—or at least ask the readers to discern—where an ethical "line" of sorts may or may not have been crossed. Co-editor Mitch Land (Chapter 16) addresses such a debate in analyzing the controversial decision by *The Dallas Morning News* in 1997 to publish former U.S. Army soldier Timothy McVeigh's admission to bombing the Alfred E. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City two years earlier—an act that killed 168 people and injured 500 others. In Chapter 17, Ralph Langer, the executive vice president and editor of the *Morning News* when the story broke, responds to critics and explains why the newspaper published the confession.

Section IV contains two chapters about graphics and the Internet. Thomas Knieper and Marion G. Müller (Chapter 18) examine the controversy that erupted

after *The Arizona Republic* published an editorial cartoon about the November 1999 tragedy that killed a dozen Texas A&M University students and alumni and injured 27 after a giant tower of logs they were building collapsed. James D. Whitfield (Chapter 19) also looks at the growing influence of online information sources and how they can influence policy when traditional news media fail to serve effectively as the public's watchdog. His case examines the role that the Internet site TruthatULM.Homestead.com played in a rift between faculty members and leaders at the University of Louisiana at Monroe in 2000 and 2001—one that ultimately prompted the resignation of an embattled president whose tenure saw ULM lose more than one-fourth of an enrollment that once exceeded 12,000 students.

Section V includes case studies that focus on ethical issues in advertising and public relations. Tom Reichert (Chapters 20 and 21) examines a pair of advertising campaigns built around sexual overtones. One created unease—and a difficult decision—for one magazine publisher. The other forced an advertising agency to weigh the pros and cons of placing a suggestive commercial in the midst of television shows whose viewers included young children.

Creative advertising again finds itself amid controversy in a case from Benson J. Fraser and William J. Brown (Chapter 22) that puts the reader in the position of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals after it urges the consumption of beer rather than milk to an audience mainly comprised of college students. Now faced with the same type of pressure it typically exerts against others—including outcries from some of its supporters—PETA must decide whether to defend its campaign and press on, or pull the plug on it.

Doug Newsom's case study (Chapter 23) looks at the response of a food maker when an environmental group reveals that its taco shells are partly made of bioengineered corn not yet approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. The public relations nightmare is compounded further by news that the Gruma Corp. was unaware that one of its subsidiary companies was responsible for the problem. This case posed not only a dilemma, but a strategic challenge as well. What steps and measures should a company take when the issue in question is not its direct fault?

John Mark Dempsey and Jacqueline J. Lambiase (Chapter 24) examine an ethical dilemma that confronted the Dallas Cowboys football team and its efforts to manage public relations fallout after a 1998 training camp tussle involving all-pro wide receiver Michael Irvin and offensive lineman Everett McIver. Now known throughout the sports world as the "Scissorsgate" incident, the case examines whether "stonewalling" serves as an effective public relations strategy and how a news outlet's credibility is affected when few facts are forthcoming, no complaints are lodged and no victims are forthcoming.

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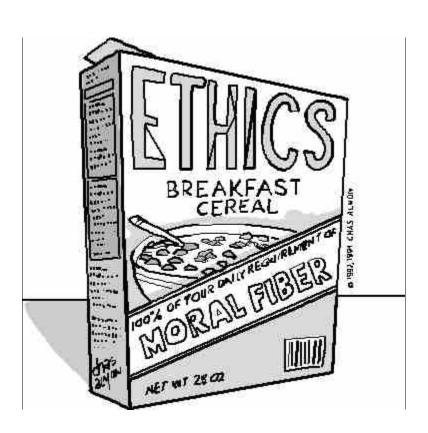
The next two cases are exceptional because most of the central figures involved are not identified by name. This treatment was deemed necessary by the authors because of potential risk to some of the primary decision makers, who remain employed by the companies involved. In the first case (Chapter 25), Barbara DeSanto looks at a dilemma that goes to the root of a public relations firm's business—whether or not to take on certain clients. In the second (Chapter 26), Barbara and John DeSanto examine the ethics of doing media research and the many factors that can arise when a client makes requests that could jeopardize a study's credibility.

The Postscript to this book is a compelling first-person account by Fort Worth Weekly and Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter Dan Malone. This chapter illustrates how personal involvement in a story can create ethical dilemmas that are not easily resolved.

Finally, the editors wish to thank designer Nola Kemp for the cover art of this book and additional pyramid illustrations and her renderings of the Potter Box.

Mitch Land Bill W. Hornaday January 2006

Section I FOUNDATIONS



Chapter 1

ELEMENTS OF MEDIA ETHICS INSTRUCTION

Edmund Lambeth

Edmund Lambeth's chapter summarizes the elements of media ethics instruction beginning with an apologetic for analyzing case studies as the best way to hone one's moral reasoning skills. However, he warns the reader not to expect any given course to do more than introduce its participants to applied ethics. Indeed, he argues that it takes years of practical moral reasoning on the job to achieve professional competence in something like media ethics. Lambeth challenges the reader to maintain the centrality of freedom and the pursuit of justice within the study of media ethics.

hether they know it or not, those who teach, study or practice media ethics are active participants in a larger applied ethics movement that has spread across all the major professions in the United States during the latter third of the 20th century. Between 1983 and 1993, the number of new or planned media ethics courses increased by 86 percent. Some 400 journalism and mass communication professors have participated in the National Workshop on the Teaching of Ethics in Journalism, which celebrated its 20th session in 2003. Likewise, professionals in other fields found they had enough in common to share their concerns. Thus, the Association for Practical and Professional Ethics, which fosters ethics in professions ranging from accounting to journalism to law and medicine, celebrated its 10th anniversary in 2001.

Within journalism, applied ethics reflects an intensified interest by the academy and the profession in the quality and integrity of news media judgment and performance. More recently, the focus of this media ethics movement has been linked to the interplay of journalism and democratic public life.³

This chapter identifies several of the different but related ways that

practitioners and educators think and act as they "do" media ethics at the start of a new century. With such a multidimensional framework in mind, journalists, professional communicators, educators and students may see themselves—and applied ethics—in a richer context. They also may view their work not as a narrow specialty, but as a vocation informed by a number of perspectives and related liberal arts disciplines.

CULTIVATING MORAL REASONING ABILITY

ot surprisingly, teachers of journalism and mass communication place the cultivation of moral reasoning ability high among the goals of free-standing media ethics courses. This typically involves not only the use, but also the development and analysis by instructors and students of case studies of ethical decision making. This analysis, in turn, avoids the didactic delivery of a "correct answer" by a professor. Rather it strives for a careful dialogue in which students identify morally relevant facts. In conversation with each other and the professor, they think about alternative courses of action and the consequences of each. They discuss the relevant moral principles, weigh and weight the alternatives in light of their obligations to journalism and the public—and then choose. Not least, they must be prepared to justify their decision in moral terms—to each other, supervisors and the public. The deadline demands of daily journalism and the pressure to be first with the news often work against the detail and care implied by the above model. But in enterprise stories—particularly investigative stories—the opportunities to think through ethical issues carefully are often present.

This emphasis on critical thinking in moral decision making is evident both in the pedagogy and scholarship of the media ethics teaching movement.⁵ It also is reflected in the design of ethics teaching texts for both liberal arts students as well as future professionals.⁶ Thus, the liberal arts dimension of the ethics course advances the work of those journalism educators who, from the second and third decade of the 20th century, argued for an education of journalists rooted firmly in the humanities and social sciences.

PUTTING ETHICAL ISSUES IN CONTEXT

y its nature, applied media ethics requires a respect for the pragmatics and challenges involved in the practice of journalism. This is evident even in the books that cry out most sharply for reform of contemporary journalism, such as Michael Janeway's *Republic of Denial, Press, Politics, and Public Life,* and

James Fallows' Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy. Some senior-level ethics courses will use books of this caliber to supplement the main ethics text by providing a historical as well as contemporary context for the role of the press in society. The books meet a high literary standard and make telling criticisms that need to be understood and debated by practitioners of serious journalism. However, an alternative book—one that speaks for reform in a more moderate, but no less insistent tone—is The Elements of Journalism. Although it does not tell us precisely how to reach the destination, it gives a clear and compelling description of the fundamentals of good journalism needed to restore public faith in journalism and journalism's faith in itself.

I find the Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel text more compatible with the case-based teaching of media ethics—and with the careful selection, development and discussion of actual episodes relevant to the practice of good journalism. No scholar I know performs those tasks better than Louis W. Hodges of Washington and Lee University. Hodges has demonstrated its importance by his editorship within the *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* of a special section devoted to the discussion and analysis of cases.

An inspection of the individual cases (published twice yearly in the quarterly JMME) shows they cover a wide range of ethical issues that confront journalists. They include the challenges and subtleties of truth telling, fairness and the pursuit of justice. They also pay attention to conflicts of interest, privacy, plagiarism and deception in newsgathering. Each case is accompanied by a number of commentaries from professors, practitioners and others with salient and competing points of view. Case topics and themes also are staples of other media ethics texts.⁹

Because such specific ethical issues continually are subject to dispute, practitioners need to be prepared to explain their actions and justify their moral decisions publicly. So do media ethicists contacted by journalists on deadline to comment on ethical issues in the breaking news. In any given week or month, a reporter, editor, TV anchor, publisher or professor may be required to explain a complicated ethical judgment directly and succinctly to the public or to an activist critical of media behavior.

Very helpful for those required to think aloud in public about media ethics is a text that distinguishes between the different levels on which ethical issues can be considered.¹⁰ The "micro" level, for example, focuses on whom can be regarded as correct in a particular ethical dispute. The second or "middle range" level might ask whether accurate and fair reporting is good enough when it fails to tell the whole truth about the facts. At the "macro" level, evaluations are made of whether, say, a particular series of articles met the Hutchins Commission's standards for a free and responsible press. This movement from the specific to the general and conceptual

abstraction may well be a goal of a media ethics course. Each of the cases in the Patterson and Wilkins text carries a set of questions for the appropriate levels.

MORAL DEVELOPMENT

o one is foolhardy enough to think that completing even a distinguished media ethics course could make one a professional and paragon of ethics in journalism. Far from it. A course can engage the moral imagination, cultivate moral reasoning ability, provide experience in discussing ethics and increase one's awareness of what it takes to weigh and weight competing moral claims. In short, a course can introduce one to applied ethics; but it can offer no such thing as a "quick fix." It can take years of practice—and reflection on practice—to achieve professional competence in media ethics.

Thus, it is fair to ask, "What constitutes moral growth?" How would we recognize moral development if we saw it? As a doctoral student at the University of Chicago in the 1950s, Lawrence Kohlberg began asking such questions, inspired by the earlier work of child psychologist Jean Piaget. Kohlberg's research—based on responses to a structured questionnaire—identified six stages of moral growth. Stage One is an almost complete orientation to obedience to authority. Stage Two distinguishes one's own interests from the interests of others, with protection afforded by rules that govern conflict. By stage Three, awareness is still concrete, but often guided by an ideal of working in the other person's shoes; guidance is sought from authorities and rules.

Conscience appears in stage Four, with society itself—and not just individuals—dependent on rules that define and foster moral behavior. But individuals at stage Four obey them not to please authorities, but to meet what are deemed societal obligations. Those in stage Five, the so-called "post-conventional" position, come to keenly feel the differences between legal and principled stands on moral issues, valuing the latter more highly. The guiding values that Western institutions are supposed to follow are equality, justice, and freedom.

These moral principles are part of the prevailing social contract. In vocations such as journalism, they come into play as well by commitments that individuals themselves are expected to make within the larger social contract. At Kohlberg's stage Six, such a commitment is so strong that individuals regard themselves as adherents of universal rights and values. The highest of these is the principle of justice. The civil disobedience of Martin Luther King and India's Mahatma Gandhi are often said to reflect this highest stage of Kohlberg's theory of moral development.¹¹

A criticism of Kohlberg, on first reading of his theory, is a conventional

notion that "theory doesn't work out in practice." To this, Kohlberg has replied: "To act in a morally high way requires a high stage of moral reasoning. One cannot follow moral principles (stages Five and Six) if one does not understand or believe in them. One can, however, reason in terms of principles and not live up to them. A variety of factors determines whether a particular person will live up to his stage of moral reasoning in a particular situation, though moral stage is a good predictor of action in various experimental and naturalistic settings." ¹²

Not surprisingly, there have been alternative theories to Kohlberg's. One of the most popular is the work of Carol Gilligan, a protégé of Kohlberg. Many welcomed her revisionist position because her subjects were women and made clear that Kohlberg's concentration on the study of the moral development of men had inherent limitations. More important, her vision was based on an ethic of care, available to and practiced by both sexes.

She proposed a three-stage structure. In stage one a person focuses only on oneself for survival in daily life and in protecting oneself against physical harm. Moral development then proceeds to an intermediary stage two during which the limitations of the self orientation of stage one become clear. One needs help from others and one learns as she walks in the footsteps of others. As the transition continues, it becomes a position of concern for others, of the importance of acting and appearing "good" in the eyes of others. Finally, in stage three, one reaches a place where, as Gilligan puts it, "an ethic of care rests on the premise of non-violence—that no one should be hurt, ... just as inequality adversely affects both parties in unequal relationship, so too violence is destructive for everyone involved." As Deni Elliott helpfully notes, Gilligan "does not argue for gender-based differences in moral development," and that, "indeed, the integrated, morally mature person would exhibit both feminine and masculine structures."

Although the stages identified in the theories of Kohlberg, Gilligan and others do not necessarily predict behavior, they describe ways of moral reasoning that can help journalism educators design classroom instruction. It is an achievement to learn how to carefully think through an ethical problem at a high moral level. It also is a step toward maturity to articulate the reasons one chose a particular course of action and to discuss one's decision with peers. Kohlberg and Gilligan's ideas may thus help teachers be more discerning as they listen to and help students wrestle with ethical issues.

In the real world, when journalists fail to live up to the moral behavior of which they are capable, it can be for one or several causes. At the personal level, there can be a question of character. That could mean, specifically, a lack of one or more of the virtues such as honesty, courage or a compelling sense of justice. ¹⁵ Or, moral failure can result from a misplaced respect for the judgment of a peer or one-

time mentor. Or, it can be the influence of the social, economic or political environment or some combination of all these forces. Finally, a journalist may not have experience wide or broad enough to equip her or him to craft a course of action that will adequately meet the many and diverse pragmatic and ethical demands posed by the vocation of communication in the public interest. When students understand these dynamics of the moral life, they may be more likely to cope well with ethical cases as journalists.

Recently, several teachers of media ethics have complained about media ethics classes that concentrate on major incidents of moral lapses in journalism that require the decisions of top leaders of media organizations. They argue that major decisions in cases such as these are of comparatively little relevance to the early careers of many journalism college graduates. These are the big issue cases thought by some to be the domain only of top leaders. More suitable for "low power" wielding beginning reporters are day-to-day incidents and episodes that nonetheless raise practical, if less dramatic, ethical issues. ¹⁶ No doubt the choice and level of cases will vary somewhat, teacher to teacher, as will the reasons for their selection. But these teachers raise good questions worth serious deliberation where media ethics instructors gather.

Professionalism and Professionalization

he contemporary media ethics movement in academe is clearly indebted to a much older concern by journalists themselves that their craft attain the status of a profession. The increasing circulation and influence of the 19th century press was itself an expression of a complex, increasingly industrial society that required new occupations to serve the public. Sociologist Wilbert Moore has articulated the contemporary elements of professionalism: full-time work, specialized knowledge, a public service orientation, a code of ethical practice, a deep commitment by practitioners, a formal organization to decide who enters and who must exit the profession and by what standards.¹⁷

The University of Missouri's Walter Williams, founder of the first separate school of journalism in 1908 and author of the historic and influential "Journalist's Creed," wrote of the craft as a profession based on public trust. The school grew into an institution known around the world for the quality of its work in preparing its student for the craft-profession of journalism. Editor and businessman Joseph Pulitzer, who had his own code defining excellence in journalism, bought and merged the two papers that became the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. In 1883 he purchased the *New York World* and nurtured it into a major influence in American journalism. His gift led to the establishment of an important journalism graduate

school at Columbia University. He pledged to readers a journalism that embraced "accuracy, accuracy, accuracy." His newspaper's civic crusades—and those of other newspapers and magazines of the early 20th century—helped pioneer muckraking of the time as well as contemporary investigative reporting.

Most journalists the world over know and have been inspired by the First Amendment of the United States of America as a constitutional guarantee that includes press freedom. They understand the amendment as a barrier to legal interference with the press' right to publish. Some believe it stands as a permanent impediment to interventions such as licensing and formal regulation. Yet American journalists have used the First Amendment itself to develop new forms of journalism and expression that foster professionalism. These include the media ethics movement and a lesser known, but closely related, practice—media criticism.

MEDIA CRITICISM

ne of the most insightful book-length treatments of the evolution of media criticism is Marion Tuttle Marzolf's Civilizing Voices: American Press Criticism, 1880-1950. Her historical and cumulative analysis makes clear that criticism of news media performance is both endemic to North American culture and necessary to the health of its democracy. Yet there is at least anecdotal evidence that many current teachers and students of journalism and mass communication ethics are failing to consult one of the most important contributions to media criticism: the modern journalism review.¹⁸

Even a few articles of media criticism will demonstrate the value and illustrate the potential of the genre as a force to improve performance and stimulate the conscience of the craft-profession in the 21st century.

The grandparent of contemporary media criticism periodicals is the *Columbia Journalism Review* founded in 1961. The strength of CJR lies in its in-depth articles analyzing news media performance. One example was a cover story titled "News in the Age of Money" in which six journalists critically examined "how the new economy has affected journalism." The stories identified role models and innovative suggestions as well as patterns of poor quality and shortsightedness in covering an increasingly important beat. Diana B. Henriques, a financial writer for *The New York Times*, reviews the ups and downs of the beat over 20 years, including a prescient observation that although "today's best and brightest are far more savvy about the modern machinery of business journalism, they seem far more naïve about the temptations." She went on to cite lapses that foster questions about the evolving credibility of the specialty. ¹⁹

Theme stories can—and often do—identify threats to the very marrow of the

free press tradition. CJR editor-at-large Neil Hickey opened with a three-page overview of a 17-page package in which he and five other reporters analyzed "The Lawyers: How They Can Help Us, How They Can Hurt Us." The series provided insights into how the relationship between attorneys, reporters and editors affects the vigor of journalistic initiative. The article is important because ethical judgments often are at the heart of episodes that trigger lawsuits and lead to court decisions that can inhibit reporting and constrict freedom. Knowing how to work with attorneys to avert harmful and unneeded legal interference in journalism is a competency that serious journalists need to acquire to protect First Amendment freedom. Freedom is also a major moral value.²⁰

CJR occasionally addresses ethics in journalism education directly. Harry Rosenfeld, an editor-at-large at the *Times Union* (Albany, New York) and once supervisor of Watergate coverage as metropolitan editor of *The Washington Post*, argued that "journalism schools should emphasize throughout their period of instruction—not just occasionally—the body of ethics that ought to govern newspapering." He wrote that students should be prepared to "stand up" against expedience and mediocrity and concluded: "In this way, J- Schools could stiffen the ethical spine of newspapering at a time when that is very much needed."²¹

In addition to its full-length articles, CJR regularly publishes a standing feature, "Darts & Laurels," currently written by Gloria Cooper, that identifies such transgressions as bad news judgment, lack of fairness by campaign debate moderators, sloppy editing and journalism that pretends to give the reader more than it actually delivers. Along with these miscarriages of journalism are summaries of laudable journalism—investigative reports that exposed lax oversight of auto safety, the sexual harassment of children by influential clergy and questionable chemical experiments by the armed services.²²

The nation's other publication devoted to media criticism, the *American Journalism Review*, is a worthy competitor. Like CJR, it illustrates how important it is for the shortcomings of the very best institutions in the profession to be identified and made public for discussion. Lucinda Fleeson, a former reporter for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, concluded that *The New York Times* uncritically adopted the government's perspective in its not-so-solid exclusive on the government's allegations of espionage against Wen Ho Lee, a Taiwanese computer scientist. Although she credited *Times* editors for eventually recognizing faults in its coverage, Fleeson systematically documented excesses and lapses in coverage by the *Times* and other newspapers.²³ These shortcomings in coverage of a major story stood out more tellingly when the government dropped all but one of the charges against Lee.

Few things are more interesting—and important—to journalists than how

news media change, apparently successfully, to meet the severe challenges of increasing competition and market pressures. The *Philadelphia Daily News*' quest for both survival and respect is the tale AJR then senior writer Alicia C. Shepard chronicled under the headline "Yo! Read This!" From a city-focused daily where spot news reigns and "crime, celebrity, sex, money and mystery" are the "elements that get pulses pumping" at the paper, the *Daily News* now is assuming leadership for social change. It is pushing legislation to adopt gun locks (actually giving away 1,000 such locks free) and crusades to rid the city landscape of abandoned cars. Shepard found that the change stemmed, in part, from a growing awareness by longtime editor Zack Stalberg of the paper's power to influence the public agenda. The article also reported the influence on Stalberg of the late editorial columnist Russell Beyers, an apostle of "make things happen" journalism.²⁴

But journalism reviews provide news of even more direct and immediate use to both the newcomer and veteran of journalism. AJR's March 2001 cover declared with a subhead: "Breaking the Rules," and then, "The fabrication and PLAGIARISM outbreak. How bad is it and can it be stopped?" Inside, Assistant Managing Editor Lori Robertson compiled an illustrative list of 23 of the moral rules against stealing the work of others, chronicled an array of remedial responses and published with her story a persuasive warning letter to students by University of California at Berkeley Professor Cynthia Gorney against what most consider journalism's original sin. At their best, journalism reviews collectively publish articles that can nurture the competence of reporters, editors and managers—including ethical competence.

They provide important feedback and a public check on news media performance—and contribute to the moral tone of journalism.²⁵ Indeed, they also provide a potential and not fully developed source of important ethics cases for journalism professors.²⁶

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In the 19th century, ethics instruction in elite American universities took the form of a capstone course or lecture, often delivered by the president of the institution. The good news in the early 21st century is that, in a growing number of liberal arts and professional classrooms, instruction spans the university. At their best, these ethics courses foster critical thinking skills in the liberal arts tradition.

This article has discussed, noted and referenced first, the importance of choosing useful and challenging ethics cases; second, the insights of moral development research; and third, the largely untapped contribution media criticism can make to media ethics. Insufficiently addressed in this article is the art of making

moral principles work with rather than against the pragmatics of newsroom decision making, the potential role of newsroom codes of ethics, the need for constructive links between local newsrooms and the ethics classroom and the intellectual challenge in defining the "double-helix" relationship between ethics and professional competence. If even half of the items on this list become part of the actual agenda of media ethics instruction, there need be no fear of intellectual underemployment in academe or the craft-profession of journalism.

ENDNOTES

¹Edmund B. Lambeth, Clifford G. Christians, and Kyle Cole, "Role of the Media Ethics Course in the Education of Journalists," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 49:3 (1994), 20. The author founded and directed this five-day workshop from 1984 through 1997 with support from a series of year-by-year grants from the Freedom Forum and with the cooperation of the University of Kentucky, the University of Missouri and the Freedom Forum's First Amendment Center. Key faculty included Dr. Clifford Christians, University of Illinois; Dr. Deni Elliott, University of Montana; and Dr. Louis Hodges, Washington and Lee University. Since 1998 it has operated as a pre-convention, one-day event of the Association for Education in Journalism & Mass Communication and its Media Ethics Division. An article reporting results of the fourth and latest survey of media ethics teaching (2001-2002) was accepted for publication in 2004 in *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*.

²Edmund Lambeth, "Media Ethics in Century 21," Presentation to the 20th Anniversary of the National Workshop on the Teaching of Ethics in Journalism," Program of the 86th Annual Convention Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, July 29, 2003, 20-21.

³Lambeth et. al., "Role of the Media Ethics Course in the Education of Journalists," 20-26; Veikko Pietila, "Perspectives on Our Past: Charting the Histories of Mass Communication Studies," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 11 (1994), 346-61; and Jay Rosen, "Making Things More Public: On the Political Responsibility of the Media Intellectual," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 11 (1994), 363-88.

⁴Lambeth et. al., "Role of the Media Ethics Course in the Education of Journalists," 22.

⁵Clifford G. Christians, Mark Fackler, Kim B. Rotzoll, and Kathy Brittain McKee, *Media Ethics: Cases and Moral Reasoning*, 5th ed., (New York: Longman, 1994); Deni Elliott, *Responsible Journalism*, (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, Inc, 1994); Richard L. Johannesen, *Ethics in Human Communication*, (New York: Charles E. Merrill Publishing, 1975).

⁶Philip Patterson and Lee Wilkins, *Media Ethics: Issues and Cases*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994), 1-50; James A. Jaska and Michael S. Pritchard, *Communication Ethics, Methods of Analysis*, 2nd ed., (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1994), 146-226.

⁷See, for example, Chapters 4., "Structure," 5., "Character," and 6., "Privacy," 57-105, in Michael Janeway, *Republic of Denial, Press, Politics, and Public Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 199), and Chapters 3., "The Gravy Train, and 4., "Bad Attitude," 74-128, in James Fallows, *Breaking the News, How the Media Undermine American Democracy* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1996). Both books argue that journalism's eroding standards and its lack of moral imagination are failing American democracy.

⁸Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel, *The Elements of Journalism, What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2001), 70-93, 179-94.

⁹Claude-Jean Bertrand, *Media Ethics and Accountability Systems* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2000); Joan C. Callahan, *Ethical Issues in Professional Life*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

¹⁰Patterson and Wilkins, Media Ethics ..., xvii-xviii.

¹¹Edmund B. Lambeth, *Committed Journalism: An Ethic for the Profession*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 171-72.

¹² Lawrence Kohlberg in T. Lichona, ed., *Moral Development and Behavior: Theory, Research, and Social Issues*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1976), 32.

¹³Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 174.

¹⁴Deni Elliott, "Universal Values and Moral Development Theories," Ch. 4, in Clifford Christians and Michael Traber, *Communication Ethics and Moral Values* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1997), 77.

¹⁵In *Committed Journalism* ... , I draw upon the work of philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre in an attempt to show how these virtues—honesty, courage and a sense of justice—are integral to the development of a social practice in the craft-profession of journalism. See Ch. 7, "Ethics and Standards of Excellence in Journalism," 72-82.

¹⁶Sue Ellen Christian, "New directions in ethics, Educators consider shifting the focus of classroom ethics discussions," *Quill Magazine* (April 2003), 11-14.

¹⁷Wilbert Moore, *The Professions*, (New York: Russell Sage, 1970), 4-22.

¹⁸This perception is based on my observations of and conversations with students and faculty over a 20-year period in the leadership of a national workshop on the teaching of ethics in journalism and mass communication and on 33 years of teaching journalism at three public universities in Indiana, Kentucky and Missouri.

¹⁹Diana Henriques, et al, "News in the Age of Money, Cover Story," *Columbia Journalism Review* (November-December 2000), 18-28.

²⁰Neil Hickey, et al, "The Lawyers: How They Can Help Us, How They Can Hurt Us," *Columbia Journalism Review* (September-October, 2001), 40-57.

²¹Harry Rosenfeld, "The Place to Stiffen Journalistic Spines," *Columbia Journalism Review* (September-October 2000), 65.

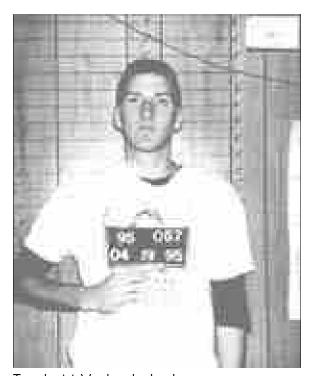
²²Gloria Cooper, "Darts & Laurels," *Columbia Journalism* Review (November/December 2000), 16-17.

²³Lucinda Fleeson, "Rush to Judgment," *American Journalism Review* (November 2000), 20-29.

²⁴Alicia C. Shepherd, "Yo! Read This!" *American Journalism Review* (November 2000), 46-52.

²⁵Lori Robertson, "Ethically Challenged," *American Journalism Review* 23:2 (2001), 21-29; Cynthia Gorney, "Getting It Right," *American Journalism Review* 23:2 (2001), 28-29.

²⁶For tips on preparing cases, see Joan C. Callahan and Tom Grassey, "Guidelines for Preparing Cases," Appendix 2 of Joan C. Callahan, ed., *Ethical Issues in Professional Life*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). For cautions, see Sandra L. Borden, "Avoiding the Pitfalls of Case Studies," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 13:1 (1998), 5-13.



Timothy McVeigh at his booking

Chapter 2

Mass Media Ethics and the Point-of-Decision Pyramid

Mitch Land

few years ago, I had the privilege of attending my nephew's wedding in Albuquerque, New Mexico. I was greeted at the rehearsal dinner by the presiding pastor, who asked me what courses I taught at the University of North Texas. As I recited the list, my response evoked a guffaw from him when I said "media ethics."

"Isn't that an oxymoron?" he asked.

My reaction was immediate and defensive. "Well, no more than clerical ethics," I retorted with a sardonic smile, thinking about the widely reported scandals involving Protestant and Catholic clergy in America during the last two decades.

But this pastor did have a point. Public trust in the news media has suffered low percentages in opinion polls for years. Public opinion data tracked from 1966 to 1992 show that no more than 29 percent of Americans expressed "a great deal of confidence" in the press. During the 1990s, the public's assessment of having "a great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in newspapers measured barely above 30 percent. By the same criteria, the public's confidence in television news in 1996 was only 36 percent. From their analyses of data from a variety of sources, communication scholars Patricia Moy and Michael Pfau noted a general pattern of declining public confidence in many democratic institutions.

A USA Today/CNN/Gallup Poll conducted May 19-21, 2003, revealed that only 36 percent of those surveyed said they believed the news media get their facts straight. Trust in the media, wrote USA Today reporter Peter Johnson, had dropped from 54 percent in mid-1989 to a low of 32 percent in December 2000—during the height of the uproar that followed the George W. Bush vs. Al Gore election results.⁴

That poll was taken shortly after revelations that a reporter for *The New York Times*, Jayson Blair, had fabricated many of his articles—including embellished stories about the Washington, D.C.-area sniper shootings in October 2002. Blair joined the ranks of nationally disgraced journalists such as Janet Cooke, Stephen Glass, Patricia Smith and Jack Kelley. Cooke, formerly of *The Washington Post*, lost her Pulitzer Prize in 1981 when she admitted to having made up the story of a 12-year-old heroin addict she called "Jimmy." Glass, an associate editor for *The New Republic*, was fired in 1998 after his editors discovered he had artfully crafted fictitious details in 27 of 41 stories he had written over a period of three years. The scandal later became the subject of the 2003 movie "Shattered Glass." *The Boston Globe's* Smith resigned that same year after she admitted to making up people and quotes in a number of her columns—fabrications that were discovered during a routine check by the newspaper's editors. Kelley, a 21-year veteran at *USA Today*, resigned in January 2004 after the newspaper found evidence that he had faked or exaggerated numerous stories since the early 1990s.

Jack Shafer of *Slate* wrote that journalists such as Blair, Cooke and Glass get away with embellishing stories because of the trust that develops over time between capable reporters and their editors. Editors expect their reporters to gather facts and report them accurately. But Shafer surmised that editors tend to trust the especially talented writers more than they should. He warned editors to be leery of details in a story that either sounded too good or appear as a result of pressure that editors put on writers to add details that their first draft lacked. Still, he said, "it's almost impossible for an editor to beat a good liar every time out."

These high-profile examples of professional misconduct are recognized as unethical by everyone. Edmund Lambeth, author and professor emeritus at the University of Missouri's School of Journalism, calls willful falsification "the most egregious breach of the ethic of truth telling." Whether they realize it or not, journalists who embellish, falsify or plagiarize their stories are guided by a philosophic framework called ethical egoism. A decision to fabricate stories is based on these journalists' self-interests, not the interests of the newspaper or magazine they work for or the readers they serve. Clearly, both journalist and organization lose in the long run.

Ethical lapses are not always as straightforward as fabricated or plagiarized stories. How facts are gathered and reported also can present ethical challenges. Jim Van Vliet, a veteran sportswriter for *The Sacramento Bee*, was fired in August 2003 when it was learned he had filed a story about a game he never attended but only watched on television. His account of the San Francisco Giants' loss to the Pittsburgh Pirates at San Francisco's Pacific Bell Park (now SBC Park) included unattributed quotes from other sources. Although the story and quotes were

accurate, how Van Vliet gathered the information violated basic journalistic values and ethics as practiced by the *Bee*, and management had no choice but to fire an employee of 34 years, according to a statement released by the newspaper's sports editor. A *Newsweek* story in 2005 erroneously reported that military interrogators had flushed a copy of the Koran down a toilet at the detention camp at Guantanamo Bay. The poorly reported story, which the magazine later retracted, created unintended consequences, as riots broke out around the world that resulted in many deaths.

News reporting that includes deception and trespassing in pursuit of undercover investigations also raises serious ethical questions. Editors and producers sometimes justify such tactics with the excuse that they serve the greater good by uprooting perceived corruption or malpractice. This utilitarian argument of the end justifying the means was the rationale offered by ABC executives and producers of ABC's "Primetime Live" for using deception in its undercover investigation of Food Lion. The 1992 show aired videotape that appeared to document unhealthy food-handling practices by Food Lion employees and the sale of spoiled food to the store's unsuspecting customers. Within two years of the broadcast, 84 stores closed down and thousands of employees lost their jobs. In 1997, a North Carolina jury rejected ABC's rationale and fined it \$5.5 million in punitive damages for fraud and trespass. Although the fraud charge was overturned on appeal and the fine substantially reduced by the trial judge and by an appellate court, the trespass charge was allowed to stand.

Food Lion did not challenge the facts of the broadcast in court because of the burden of proving libel. But out of court, Food Lion vehemently denied the show's accuracy. Using the 45 hours of outtakes obtained during litigation, Food Lion produced a videotape of its version of events, which showed a series of compelling contradictions to the "Primetime" broadcast. These contradictory versions of the story focus attention on the extent that professional values may serve to frame a story at the expense of ethical values. Did television's voracious appetite for dynamic visuals to illustrate accusations against Food Lion put pressure on producers and editors to take liberties in the cutting room that obscured the facts? Did the producers make more out of the story than was actually there? Indeed, if deception, trespass and hidden cameras were so vital to build this story in the interest of public health, why did ABC wait six months to air the story, just in time for sweeps week? This question was raised near the end of a special 90-minute "Viewpoint" hosted by Ted Koppel in 1997—but never answered. Did ABC put profits ahead of public health? Is it possible that the jurors who found ABC guilty of fraud and trespass reflect the public's growing impatience with journalists who cut corners ethically?

CBS News chief anchor Dan Rather created a media scandal during the 2004 presidential election campaign when "60 Minutes" aired a story based on fraudulent memos provided by a source. The September 8 story reported that President Bush benefited from his political connections while serving as an officer with the Texas National Guard during the 1970s and that he failed to report for duty at least twice. Immediately following the broadcast, Internet bloggers, document experts, talk radio, major print media and rival networks pointed out the flaws in the documents as well as alleged connections between CBS news producers and Democrat John Kerry's presidential campaign.

Other media practitioners face ethical challenges. Public relations and advertising professionals also deal with a skeptical public that questions their commitment to ethics. In the preface to Public Relations Ethics, scholars Philip Seib and Kathryn Fitzpatrick acknowledge the need for practitioners and the industry to question both the means applied to reach goals as well as the consequences of public relations practice. 10 Furthermore, they insist that practice should be grounded not only in outcomes, but also in "solid principles." Similarly, advertising exists as a perpetual paradox in the eyes of the public. Advertising ethicists Cornelius B. Pratt and E. Lincoln James observed that the industry, a major economic, social and competitive force in the modern world, is "a bull's-eye for public wrath." The tobacco industry provided a convenient target in the late 1990s with the accusation that advertisements for Camel cigarettes, which featured the animated character Joe Camel, targeted children. The venerable fast-food chain McDonald's and the food industry in general are among the latest targets for criticism as watchdog groups contend that aggressive advertising aimed at children threatens to exacerbate the already epidemic problems of obesity, high blood pressure and heart disease.¹³

Certainly, individuals and media organizations have a right to freedom of expression and to generate profits in the process. Media enterprises could not exist, let alone serve the public interest with their information, products and services without financial incentives and surplus capital. But while the public may take for granted the exaggerations and ethical lapses of national tabloids and sensational television shows, it expects most media to behave responsibly, guided by ethical principles. Most scholars and practitioners also agree on the need for greater ethical rigor in the workplace. But they don't share the same philosophical views upon which to base moral reasoning.

Academics and practitioners have argued over what constitutes good journalism and media practices since the Hutchins Commission report of 1947. Named after Robert Maynard Hutchins, then chancellor of the University of Chicago, this report called on the American press to live up to its social responsibilities. This angered the press establishment at the time, but advocates of

public or civic journalism rekindled the debate in the 1990s. 14 With regard to media ethics, there are those who are content with traditional journalism and a utilitarian approach—the dominant mode of moral reasoning for most Western media—informed by laissez-faire libertarianism; 15 and there are those who advocate a communitarian approach to moral reasoning, a framework of normative social ethics rooted in communitarian democracy. 16 In other words, upon which standard does the media professional base professional practice and ethical decision making—one that is found within the individual or one that is derived from community?

Indeed, ongoing ethical breaches in media practices as well as growing public concern have contributed to a steady stream of books, case studies, articles and new ethics courses over the last 20 years in an effort to define what good journalism should be and how it should be practiced. Most of these resources provide a rich overview of the philosophical foundations for ethics, ranging from the Western cultural heritage of Greek philosophy and Judeo-Christian religions to the Enlightenment philosophers.

ENLIGHTENMENT ETHICS

hief among the Enlightenment philosophers as far as ethics goes are Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), by way of his elder contemporary, Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). Kant is credited with articulating the deontological approach, which emphasizes duty ethics. The Greek word deon, the root word of deontology, means duty. Deontology refers to the idea that one should act on principle or according to a universal moral duty rather than solely on the basis of consequences. Bentham and Mill are recognized for introducing the teleological approach called utilitarianism, which focuses on the nature of an act or decision. The Immanuel Kant emphasis in this approach is on positive outcomes, whereas



the deontological approach focuses on right and wrong. Both ethical views are grounded in individualism, the cornerstone of libertarianism.

For Kant, the starting point of moral reasoning is personal conviction or intuition rather than some sort of external moral authority or from consequences alone. Kant believed that individuals should act only on the principle or standard that could become a universal law rather than on the basis of unknowable outcomes. In other words, given a certain set of circumstances, an individual should act in a

way that he or she would wish all others to act; this person should take an action from which a rule could be applied universally. He called this rule the categorical imperative. Kant also insisted that individuals be treated as an end rather than some means to an end, which underscored a respect for human dignity. Similar to the Golden Rule, which states, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you," Kant's categorical imperative is the ethics of reciprocity. Kant reasoned that these standards could be derived intuitively from close examination of the circumstances. The appeal to this approach is that it provides rules or guidelines to follow before ethical dilemmas arise; all similar circumstances would not change the rule or guideline. But strict adherence to a categorical imperative ignores the possibility of competing rules or principles. Indeed, moral dilemmas arise when values (both moral and nonmoral) and abiding principles compete or collide. Even the Ten Commandments, Lambeth argues, are connected to consequences. The prohibition



John Stuart Mill

against adultery results in good consequences—peace in the marriage. In other words, the Ten Commandments embody principles that, when followed, beget results, good consequences.¹⁷ The fact is, consequences cannot be completely ignored.

Consequences become the determining criterion in Mill's utilitarianism, which seeks the highest normative principle through inductive reasoning rather than through intuition. His elder contemporary, Jeremy Bentham, held that individuals should take those actions that result in the greatest happiness for the greatest number. Bentham's notion of utility is rooted in the individual's quest to minimize pain and maximize pleasure. Mill expanded the concept of happiness to value intellectual

pleasure over sensual pleasure. Thus, an individual should make a decision that leads to the greatest good for the greatest number. This pragmatic approach involves assessing an action's consequences rather than the motives or character traits of the individual taking the action.

Several concerns become evident with a strict utilitarian application. For example, how can an individual be certain that a particular decision will result in the greatest good? Or that it will serve the greatest number? One cannot know the result of an action taken, much less whether it will be for the good of the majority. Also, decisions made to benefit the greatest number may be at the expense of the least number, that is, the minority. Certainly, the majority of the workforce—white males—in 1950s America consistently benefited from preferential treatment in the workplace, but at the expense of women and minority males, a concept that seems

immoral to us now but could be justified under Mill's utilitarianism.

Interestingly, Mill considered Kant's approach to be utilitarian because, ultimately, it is derived from circumstances that have consequences. ¹⁸ Kant's categorical imperative emerges from a personal "intuitive" assessment of circumstances and their consequences just as Mill's moral reasoning emerges from a personal "inductive" assessment of circumstances and their consequences. The important difference is that Mill's "act utilitarianism" is more open to moral relativism because rules are malleable and not necessarily to be projected universally, depending upon the perceived consequences, whereas Kant's categorical imperative is a universal rule to be applied to all similar circumstances. Both perspectives depend primarily on the individual's assessment of duty or utility, and only secondarily on moral reasoning derived from community. Of course, given that these are Enlightenment ideas, it is no surprise that the burden for moral decision making rests squarely on the individual, the centerpiece of libertarianism.

As a practical matter, moral reasoning for most individuals involves a synthesis of both philosophical precepts. That is, principles have been handed down through Western culture via religion, education, family and other socialization processes to become internalized. The individual, in effect, is a social construct. That is, an individual's identity is largely fashioned by the multilayered society of which he or she is a part. Thus, individuals weigh self-interest (ego) with competing interests in light of internalized codes of moral behavior and on the basis of perceived outcomes. John Merrill, an ethics scholar and contributor to this book, believes that journalists reason from both a deontological and a teleological position: "On the one hand, they subscribe to *a priori* rules and maxims that they feel duty bound to follow generally. On the other hand, they feel that on occasion they must make exceptions and take special circumstances into consideration." ¹⁹

Undoubtedly, media practitioners approach moral dilemmas informed by sociological factors such as family relationships, religious convictions and professional training, but the dominant philosophical base for moral reasoning in most Western media practice seems to be utilitarian. Communitarian scholar and sociologist Amitai Etzioni states categorically that it has become the dominant mode of moral reasoning in libertarian societies and their media enterprises.²⁰

CHALLENGES TO ENLIGHTENMENT ETHICS

The individual-centered, libertarian framework of Western media practices was challenged by the 1947 Hutchins Commission report mentioned earlier. The report's call for social responsibility was relevant for all aspects of media practice, including advertising and public relations. The commission identified five

general responsibilities of the media, several of which also resonate with communitarian ideals:

- 1. Present a "truthful, comprehensive account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning."
- 2. Serve as "a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism."
- 3. Project a "representative picture of the constituent groups of society."
- 4. Present and clarify the "goals and values of society."
- 5. Provide "full access to the day's intelligence."²¹

However, the underlying philosophy of the report remained utilitarian, again affirming the dominance of utilitarianism in current media practice. As Lambeth noted, "The Hutchins Commission report, the most important statement on the media in the twentieth century, philosophically brought utilitarianism under the media tent whether the ringmasters of the press noticed or not."²²

Public Journalism

he Hutchins Commission report, unpopular as it was with the American media establishment at the time, nevertheless shook the media's philosophical foundations on the eve of monumental societal changes. Social and political upheavals defined the decades following this report:

- The population explosion of post-World War II and the subsequent migration toward sprawling suburbia in the United States, the revving up of the Cold War and the Civil Rights movement and the emerging nuclear threat in the 1950s.
- A presidential assassination, the climax of the Civil Rights movement, the socalled counter-cultural revolution, the Vietnam War and the continuing threat of nuclear holocaust in the 1960s.
- The women's movement, the Watergate scandal, the revelations of The Pentagon Papers, the ignoble end of the Vietnam War, and the continuing Cold War and nuclear threat during the 1970s.

These and many other societal tremors, according to author and political science professor Anthony Eksterowicz, contributed to a decline of public optimism in American institutions, including the media establishment.²³ The concern of media practitioners over the growing gap between citizens and journalists, as well as the dominance of the market-driven media organizations they work for, fueled the interest in public journalism. In addition, the technological innovations stretching from the 1980s to today, which have revolutionized the way information is gathered,

stored and disseminated, have contributed to the interest in public journalism.²⁴ Public or civic journalism seeks to address society's challenges head-on, rather than remain detached, which is a basic tenet of traditional journalism. Civic journalism seeks to improve public life by promoting public participation and public debate. Promoting citizen participation in solving community problems is seen as a good thing because it nourishes representative government. This particular assumption of public journalism is consistent with one of the basic objectives of traditional journalism, which is "to tell people what they need to know so that they can participate in self-governance."²⁵

But media professionals, public journalism argues, should give the public more than disjointed, de-contextualized stories and episodic, value-neutral information so communities can make sense out of life's complexities. For example, the public journalist may become involved in pre-election coverage aimed at raising public awareness of the issues and encouraging participation in the electoral process. In the same way, a public journalist may cover stories that raise awareness of poverty, homelessness and so on. Lambeth and his co-editors brought together an impressive collection of original research and professional essays that report on bold efforts to implement the ideals of public journalism and enrich the ongoing professional and academic conversation of the movement. Still, academics and professionals in the field have yet to agree on the claims of public journalism.

COMMUNITARIAN ETHICS

hus, the quest continues for what constitutes good journalism—that which evolved from the Enlightenment, with an emphasis on individual liberty, or civic journalism, ²⁸ with its call for greater social responsibility and argued in the spirit of communitarianism. ²⁹ As University of Missouri journalism scholar Lee Wilkins observed, Christians and others have proffered communitarianism as the next appropriate philosophical base for journalism. ³⁰

This debate has been well expounded in Jay Black's *Mixed News*, whose contributors present chapters from both sides of the philosophical divide. Their discussions on the best ways to practice journalism seem to revolve around issues of rights and responsibilities—that is, individual priority versus community priority, informing the community versus building the community, and freedom versus social responsibility. Indeed, the very title of the book—*Mixed News*—is a play on *Good News*, by Clifford Christians, John Ferré and Mark Fackler, which Jay Black called "a seminal work" that argues for communitarian journalism. Good journalism, according to this view, should be grounded in community instead of individualism. The communitarian ethic seeks to strike a balance between individual freedom and

the greater social order, based on shared virtues. Community writ large becomes a major starting point or source for moral reasoning, which seeks a judicious balance of rights and responsibilities. Although journalism is a business that functions along market principles, money should not be allowed total control. This view advocates a transformed corporate culture in which employees and communities have a voice, which, in turn, allows a communitarian ethic to develop.³²

Etzioni, founder of the Communitarian Network in 1993, argues for a politics of communitarianism that would allow for greater political power at the community level. His book *The New Golden Rule* elaborates on the communitarian ideal. Communitarianism, he argues, disputes the assumption of a freestanding individual, distinct from community. It assumes that individuals are "socially constituted and continually penetrated by culture, by social and moral influences and by one another."

Communitarian ethics does not discount the individual, which is the cornerstone of libertarianism, but rather seeks a balance between individual autonomy and social responsibility. This equilibrium of individual accountability, when rooted in community-derived moral principles, will help to assure accountability to the community of humankind.

Communitarian ethics assumes universal values or protonorms that are agreed upon by humanity regardless of cultural specificities.³⁴ It neither espouses nor eschews tribal or communal values per se, but ultimately holds them accountable to universal values. These values then serve to sustain human solidarity. Indeed, without them, nations acting interdependently would never have been able to agree in 1948 upon the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by UNESCO—the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Principles of justice, humaneness and liberty were articulated on the values of equality and human dignity in this historic document.³⁵ Utilitarianism would not dismiss the importance of shared values and principles. Indeed, Merrill credits utilitarianism for elevating to prominence the principles of individual rights (justice) and freedom (as seen in his chapter that follows).

But utilitarianism makes consequences, as reasoned by the individual decision maker, the arbiter of ethical dilemmas, while communitarianism sees community values—both small and large—as the arbiter of moral conflict. In communitarianism, the light of moral reasoning shines brighter on the expectations and values of the community than it does on the consequences or on one person's personal ethics. In utilitarianism, the light shines brighter on consequences as predicted by the individual decision maker.

FROM PHILOSOPHY TO PRACTICE

The dominance of utilitarian ethics in media practices and the communitarian ethic provide contrasting perspectives through which to analyze ethics cases in media practice. The editors of this book have invited contributors to show readers how both approaches may be applied to ethical dilemmas in media-related cases. This book is not an attempt to resolve the traditional versus communitarian journalism debate. Rather, it is offered as a practical textbook that seeks to show instructors as well as current and aspiring media practitioners how to apply the two approaches to ethical dilemmas in the media. This project also attempts to respond to Lambeth's challenge to practitioners and teachers of journalism to "articulate at least the beginning of a system" that would bring together journalism ethics and social philosophy.³⁶

The five principles in Committed Journalism, which we apply in the analysis of the cases of this book, should be examined in concert and in dynamic tension with a consideration of consequences. Care also should be taken to prioritize the appropriate principles to shape a course of action that will take into account consequences as well. When ethical dialogue and a tradition of discernment of this kind begin to shape the environment of a newsroom, media practitioners will begin to acquire the ability to discuss the moral reasoning behind their decisions with citizens. The public then can be invited to a conversation with the press that is vital to the health of both journalists and citizens.

PRINCIPLES AND VALUES

The starting point for applying two perspectives to media ethics cases in Western society acknowledges the legacy of the larger society in which it has developed.³⁷ The principles and values of the Judeo-Christian and classical Greek civilizations comprise that legacy in the West. Those same principles embody the other great religions of the world as well. These principles are acknowledged within codes of ethics endorsed by journalism associations and news organizations.³⁸ They also appear in historic documents such as the U.S. Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution and such international documents as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights mentioned earlier.³⁹

For the purposes of this text, the following five principles efficiently organize the majority of moral principles the world over: truth, justice, freedom, humaneness and stewardship. ⁴⁰ Principles and moral values are interchangeable. Principles serve as guideposts for what is right and wrong while values, which may be thought of as

"principles applied," define what is good and bad. Values are principles in action. It is also important to distinguish between moral and nonmoral values, which are often the same as professional values. Consider, for example, these professional values: meeting a deadline, writing a story in the inverted pyramid format, getting the story first, interviewing the most authoritative source, providing the medium with compelling visual images and maximizing profit. These penultimate values can become ultimate values, thus compelling immoral action. Such nonmoral, professional values serve an important function to guide acceptable journalistic practice, but risk falling short of their function when allowed to trump moral values, which are principles applied.

Ethical dilemmas arise when complex situations pit principles against each other and cause us to question whether or not any one given principle can be held as absolute. Also, the confusion of nonmoral values with moral values creates ethical dilemmas. The Cable News Network (CNN) faced colliding principles when it decided to maintain a presence in Baghdad after the first Gulf War to cover the unfolding facts of life under Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. The principles of truth telling, justice and humaneness clearly competed for priority positioning in the situations discussed in book contributor Dan Malone's analysis of this case later in this text. The ABC News/Food Lion case cited earlier pitted the principle of truth telling against the principle of humaneness. As moral and nonmoral values were weighed—such as the need to obtain compelling visual images for television broadcast and maximize ratings during "sweeps week"—the producers opted to relegate one principle (humaneness, or so they argued) above another (truth telling) to rationalize their decision to employ deceptive reporting practices. Thus, the priority of principles in the face of any ethical dilemma may be different, depending upon both individual and community values as well as particular circumstances.

Resolving these ethical dilemmas requires weighing competing principles and their associated values along with rights and responsibilities in the context of relevant stakeholders. Consider these principles:

Truth

Truth, for example, should compel factual reporting, which seeks accurate information within the proper context. The value of telling the truth (the principle of truth applied) contrasts sharply with deceiving a source to obtain information or outright lying (a negative application of the truth)—actions that most consider bad or immoral. Jayson Blair's fabricated stories in *The New York Times* violated the principle of truth, which is perhaps the most highly regarded professional and moral value in American journalism. Meanwhile, when the ABC News producers

submitted fraudulent job applications to Food Lion and then accepted employment under false pretenses, they violated the principle of truth in a different sense, this time in terms of their work, not necessarily in terms of the finished product. If journalists are expected to tell their stories truthfully to readers or viewers, should they not be expected to adhere to the same principle in their reporting practices? This is a difficult question to answer because some will argue that mitigating circumstances or perceived consequences must be factored into the equation.

Humaneness

For example, a competing principle, such as humaneness, may compel actions that others would consider deceptive in the interest of protecting the public, such as when the producers of "Primetime Live" justified their deception at the Food Lion store to expose so-called unhealthy food handling practices. There also exists the possibility that the nonmoral professional value of telling a compelling story with dynamic visual images—so vital to television—trumped the basic journalistic tenet and moral value of truth telling in the ABC News/Food Lion case.

The principle of humaneness is rooted in the primal instinct toward preserving, nurturing and protecting human life. 42 This is most obvious in parental care of children, which is a universal human trait. Indeed, children are protected by universally shared moral commitments, as evidenced in international efforts against child pornography. Humaneness expects people to avoid doing harm to others and prevent such harm while rendering aid when possible. Sorting out one's responsibility for rendering aid can become challenging to a journalist trying to cover war, famine and other forms of human suffering. Ethics professor Deni Elliott of the University of Montana has pointed out the clash of the principle of justice with that of humaneness when media organizations become involved in raising money for some individuals in need and not others. She writes, "Compassionate reporting results in unjustified harm when news organizations participate in the same kind of institutional unfairness they are often seeking to expose."43 Journalists are taught that they have a duty to inform the public through fair and balanced news reporting, which contrasts with advocating for a cause. This professional duty begs the question: At what point does the journalist abandon his or her duty to tell the story and become part of the story by participating in a peace rally, raising funds for a political party, or for that matter, advocating for one homeless person and not another?

Justice

Justice demands that news stories be told fairly, without omitting facts of major importance that would change the meaning of the story if otherwise included. Were facts left lying on ABC News' cutting room floor so that a much more dramatic story could be aired to expose alleged unhealthy food-handling practices on the part of Food Lion employees—as claimed by the grocery store chain? The principle of justice may press upon a reporter to consider not revealing evidence that could prevent an accused person from receiving a fair and speedy trial. But, the principles of freedom and truth may prevail as the journalist considers his or her duty to the profession and to the public. When The Dallas Morning News story publicized Timothy McVeigh's confession of guilt for the Oklahoma City bombing before his trial, it provoked an outcry from critics who accused the newspaper of compromising McVeigh's right to a fair trial. Did the newspaper's claim of First Amendment privilege or the professional values of news reporting compromise the principle of justice in this case? Without doubt, this case highlights the clash between the moral value of truth telling (truth as principle) and the moral value of protecting the right to a fair trial (justice as principle).

Freedom/Liberty

The principles of freedom and justice also compete in the McVeigh situation. Did the principle of freedom, which is protected by the First Amendment, rightly push aside McVeigh's claim to the principle of justice? Freedom is recognized in the first article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights"⁴⁴ Freedom also includes the notion of autonomy, meaning that journalists must avoid any possibility of conflicts of interest that would threaten their ability to report without bias. Journalists are discouraged from accepting gifts, special privileges, or investments that create conflicts of interest as well as a number of other activities to protect their independence. Journalists also should avoid getting too close to their sources.

Stewardship

Stewardship is the responsible management of something committed to one's care, such as the stewardship of natural resources. The term is used in two ways in this textbook. First, media practitioners such as public relations workers, advertising professionals and journalists—reporters, editors, publishers, media owners—are

stewards of information and play a unique role in providing much of the content of public discourse. 45 The responsible exercise of this privilege, especially for journalists, includes upholding the First Amendment, which means they are stewards of free expression. Second, media practitioners exercise stewardship as they manage the resources of communication "with due regard for the rights of others, the rights of the public, and the moral health of their own occupation," in Lambeth's words. This, in our view, also should include the role of stewardship in keeping an organization fiscally responsible. As managers contemplate the consequences of media practices, such as reporting on potentially libelous material, they exercise a broad stewardship in weighing the effects of lawsuits against the importance of a story scheduled for publication or broadcast. At the same time, media managers also make decisions that affect profit margins and must weigh other principles that may threaten or enhance profit. At this point, the nonmoral value of turning a profit comes into play. Generating the necessary capital to run a media organization depends on its profitability, which means important stakeholders in any decision include managers, boards of directors and stockholders. Enormous pressures come to bear on media practices to ensure profitability. The decision maker always must weigh the nonmoral value of generating profits with competing moral values as they seek to resolve ethical dilemmas.

STAKEHOLDERS

Il media practices involve a variety of stakeholders to whom the practitioner owes loyalties and must take into account as ethical dilemmas arise. Journalists often think of the public as their primary stakeholders. James Carey of Columbia University pointed out, "Insofar as journalism is grounded, it is grounded in the public. Insofar as journalism has a client, the client is the public." But defining that public is more difficult. Initially, journalists see the public as their readers and viewers. This becomes more complicated when individual members of this huge audience include the people being reported on. Thomas A. Warhover of the *Virginian-Pilot* (Hampton Roads, Virginia) writes that journalists often define their publics by what they are not. "If we attack cantankerous bureaucrats and corrupt officials, then they are not the public. If we monitor the public institutions that catch criminals, educate our youth, build our roads, and pick up our trash, then they are not the public either. It is not the powerful, the power brokers, the movers and shakers."

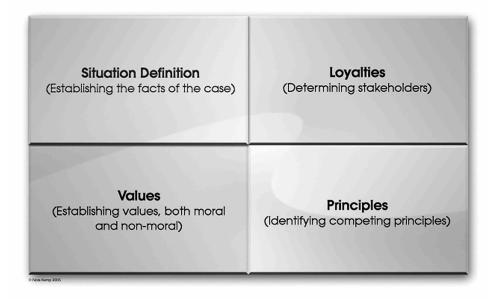
On the other hand, even though these entities may not fit the implied meaning of "public" in the journalist's mind at the time a story is being reported on, they do

become integral stakeholders to consider in the face of ethical dilemmas or potentially libelous situations. Thus, while the end-users of media products and services may be the largest group of stakeholders a journalist must consider, many other groups of people may become involved in the face of a looming ethical dilemma. The media practitioner also answers to editors, producers and public relations or advertising supervisors who, themselves, answer to executives up the chain of command in any media organization. In turn, media organizations answer to their boards of directors and stockholders. Individuals and organizations that become part of any media situation—such as news articles, feature stories, public relations and advertising campaigns—become important stakeholders, especially as situations become complicated or ethically challenging. Individual components of the judiciary may also become important stakeholders for the journalist who faces an ethical challenge. Malone said that when he reports on a story, he often thinks about how a jury of his peers would view his reporting practices, should the published story ever be litigated.⁴⁸

The media professional has a lot to think about when confronting an ethical situation: the complicated facts of a case, the competing principles and values (including nonmoral values) and the various stakeholders to whom he or she owes certain loyalties. Former Harvard Divinity School professor Ralph B. Potter Jr. proposed a model of moral reasoning divided into quadrants—Situation Definition, Values, Principles and Loyalties. ⁴⁹ Christians and others apply this reasoning device, called the Potter Box model, as an organizing framework or heuristic device for reasoning through ethical dilemmas in the cases found in *Media Ethics: Cases and Moral Reasoning*. ⁵⁰ This model recognizes the interconnectedness of circumstances, principles and values, as well as the rights and privileges the various stakeholders may claim in any given situation (see Figure 2.1).

As the media practitioner considers the essential facts of a case, he or she will begin to see why certain values and principles emerge as important. Identifying the primary and secondary stakeholders will then suggest to the analyst which rights, loyalties and principles will be forced to compete with each other for primacy. Carefully considering the stakeholders involved in a case helps the media professional question his or her reasons for taking an action that may challenge principles he or she might otherwise have taken for granted. The decision maker may then come to realize that certain professional values held personally or by superiors or by the organization, for example, may tend to eclipse moral values. Christians and others suggest that reasoning in systematic fashion from one quadrant to the other will move the decision maker forward from moral reasoning to making decisions and taking actions based on thorough analyses (see Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.1
THE POTTER BOX



Source: Adapted from Clifford Christians, et. al., Media Ethics: Cases and Moral Reasoning, 3-8

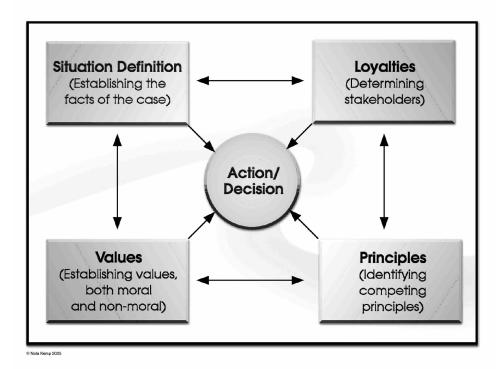
THE POINT-OF-DECISION PYRAMID

ertainly any heuristic device applied to real-world situations may seem rather simplistic in light of the complexity of social and professional life, the myriad details involved in human interaction, complex situations and any competing belief systems. Indeed, one limitation of the Potter Box may be in its lack of any inherent or implied philosophical framework to serve as a foundation for analysis. The editors of this text suggest a modified Potter Box model, called the Pyramid Model, which attempts to base analysis on a philosophical foundation.

The pyramid concept has been used for many years by journalism educators to describe the classic news lead. In this application, the news writer begins with the most important information of a story, then proceeds through quoted sources, narrative presentation of the facts, and then to the least important information. The image of a pyramid turned upside down—called the inverted pyramid—has been used to describe this way of reporting a story.

The triangular image used in this book offers a different application. We

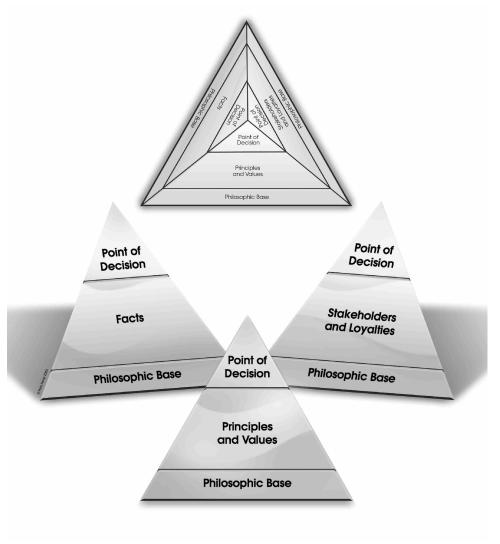
Figure 2.2
POTTER BOX ANALYSIS



Source: Adapted from Clifford Christians, et. al., Media Ethics: Cases and Moral Reasoning, 3-8

suggest a transformation of the Potter Box into a three-dimensional pyramid—a point-of-decision pyramid that will help the media practitioner think through an ethical dilemma to the point of making a decision. This pyramid assumes a weltanschauung or worldview at the outset. In light of the prominence of utilitarian ethics in media practice and the challenge posed by communitarian ethics, we suggest that the base of the pyramid alternatively consist of the utilitarian perspective or the communitarian perspective as a launching point upon which to build toward a point of decision through analyses of facts, principles/values and stakeholders (see Figure 2.3).

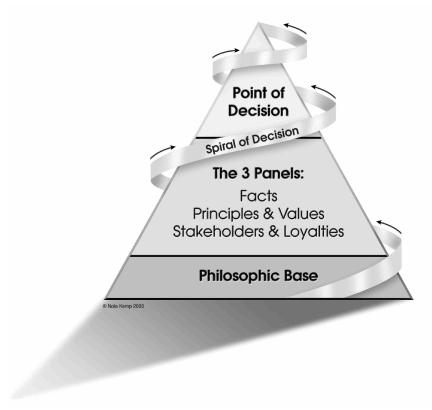
Figure 2.3
PYRAMID MODEL OF ANALYSIS



APPLYING THE POINT-OF-DECISION PYRAMID

he contributors of the case studies in this book applied the Point-of-Decision Pyramid in their analyses (see Figure 2.4). This particular case study approach will serve to better equip readers and media practitioners to use their moral imagination for resolving ethical dilemmas, thus avoiding knee-jerk decisions based

Figure 2.4
PYRAMID MODEL: SPIRAL OF DECISION



on individual ethics. The following paragraphs explain.

Moral reasoning always is built upon a philosophic foundation, whether or not the decision maker is aware of it. The base of the pyramid of moral reasoning in ethical cases represents the philosophical foundation that informs analysis. The decision maker first should consider the philosophical base as he or she moves from an arrangement of the case facts through the prioritization of the principles and to the list of stakeholders—primary, secondary and tertiary. As in the Potter Box analysis, the decision maker should move from one panel to the next in an effort to come to an informed decision.

First, bullet the case facts that give rise to the ethical dilemma. That is, cut through the fat of details to expose the raw nerve of moral crisis. The gradual exposure of essential facts will help expose the angst of conflicting moral principles, which leads to the second step—the relationship of principles in terms of stakeholders and loyalties. Moving back and forth from the stakeholder panel to the

principles panel while constantly considering case facts in the first triangular panel will make apparent the competing principles and values.

The second triangular panel should list, in order of priority, the principles that emerge from an elaboration of the essential facts and thoughtful consideration of stakeholders. Because of their interchangeability, principles and values are considered in the same triangular panel.

The third triangular panel considers the stakeholders and should prompt the prioritization of stakeholders in light of competing rights, claims and loyalties as facts and competing principles and values become obvious. In fact, the first prioritization of principles in the second panel may need to be reconsidered as the analyst poses the following questions when considering stakeholders: Who has the most to gain and who has the least to gain as we move toward the point of decision? Conversely, who has the most and least to lose? Squarely situated on the foundation of a selected moral philosophy, we spiral upward through the prioritized elements of our triangular panels to the point of moral decision. The goal is to build an ethical structure that will still be standing after the storm of crisis has passed.

ENDNOTES

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 - ³²Ibid., 231.
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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

- categorical imperative a moral law that applies to all rational beings; an idea developed by philospher Immanuel Kant who posited that such laws become universal and should be independent of any personal motive, desire or perceived consequences.
- civic journalism (also called public journalism) aims to provide people with news and information useful for effective citizenship and the fostering of democratic society. The content of print or broadcast news seeks to make citizens aware of their rights and obligations.
- **communitarianism** holds that normative properties (decisions and actions) should be integral to a sense of community and community values in an equilibrium with active personhood.
- **deontology** refers to the idea that one should act on principle or according to a universal moral duty rather than solely on the basis of consequences.
- **ethical egoism** a system of ethics based on the belief that individual self-interest is the valid end of any ethical decision and all subsequent actions.
- inductive reasoning a reasoning process that begins with cases, a collection of data or evidence from which a conclusion is drawn. The premise derived from inductive reasoning is based on facts or observations. By contrast, deductive reasoning begins with a premise or hypothesis and reasoning flows logically from premise to data gathering and analysis to conclusion. The premise attempts to establish sufficient reasons for accepting a given conclusion.
- **libertarianism** a political philosophy built on the primacy of individual rights, private property ownership and free market capitalism. Libertarianism advocates for unfettered individual freedom in all areas of life without interference from government as long as individuals do not coerce or endanger others.
- **normative** refers to norms or rules; normative or prescriptive theory explains how things ought to be (people ought to be honest, etc.). Ethics is about what ought to be, not what is.
- outtakes that which is not used in an edited version of a film or videotape.

- **teleology** refers to the study of evidences of design in nature. In ethics, it refers to moral systems that focus on the consequences of an action, also characterized as consequentalist moral systems. Thus, the morality of an action is determined by the consequences of that action.
- **utilitarianism** a theory based on the notion that any decision or action should be taken in terms of consequences that result in the largest possible balance of pleasure over pain and the greatest happiness for the greatest number.