Source Diversity in U.S. Online Citizen Journalism and Online Newspaper Articles

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U.S. online citizen journalism and online newspaper articles:
A content analysis of source diversity

Abstract. This research examines the diversity of sources used in online citizen journalism and online newspaper articles to identify differences via a quantitative content analysis. Shoemaker and Reese's Hierarchy of Influences was used to explain why differences were expected in this national sample. Overall, online newspaper journalists were more likely to incorporate a greater number of sources, a greater proportion of female, male and official sources, and a greater diversity of viewpoints.

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Traditional journalism publications provide a collective space for the public to exchange viewpoints. This aggregating role of the press is essential for democracy to function. However, the traditional press's position as the primary provider of information in United States is being challenged because the ease of publishing content online has increased the number of people producing content. The people who publish content with little to no professional training are sometimes referred to as online citizen journalists. Controversy exists regarding the informational value of online citizen journalism content.

To begin to address the validity of the controversy as related to citizen journalism, this research focused on one measure of journalistic quality, source diversity, and examined how thoroughly online citizen journalists and online newspaper journalists attributed information in their articles. The inclusion of a diversity of sources in articles helps to ensure the accuracy and the broadness of an issue. The key criticism against citizen journalists is that the information that they publish may include inaccuracies.[1] The inclusion of a diversity of sources can help prevent the possibility that a story may contain inaccuracies.

To accomplish this task, the current examination looked at articles from online newspaper (e.g., *Star Tribune*; *Lansing State Journal*) and online citizen journalism (e.g., Westport Now; Metroblogging Portland) publications. The articles selected for this study derive from only citizen journalism sites that focus their coverage on a geographic area (e.g., Hamtramck, Mich., Chicago, Ill.), rather than on an issue (e.g., politics, education). This research defined an online citizen journalist as *an individual who*

intends to publish information online that is meant to benefit a community. For the purpose of this investigation, traditional news media organizations were commercial news organizations that have historically focused on the daily delivery of information concerning a geographic (e.g., local, state, national, international) area in either a textual, audio, or visual format offline. In the online realm, audio, video, and text can be intertwined to more efficiently create layers that sometimes promote a deeper level of understanding.

Because this research focused on content, it utilized sociological theory to understand why differences in online citizen journalism and online newspaper content were likely to exist. Specifically, Shoemaker and Reese's Hierarchy of Influences on Media Content was utilized.[2]

Theoretical Framework

Online Citizen and Newspaper Journalists. There is tension between those who consider themselves online citizen journalists and those who work as journalists for traditional news organizations. Citizen journalists are criticized for their propensity to feature entertainment articles with little background research, rather than informing the public on matters that benefit them as citizens.[3] Many online citizen journalists have not been trained to subscribe to the same standards (e.g., objectivity, thoroughness, fairness, accuracy) as a journalist working for a news organization. However, some citizen journalists value the independence of creating articles not based on traditional principles.[4] Despite the criticism that principles confine journalists, many of these standards have come to define journalism and concern arises when citizen journalists produce content without journalistic values in mind.[5]

Despite the current controversy, traditional news organizations have begun to adopt online citizen journalism content. For example, Gannett Company, Inc., the publisher of *USA Today*, has committed to incorporating more online citizen-generated content. Citizens act as community watchdogs and story researchers for their publication.[6] CNN.com's I-Report averages 3,000 citizen journalism submissions per month.[7] Citizen journalism content can be appealing to online news organizations because the majority of it is produced by people who will provide it to news organizations at no cost – an attractive feature for news organizations as they struggle to profit.[8] Scholarly research on online citizen journalism publications is minimal.[9] However, theory can explain why differences in content are expected between online citizen journalism publications and online newspapers. Shoemaker and Reese's Hierarchy of Influences posits that constraints on traditional media content occur at five different levels: the individual, the routine, the organizational, the extramedia, and the ideological level. Many of the constraints that traditional media providers face are dissimilar from the constraints of online citizen journalists, which likely contribute to differences in content.[10] Traditional journalists who work for an organization are more likely to conform to organizational norms, and thus, behave in a more predictable manner because traditional journalists share the organizations' goals and values, while citizen journalists experience a greater degree of independence.[11]

Online citizen journalists may be affected less by market forces and newsroom socialization; however they are may be more likely subject to extramedia (e.g., audiences, advertisers, sources) constraints. Research conducted on alternative, rural, neighborhood, weekly, urban, and dissident publications can partially explain the

behavior of citizen journalists.[12] These types of publications can be categorized as "smaller" publications. Online citizen-generated content is more likely published for smaller, more homogenized audiences on a less regular basis. Smaller publications balance their community's needs with their desire to produce professional journalistic content. However, their allegiance typically leans toward their community because they are a part of that community. They promote the status quo by producing articles that align with their local community leaders' viewpoints.[13] Citizen journalism content can present a different voice in the marketplace. This voice, however, tends to be reflective of the author's voice. The targeted audience is usually other like-minded consumers. The perceived similarity between content in smaller publications and viewpoints of their readers positively influences levels of trust toward smaller publications.[14]

Source Diversity. Diversity is a principle that is tied to journalistic quality because it is commonly accepted that a diverse set of ideas fuels democracy.[15] Some people hope that the movement of publications to the internet will lead to an increase in the diversity of sources available within traditional news media publications.[16] However, Kessler has argued that traditional news organizations are avid defenders of the status quo, which may mean that traditional news organizations' presence online may not result in an increase in the diversity of sources available within articles.[17]

Bias can occur when journalists choose to cite particular sources over other source types.[18] Gans argued that *multi-perspectival* news, or the diversity of sources present in the news media, is the answer to reducing the unconscious biases of reporters. The adherence to efficiency, routines, and principles by traditional journalists has been said to affect the diversity of content publicly available.[19] The constraints of

time and copy production require the reliance on accessible sources, which leads to a dependence on sources that are known to the reporter. This is why, according to Gans, the journalistic community should push reporters to search beyond the usual sources to increase the accuracy of their stories.[20]

Stories can be written for readers at the neighborhood, state, national, or international level. The criticism against traditional media is that the standardization of content has encouraged the daily press to concentrate on issues that appeal to large numbers of people at the state level or higher. News content featured in daily publications has been typically presented as neutrally as possible to appeal to a large audience. It has been said that the mass-appeal approach encourages a dependence on a few sources to decipher the complicated implications of issues.[21] This dependence on a select few sources, who tend to be people of power, may result in an inaccurate or nonexistent depiction of community-level issues. Online citizen journalists feel that they cover local information not found in the traditional news media, solve community-level problems, and increase local voter turnout.[22]

This research used source diversity as a measure of journalistic quality. It assessed source diversity by looking at source types and source viewpoints. Source diversity was defined by examining the number of sources, the official makeup of sources, gender, and viewpoints featured in articles.

Number of Sources. To ensure diversity and accuracy, a journalist must obtain information from a number of sources to ensure representativeness, according to the Project for Excellence in Journalism.[23] The greater the number of sources used by the journalist, the more likely the story will reflect the issue accurately. State of the News

Media research by the Project for Excellence in Journalism organization has shown that national online sites were more likely to contain a greater number of sources per story than weekly alternative newspapers or metro daily newspapers, which are smaller publications.[24]

Official and Unofficial Source Use. The news media are often criticized for their reliance on official sources.[25] Journalists depend heavily on official sources because they have little time to seek and develop new sources unless their organization is large in size.[26] The news value of creating impact or conflict encourages a reliance on powerful sources. These sources are more likely to cater to news routines by being prompt, reliable, and articulate.[27]

Warren Breed argued that journalists include and do not challenge official sources' interpretations because officials are representatives of their community, and thus, reflections of themselves. To question their leaders is to question their national and community pride.[28] This unquestioning respect enables official sources to spin information in their favor, which can affect content. The reliance on official sources is lessening. A recent study reported that the use of official sources found on the front pages of elite newspapers peaked in 1960, and has declined overall by 10% throughout a 50-year period (1950-2000) in the United States.[29]

Newspapers tend to focus on government and business topics, thus their articles should contain a high number of official sources.[30] One study found that local newspapers contain fewer government sources than national papers.[31] It is possible for online citizen journalism articles to also feature a greater proportion of official sources

than unofficial sources. Editors of smaller publications value input from local community leaders such as politicians, business people, and the clergy.[32]

No standard exists stating whether the use of official and unofficial sources in articles should be balanced, or whether articles should contain a higher number of official sources because they are more likely to be experts on subjects.[33] Unofficial sources tend not be in-depth experts on topics, and as such, are utilized for opinion or emotional quotes.[34] The Project for Excellence in Journalisms' authors have argued that the inclusion of expert sources is an indicator of credibility.[35] It is sometimes assumed that the imbalance of official and unofficial sources represents an injustice or misrepresentation of reality.[36]

Gender of Sources. Another measure of diversity is the measuring of the use of female and male sources cited within an article.[37] The news media more frequently cites official sources, who are people in power.[38] The dominant inclusion of male sources may indicate that women are not considered people of high status. Research shows that men are cited and photographed more often than women, especially in business and sports sections.[39] However, survey research indicates that journalists do not consciously select sources based on their sex.[40]

Multiple Viewpoints. This research examined whether news articles featured predominantly one viewpoint or multiple viewpoints in articles that were considered controversial. The multiple viewpoints variable was defined by varying attributions, rather than variations in content.

For journalists, it is important to check with more than one source to ensure the completeness of a story. Deadlines loom hourly for journalists, leaving them with little

time to thoroughly cover an issue. Due to continual deadlines, journalists have learned

to skim the surface of issues by relying heavily on media-planned events and official

sources.[41] This reliance shapes content, which is why The Project for Excellence in

Journalism (PEJ) authors argued that journalists should include varying viewpoints from

multiple sources because the incorporation of one or only a few viewpoints limits how a

person understands an issue.[42]

Research Questions. To address whether differences in content exist, research

questions rather than hypotheses were posed because there has been little research

conducted on online citizen journalism content. The goal was to measure the diversity of

sources featured in online citizen journalism and online newspaper articles.

RQ1: Will online citizen journalism or online newspaper articles contain a greater

diversity of sources?

RQ1a: Will the average number of sources differ significantly in online

citizen journalism and online newspaper articles?

RQ1b: Will the inclusion of official and unofficial sources differ significantly

in online citizen journalism and online newspaper articles?

RQ1c: Will the inclusion of female and male sources differ significantly in

online citizen journalism and online newspaper articles?

RQ1d: Are online citizen journalism or online newspaper controversial

articles more likely to contain multiple viewpoints?

Method

Quantitative Content Analysis. This study employed a quantitative content

analysis of articles from English-language daily newspaper and citizen journalism Web

sites in the U.S. This investigation was restricted to newspapers that had an online presence and did not include Web sites for radio and television outlets. Newspaper Web sites were preferred to radio and television news Web sites because online newspaper sites are greater in number and geographic diversity.

Unit of Analysis. The unit of analysis for this investigation was the individual text article located on the home page of the news Web site for one day's time. Articles also included editorials, opinion pieces, blog posts, and columns. Analysis was restricted to the home page because the examination deeper into a Web site would be difficult due to the growing complexity of news sites. In addition, limiting the analysis to the home page is intended to encourage uniformity in coding.[43]

In this national sample, articles located predominantly on the center of the home page were included, and articles that were located on the upper, left, or right-hand navigation panels were excluded. Wire articles were excluded because many of the online publications featured the same articles across publications, diminishing the variability in content. Article categories also excluded from the analysis included sports articles and weather forecasts because rarely does coverage of such topics change over time, according to The Project for Excellence in Journalism.[44] In addition, other articles excluded were calendar of events, obituaries, wedding announcements, advertisements, multimedia articles (e.g., information graphics, maps, videos, audio, photos, graphics, slideshows), horoscopes, birthdays, letters to the editor, photo of the day, Dow Jones, top emailed stories, most popular articles, magazine articles, open threads, reader feedback, story corrections, and comments adjacent to articles.

Online Citizen Journalism Sample. A purposive sample of online citizen journalism sites was selected because no master online citizen journalism site list existed. To begin the selection process, Cyberjournalist.net was consulted.[45] Cyberjournalist.net is a site that is dedicated to examining how technology affects the news media. In early spring of 2007, Cyberjournalist.net listed 77 U.S. "citizen media initiatives." Each site was placed in two categories based on the home city of the publication from the Cyberjournalist.net list of "citizen media initiatives." The goal was to find two citizen journalism Web sites to represent all 50 states (one "small" and one "large" community from each state in the United States). To accomplish this task of selecting two sites to represent each state, one site was selected because it covered a city with more than a total resident population of 100,000, and the other because it covered a city with less than a 100,000 people (Demers, 1994). For example, the Glenwood Blog, based in Glenwood Springs (population 8,564), and the MyMileHighNews, based in Denver (population 557,917), represented the state of Colorado.

However, the master Cyberjournalist.net list of 77 sites did not provide a diverse or large enough number of sites to represent all 50 states. To supplement the master sample list from Cyberjournalist.net, Placeblogger.com was used. Placeblogs are sites devoted to covering a particular neighborhood, city, or region.[46] Recently, the top ten placeblogs were ranked.[47] Those top ten placeblogs were used to populate the list of online citizen journalism sites. However, the 77 Cyberjournalist.net sites and the top 10 placeblogs still fell short of the goal of finding 100 citizen journalism sites. To populate

the list, the Placeblog directory was used, which listed 1011 placeblogs in the United States in early spring of 2007.

The final list of online citizen journalism sites totaled 72 sites; 51% of the sites were extracted from the Placeblogger directory. Iowa was the only state that had no citizen journalism site representing it, and 21 states had only one citizen journalism site representing their state.

Online Newspaper Sample. After the online citizen journalism list was complete, a matching technique was used to populate the online newspaper list. For the online newspaper sample, an online newspaper was matched to each citizen journalism site city. For example, in Alabama, The Birmingham Blog online citizen site's counterpart was *The Birmingham News* online newspaper. An online daily newspaper was not included in the final sample if a newspaper was not found to represent the home community of the citizen journalism site. A total of 50 online daily newspapers were found to match the online citizen journalism publication's home city.

Sampling Procedure. Once the online citizen journalism and online newspaper lists were complete, the sampling procedure was determined. Analysis of online daily newspaper Web sites is difficult because news can be updated hourly.[48] This creates content analysis challenges because citizen journalism content is updated less often than online newspapers.

This study utilized two different sampling techniques because of the likelihood that there would be an overrepresentation of online daily newspaper content. To compensate for the expected fewer numbers of articles available daily, online citizen journalism content was captured everyday for one month (March 2007), while online

newspaper articles were captured everyday for a period of one week during that same month. More specifically, a constructed one-week sample was collected for online newspapers. A constructed week is a randomly selected week. According to Riffe, Aust, and Lacy, one constructed week for daily newspapers is an efficient sample for a six-month period, and the constructed week is used as a control for days that feature a greater number of articles.[49]

Ideally, online citizen journalism and online newspaper articles would have been captured at different points of the day to avoid systematic bias and to capture an accurate picture of news online because news is updated throughout the day.[50] However, current programs (e.g., WebZIP, Website Ripper Copier) that capture a snapshot of page content with active hyperlinks could not handle capturing more than a few home pages at a time. This analysis required the capturing of up to 122 sites at one time if both online newspaper and online journalism articles were collected on the same day. As a result, articles were printed off at the same time each day.

Online Newspaper and Citizen Journalism Article Sample. This sampling procedure produced a total of 6,485 articles. To make the study more manageable while maintaining the meaningfulness of the data, articles were randomly reduced because of the large number of online citizen journalism (n=2,221) and online newspaper (n=4,264) articles retrieved from the home pages. Articles were randomly reduced to 500 for online citizen journalism sites and 500 for online newspaper sites. From the available 1,000 articles selected from the 72 online newspaper sites and 50 online newspaper sites, some articles were discarded because they featured sports, wire articles, or other excluding factors. After extracting the unusable articles from the 1,000 article sample,

962 articles were available for analysis (480 online newspaper articles and 482 online citizen journalism articles).

Number of Sources. Graduate student coders recorded the number of sources used within each article, including document sources. A source was defined as a provider of attributed textual information. To be considered a source, the provider was required to be identified with a verb of attribution, which is a statement of direct or indirect communication. Direct communication in news articles was determined by verbs or attributions such as "said," "reported," "stated," and "noted," while indirect communication included verbs related to mental states such as "hopes," "feels," and "believes." The author of an editorial, column, or an opinion piece was coded as a source.

Official and Unofficial Sources. This ratio level variable measured the number of official and unofficial sources contained within an article. People were categorized as an unofficial source if they were able to speak freely on their own and were not likely speaking on behalf of an organization. People who spoke on behalf of an organization were categorized as an official source. *Official* categories included *government* (e.g., prosecuting attorneys, representatives, police), *business (*e.g., defense attorneys, business owners), *nonprofit* (e.g., Red Cross), and *anonymous official* (e.g., Pentagon official, lobbyist, White House aid) source categories, while *unofficial* categories included *average people*, *non-institutional representatives* (e.g., experts, scientists, academics), and *anonymous unofficial* (e.g., museum visitors, movie goers, witnesses) source categories.[51] An *other/can't tell* category was created for sources whose placement could not be determined.

Source Gender. Coders determined the sex of the source by first identifying whether the first name or photo appeared to be male or female. Coders also looked for pronouns such as "he" or "she" to help identify the source's gender. An "other/can't tell" category was created for sources whose gender could not be determined or if the source had no gender, such as an organization (e.g., White House).

Multiple Viewpoints. This variable was used to assess the journalist's effort to present more than one viewpoint in a controversial story. Controversy included physical, intellectual, and ideological conflicts. Factual articles were excluded from this particular analysis. Coders examined the presence of assertions addressing different viewpoints. Articles were categorized as either (1) all one opinion, (2) mostly one opinion (at least 66% of all assertions), (3) two views (no one view dominated more than 65% of space), (4) more than two views, or (5) not applicable or controversial.

Coder Reliability. To establish intercoder reliability, two graduate students coded 9% (n=91) of the total sample. Riffe, Lacy, and Fico suggest using Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient to determine ratio level intercoder reliability.[52] Intercoder reliability for ratio level variables ranged from .82 to 1.0.

To determine intercoder reliability for nominal level variables, Scott's Pi computation was selected for nominal level variables because it corrects for chance agreement. The reliability of nominal level variables ranged from .85 to 1.0.

Results

The final sample included 480 online newspaper and 482 online citizen journalism articles. More than half (55%) of the online citizen journalism articles were blog posts, while 5% of the analyzed online newspaper articles were blog posts.

Online citizen and newspaper journalists did not demonstrate a heavy dependence on outside source material. Only 4% of the citizen journalism articles clearly identified that it was a press release, or that the article was based on a press release. This investigation also looked at whether the sites relied on outside traditional media sites (e.g., print newspaper, TV, radio) for information. Other research on political blogs has shown a heavy reliance on traditional media sources.[53] However, research on this particular sample revealed that only 6% of online newspaper articles and 14% of citizen articles cited or acknowledged that they used outside traditional media sources.

Number of Sources. An independent t-test was used to address **RQ1a.** The analysis revealed that significant differences existed in the average number of sources cited (p=.00). Online newspaper articles averaged 3.64 sources per article, while citizen journalism sites averaged 1.37 sources per article (See Table 1).

<center>INSERT TABLE ONE ABOUT HERE</center>

Official vs. Unofficial Source Use. **RQ1b** asked whether differences existed between online citizen journalism and online newspaper publication's use of official and unofficial sources. Using a difference in proportions test, online newspaper articles were significantly more likely to feature an official (75.0%) source than online citizen journalism (30.3%) articles, while online citizen journalism (60.6%) were significantly more likely to feature an unofficial source than online newspaper (37.3%) articles (p<.01) (See Table 2).

<center>INSERT TABLE TWO ABOUT HERE</center>

Gender. **RQ1c** asked whether significant differences existed between the publication's use of male and female sources using a difference in proportions t-test;

there were significant differences found (p<.01). Online newspaper publications were more likely to feature a male (73.1%) source and a female (42.3%) source, while 41.1% of online citizen journalism articles featured a male source and 21.6% featured a female source (See Table 3).

<center>INSERT TABLE THREE ABOUT HERE</center>

Multiple Viewpoints. **RQ1d** used a Chi-square test to determine whether online citizen journalism articles differed in the viewpoints present in controversial articles. The results were significant (p=.00). About one-third (29.5%) of the analyzed articles were considered controversial. Citizen journalism articles presented more than two-thirds (67%) of their controversial articles from *all one viewpoint*, while 41% of the online newspapers' controversial articles were most likely framed from *mostly one viewpoint* (See Table 4).

<center>INSERT TABLE FOUR ABOUT HERE</center>

Discussion and Conclusion

Research has shown that smaller news publications differ from larger publications,[54] and the current research has demonstrated that significant differences exist between online citizen journalism (smaller) and online newspaper (larger) publications. This research revealed that online newspapers performed better at featuring a greater number of sources, a greater proportion of female and male sources, and a greater diversity of viewpoints in articles. Online newspaper reporters were also more likely to cite an official source, while online citizen journalists were more likely to include an unofficial source.

<center>18</center>

Gans argued that the inclusion of more sources would equate to a greater diversity of information available to the public. His predictions may be accurate because online newspaper articles contained a greater average number of sources, and based on this research online newspaper journalists performed better at including a greater diversity of sources within their articles compared to online citizen journalists. Newspaper journalists may seek out a diversity of sources to ensure the accuracy of their story, or they may do so to maintain or to attract a larger reader pool.

Larger publications are more likely to cover state and national issues, and sources representing that level are most likely official sources who decipher issues for the masses.[55] There are several reasons behind the use of official sources by online newspapers. Online newspaper journalists cited a greater number of sources compared to citizen journalists in this research; they have greater access to official sources and unofficial sources require more time to locate.[56]

Online citizen journalists were more likely to cite unofficial sources, while online newspaper journalists were more likely to cite official sources. The inclusion of unofficial sources by citizen journalists may be a reflection of intimate knowledge of community residents. Traditional journalist's coverage area is much larger, making it more difficult to find sources to decipher issues at a more personal level. Online citizen journalists' circle of potential sources is likely smaller, which increases the likelihood that they know someone in an unofficial capacity to represent an issue.

This research aligns with other research on the inclusion of female and male sources.[57] It found that both publication types cite males more often than females. More research needs to be conducted to pinpoint the influences behind the prominent

inclusion of males in both smaller and larger publications. Past research has shown that there is a relationship between the gender of the reporter and their propensity to cite sources of the same gender.[58]

Previous research indicates that the ability to host information online provides a greater opportunity to increase the number of viewpoints available to the public;[59] however both publication types fared poorly by featuring *mostly or one viewpoint* in articles that were considered controversial. Online newspapers did fare better by presenting less than half of their controversial articles from *mostly one viewpoint*. Newspapers also performed better at featuring articles with *two views or more*, while the majority (67%) of citizen journalism articles were *all from one viewpoint*.

. The purpose of each publication type may explain why online newspapers are more likely to incorporate more viewpoints. Online citizen journalists may utilize their articles during times of controversy to promote viewpoints that reflect their community's values, especially in controversial articles. Research indicates that smaller publications tend to denounce outside viewpoints. The exclusion of viewpoints is one approach to promoting community consensus,[60] which is in align with past research indicating that smaller publications tend to promote their own viewpoints by citing sources that align with their viewpoints;[61] however their availability in the marketplace adds to the overall diversity of ideas and interpretations present in a geographic location.

Limitations. As with all research investigations, this study is not without limitations. A limitation of this study is that this research does not represent all online citizen journalism publications because no complete list exists, thus the results cannot be generalized for all online citizen journalism publications. It is difficult to obtain a

random sample via the Web because many sites begin and shut down in a short

amount of time. Another limitation is that content is reflective of one time period (March

2007). Results may differ if collected during different times of the year.

   Future Work. More research needs to be conducted on online citizen journalism

and smaller publications. This research provides an empirical foundation for future

studies to test whether results reflect different time periods or other smaller publications.

Future research should also determine more precisely what causes differences in

source use. Upcoming research may also want to consider classifying those who

comment on articles as either sources or secondary sources.

Table 1: Average Number of Sources Cited in Articles

	Online Newspaper	Online Citizen Journalism
	n=480	n=482
Sources	3.64	1.37

* p = .00, independent t-test for difference in means

Table 2: Presence of Official and Unofficial Sources in Articles

Source Type	Online Newspaper	Online Citizen Journalism
	n=480	n=482
Official	75.0%	30.3%
Unofficial	37.3%	60.6%

p < .01, difference in proportions test

Table 3: Presence of Female and Male Sources in Articles

Source Gender	Online Newspaper	Online Citizen Journalism
	n=480	n=482
Female	42.3%	21.6%
Male	73.1%	41.1%

p < .01, difference in proportions test

Table 4: Presence of Multiple Viewpoints in Controversial Articles

Viewpoints	Online Newspaper	Online Citizen Journalism
	n=480	n=482
All One Viewpoint	8.1%	19.5%
Mostly One Viewpoint	12.1%	5.2%
Two Views	7.1%	4.4%
More Than Two Views	1.9%	.8%
No Controversy Present	70.8%	70.1%

x^2 = 40.86, d.f.= 4, p = .00

NOTES

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