

the previous six months, either because their news organization didn't have one (44 percent) or despite the fact that their news organization had one (31 percent).

The widespread lack of use of formal ethical guidelines does not necessarily mean that Canadian journalists are unethical, of course. Many journalists may not have faced an ethical dilemma in the past six months. And in any case, research among journalists in the United States suggests that journalists' ethical tendencies are intuitive and unarticulated, discernable only through patterns of behavior (Meyer, 1993).

To gain insight into Canadian journalists' patterns of behavior, we posed a series of questions about legal but controversial reporting behaviors, asking journalists whether the behavior in question could ever be justified. For three of the behaviors, there was no difference between anglophones and francophones (see Table 1). Solid majorities of journalists from both language groups thought it was sometimes justified to use hidden cameras or microphones and to stage re-creations or dramatizations of news events using actors. In addition, virtually all journalists said it would never be justifiable to promise to keep the identity of a news source confidential but then fail to do so.

Insert Table 1 here

There were some differences between anglophone and francophone journalists. On two of the five questions, more francophones than anglophones were willing to consider operating at the limits of ethical behavior. As Table 1 shows, 70 percent of francophone journalists but only 58 percent of anglophone journalists believed that