JOURNALISM IN TRANSITION

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The Professional Identity of Swedish Journalists

Jenny Wiik

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Department of Journalism, Media and Communication

University of Gothenburg

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

My thesis is about professional identities of journalists, but the process of writing it has been a matter of other identities as well – namely my own. A doctoral project is, as so many have come to realize, not only an academic journey; it is also a personal journey from one identity to another. I once started off as a student, and end up with much bigger confidence, knowledge and experience – feeling in every sense as a professional researcher….perhaps not yet full-fledged, but a researcher. Though this journey sometimes felt as a lonely sail across a rough Atlantic, it has not really been that lonely at all. Several people have contributed in different ways and in different stages during the process, and they are all worth my deepest gratitude now that I finally finished this book.

First of all I like to thank my dedicated supervisor Monica Löfgren-Nilsson that has been a sharp scrutinizer as well a reliable coach and friend – especially during the final, most intensive phase. My assistant supervisor, Professor Kent Asp, has also been a great help with pragmatic advice, straightness and good humour – JMG would definitively not be the same without you. A special thanks to Professor Monika Djerf-Pierre for encouraging me during the application process many years ago, and for being an inspiring and initiated opponent at my final seminar.

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A life outside JMG has periodically seemed like a chimera, but I do have one, and important persons of this non-academic life have certainly made my PhD work possible by their mere existence. All my good friends – I could never manage without you. Anna U, Anna H, Anna G,

Anna I, Anna A, Tina and Madeleine – we can talk of high and low and have experienced many things together; may we stay friends forever.

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Gothenburg, January the 27th 2010

Jenny Wiik

1. JOURNALISM IN A TIME OF CHANGE

What really makes a journalist is based on a social agreement. This agreement includes more than just the actual act of writing or taking a photo, since it is based on the assumption that journalists as an occupational group comply with common norms of behaviour and endorse an ethical code. They are professionals and should act accordingly. The common norms of journalism vary between countries, but the existence of an ideological base is a general phenomenon – it is the professional identity that makes the journalist.

In this thesis I study the professional identity of Swedish journalists and how this identity has changed between 1989 and 2005. I regard this identity as a composition of various journalistic ideals, such as objectivity, neutrality and scrutiny. Support for these ideals changes over time and my intention is to identify the direction of this change and explain it by relating support for ideals to social variations in the journalistic corps over time and to contextual changes of the field. I attempt to investigate this by using statistical tools in the form of a time series survey, entitled *Swedish Journalist Surveys (SJS)* which has been conducted four times within the time period of 1989 and 2005. It covers a wide selection of Swedish journalists and offers great opportunities to explore the corps' ideological and structural development over time.

The main reason for studying journalism is that it is accorded great democratic importance and power – sometimes described as a "fourth estate" in view of its scrutinizing function in society. The democratic role of journalism may indeed differ depending on the democratic model prevailing: participatory, liberal or oriented towards competition. The common factor in all representative models, however, is that they include normative demands on journalism to guard citizens' interests in relation to political power (Strömbäck, 2004, Asp, 1992). This function is deemed important enough to be officially stated in Swedish press policy,

and, in the case of Public Service channels in their broadcasting agreements. In addition to scrutiny, journalism is also expected to provide information and a forum for debate – tasks that demand extensive autonomy and integrity on the part of news producers both individually and institutionally (Ibid.). The increasingly consumerist society and tougher competition in media markets has accentuated the difficulties in achieving these high ideals, but has at the same time opened up new needs for audience contact and feedback (Andersson, 2009, Ekström, 2007). The public sphere is changing, and the role of news media is possibly changing too.

Journalism is regarded as a democratic institution, and is, as such, always relevant for study. Development since 1989 is, however, characterized by trends focusing particularly on the role of journalists as mediators of information: Since it is a knowledge-intensive profession, journalism is particularly interesting in the light of a rapidly growing information society – the communicative revolution. The revolutionary aspect of this process is not merely the development of communicational devices, but the dramatic effects it has on our perceptions of time, space, power and identity (Castells, 2000a). New media has sometimes been depicted as the death of traditional news media, as practically anyone with a computer can now go online and publish. Mobile phones and digital cameras have also had great influence on the formation and speed of news: a journalist may no longer be first on spot at news events since any citizen can now pick up a camera and deliver the first shot. Moreover, it is equally easy to set up a news portal, collect available news sources and thus create a non-journalist selection of news. The blogosphere and its implications for democracy, politics and identity-creation have therefore been widely discussed. Overall, new instruments of communication have opened up publishing opportunities to virtually every citizen. The deliberative effects of digital media can indeed be questioned, but it has indubitably changed influences on media consumer patterns and media production. How is the professional identity of journalists affected by these changes?

The time context for my study is furthermore marked by structural changes in the journalistic field: The Swedish media landscape began to change on a large scale in the late 1980's, mainly due to extensive broadcasting deregulation. From being dominated by a public service

monopoly in radio and broadcasting, in addition to a strong newspaper market (Hadenius and Weibull, 2005), the 1990's brought considerable changes in a commercial direction. The public service monopoly was broken; morning papers' ties to political parties were in most cases cut or weakened, and a number of new market-driven channels were launched – eventually leading to tougher competition (Carlsson and Harrie, 2001). The changing media system affected professional working conditions in many respects and resulted in higher economic demands at all levels of the news process. In practice, these changes have meant increased time pressure and work load, with increased mental and physical strain (Tyrkkö and Karlqvist, 2005). These are the changes that dominate the field economically and organisationally. The relationship between ideals and practice is difficult to capture (to say the least), but I assume that the ideals have a bearing upon professional practice, and vice-versa (see for instance Löfgren Nilsson, 1999, Ekström and Nohrstedt, 1996). At a time when "the market" is exerting an increasing influence, and news organizations and work tasks are changing rapidly, it seems plausible that ideals are changing too – but in what direction?

1.1 Studying a Field

'Journalism' is a cloudy expression often used sweepingly as synonymous to news and media, referring to the diverse phenomena of content, journalistic practice and media as a social institution. I need a tool to grasp this diversity and be able to talk about journalism in relation to other social processes, and the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu offers just such a tool. Professional journalism has to be understood in relation to the specific field in which it takes place. This field expands and contracts over time and the number and character of field actors changes, and Bourdieu's framework is supple enough to take all those changes into account.

Bourdieu described the various arenas of modern societies as semi-autonomous *fields* of increasingly specialized action, structuring social relations. This system is universal i.e. it covers all dimensions of human life, such as literature, science, religion and – journalism (Neveu, 2007). All fields are semi-autonomous since they relate to the general social sphere where power is built around an economic and a cultural pole;

creating social strata that to some extent exert an influence in all fields, but in different ways. The degree of autonomy of a field depends on its power to create its own rules and reject outside interventions. According to Bourdieu, the journalistic field is, subordinate to the fields of politics and economics since they have such a great influence on its mechanisms. Nevertheless, he acknowledges it has a certain power in that it almost has a monopoly on the production and distribution of information. Journalists control citizens' access to the "public sphere" and may therefore pass on dominant structures to other fields (Bourdieu, 1998b).

Actors in a field compete with each other to attain legitimate power within that field. They do this by the accumulation of *symbolic capital*, which is most easily explained as the attributes that are acknowledged by other actors in relation to certain field rules. Bourdieu theorized mainly on economic and cultural capital, embracing resources such as money, property, education and titles. Symbolic capital includes these and all other forms of capital regarded as legitimate in the field. These may accordingly be exchanged for preferential rights of interpretation (Skeggs, 1997).

Bourdieu's concepts are *relational*, which means that journalistic production must be understood as derived from specific competitions among actors in the field (Vermehren, 1999). The relational character of the concepts complies well with the comprehension of professionalism I apply. Considering journalism as a field makes it possible to identify what is considered high and low in the field – the status of different media types, different news areas and various positions (e.g. Weibull, 1991a). Several researchers have drawn attention to the struggle of journalism for legitimacy, status and exclusivity (Ottosen, 2004, Furhoff, 1986, Windahl, 1975, Petersson, 2006) and Bourdieu's terminology makes it possible to ascertain the actual means of this struggle and how definitions of symbolic capital change over time. This includes mapping historical transformations based on demographical and morphological factors, such as the number of agents entering the field, social characteristics, gender and education, that are central to understanding the reproduction and manifestation of values, as well as change (Benson, 2005).

Interaction between the Journalist and Structure

Does it matter *who* the journalist is? If it is a man or a woman? Blue or white collar? The answer is yes – and I will explain why. A certain social disposition brings a certain set of opinions and attitudes. To avoid creating a warped image of reality the journalistic corps should preferably be constituted so that they represent the citizens (e.g. Jönsson, 2004). The significance of social representation is disputed, however. Is not the whole point being professionals to behave alike, despite different social backgrounds? Well, Bourdieu would argue that no matter how much they strive to behave and think identically, this cannot be achieved due to their personal *habitus*. The journalistic field is guided by internal norms and rules, generating field-specific *habituses,* including idiomatic mindsets and behaviour. Habitus is individual – like an inner compass directing persons in major and minor decisions. Bourdieu named this *le sens pratique*; a sense of practical "know-how" in different situations (Moi, 1999) – to be familiar with game rules*:* "Having feel for the game is having the game under the skin; it is to master in a practical way the future of the game; it is to have a sense of the history of the game" (Bourdieu, 1998c). This means the internalization of structures during the life course of an individual; structures that organizes perceptions and determines what we consider to be natural and self-explanatory (Lööv and Miegel, 1989).

Such structures constitute the fundamental principles articulating a field on discursive level, but they also determine the ways people act. In journalism the discursive fundaments of actuality and speed, for instance, control news practice like an invisible hand. Gans (1979) showed how editorial work, as in the case of most enterprises, is about attaining efficiency in a range of aspects - which consequently affects the choices made. The absolute deadline standard directs journalistic work in many ways: Sources are, as an example, often chosen on the basis of such concerns, which puts considerable news power into their hands.

Similar conclusions were drawn by Tuchman (1978) in her groundbreaking study of editorial routines. She saw news workers as being socialized into social and professional norms, and then making decisions within these frameworks. That is why norms and ideology repeatedly become manifested and reproduced in the media. She concluded that news production does not spring from rebel grass roots

but rests on hegemonic social institutions. Journalists legitimize their own professional role in a constant interplay with internal and external norms, thus preserving the status quo.

Schultz (2007b) suggests that symbolic positions of the field and within organizations generate various forms of the capital of professional value; the senior editor is playing the same game as a first day trainee, but from a different position. The editor may have "professional capital" in terms of many years experience, while the trainee possesses a larger cultural capital in terms of education – it then comes down to which capital is valued highest.

The habitus of individual journalists evolves from early childhood and is formed in relation to the capital in possession. It is therefore likely that some habituses entail different attitudes than others – it depends on the individual's position in the field. Representing a matrix of schemes, judgements and behaviours, and thus an organizing of practices (Neveu, 2007:339), the habitus of people working as journalists is relevant to a discussion of ideals. This may explain for instance why journalistic educations are peopled by certain kinds of students (white, middle class women) and also the role of such education programmes as socializing agents (e.g. Hovden, 2009).

Therefore, in my thesis, the focus is not on journalists as individuals. Instead they will be aggregated in line with their various forms of capital. The purpose of this grouping is to connect these capitals to the ideals and values of different groups.

Identity as a Process
The field metaphor establishes a fruitful framework of understanding and the concept of symbolic capital captures the symbolism of upholding certain ideals. With my quantitative approach, it is fair to regard professional ideals as a form of symbolic capital and assume that the amount of support an ideal obtains from journalists indicates the general recognition of this ideal as legitimate or not.

I will not, however, use the concept of habitus here. This is because I concentrate solely on the ideological level of journalism and need a concept that helps to illuminate this specifically. I have therefore chosen to focus on the concept of *professional identity* which I believe describes this in a fuller way. Professional identity connects members of an

occupation by focusing specialist knowledge, common norms and professional ideology. It illustrates something wider than identification with a specific organization – the professional is a member of a larger community (Alvesson, 2004, de Bruin, 2000, de Bruin, 2004). I consider professional identity to be a part of every journalist's total habitus. Together with other identities, it constitutes layers of what makes every person who he or she is.

Following Bourdieu, a journalist's habitus is important and influences every area of professional conduct. It will shine through in his/her favourite subject areas, news valuation and professional ideals. The habitus of a person – the journalist's way of thinking, acting and the disposition of personal preferences – will also orient him/her towards social positions within the journalistic field, whence an analysis of the distribution of different habituses must be made in order to understand the meaning of journalistic ideals in relation to the accumulation of capital.

One of few researchers who have analysed the journalistic field this manner is Jan Fredrik Hovden (2008). In his thesis about Norwegian journalists, he concludes that social characteristics are not the only factor in the differentiation of the journalistic field, but also what he calls journalistic capital (for instance, working with print of broadcast journalism). He can also verify that the power topology of the journalistic field corresponds with a symbolic order in which political journalism is hierarchically ranged above women's magazines in internal worth – a hierarchy based on shared beliefs in journalism for journalisms sake. Another important point that Hovden (2008) makes, is that symbolically dominating positions within the journalistic field are more often occupied by individuals with dominating habituses. In other words, despite a relatively free recruitment from the social field and its antagonism towards other social elites, the social structures of journalism tend to overlap and imitate those that systematize society in general.

The professional identity of journalists should thus be emphasized as an ongoing negation process; a process involving the dynamics of journalists as both individuals with social attributes and members of an occupational group (Deuze, 2008). I intend to capture some of the dynamics by taking journalists' social attributes (gender, age, education) and also their occupational features (position, specialization, workplace)

into consideration and relate these to the formation of professional identity.

1.2 A Collective Individualizing?

New communication devices are often said to have promoted a global trend of individualization. Individualization means the increasing importance of the individual working on behalf of collective actors. A popular theoretical assumption in line with this trend suggests that late-modern identities are being chosen to an increasing extent. They are supposedly not as dependent on group ties as before, allowing more freedom for the individual. Such a possible development, however, has not effaced the existence of collective movements in any way according to Castells (2000b) they are merely organized in a different manner. He hypothesizes that subjects may no longer be constructed in line with civil societies which are dissolving, but as extensions of collective resistance to power in transition. Identities thus become created defensively in relation to new forms of power that are mainly being formed at a globalized level.

This development is, at the macro-level, paralleled by evidence of increasing *fragmentation* and differentiation (Weymouth and Lamizet, 1996). For a late-modern labour force, this means enduring strong forces in the direction of flexibility and adaptiveness (Webster, 2002). Well-established professions suffer from re-organizations and boundary-breaking processes. Accentuated commercial demands imply bureaucratization and standardization of previously free occupations (e.g. Faulconbridge and Muzio, 2008, Wilson and Halpin, 2006). Implications of the information era on the news business are already highly visible in terms of tougher competition and fragmentation of work processes, causing journalism to face several challenges: Firstly, division of tasks in everyday work is becoming increasingly unclear. Journalists are expected to manage "multi-tasking" in terms of technical skills as well as subject areas of coverage. Secondly, professional institutions are weakening since, in a number of respects, they fail to embrace journalists in commercial media channels. And finally, irrespective of how the effects on content quality are perceived, increasingly influential commercial

demands do have negative effects on the altruistic features that are typical of a professional ideology (Nygren, 2008).

In terms of labour, globalization is said to create an intellectual and cultural elite of mobile knowledge workers, whereas the majority remain immobile and dependent service workers (Angell and Heslop, 1995). This is also visible in journalism. Expanding applications of different journalistic skills and personnel, accompanied by far-reaching re-organizations of journalistic labour, contributes to the creation of new hierarchies. Ursell (2004) divides the journalistic field into three levels: top-layer journalists that may indeed be regarded as involved in the rule-setting in the field and enjoying some mobility and autonomy, while the bottom layer comprises replaceable production journalists. The majority of journalists land somewhere in between; they hold reasonably secure terms of employment, but find their autonomy drastically curtailed by an existence as corporate employees.

There are, however, counteracting movements in the tracks of the communicative revolution. There is cultural *homogenization* as an impact of a global information flow; for instance the reproduction of similar TV-formats worldwide and the use of trans-national news agencies. Diversity, on the other hand, shows in the revalidation of particular cultures and identities, as when resurgent nations attempt to position themselves in the new global space in different ways (Du Gay, 1997) or the re-emergence of locally oriented news coverage as a competitive edge (Tejlas et al., 2008). The professionalization process is also in a way striving against the trends of individualization and fragmentation; strongly influenced by modern ideals of enlightenment rationality and focusing on secular authorities of expert knowledge. Swedish journalists have, for a long time, gathered around common ideas of professional journalism – ideas that attract persons with quite similar backgrounds. Even though conceptualizations of journalism have always differed between nations, and still do (e.g. Wu and Weaver, 1998), some functions have been typical of the role of journalism in the western sphere: information, scrutiny and a forum for public debate.

Could media business "going global" mean, not only trans-nationally expanding media corporations, but also the possible spread of autonomous, objective journalism as a global phenomenon (Weaver and Löffelholz, 2007)? So far, the empirical results have been ambiguous in

this respect, but some studies have indeed found evidence of a "kind of 'homogenization' of journalistic cultures – beyond divergent institutional and market constraints within given media systems" (Plasser, 2005:65). As the differences between national media systems decline, a global media culture seems to be emerging (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). How do these trends of cultural homogenization and diversification interact with and shape the ideological dispositions of Swedish journalists?

1.3 Aim of the Thesis

Given the contextual trends of individualization, cultural homogenization and fragmentation of production, and also the structural changes in journalism as a field, the purpose of this thesis is to explore possible changes of the professional identity of Swedish journalists. I do this by focusing on two interrelated research aims:

The *first* aim is to *describe and, as far as possible, explain changes in the professional identity of Swedish journalists*. How has the professional identity of journalists changed in relation to the surrounding processes of late modern societies? The professional identity is interesting in itself as a result of its collectivizing and legitimizing functions, but there is, of course, substance to it as well – a combination of ideals that is typical of the field of journalism in Sweden. To achieve this aim, I focus on certain processes that are crucial for late-modern journalism: The democratic assignment as formulated in Swedish press policy; the issue of professional autonomy; different aspects of audience orientation and journalists' relationships with public opinion. By concentrating on these areas, I intend to explore the professional identity construction as it relates to the changing environment between 1989 and 2005, as well as to the history of journalism as a democratic institution. How did this professional identity change over time? What trend is most apparent: homogenization or fragmentation?

My *second* aim is to *explore the relationship between the professional identity of journalists and their positions in the field*. This ambition emanates from Bourdieu's mapping of the social sphere in which different actions and attributes render status to various extents. Status is deemed in equilibration with the prevailing symbolic order, which creates arenas for continual power struggles. Consequently, he field of journalism is here

seen as a sphere in which different media types can be placed in a hierarchical manner; a sphere being subject to endless renegotiations. The meaning of specific areas of coverage and positions within the organizations will also be examined, in addition to social attributes such as gender, age and education. In line with Bourdieu's sociology, all these factors conjoin to determine journalists' positions in the field; positions that might affect their professional identity.

1.4 Disposition

In order for readers to be able to easily comprehend the thesis structure, I will briefly describe the content of each chapter. Chapters 2-4 are of a more theoretical nature, while Chapters 6-11 offer empirically based discussions and answers to my research questions. Furthermore the empirical section of the thesis is – as a consequence of my to two research aims – based on two perspectives. The first part concentrates on the dimension of ideological homogeneity versus fragmentation, along with the meaning of ideals as they are displayed in different combinations. The second part focuses on the symbolic order of the field. By linking the ideals of different groups to their positions in the field, I attempt to identify the meaning of various symbolic capitals to professional identity formation.

Theoretical Framework
In Chapter two, I describe the logic of the journalistic field and how this field originated and has changed in tune with the closely related fields of the economy and politics. I also take into account changes of a technological and morphological nature that provide a context for the professional identity of journalists; and that, in some respects, serve to explain some of the changes in this identity over time.

Chapter three contains a survey of relevant research in the area. It focuses on the conceptualization of journalism as a profession and how this view has changed theoretically during the 20th century. Hence, the account of historical research serves to place the profound concepts of profession, professionalization and professionalism into correct

theoretical contexts for a further understanding of professional identity as analytical instrument.

In studying the ideological disposition of Swedish journalists I use the concept of professional identity and the meaning of this is elaborated in Chapter four. To this central notion I also relate the concepts of organizational- and gender identity, as these help to explain attitudinal differences within the journalistic corps.

Chapter five is a methodological chapter where I explain the research design, discuss the survey and reflect on validity and generalizability.

Empirical Part I

Chapter six is the first of my empirical statements and describes "the whole picture" – overall changes in the professional identity of Swedish journalists: What ideals are most central to this identity and what trend is most apparent: homogenization or destabilization? The collection of possible ideals crystallizes into four areas that together contribute to a greater or lesser extent to the professional identity, and those four dimensions will be discussed in the chapters following.

Chapter seven describes the democratic functions of scrutiny, information, commentary and the facilitation of group communication. Swedish journalists comply, to a large extent, with these functions, making them the actual fundament of their professional identity.

Chapter eight focuses on ideals that from different angles describe journalistic autonomy: Objectivity, neutrality and mirroring. To what extent can the changes of the public sphere be said to influence professional autonomy as perceived by Swedish journalists?

The aspect of audience orientation is described in Chapter nine and takes off in the presumed market accommodation of journalism by, for instance, focusing on the ideal of diversion.

The fourth aspect of journalistic work relevant to professional identity creation concerns public opinion and is discussed in Chapter ten. It is examined from the aspects of acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion and influencing public opinion. Those two ideals may seem opposed, but prove to be positively correlated and centralize the importance of journalism in the area of public opinion.

Empirical Part II

Chapter eleven contains an analysis of the importance of gender, education and place of work for the formation of professional identity. Gender has previously turned out to distinct the ideological mindsets of journalists quite extensively, and news room cultures are in many respects indeed gendered with benefit for the male sector.

Formal education and the accumulation of systemized knowledge is one of the professional criteria – a criterion met in Sweden. What difference does it make whether journalists hold formal qualifications or not? And did educational influence on professional identity change in any way between 1989 and 2005?

The concept of organizational identity is, finally, used as a way of identifying high and low status media and how this stratification contributes to variations in the professional standing of journalists.

Threads are pulled together in the final and twelfth chapter in a concluding discussion.

2. THE JOURNALISTIC FIELD

In this second chapter I will give an account of the specific field of journalism as being placed in a subordinate position to other fields of society, above all the fields of economics and politics. Their influence on journalism is discussed in order to map the particular logic of the journalistic field, and in what manner this logic may have changed during my research time period. I will also give an account of the technical changes, since these are extremely important in determining the direction of contemporary journalism. These changes, which are of a mainly commercializing character, together constitute the relevant context for my research time period, against which I will interpret my results.

2.1 Placing Sweden in an International Context

Any potential problem conveyed by the changing professional identities of journalists is associated with the democratic expectations on journalism. Without the normative discourse surrounding journalism we would consider it just another business among many, but we do not. The concerns of countless media critics about the possible degeneration of journalism are of course founded in specific ideological contexts. The problem with ideological contexts is, however, that they are inevitably naturalized and taken for granted. Journalistic research and debate has therefore suffered greatly from westernization and blindness to social models different from our own. The democratic assignments founding journalism in western countries are by no means universal. We know this today, but research still remains concentrated in linguistic clusters, whence the western sphere is now dominated by British and American authors. American journalistic studies were originally largely focused on the educational perspective – how to produce journalists? Early research was thus marked by a "normative individual" perspective: In this view,

journalists were talented, gifted persons entering the occupations due to a calling (Löffelholz, 2008). Due to "its rooting in professional education, where it is more important to reflect on what journalism *should be* than to analyze in detail what and why it is" (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:13), studies have aligned with those norms, sometimes obscuring and slanting the views applied.

In *Comparing Media Systems* Hallin and Mancini (2004) attempt to analyze the historical development of media systems in the light of particular social settings, and thereby withdraw somewhat from the normative perspective. By studying a number of parameters, such as literacy levels, political and literary roots of journalism, and the state of press and broadcasting today, they distinguish three models of empirical validity. The Liberal Model, prevailing across Britain, Ireland and North America shows strong journalistic professionalization, commercial information-oriented press and strong commercial broadcasting with strains of solid public service companies. The Polarized Plurist Model prevails in the Mediterranean countries and is characterized by low newspaper circulation and an elite-oriented press. Professionalization is weak, but state interventions are strong and journalism is commentary-oriented. Greece, Spain and Portugal had periods of censorship following the Second World War, followed by "savage de-regulation" (Ibid:67). The Democratic Corporatist Model stretches from Northern Europe down to Austria and Switzerland. This model shows a history of strong party-political press and high newspaper circulation. The shift towards a neutral commercial press is followed by strong professionalization and state efforts to protect press freedom and press diversity.

Hallin concludes, however, that differences between the media systems seem to be eroding in favour of the Liberal Model. This has imposed a professional model based on the principles of objectivity and political neutrality, promoting "practices of separation of news and commentary and emphasis on information, narrative, sensation, and entertainment, rather than ideas" (Ibid:252). In some countries, these changes are most visible at the ideological level, while not so much in practice. Journalists from Southern Europe, for instance, adhere to the global notion of objectivity despite the fact that they act in a very far from neutral manner in practice (Hallin and Papathanassopoulos, 2002,

Papathanassopoulos, 2001). In fact, even in recently authoritarian and developing countries like Nepal and Tanzania, the objectivity norm is gaining ground (Ramaprasad, 2003, Ramaprasad and Kelly, 2003).

The conclusion to be drawn from Hallin and Mancini is that a less universalistic approach should be adopted when assessing the self-perceptions of journalists (Josephi, 2005), a conclusion echoing the point made by Bourdieu (1998d); fields and field configurations vary cross-nationally. But there are also general features of journalistic fields; a generality making case studies worthwhile, especially in a time of globalization. Deuze (2005) found some main ideal-typical traits (i.e. ideals) in an overview of literature describing journalism (Golding and Elliott, 1979, Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2003 among others): *public service*, journalists provide a public service; *objectivity*, journalists should be impartial, fair and credible; *autonomy*; journalists should be free and independent in their work; *immediacy*, journalists should have a sense of actuality and speed; and finally *ethics*, journalists should have a sense of ethics and legitimacy. Deuze does not consider these values as static or definite in any sense, but notices that, in various combinations, they represent what western journalism researchers tend to think of as 'real' journalism. Patterson (1998) compared journalists from five countries concluding that, despite different working conditions, there were indeed some shared conceptions of news – in other words, a trans-national journalistic culture.

Therefore, placing my case of study - Sweden – in this context is not too difficult. The main conclusions to be drawn from previous studies are that some parts of journalism can be termed more or less universal, but that comparative studies often fail to capture similarities because the journalistic field is so closely related to the cultural context of every country. However, the communicative revolution is, to a greater or lesser extent, global – and the consequences it brings are highly visible in the Nordic countries, where professions have been strong for a long time and the communicative revolution ubiquitous.

2.2 The Double Dependency

Before mapping changes in the Swedish journalistic field more specifically, I would like to account for the mechanisms that drive those changes forward. As previously mentioned in the introduction, Bourdieu proposes that modern societies in most regards exist subordinate to the fields of economics and politics (Bourdieu, 1998b). This dependence of the media on economic and political institutions was identified by Chomsky and Herman (1988) in what is called the propaganda model. They place news as a social product in the interface of commercial and political demands in a symbiotic manner. It is described as a "give and take-situation" between those institutions with the purpose of legitimizing their privileged positions. Sources possess considerable power since the media is dependent on their information. Chomsky and Herman therefore conclude that the media serve to maintain the status quo rather than as critical watchdogs. The chimera of autonomy and alleged objectivity of journalism thus legitimize the media as a tool in the reproduction of hegemonic ideologies (Ibid.).

The propaganda model has been criticized for being too radical – even conspiratorial, too functionalist and too mechanical. One of the more sophisticated critiques was brought by Dan Hallin (1994) who argued that the model ignores media professionalism and objectivity, values that are central to the understanding of media. He suggests the professionalization of journalism is one solution to the problem of a weakening public sphere, and claims that journalistic autonomy must be protected "at a time when increasing commercialization of the news media threatens to upset the balance within news organizations between the public interest culture of journalism and the culture of commodity production" (Ibid:4). Herman (1998:197) answers this critique, however, by describing professionalism and objectivity as "fuzzy, flexible, and superficial manifestations of deeper power and relationships". He states that professionalism has always been encouraged and accommodated by press owners, because it gives a badge of legitimacy to journalism. It may in some circumstances mean real autonomy, but more often the internalization of commercial values that media owners hold most dear – concurrently assuring the audience that news will not be biased by any of the commercial actors involved in the process (Ibid.).

While the propaganda model is useful in pointing to the trouble with media's double dependency, it also suggests a structural view disallowing journalists any freedom within the system. This might be problematic since it does not capture the possible autonomy and dynamics of journalism as a changing power in society. Bourdieu's field analogy here serves to give nuance to the picture: While recognizing field autonomy and the social processes taking place within, still he does not ignore the historical and cultural conditions surrounding the field. The trueness of the alleged journalistic autonomy is not something I will be able to study empirically but it is nevertheless a fundamental point of reference for professional discourse: Whether ideologically constructed or not – it does not matter; autonomy will still have great significance for the formation of professional identity. I will therefore try to straighten out the impact of politics and economics on professional discourse, and in the end their impact on autonomy.

Impact of Politics on Journalism
Political influence in the field of journalism can work in different ways, and relations diverge in various national contexts. In Bourdieu's terms the political field can describe a wide field of power, but also refer specifically to state agencies and elected bodies (Benson, 2005). Furthermore the bond between journalism and politics can be studied through ownership, media content and the journalist-source relation. I will here briefly describe all those mechanisms since together they constitute the political environment forming the field of journalism.

Wielding symbolic power is not specific to the political field, but asserting power through laws and regulations is. Media policy is therefore an important classification factor when trying to put a journalistic field into an international context. It is from here many of the prerequisites forming the field originate. Swedish media policy has been described as "enabling" in its attempts to facilitate the existence of the media via financial and technological aid, and the support and expansion of freedom of speech (Benson, 2005, Baker, 2002). Financial aid is mainly rendered as press support, which means subventions of value-added tax; operational support and distribution support. These economical reinforcements are directed to second newspapers in local markets in order to maintain fruitful competition, and generally

constitute a very small help in the companies' finance. Press support policy has been criticized as being insufficient since it has not satisfactorily hindered mergers of leading and second papers (Hadenius et al., 2008).

Radio and telecasting is regulated by broadcasting licences issued by the government and the Swedish Radio and TV authority (RTVV). The government is responsible for the public service channels while commercial channels are licensed by RTVV. Public Service holds a strong position as a transmission channel of national coverage, highly relevant in the event of crisis, but also by offering a content supply often underrepresented in commercial broadcasting (Asp, 2007b).

In Sweden, freedom of speech and print are protected by three interlocking constitutional laws, where the only real exceptions are in the case of threats to national security and the sanctity of private life. These laws facilitate journalism by allowing anonymity to sources and informants and promising a substantial transparency for official documents. The Swedish model of holding one person legally responsible for all company publishing also serves to protect individual journalists from legal reprisals (Olsson, 1997).

Another direct exercise of political power over media is through ownership. The media are in some countries owned by the state, which extensively limits the autonomy of the journalistic field. A more common order of the Western sphere is that political parties stand as owners of media companies or that media owners explicitly sympathize with political agendas. That way, political influence is separated from state power (Hadenius et al., 2008). On the other hand, state controlled public service media is generally considered as a means to strengthen journalistic autonomy and pluralism. Through a legally established system and financed by some sort of public funding, public service media are allowed a large degree of editorial and operating independence. The goal is to offer varied, qualitative and impartial coverage that concerns the population as a whole, including different minorities (McQuail, 2005).

The interplay between politicians and media representatives also extends to the practical coverage of politics. Bourdieu concluded the journalistic field to be sub-ordinate to the political, since it is so largely confused by hierarchies of the political system (Bourdieu, 1998a). This

sub-ordination is made possible as journalists absorb the relative importance of political institutions. The news value of political themes and figures are decided from the institutionalized authority as constituted in journalists' minds. Therefore the most successful journalists are those who best assimilate the dogmas supporting the government and social order as a whole (Darras, 2005). This means that although sources in theory may come from anywhere, in practice their access to journalists tends to reflect established hierarchical orders (Gans, 1979).

The hierarchical orders of politics are reproduced within journalism as professional recognition of journalists remains a direct function of their proximity to powerful sources. Knowing sources brings professional status to the journalists and the higher the status of the sources, the higher the status of the reporters (Darras, 2005, Tuchman, 1978:68f). The power balance between journalists and political sources may be fluid and disputed (Strömbäck and Nord, 2006), but the fact is that reliable and creditable sources are of great professional value to journalists. They have often known each other for years, engaged in repeated co-operation giving mutual assistance – a co-operation that needs to be tenderly cared for (Fengler and Russ-Mohl, 2008).

In 2006, the Swedish Newspaper Publishers' Association launched an annual survey among members of the Riksdag concerning their views on freedom of the press. Results show an increasing political desire to limit this freedom mostly with reference to the importance of personal integrity (www.tu.se). Personal integrity however, is an argument that clashes with the escalating efforts to fight terrorism and organized crime, efforts that also tend to circumscribe freedom of the press. According to the Reporters Without Borders' annual press freedom index of 2008, European countries are still at the top of the list. Compared to previous years it is obvious, though, that freedom of the press is being eroded in most Western democracies. Sweden fell from seventh place on the list to eleventh between the 2007 and 2008 surveys (www.rsf.org).

Impact of Market Logic on Journalism

Another alarming threat to journalistic freedom is, according to media critical debate, the ubiquitous influence of the market – referred to under the names of commercialization, commoditization or tabloidization etc (e.g. Picard, 2004, McManus, 1994, Keane, 1991). Scott Reinardy (2007)

even talks of a crisis in professional journalism since "plummeting circulation, declining revenues, new technology, conglomerate ownership, and layoffs" mainly in the newspaper industry have contributed to an increasingly tough working environment for journalists. Repeated editorial budget cuts, low salaries and job insecurity are causing a decline in professional commitment and efficacy; trends eventually leading to cynicism, burnout and detachment from professional aims (Ibid.). His descriptions are supported by American editors and journalists who, in a Pew Research Centre Survey from 1999, stated that growing business and financial pressures were harming quality of coverage (Pew, 1999).

The market discourse conveys a turbulent environment, blurring the boundaries between professions since multiple work tasks now have to be done by the same person. It is said to force commercial thinking upon professionals, and erode the mysterious exclusivity of professional knowledge as it becomes available to the public (Fournier, 2000). Fournier effectively reveals the origin of this discourse in essentialist assumptions of the market nature as well as of professional knowledge. Instead, she argues the imagination of professional fields as independent, autonomous and self-contained entities to actually be achievements of the professional project. The field of professional knowledge is thus always in motion and expanding: "the object that it claims to know about is not independent of the professional gaze, but is constituted by professional practice" (Ibid:72).

The influence of market logic on a professional field can work in three main ways: Firstly, by challenging the boundaries between practitioners and laymen (i.e. journalists and audience), as the passivity of the 'laymen' can no longer be taken for granted. Secondly, the line between publicity ideals and market ideals gets blurred as the public transforms into customers whose taste and demands become imperative. And thirdly, deregulation and broken monopolies as well as technological change require professionals to prime multi-functionality instead of speciality (Fournier, 2000). Translating this influence into a journalistic context means, for instance, that the audience is decreasingly dependent on journalism as the only arena for information and debate. Furthermore it places the role of journalism in a changing position; while the field always mirrored the dominating class, and its inherent tension

between an intellectual pole and an economic pole, it is now increasingly moving towards the economic side. This shifting between poles has its own logic because the dominant class has an interest in confusing them. Embodied in the hybrid figure of the "media intellectual" is namely the economically successful journalistic enterprise where the original tension has been washed off. Such an image implies synonymity between proper and profitable journalism; in the end, large circulation numbers may not be proof of a top quality news paper, but poor circulation is always perceived as failure (Champagne, 2005). Even so, the absence of money talk has been one of the most remarkable features of journalistic culture. Journalists seem extremely unwilling to explore that side of reality, since it would ruin the hegemonic lore of the profession, and as a consequence threaten the alleged field autonomy (Altschull, 1997).

2.3 Journalists in a Changing Environment

The dependency of the journalistic field on politics and the market has been described in general terms above, but there is also a need to clarify the specific implications of this dependency for the Swedish media system during the past decades. Media relations to both economic and political forces have changed, and the increasing commercialization of news work has been paralleled by a racing technological development and changes of the journalist corps structure. All these changes together constitute the field, staging the particular shape of professional identity that distinguishes Swedish journalists.

Depoliticization of Swedish News Media
The originally close link between media and political parties has clearly weakened since the beginning of my research period. This process of depoliticization took off in the 1970's and mainly concerned the news paper market, since broadcasting in Sweden was driven as a politically and commercially independent public service monopoly until the late 1980's. Swedish newspapers originally based their activities on a political tradition with a commercial foundation. These roots were established more than a century ago and are strongly connected to the development of the Swedish party system (Asp, 2003:45, Westerståhl and Asp, 1982).

The relationship between press and parties existed at several levels until the late 1970s: ownership, financing, recruitment, organizational principles, and content profile, especially with regard to the editorial pages and other types of opinion articles (Sternvik and Weibull, 2005, Hadenius et al., 2008). Typically, the most successful newspapers were founded by liberal or bourgeois pioneers, eager to create a forum for their political messages. The socialist press was launched in response to these papers, as the Social Democrats, together with the trade unions, tried to break the liberal bias of the newspaper market. Development showed, however, that the socialist press never became very successful. Their distinct political focus did not satisfactorily attract either audience or advertisers, and furthermore obstructed the necessary professionalism of company management (Engblom, 1996). Newspapers thus interplayed with political parties and constituted important elements of the development of Swedish democracy.

The situation gradually changed due to the professionalization of journalists and the distancing of news work from party-political links. This development was mainly a result of increased broadcasting news influence, where political independency and objectivity emerged as important guidelines for news work, and of the journalistic education programmes established in the early 1960s (Weibull, 2004). The internal work of newspapers also changed during the 1970s. The connection between news departments and editorial pages weakened and the idea grew that managing editors should act first on a professional mandate instead of a political one (Sternvik and Weibull, 2005, Hadenius and Weibull, 1991, Asp, 2003, Westerståhl and Asp, 1982). There was also, of course, a business motive behind the depoliticization of newspapers such as the idea that less ideologically coloured news reporting attracts wider audiences.

Today, the political relationship is confined to the editorial pages, as they support an ideology or a party. Research has shown, however, that even the editorial pages are moving towards a more commentating, "objective" style, characteristic of news in general (Nord, 2001). It is also common to add the concept of "independency" to the newspaper's political line (as in "independent liberal") and some newspapers have chosen to drop the party designation completely.

Swedish broadcasting, on the other hand, has been run as public service media since the mid-1920's. Radio started in 1925 as a private company under strong government control, granting a monopoly of broadcasting and in 1956 television was introduced as an extension of the radio company. Advertising was banned from Public Service radio and television from the start, and still is (Weibull and Jönsson, 2008). Until the late 1980's Swedish public service broadcasting acted on what may be described as an informal monopoly market. However, by the end of the 1980's, loud-voiced commercial media actors pushed political debate in Sweden towards deregulation of the broadcasting system. New technology such as cable and satellite systems gave a great number of Swedish households access to international broadcasting channels and after considerable discussion, the public service monopoly was finally dissolved in 1991. Several private broadcasting media then emerged, causing important changes to the Swedish broadcasting system (Djerf Pierre and Weibull, 2001). Public service is still independent of commercial demands, such as profitability, but the broken monopoly has also brought these media increased market awareness.

The media system today is in all parts characterized by consciousness of and dependency on commercial actors, such as advertisers and business communities, and also increased competition for audience attention (Strömbäck, 2004, Hultén, 1999). This consciousness probably influences the professional identity of journalists in some way. The question is, however, will their ideal perceptions turn to or away from business incentives?

Internationalization and Standardization of News Practice
The international media business has gone through extensive ownership concentration since the 1980's, a development mainly driven by accelerating technological advances and national deregulations, as in Sweden. Three large conglomerates based in Europe and the U.S. lead the market, which value-wise has served to streamline the media industry globally. The situation is similar in Sweden which is nationally dominated by a few large actors, for instance the Modern Times Group (MTG), Schibsted and Bonnier. Those leading actors are primarily Scandinavian based, making Scandinavia increasingly come together as one market. Progress towards internationalized ownership concentration has mostly

passed uncommented and without critique in Sweden, probably owing to the fact that effects on media system and content have remained unnoticed by the audience. There have been consequences though, mainly in terms of the standardization of content and work routines and, for example, extensive utilization of international news agencies (Hadenius et al., 2008).

Implications of the new economical situation to journalists mean a number of changing conditions in their work and identity creation. Media ownership concentration and mergers involves management efforts to integrate different departments and sections in line with sole top-down strategies. Research has shown that far-reaching plans and futuristic ambitions of executives are often interpreted by journalists as unfair criticism of their work. The results are conflict, damaged morale and nostalgia for "the good old days" among reporters and editors, and in the end resistance to proposed changes (Deuze, 2007, Gade, 2004, Gade and Perry, 2003, Sveningsson, 1999). Journalists' disinclination to acknowledge economical forces and new ideas is a natural consequence of their professional struggles. Paul Horrocks, editor of the Manchester Evening News, discusses the difficulties of managing professional journalists in an increasingly competitive business environment:

> "It is [about] delivering a product that we know the customers want. We started out on the multi-platform road 18 months ago. It is still rocky. You need a top-down commitment. Journalists, by their nature, don't like change. We have to convince them that we have to serve the customer to retain our jobs" (Quinn, 2004:115).

There is indeed evidence that "rank-and file journalists are more dubious about the business goals and priorities of their organization than their supervisors" and that journalists tend to be more satisfied with their jobs if they feel their employers appraise publishing values before economic values (Beam, 2006:180).

Analyses of Swedish journalists' view on commercialization reveal that they generally perceive news work today to be more commercial than before. They apprehend the influence of commercial actors over media to have increased at several levels of the news process and that their own influence is decreasing (Asp and Johansson, 2007, Andersson

and Wiik, 2008). Östlund (2000) suggests that the increasing trend of audience orientation within news production causes divergence of the professional role of journalists: The main development is forced by economic interests and promotes entertainment, sensation and shallowness at the expense of explanation and in-depth information. Simultaneously, she argues, the leading trend is followed by a minor-scale counter trend of elite media and information-rich news reporting. This leads to the separation of journalists into a smaller group of elite journalists creating their own trademarks. Ahlström (2008) sees this as part of an Americanization process; the sales pitch of well known celebrity journalists becomes increasingly important in the general star culture of news media. Journalists who do not become stars are, on the other hand, increasingly forced into a bureaucratized existence as cogs in the machinery. A separation into groups of up market and down market media may therefore lead to extensive difficulties in maintaining a collective professional identity. It also accentuates focus on individual motives as there is no longer a safe and predictive role to fall back on (Nygren, 2007).

Technical Implications for Journalistic Work

A final remark on the contextual processes surrounding journalism concerns the all encompassing technological development. Those improvements can be found at all levels of the news process: While today new media technology is mainly directed towards distribution and reaches the audience before the producers, there have also been great implications for organizational structure and the daily routines of journalists. Internet, broadband, WAP, digital television etc – they are all techniques that have been adopted by the audience first, so that the news industry has had to accommodate new forms of distribution to the best of their ability. This has primarily meant expectations from the audience to be able to reach news content in many different situations, whenever they want. These expectations are extensively driven and enforced by advertisers that have been forcibly pushing for multi-publishing. Pressures from audience, advertisers and competitors have forced well-established media companies to spread across a wide range of news channels (Enlund, 2008). Deuze (2004) describes the meaning of technical influence in three dimensions: Institutionally, as convergence

leads to increased co-operation between editorial departments and new technique is mainly seen as an instrument to reduce costs. Organizationally, as editorial systems develop and become easier to use. The price of these rationalizations, however, is less creative potential as the individual work of journalists becomes increasingly formatted.

Research examining the implementation of new technology in journalistic work has shown that journalists may find it useful and empowering in many ways, because it offers new tools for information gathering. It also improves connectivity and speed, reduces time and space, and allows feedback from the audience (Nygren, 2008, Heinonen, 1999, Dahlgren, 1996). Attitudes vary, however, between journalists of different media types. Those most positive to new technology is journalists who are used to technical facilities, for example radio- and TV-reporters. Journalists of newspapers seem to be more sceptical as they fear increased work load and technical problems (Nygren, 2008). Dinka (2005) shows that journalists value new technology with reference to their professional identity, meaning that the possibility of instant live reporting is seen as a great benefit. On the other hand, they see the risk of some technologies, automatic advertising selection for instance, threatening the independence and credibility of newspapers. In the end, it all comes down to professional considerations; one journalist comments on the idea of automating parts of the news process: "the actual point with journalistic work is that the reporter finds out what is important" (Ibid:44).

Heinonen (1999) discusses the fact that that the changing practices of journalism, and the imposed audience orientation, inevitably leads to a changed role of journalism in society. He means that the greater diversification of audience and fragmentation of journalistic performance raises the need for journalists to rethink their role. Even though it is unlikely that institutionalized journalism will disappear, global information technology enables citizens to communicate horizontally and bypass traditional news. As the traditional gatekeeper role is rocked by the appearance of new information disseminators, the professional identity of journalists may perhaps be increasingly characterized by the contextualization of facts rather than the mere mediation of facts.

Social Structure of the Corps

Bourdieu described how the position of individuals and groups brought various ideological postures as a result of their particular lifestyles. The social structure of the journalistic corps is therefore relevant in a normative perspective; journalists should represent the social structure of the public as far as possible in order to ask the proper questions. It is also a democratic mainstay that occupations should be open to anyone. Too far-reaching homogenization combined with a certain amount of social power, are adverse features when acting in the public interest; there could be a problem with legitimacy. Despite this, a common characteristic of social elites is the lack of satisfactory representativeness, mainly due to the social reproduction within those elites (Maktutredningen, 1990).

Leaving the normative perspective behind, there is still reason to consider the social structure of the journalistic field: If it features different social positions today than it did in 1989, this is likely to affect the professional identity of journalists in that field. During the time period in focus for my study there have indeed been internal changes in the journalistic corps. A comparison shows that the corps today is gender balanced while in 1989 it was dominated by men. Age division has also changed somewhat since then, for example the journalistic corps of 1989 was rather concentrated to people aged 50 or younger. Today the journalistic corps is somewhat older. Unlike the rest of the population journalists are increasingly clustered in the metropolitan areas, in Stockholm in particular: In 2005, 40 per cent state they are working there. This is no surprise, since many government and economic institutions are located in the capital, but the concentration of news coverage to the Stockholm area has often been criticized for lacking representativeness.

With regard to the socio-cultural factor of education, journalists seem to have been well educated during the whole research period, but the total level of education is slightly higher in 2005 than it was in 1989. Regarding the number of formally educated journalists the difference is greater; in 1989, 42 per cent of the journalists said they had some sort of journalistic degree. The figure in 2005 was 67 per cent. In both years it is mainly the oldest journalists who claim to have entered the profession without formal education, something that is becoming increasingly rare

over time. The educational differences are dramatic when compared to the public; 30 per cent of them say they have some sort of higher education compared to 76 per cent of the journalists. Again, this is not an unusual fact as the professionalization of journalism is closely connected with the establishment of formal training programmes. It has been depicted as a problem though, as journalists may tend to apply their well educated, white, middle class raster of interpretation to reality when covering it.

Bourdieu emphasizes class as the most important underlying social structure, and in the SOM- and Swedish Journalist surveys the matter of subjective class is measured. This means that respondents themselves have been asked to state their social background. Compared to the public in general there are some differences in class affiliation. One third of the journalistic corps linked their background to blue collar families; this has not changed since 1989.

Compared to the public, the class of blue collar workers is underrepresented among journalists. This illustrates the mechanism of social reproduction; that young people tend to choose careers by conforming to norms, expectations and forms of behaviour that prevail in their field (Rupp and de Lange, 1989). Choice of education and career becomes a means to maintain accumulated capital within a family, and children in families with less capital are similarly excluded from some career paths – not formally perhaps, but due to norms and expectations.

The largest visible change is of course the entrance of women on a wide front. The corps now being fifty-fifty regarding gender erases the last lopsidedness, apart from the extremely warped ethnical structure. There is no information on the ethnicity of Swedish journalists in the late 1980s, but they were most likely, and with few exceptions, all native. That is at least the situation in 2005 as 95 percent of the journalists are native Swedes, which means people with foreign backgrounds are underrepresented in the corps as a whole. The five per cent of foreigners in the corps do not come from very far away either as most of them are of Nordic origin (Djerf-Pierre, 2007). The non-native share of the population as a whole is 12 per cent (SCB, 2006).

Table 2.1   **Social structure of the journalistic corps compared to the public 1989-2005** (per cent)

Background category	1989		2005	
	Journalists	*Public*	*Journalists*	*Public*
Gender				
Women	34	49	50	52
Men	66	51	50	48
Age *				
34 years or younger	28	-	29	-
35-44	37	-	28	-
45-54	23	-	23	-
55 or older	12	-	20	-
Subjective class **				
Worker/blue collar family	34	45	33	55
Farmer family	6	5	5	13
Clerk/white collar family	31	29	30	17
High official/academic family	21	11	25	7
Self-employed family	9	10	7	8
Education				
Maximum senior secondary school/high school	29	81	24	68
College or university	71	19	76	32
Journalistic qualifications				
Without formal qualifications	58	-	33	-
With formal qualifications	42	-	67	-
Place of work				
Stockholm	34	20	40	18
The rest of Sweden	66	80	60	82
Number of answers	*851*	*2409*	*1102*	*3499*

Note: *Age is not accounted for the public, since this makes a pointless comparison with a professional group. **This is what the respondents themselves claim as social background.
Source: *Swedish Journalist Survey.* Public figures are drawn from *the SOM-surveys* of 1989 and 2005.

The social structure of the journalistic corps has, all in all, gone through some important changes during the period of 1989-2005: Increasing gender balance, higher level of education – especially formal education – and increasing concentration to some geographic areas. Regarding age

division and social background the corps seems to be more or less static, which means that possible changes in professional identity for the most part must be explained in some other way. The corps' failure to represent the general public regarding social and geographic background persists over time.

2.4 A Process of Liberalization

Tendencies described in this chapter can conclusively be collected under the name of liberalization. Deregulation of broadcasting; increasing competition for all media types; a new technology giving rise to new consumer patterns of media products, as well as new work routines for journalists; pressure for market accommodation and detachment of media systems from the political systems – all those tendencies constitute a changing environment for journalists as a professional group. This means opposing tendencies of standardization and decreasing autonomy on the one hand, and fragmentation and emphasis on individual enterprise and trademarks on the other.

The liberalization process takes off in the opening decade of my study; the 1980's. Sweden had recently experienced a very special era of media development during the 1970's; the decade when the press support policy was finally effectuated after years of heated debate. The decision to help second newspapers financially aspired to secure pluralism in regional and local markets. The system was heavily criticized by the first newspapers and by liberal advocates as too strong a government intervention in the public sphere. Subsidiaries were accused of being "a poison eventually knocking the whole business" and for undermining the freedom of press and opinion (Djerf Pierre and Weibull, 2009:325). The surrounding social climate, however, was at this point socialistic and radical and the press policy that still exists today was established. The left-wing climate also largely characterized the 1972 press commission that explicitly pronounced the role and meaning of journalism in society – a definition that has still not ceased to influence the professional approach of Swedish journalists.

Journalism with democratic responsibility is a notion Sweden shares with many countries, but the special mix of social responsibility demands

and liberal market forces has by Hallin and Mancini (2004) been depicted as specific   to the Nordic sphere. It contains a range of different ownership models, where media channels are more or less related to the state, and are almost completely independent. However, state connections seem to be no problem for the audience: Public service media channels appear as the most legitimate and trustworthy in public eyes, while morning metropolitans and evening press are met with more scepticism. Local press is placed somewhere in between (Elliot, 1997, Westlund, 2006).

Influence asserted by the Liberal model as suggested by Hallin and Mancini has to be placed in contrast to Sweden's socialist heritage. The aim of the welfare state was expressed in 1928 by Social Democrat Per Albin Hansson as *folkhemmet* - "the home of the people", an idea that united contemporary streams of socialism, nationalism and family values (Isaksson, 2000). The vision of *folkhemmet* marked Sweden for many years to come and the role of journalism has largely been to support that vision. Socialist efforts culminated during the 1970's under international slogans of solidarity and equality, but then had to face a harsh economic and political reality in the 1980's.

Market forces have since then conjoined with a rapid technological development, where information is released in a sometimes uncontrollable manner. New opportunities of Internet publishing have benefited society in many ways but are undeniably a hard nut to crack for traditional news firms. Most news companies today lead a second life online, but the question of payment has yet to be solved. Internet advertising can not entirely replace previous models of advertising. Journalism is therefore more or less given away for free on the Internet, something that has drained many news companies financially. The deteriorating economic situation has, in combination with the overall liberal climate, brought a new professional environment to journalists: Their once so well defined mission is now somewhat foggy, their working preconditions are changing and their autonomy restricted. In what sense do these surrounding changes mark journalistic identities? Can the spread of the Liberal model as suggested by Hallin and Mancini be traced in the professional identity of Swedish journalists?

3. CONSIDERING PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

"The journalist belongs to a sort of pariah caste, which is always estimated by 'society' in terms of its ethically lowest representative./…/ It is almost never acknowledged that the responsibility of the journalist is far greater, and that the sense of responsibility of every honourable journalist is, on the average, not a bit lower than that of the scholar, but rather, as the war has shown, higher. This is because, in the very nature of the case, irresponsible journalistic accomplishments and their often terrible effects are remembered."

Max Weber (1919)

Weber's words illustrate the somewhat adverse starting point for modern journalism almost one hundred years ago. Few people would today regard journalists as members of a "pariah caste", as they possess great power to mediate politics, watch observe the government and construct our images of reality. During the last century news people attained the status of a profession truly seen as fundamental to Western democracies. They have worked hard to achieve this status, pleading vital functions of independent scrutiny and a free forum for debate. One important aspect of journalism is, however, that, in Sweden, it never may fully reach professional status: Non-exclusivity is an inevitable criterion, in line with freedom of speech constitutions, and this means that any kind of *formal* "journalism authorization" is inconceivable (Asp, 1992).[1] This puts journalism in a special position among other professions and makes the bargaining for status and autonomy even more essential. The exclusive rights of self-regulation and autonomy have until now been easily legitimized since they

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[1] However, some democratic countries do apply a system of formal authorization. Italy is such an example. Again these differences point to the significance of ideological and cultural context in the development of media policy and perceptions of professionalism.

constitute the prerequisites for good journalism as we see (and want) it. They are furthermore included as effective agents of the journalistic identity construction, holding the collective together (Deuze, 2005). In collectivizing and organizing the interests of journalistic, professionalization have boosted the specialization of cultural production, aiming at all actors in positions of power in society. As a result, professionalization of journalism has extensive consequences for society and democracy (Asp, 2007a). Today the journalistic field faces strong external and internal forces, mainly economic, creating scope for negotiation in which "good journalism" may be reinvented - perhaps in a slightly different form.

3.1 Different Perspectives on the Journalistic Profession

There are several concepts circulating in this discussion: profession, professionalization and professionalism. Do they all mean the same or what? Julia Evetts (2005) disentangles the meanings by putting the concepts in chronological order. They are all used simultaneously but singularly refer to different stages in the history of professional research. The concept of *profession* alludes to early attempts to define what occupations could qualify as professions. Such research struggled for a long time to find criteria framing distinct and generic categories of occupational work. The *professionalization* concept generally refers to the development of an occupation gaining academic status and acquiring expertise in relation to laymen, as well as a process of separation and exclusion - securing a professional monopoly in a field. Evetts describes it as "the process to pursue, develop and maintain the closure of the occupational group" (Ibid.:3). It has also been called the "the sum of all processes" enclosed in the development of professions, having the common factor that they all lead to higher status and increased power both individually and collectively (Siegrist, 1990). The third concept is also the most current in contemporary research and refers to the concept of *professionalism*, which means regarding it as a discourse used as a powerful instrument in occupational change – both from above (managers, employers) as a means to control the workforce, but also as a means from within the occupation to resist change (Evetts, 2005).

I will here give an account of what these lines of research have concluded in the case of journalism.

Professional Criteria of Journalism

Traditional professional theory emerged in the 1930's focusing on occupations with particular freedom and status. Anglo-American studies of law and medicine dominated this type of principally functionalistic research in which typical professional criteria appeared (Johnson, 1972). In particular, its starting point was Weber's work on social stratification. His central hypothesis was that people who share common positions and interests politically, economically or culturally were likely to come together and exclude others. These three dimensions interact in a complex and ever-shifting manner, producing social strata of class, power and status (Collins, 1993).

The solid idea in criteria-based research was that certain criteria must be achieved in order for the occupation to achieve professional status, sometimes labelled "the trait approach". What attributes should ultimately be included has been mulled over by a number of authors (e.g. Greenwood, 1957, Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933) and the most commonly mentioned factors are:

▪ The occupation must evolve around a *systematic body of knowledge* (Wilensky, 1964). This criterion is partly fulfilled by journalism as an occupation, but it is not in a traditional sense constituted by esoteric knowledge like medicine or law (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). Knowledge is instead formed as a monopoly of access to media, based on the foundation of professional education. More than two thirds of the Swedish journalists today hold some sort of journalistic degree, usually a university degree, even if other forms also are represented (see previous chapter).

▪ Members of the occupation have extensive *autonomy* (Ritzer, 1972, Brante, 1989). Autonomy is also one of the key ideals of journalism, originally relating to state governance. Independence and freedom are vital in understanding journalism as a profession and have turned out to be the most common motives for approaching the profession in the first place (Weibull, 1991b). The trait of autonomy may be

misinterpreted as the freedom of individuals to directly control their daily work tasks. According to Goode (1969), this definition is inappropriate. He suggests that autonomy should be determined in terms of who controls someone else's work – a peer or someone outside the profession. Furthermore, the autonomy criterion does not refer to individual journalists but to the corps as a whole: Journalists may consider themselves autonomous in comparison with other occupations, but are at the same time subject to organizational constraints telling them what to do – and how (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, Hallin and Mancini, 2004).

Journalistic autonomy is often expressed in terms of *scrutiny*. The ideal of, scrutinizing those in power from a citizen's perspective is central to Swedish news culture (Wiik, 2007a) and also the Anglo-American sphere (Curran, 2005). Scrutiny exists both as content, as investigative journalism for instance, and as a function. The scrutinizing function of journalism draws on different levels, of which the watchdog role is fundamental; that power holders must expect the possibility of irregularities being exposed in media. For individual journalists, the scrutinizing function is largely a matter of taking a critical and independent stand vis-avis news sources (Nygren, 2003).

- The occupation must be characterized by *altruism*. This means that economic gain must be subordinate to the public service offered. The altruistic feature is a key element in the legitimacy of professions, as it balances self-interest against collective interest (Wilensky, 1964). In the case of journalism, altruism is perhaps even more important since there is a lack of esoteric knowledge: the act of public service is the legitimizing fundament of journalistic autonomy (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, Windahl, 1975, Deuze, 2005). Journalism is said to be characterised by a sense of serving higher purposes than simply economic goals: Ambitions for positive change; exposing and criticizing injustices; and in the end promoting democracy (Nilsson, 1992). The importance of public service and altruism is also mirrored in the self-image of professional journalists; in Russo's (1998:91) study of organizational and professional identities in newspaper companies, one of the bureau chiefs said: "We all want to

make the world better; I think most journalists do." Similar views were expressed in a Swedish study by Torsten Thurén (1988); a man who had been working ten years as a journalist said "The journalist occupation is incredibly important, journalists give people their conception of the world – a democracy is never better than its journalists.". It is not professionally acceptable for a Swedish journalist to claim "he is only doing it for the money" because of the general understanding of this as a non-acknowledged motivation. Professionalism implies altruism, and to step out of that symbolic frame is, in fact, to decline a legitimate position in the field.

▪ The occupation has a *common culture* of norms, values and symbols (Greenwood, 1957). This could also be understood as occupational mythology, professional ideology or even a professional identity (Deuze, 2005, Soloski, 1989, de Bruin, 2000, Schlesinger, 1978). To put it simply, this involves a common understanding of what the job means and how it should be done (de Bruin, 2000). Altruistic and public service objectives may certainly be acknowledged as ideological constructs, but professional ideology or culture is wider than this: It involves the development of professions in which, within occupational and historical contexts and together with societal culture, they "shape their practices and professional codes, beliefs values and ceremonies. These are used to varying degrees by members, both individually and collectively, to make sense of and manipulate events in their professional lives" (Bloor and Dawson, 1994).

A common use of this "taxonomical" approach has been to explore the occurrence of different values and then, by correlation, crystallize typical professional roles, Watchdogs and Missionaries (Melin-Higgins, 1996b, Janowitz, 1975, Köcher, 1986, Mwesige, 2004, Melin, 2008). One of the earliest attempts to create such a typology was made by Bernard Cohen who separated the neutral role from the participant (Cohen, 1963), a division later followed up by Patterson (Patterson, 1998). Weaver and Wilhoit took off from this typology, but instead proposed three possible roles: the interpreter, the disseminator and the adversary (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1991). By basing itself on a number of standard criteria, this

research tends to end up in a discussion of homogenization: Looking at journalistic ideals, one evident question is whether or not they are shared by a majority of journalists. It represents a search for patterns on a macro level, and attempts to fix the boundaries of a quite loose collective of occupational members.

The notion of journalistic professionalism is widespread and the occupation has gone through an extensive professionalization process during the 20th century. However, the professional criteria are not altogether applicable in the case of journalism. There are indeed professional codes and criteria to follow; but in Sweden there is no *formal* authorization for journalists, as for instance in the case of doctors and lawyers. Formal education is increasingly crucial for the shaping of the profession, but on the other hand it does not involve absolute standards: journalists may in fact be recruited from other backgrounds. There is a strong trade-union, but membership is by no means compulsory. In this thesis it is thus important to remember that I am concentrating on one of the elements that traditionally are considered to constitute a profession: the professional identity. On the other hand, what is mainly taught in schools of journalism and protected by union affiliation is the professional identity – the systemized knowledge of journalism is not exclusive enough to solely constitute a professional fundament (see for instance Rosenberg, 2004, Melin, 1993, Wadbring, 1996). Furthermore, the exclusivity of the journalistic knowledge base is declining as the boundaries with kindred forms of communications – public relations, advertorials, weblogs etc – are disappearing (Deuze, 2007).

However, professional theory today has largely abandoned the attempts to draw lines between professions and other occupations. In my thesis I will adopt a highly pragmatic definition of 'a professional', as suggested by Evetts. She argues that the professional field of study includes "occupations which are service- and knowledge-based and achieved sometimes following years of higher/further education and specific years of vocational training and experience" (Evetts, 2003:397). In this definition, journalism can easily be regarded as a profession in which the adherent theories may be applied.

Critical Professional Research

A signifying character of traditional professionalization theory is that it, all in all, conveys the presumption of professionalization as something good. The notion of gradual professionalization implies a linear process of development, with full professionalization as a positive goal for the occupation and its members. But the analysing methods of criteria-based taxonomies have been criticized for painting an unduly simplified picture of professions. Starting from this early paradigm professionalization theory, this was therefore widened from the 1970's and onwards and given different meanings. This broadened discussion of professionalization accordingly opened up a more critical perspective, partly in opposition to the functionalistic line. The research focused on the boundaries of occupations and what occupational member would gain in claiming professional status.

The field of journalism is largely excluding and self-legitimizing: Only those in possession of specific professional competence can claim to practice and evaluate journalism (Djerf Pierre and Weibull, 2001). The professionalized journalist culture is grounded on common values, and behaviour generates its own code of honour with strong demands on internal loyalty (Albinsson Bruhner, 1998). But the professional aura of exclusivity and mystery is not solely an advantage for journalism – or society. The audience/the public may start to wonder what goes on behind the scenes – especially when journalists cross ethical limits. When questioned journalists too often close their ranks in a defensive act of self-justification. This causes problems of legitimacy in the public view, since journalists seem to exercise power without taking any responsibility for the consequences (Petersson, 2005, Fallows, 1996).

That journalism is an ideological construction is clearly shown in the way different social groups perceive the journalistic role. The image of journalists as guardians of democracy is (not surprisingly) supported by journalists themselves, and also by older politicians. But when citizens are questioned, especially the young ones, another picture appears. They see journalists as selfish, unserious entertainers, standing side by side with the societal elites (Nygren and Ahlström, 2005, see also Petersson, 1994). Bardoel and D'Haenens (2004:190) note laconically that journalism appears to be "more successful in explaining the policies of the 'elite' to the citizen, but is clearly less successful when it comes to

explaining the needs and requirements of the citizens to the political elite". They infer that commercial media channels have been too preoccupied with positioning themselves on the market to consider their social responsibilities.

Bengt Nerman called this a "mass media ideology" originating from the dominant perception of journalism; formed by the industrial character of news production, its role in society, market dependency and typical language in use. He argued that this ideology obscures the effects of actual work practice on content and the assumption of journalistic professionalism from free individual reporters who are devoid of responsibility. Above all, Nerman considers commercialization of journalism as a threat to democracy since it undermines professional ethics (Nerman, 1996).

An exposition of previous professional research indicates two paths – or perspectives – used for exploring the journalistic profession: The 'traditional' (positive, modernistic view) and the cultural (critical, constructivist view). These are linked chronologically, but they create parallel angles of understanding as to how journalists perceive themselves as professionals - what affects their role and what their attitudes and ideals can be seen as expressions of. I make two reflections upon this: Firstly, depending on the professional theory perspective, this may culminate in the surmise that professionalization is either a good or a bad thing. The positive approach of early traditional research has been replaced by a more critical, conflict-oriented point of view – consequently affecting the out-coming results. And secondly, the theoretical development of the area reflects an increasingly problematizing approach common to social science in general - a tendency probably in response to an increasingly complex and demanding society.

4. INTEGRATING PROFESSIONAL DISCOURSE WITH FIELD THEORY

Contemporary professional theory has somewhat departed from the most critical standpoints. This means a more balanced view, assuming that professionalism can contribute to *both* clients and practitioners: there is no inherent opposition in serving the public interest and at the same time promoting the self-interest of the professional group (Saks, 1995). Professionalism may instead secure distinct values and moral obligations which restrain excessive competition and encourage co-operation (Dingwall, 2004). Arguing for a revised concept of professionalism, Aldrige and Evetts (2003) furthermore state that it must not necessarily be of greater advantage to the practitioner than the employer, which was the assumption in previous research.

Taking off from this view on professions I will in this final theoretical chapter first describe professionalism as a discourse, and what challenges this discourse endures during my research time period. This is the conceptualization of professions that I will apply in my analysis. Secondly, I explain the benefits of integrating professional theory with Bourdieu's field theory and how those two analytical tools fit together. The integration appears in my subject of research – the professional identity of journalists and the journalistic ideals I regard as essential parts of this identity.

4.1 Profession as a Discourse

Evetts (2003) describes professionalism as a normative value system – a *discourse* utilized by professionals in their relations with clients, their work practices and occupational socialization. In a time of change the professional discourse functions as a disciplinary mechanism in new

occupational contexts. It facilitates the inculcation of new 'appropriate' work identities and practices and can thus be visualized as a network governing professional conduct 'at a distance' (Fournier, 1999:280). Not surprisingly, journalists themselves prefer to regard professionalism as a normative discourse rather than a mechanism of control, as the former could be interpreted as a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990).

Bourdieu described society as a space in which individuals claim social positions distributed on the basis of two major principles of differentiation; cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 2000). It is possible to accumulate a considerable amount of both forms of capital but this is not everyone's privilege.

Figure 4.1   **Bourdieu's field of social positions**

CAPITAL VOLUME +
(combining all forms of capital)

Cultural capital +   Cultural capital -

Economic capital -   Economic capital +

CAPITAL VOLUME -
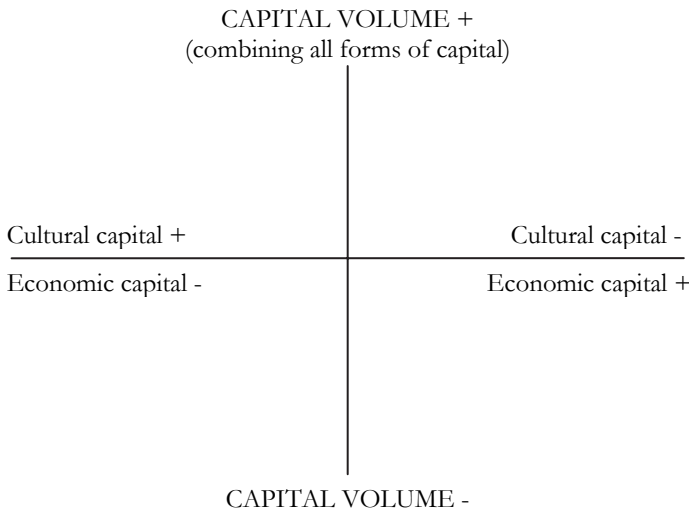
Source: Bourdieu, 2000

People are located somewhere within this four-field model and occupy positions that are connected to specific lifestyles, tastes and political opinions. The map on the previous page visualizes the general social

field, but may also be seen as a description of the journalistic field. By measuring what is considered high and low in this field, media companies may, for instance, be positioned in order to illustrate their relative status as perceived by field agents (Hovden, 2008).

Notions of status established in the field recur in the professional imagination of journalists, which makes them crucial to understanding formations of their professional identity (e.g. Windahl, 1975). A high professional standard, i.e. working independently for the public good and not for money, is therefore a standpoint that may be interpreted as a form of cultural capital. It is not meaningful to me, however, to use the terms cultural and economic capital. Recognized capital within journalism will instead be labelled as *symbolic capital* since this generates symbolic power within this field (Broady, 1989). The map also illustrates the tension-field between an intellectual and an economic pole – a tension that, according to Bourdieu, pervades all social fields. The normative discordance of the two poles is especially visible in journalism as a phenomenon: The split between economic and democratic/political incentives in news production has characterized the professional development of journalism for a long time (e.g. Croteau and Hoynes, 2006, Champagne, 2005, McManus, 1994).

Managerial Influence on Professionalism

Journalism is mostly perceived as a highly intellectual activity, but it can only exist due to economic profitability which is why journalists may appear a bit ambiguous in their self-perceptions (Champagne, 2005). The ambiguity between business aspects and public-interest ideals is a consequence of general commercialization, since the discourse of professionalism is increasingly challenged by managerialism. *Managerialism* in this context refers to the belief that all organizations are very much the same, which means there would be no dramatic difference in running a university or running an advertising agency – the performance of all organizations can be optimized by removing obstacles to management (Enteman, 1993). There is an ideological difference, however, between traditional free-market thinking and managerialism as the latter follows the neoliberal strand in which corporations, rather than small owner-managed firms, are taken as model for all forms of social and economic organization. When breaking through into new areas,

managerialism challenges established principles and practices, often represented by professionals and professionalism. However, even if the managerial concept in itself implies a critical approach sometimes close to conspiracy theory, research shows that the meeting between the discourses of professionalism and managerialism usually results in compromise and collaboration (Exworthy and Halford, 1999).

Instead of using the word managerialism, Evetts (2005) interprets professionalism as a division of two kinds of discourses: *Organizational professionalism* and *occupational professionalism*. She locates the roots of organizational professionalism in Weberian models of organizations[2], while occupational professionalism goes back to Durkheim's model of occupations as moral communities[3] (Durkheim, 1997, Weber and Parsons, 1964, see also Trigilia, 2002). Looking at professionalism this way explains how, and why, the incorporation of business values as professional standards occurs. Organizational professionalism refers to a discourse of control that is mostly imposed from above. It promotes managerialism, hierarchical structures of authority and externalized forms of target-setting and performance review. It is an appealing myth, attracting professionals with promises of higher status and autonomy, a myth concealing excessive symbolic power that makes explicit manager-supervising unnecessary – it is control 'at a distance' (Alvesson, 2004). Occupational professionalism refers to the discourse constructed *within* professional groups, involving values of collegial authority, trust and discretion.

In the daily work of journalists, they repeatedly have to deal with encounters between these discourses. Even if they are theoretically separate, they are in practice working together as a result of negotiation and compromise (see Örnebring, 2008 for further discussion). But

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[2] Weber identified two kinds of organizational models; the personalized and the bureaucratic. The latter developed along with the modern society and is characterized by objective rules and neutrality. Weber saw, however, that even the most neutral rules could be applied to individuals jockeying for authority and autonomy. This struggle for control results in a dialectic between the "formal" and the "informal" – a mixture of personal loyalties and bureaucratic impartiality that all organizations must manage (Collins & Makowsky, 1993).
[3] Durkheim, on the other hand, described modern society as an organic body due to the increasing complexity of the division of labour. Society is then bound together by "organic solidarity" and a sense of moral conscience. Groups of individuals, such as occupations, are also held together by moral consciences manifested in norms and rituals (Collins & Makowsky, 1993)).

negotiation and compromise do not automatically mean a balance of power – especially not in a longer perspective. The way I see it, managerialism constitutes a powerful influence on news organizations, as it does on the society as a whole. I find it likely that journalists slowly and perhaps hardly perceptibly incorporate managerial values into their professional identity; for instance by adjusting news valuation to a more commercial orientation. It would be a logical outcome of the cooperation between their professionalism and the managerial efforts that are becoming more and more tangible.

4.2 The Professional Field of Journalism

The concepts of occupational and organizational professionalism illustrate the tension between the cultural and economic poles in the field, and negotiations between them. The discourse of occupational professionalism focuses on the striving of occupational groups for autonomy and legitimacy in relation to other groups. They are agents involved in the power struggle in the general social field, and the members of each occupation are also agents within every demarcated field, for instance journalism.

Professions are, however, less independent than we previously imagined and more influenced by extraprofessional norms and socialization. According to Hovden (2008), one advantage of Bourdieu's, capital and habitus concepts is, that they are *iconoclastic*: That means they break with previous notions of professions as charismatic and autonomous and instead, like contemporary professional research, point out the structural prerequisites surrounding professional practice and ideals. Bourdieu himself expressed a critical view of the journalistic field in his publication *On television* (Bourdieu, 1998b). He concluded that it was structured by flightiness, shallow entertainment ideals and competition for audience acknowledgement. The constant hunt for scoops supersedes originality and diversity which, according to Bourdieu, has had devastating consequences. He saw the internal peer review system being replaced by a commercial logic of "majority consecration" and media visibility, and presented a rather depressing picture of the state of journalism (Ibid.). His radical criticism illustrates a lack of faith in the power of individual journalists to implement professional ideals in

actual practice. The structure is the strongest fundament, forcing single actors into a streamlined production of spectacular and de-politicized news (Marlière, 2000).

Bourdieu's criticism has been opposed in the debate, but he did acknowledge the significance of the managerial discourse and the overarching trend of commercialization. While not getting stuck in the rather pessimistic structural determinism implied in his argumentation, the strength of combining professional theory with Bourdieu's sociology lies in the analytical sharpness that can be developed by such a model. The concepts of field and capital help to identify the links between social positions and certain points of view. The understanding of the professional discourse helps to assimilate the forms those views take in the particular field of journalism and the reasons why.

4.3 Professional Identity

Professional identity is a form of social identity that links members of the same occupation. It hence refers to a wider frame of identification – a discourse – rather than specific objectives and members of specific news organizations. It is tied to a sense of common understandings; experiences and expertise, cultivated through professional socialization at several levels (education, associations, romantic lore etc) (Evetts, 2003, Soloski, 1989). Heinonen (1999) describes professional identity as a self-portrait proposed by the occupation to external actors. Professional ethics, for instance, have been developed and purified by journalists themselves as a protection against outside influence. Ethical codes of conduct are thus the professional ideals in an explicit form and represent the profession as it itself wants to be seen. Heinonen notes, however, that these ideals do not always correspond with reality. In everyday working life, grand ideals of journalism are bound to clash with praxis. He means that the daily routines of journalism are to a large extent formed by guiding ideals, but that routines expose the more mundane side of professional identity (see also Ekström and Nohrstedt, 1996). Both in actual work routines and at the ideological level, however, professional journalism is characterized by two basic elements: self-sustainability and detachment. Self-sustainability means the striving for professional status and the reinforcement of the image of journalism as

an autonomous entity. Detachment is created in the distance between journalists and sources and social phenomena so as to denote an image of journalism as standing on the outside of all objects of reporting (Heinonen, 1999).

The Status Element

Status is a   significant aspect of professional identity construction (Windahl, 1975). Knowledge-intensive workers like journalists access powerful symbolic resources based on communicative, technological and information-oriented skills. This symbolic capital opens up opportunities to intervene in processes and courses of events and evoke reactions (Thompson, 2001). Status is intimately associated with power and both are crucial elements of professionalism. As the natural authority and exclusiveness of professions fades away, the status surrounding them becomes increasingly insecure. Excessive education of journalists leads to inflation of cultural capital and, together with a general scepticism towards social institutions, a loss of professional status. People who hold knowledge-intensive positions invest more of themselves in their work, which makes their professional identities even more vulnerable to reduced status. The discrepancy in perceived organizational status and the bureaucratization of practical work may cause frustration, triggering the reconstruction and maintenance of positive self-images (Alvesson, 2004).

Professionally identity is constructed; and this means that it is flexible and multiple, rather than fixed and robust. It might thus suffice as a securing sense of ontological security in a destabilized working world (Ekström and Nohrstedt, 1996, Knights and Willmott, 1989). As mentioned before, the working world for professions is becoming increasingly insecure as expert knowledge – the fundamental base of professional structures – becomes less exclusive. There are only a few examples of professions losing prestige and power as a whole, but it has happened.[4] More common, however, is a development in which degraded working conditions tend to result in the recruitment of less

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[4] The very first "profession"; the clergy, is a good example of this. Although individual practitioners still may enjoy considerable prestige and power today, the profession as a whole has lost much of its status. This is due to the erosion of its hegemonic power and intellectual competition from other, secular experts.

qualified individuals that undermine the occupation as a whole, while the most powerful positions within the field remain attractive (Rothman, 1984, Volti, 2008). Research on the meaning of identity in changing work environments has shown that disruption is less common that continuity since individuals manage to deal with extensive flexibility in their working life. The professional identity then becomes a "psychological home" where we feel comfortable, secure and know our way around (Raeder and Grote, 2007, Kirpal and Brown, 2007).

Interpreting Professional Identity

As regards the exact meaning of the professional identity concept, the literature is not more explicit than this, but I find it in all to consist of three elements: *Ideals, routines* and *status*. These three elements synergize to give the profession stability, substance and firmness outwards and are easily matched with the terminology of Pierre Bourdieu.

Figure 4.2   **Explaining the concept of professional identity in Bourdieu's terms.**

Professional identity   *Field theory*

Ideals	→	Values/norms
Routines	→	Praxis
Status	→	Field positions
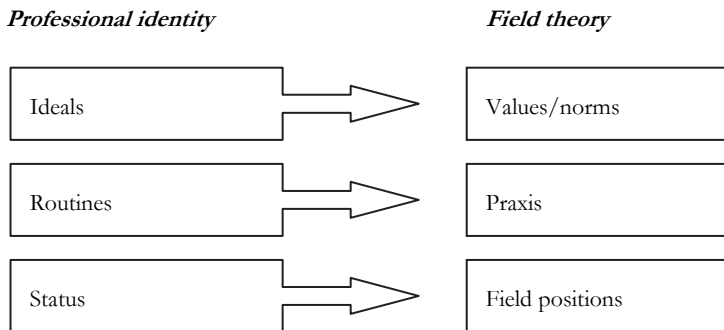
The notions of ideals originating in professional discourse correspond unproblematically with the field theory's values and norms. In building a universal theory, Bourdieu identified a wider spectrum of values than merely the professional, but the parallel is also reasonable within more clearly defined spheres, such as professionalism. The routines implied in

the professional discourse correspond with Bourdieu's concept of social practice (e.g. Melin, 2008, Schultz, 2007a). The concept of status, finally, is connected to the symbolic order of different fields in a natural manner: the pure existence of a hierarchical order presupposes a ranging and valuation of actors. The question of status and exclusivity is a core issue for the professional discourse. The constant struggle for legitimacy and autonomy may be directly derived from the symbolic order, as described by Bourdieu.

I wish to demonstrate, in this way, the familiarity between the professional identity concept and Bourdieu's field theory. The crossing of Bourdieu and professional theory determines my view of professions as sub-autonomous fields in which professional ideals can be studied as a part of something wider. Bourdieu also helps to integrate the three parts of the professional identity by further explaining the interrelations in between. While the middle layer of the model (routines/praxis) is omitted from my analysis I intend to study how professional/journalistic ideals can be linked to different positions in the field. That is, how they can be described in terms of status and legitimacy within a journalistic context.

My focus is on journalists as a collective, and changes in their common ground of ideals. I therefore apply the specific concept of *professional identity* referring to the self-perceptions of Swedish journalists as professionals. However, professional identity may not be entirely separated from other social identities as they merge into unique habituses.

4.4 Layers of Identities

Habitus is the collected memory of a person's experiences as well as inherited traditions from the environment. One way of disentangling the complexity of all these influences on persona is to regard it as located in different layers, or different *identities*. Identity means our understanding of whom we are and the demarcation of the self in relation to others. Late-modern theory describes it as a story that we tell ourselves and the rest of the world. According to this view, identities are constructed and therefore constantly replaced and unfixed (Gioia et al., 2000). The flexible concept of identity therefore illustrates cultural and demographic

influences on self-perceptions and is expandable and dividable – for example into, professional and organizational identities. It is not the psychologically defined persona I am interested in but the social identities linking us to various groups of people. Identities may increasingly be chosen by individuals, but their choices are – according to Bourdieu – highly coordinated with their position in the social structure.

The Social Identity Concept
Adoption of a specific social identity increases the possibility that norms and values associated with the group are internalized (Alvesson, 2004). Social identity theory largely developed in order to depict identity processes in dynamic situations. People, as it turns out, tend to adapt social identification in ways that accommodate the effects of change. For instance, if you are included in a negatively valued group, you may try to distance yourself from this – at least when opportunity to gain access to more attractive group occurs. One example of this is the multifaceted identity adopted by many women in leading positions: they often try to distance themselves from typically female attributes as these may hinder efficient leadership. If, on the other hand, you belong to a group with a positive and distinct identity compared with "others", you may accordingly feel jeopardized by changes that challenge this distinctiveness (Ellemers, 2003).

Bourdieu described the general social field as surrounding all other fields, thus making them subordinate. The journalistic field where professional identity is shaped thus becomes highly characterized by the rules and positions of the general social field. Social identity adheres to this general field and may take the form of social attributes such as gender, age, educational background and so on. Even though Bourdieu found nothing too small or unimportant to be accounted for, I must theoretically limit my focus and have therefore – guided by the literary overview – chosen to emphasize the factors of class and gender (even though I naturally control for other factors empirically).

The contextual side of it, apart from the social- and occupational changes described in previous chapters, is of course the media organizations where journalists work. Organizational belonging is an extremely powerful source of identification to employees, which is why I

also place the concept of organizational identity into my explanation model. Length of professional experience and positions within company (work tasks) are other organizationally connected attributes included in the symbolic order of the field.

Figure 4.3   Layers of identities

HABITUS		
Social identity Class Gender Ethnicity Age	Organizational identity Place of work Work experience Work tasks	Professional identity Ideals Praxis Status
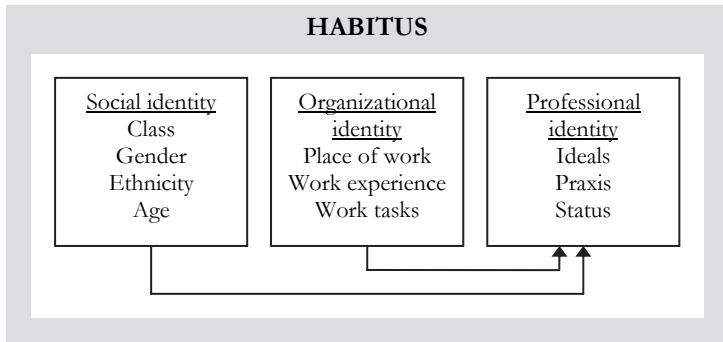
The structure of ideal, praxis and perceptions of status relates to all those factors constituting the individual and her context, as simplified in figure 4.3 above. In following sections I will develop the meaning of those identity layers and how they may influence the formation of professional identity.

The Class Dimension

According to Bourdieu, social stratification aligns with two major principles of differentiation; cultural and economic capital. Habitus is then described as the uniting of "practices and goods of a single agent or of a class of agents" (Bourdieu, 2000:8) that classifies schemes of taste, opinion and practice – schemes that diverge depending on social position. To Bourdieu class was a more theoretical concept than it was to Marx: Proximity in social space does not necessarily, as Marx proposed, make a group mobilizing for the same purposes. But as Bourdieu points out – proximity makes class struggle probable, but it is rather a matter of

struggle over classifications; a symbolic (and political) struggle to impose a specific vision of the social world on others (Ibid: 10f).

In my analysis I consider journalists as generally belonging to a widely stretched definition of middle class, especially since this is what they claim themselves; journalists usually come from white collar and academic homes. The obvious homogeneity in class affiliation of Swedish journalists makes a class analysis less relevant, at least when it comes to comparisons. My study may rather be considered as an analysis of middle class workers in knowledge-intensive environments. More important, due to this, is the level of education as this functions as a way to differentiate from members of the same class. It is also a common way to operationalize class in sociological studies. Bourdieu saw high accumulation of cultural capital as the reason why children from the upper classes are better off in school and at the end obtain higher degrees. These children are familiar with social distinctions and possess the kind of habitus that schools tend to reward. School systems thus play a central role in the maintenance of social hierarchies (Broady, 1985). But even if Swedish journalists seem to be raising their general educational level, it may not be titles or examinations that make a real difference in this particular field. It is more likely that occupational efforts for professionalization have emphasized the possession of *journalistic* qualifications, which is why I choose to focus on this.

Journalism – a Gendered Field

Besides the interrelated factors of class and education, I have also chosen to focus on gender as a vital part of journalists' social identities. Gender has repeatedly been pointed out as a very important identity marker in practically all social spheres. In organizational contexts, gender may differentiate the professional orientations of men and women, despite the existence of a common work culture (Alvesson and Billing, 1997). When using a variable approach like mine, gender is reduced to a simple dichotomy that easily implies gender as something static brought into organizations and the profession. This is, of course, too simplified a picture: The construction of gender in organizations happens in intimate relation to organizational culture; gender happens here and now – it is "done" in every day practices and manifested in the institutional forms those practices take (Alvesson and Billing, 1997, Löfgren-Nilsson, 2008).

Discussions on the gendered nature of journalism have been going on for quite some time within feminist-oriented media research. Several researchers have provided a substantial amount of evidence proving that the field is indeed split by gender. Journalism originally grew out of the public sphere with enlightenment (masculine) rationality as the guiding star (Djerf Pierre, 2007, see also van Zoonen, 1998). As a consequence, male perspectives and male sources have come to dominate the news.

There is also a clear gendered labour division into soft and hard news – as the former is dominated by women and the latter by men, making the field horizontally split. Most countries and media sectors are furthermore vertically segregated in that that women are underrepresented in managerial positions (Djerf Pierre, 2005). In her essay on gender and power in the journalistic field, Djerf-Pierre (2007) sketches the gendered nature of the field by describing the dominant logic as masculine and the alternative logic as feminine (see also Zilliacus-Tikkanen, 1997, van Zoonen, 1994, Djerf Pierre and Löfgren Nilsson, 2004).

Table 4.1   Gendered logic of journalism

Dominant logic ("masculine")	*Alternative logic ("Feminine")*
Public sphere/Elites	Private/intimate sphere/ Everyday life
Male sources and perspectives	Female sources and perspectives
Distance/neutrality/objectivity	Intimacy/empathy/subjectivity
Autonomy ("professional criteria")	Audience orientation (the audience's needs/ interests)

Source: Djerf-Pierre, 2007

The dichotomies are drawn from Anglo-American influenced environments and may very well vary over time and between countries. The model is indeed a simplification and says more about the logic guiding journalists' behaviour, than about the actual behaviour itself. However, the point made is that dominant logic is synonymous to

masculine logic in this field, something that must be regarded as an analytical aspect.

Organizational Belonging

A final aspect of journalists' habitus that I wish to enlighten is their organizational affiliation. It is in organizational environments that most journalistic work is done, which makes it crucial to acknowledge the influence of organizational cultures as well as the importance of the positions of different news media in the field. The concept of *organizational identity* takes off from the organization as an analytical unit, despite certain insecurities regarding its fundamental character (e.g. Deuze, 2007). However, I do not consider this insecurity problematic: My divisions into different media organizations I do not intend to say anything further on the subject of professional- vs. organizational identities *within* specific companies. I will primarily use the concept as an aid in discussing the positioning of various groups of journalists in the journalistic field – placements that largely affect the identity formation of those groups.

Organizational identity separates theoretically from the professional and is many times often contradictory. It stands for a connection in culture and space, upheld by members of the same organization as long as they belong to it, and comprises "the collectively constructed and continuously renegotiated understanding among the members of an organization of 'who-we-are'" (de Bruin, 2000, de Bruin, 2004). Research has shown that organizational identification is often more salient than that with the profession, which partly explains organizational differences in journalistic ideals (Becker, 1982).

In line with the overall individualization processes a generally acknowledged conception of the individual as an 'entrepreneur of the self' has, during the past decades, become established at the heart of organizational reform: Organizational management of professional identities aims at imagining daily work, not as merely fulfilling instrumental tasks, but as the self-optimizing and development of every worker's life project. Organizational success thereby rests upon the member's engagement, something that may be achieved by the promise of professional autonomy and auspicious career opportunities (Du Gay, 1996, Alvesson, 2004). The gist of this discussion is thus that

organizations may be changing in many ways, but they still make interesting entities in explaining the professional identity of journalists – just because their professionalism is constantly under the magnifying glass of managers (Svensson, 2003). The organization furthermore functions as the link between micro- and macro-levels, involving a general understanding of the section, state and society of which the organization is a part (Parker, 2000).

My comparison between journalists from different media types must therefore be read through a raster of previous research results and consequently be considered as a rough outline of high- and low status media in the field. The division into different types of media organizations refers first and foremost to the practical and ideological conditions generated by the different purposes of different mediums. It makes sense, for instance, to talk about the diverging status of evening tabloids compared to morning metropolitans, so I will keep the analysis on this level; a mezzo level between specific organizations and the profession. In this context, the concept of organizational identity offers enhanced understanding of identity-creation at work – in relation to the professional discourse, the purpose and competitive conditions of different mediums and the more or less general influence of the managerial discourse.

4.5 Journalistic Ideals

Journalistic ideals are important blocks of the professional identity construction, giving occupational members a sense of belonging and pride, as well as directing their decisions and behaviour in daily work. Some ideals are decreasing in significance and may thus not be regarded as fundamental to the profession. Others are increasing in strength and may consequently be regarded as increasingly normative rules of the journalistic game – professional ideals (Wiik, 2009). Thus I suggest that *professional* ideals of journalists should preferably be regarded as symbolic parts of the discourse on which the professional identity rests. The rise and fall of different ideals in the mind of journalists shows how the professional field changes over time; changes that in turn can be derived from particular power struggles between agents in the field.

What then do I mean by "journalistic ideals"? The semi-professional appearance of journalism adheres largely to the professional criteria as described in the first sections of this chapter. They are not altogether applicable to journalism, however – at least not in practice. The ideological level is more flexible and allows ideals that may not really be lived fully. I have therefore chosen to study journalists' professional identities through a range of different ideological standpoints that may – or may not – be included in those identities. Theoretically, they are not all regarded as "standard" professional ideals, but my intention is to empirically examine the correspondence between ideals constituting the professional identity of journalists and the surrounding professional discourse. Initially, I thus choose to call them "journalistic ideals" because they make a refinement, and in some cases an obstruction, of what may be considered as "professional ideals".

From my literary overview I have distinguished four main themes or processes comprising the development of modern journalism: The democratic assignment as formulated in Swedish press policy; the issue of professional autonomy; different aspects of audience orientation and journalists' relation to public opinion. Those interrelated processes capture well the main struggles and successes met by professional journalism, which is why I find it a relevant thematic categorization. I order "my" ideals into these categories with the purpose of achieving a manageable analytical structure.

4.6 Summary of my Theoretical Basis

Against the background of a rapidly changing media industry, trends of individualization and commercialization and the changing role of the journalistic profession in society, I am interested in the implications of these changes for the professional identity of journalists.

My theoretical framework has its starting point in the current development of professions: Knowledge societies are full of attempts to de-professionalize, corporatize and bureaucratize classic professions. This development is driven by global forces pressuring autonomous occupations to re-arrange themselves into the capitalist order of public orientation, streamlined efficiency and consumerist tendencies. Professions now have to *prove* their value to a higher degree than before.

As a consequence, professionals increasingly have to adapt to organizational and bureaucratic realities, when they become part of large-scale enterprises.

I have, on the other hand, shown the far-reaching prosperity of the journalistic professionalization so far: During the 20th century the journalistic corps successfully promoted its interests in a sometimes fierce struggle for professional status and legitimacy. This struggle is partially shared by journalists internationally and partially specific to the Swedish field, generating a unique ideological inheritance that may be related both to foreign journalistic systems and to national field structures. A basic presumption funding my research interest is, however, that forces of fragmentation as well as homogenization are more or less persistent in all Western countries. The expertise and exclusivity of the journalist collective are not to be taken for granted anymore (if they ever were) which calls the autonomy and self-regulation of journalism increasingly into question.

I thus treat journalism as a field where different actors are struggling for legitimacy. The field metaphor makes an excellent analytical frame, but I find the concept of habitus difficult to use in my specific context since it contains everything that makes an individual; language, body, lifestyle and so on. I study the attitudes of a large collective and can never reach the full make-up of habitus. Instead I choose to use the concept of professional identity, defining it as the part of habitus relating to the discursive frame keeping the collective together – the meaning journalists ascribe their role in society.

The professional discourse serves to frame the journalistic field with closure; preventing those other than "real" journalists (and other legitimate actors) from interpreting and changing the rules. Research on the relationship between managerialism and professionalism implies that it is a question of balance of power; an ongoing negotiation where the outcome varies. I consider managerialism to illustrate the forces of liberalization, economics rationalization and commercial accommodation that has characterized the development of the news business since late 1980's. Related to news production managerialism is likely to imply increasing audience orientation as the corporate model is based on the supply and demand relationship, while the professional discourse rather relies on the notion of giving citizens what they need.

I believe professional identity to be formed in relation to a *discourse* of professionalism. This means that I do not consider it as a composition of criteria in need of fulfilment to achieve the climax of total professionalization. I focus on the collectivizing and ideological functions of professions; thus what interests me is the potentially changing formation of the journalistic profession in a time when it is both externally and internally questioned. Most important to me is, in other words, not the destination but the *journey* itself. Regarding professionalization as a discourse of continuous processes may even suggest that no destination exists.

Professional identity is in this study reached by survey questions concerning professional ideals. I consider the support for – or repudiation of – those ideals *as indicators of the journalists' positioning in relation to the professional discourse.* Moreover, the concept of professional identity illustrates the connection between ideals and social positions in the field such that it depends on individual careers.

Apart from the matter of homogeneity versus heterogeneity in support of different ideals, there is also, of course, the dimension of what these ideals actually mean. The ideals of public service, objectivity and scrutiny, for instance, have been described several times in my chapters, and I intend to approach the meaning of those ideals in terms of symbolic capital.

The concepts of social- and organizational identity provide me with tools to analyse the meaning of mezzo- and micro level influence on professional identities in the journalistic field. Additionally recognizing morphological factors of the journalistic corps leads me to a framework of intersectionality where the professional ideals provide a starting point for a discussion about where the construction of professional identities of journalists is heading.

5. RESEARCH DESIGN

T he purpose of this thesis is to describe and, as far as possible, explain changes in the professional identity of Swedish journalists. My research questions will be answered empirically by a number of quantitative surveys all conducted in Sweden during the years 1989-2005. In the following chapter I will explain the survey design and discuss methodological issues. I will also reflect on selection, material and the interpretation of survey questions.

5.1 The Swedish Journalist Survey

Since my aim is to investigate the journalistic corps as a whole and to make valid generalizations about them, I have to turn to quantitative methods. It is the journalists as a collective that is in focus and possible subgroups among them. In this study I ask Swedish journalists about their perceptions of their journalistic ideals, and I do this by questionnaires sent by post.

The Swedish Journalist Survey (SJS) is a survey conducted in 1989, 1994, 1999 and 2005. It contains between 60-80 questions on a wide range of different subjects. The study was originally intended to investigate how journalists valued their ethical code and what it meant to them in their daily work. It soon became broader than that, however, and includes a large number of socio-demographic background variables, providing the ground for making analytical connections between age, professional experience, housing situation etcetera, to the many attitudinal questions also asked. Many questions remain the same during all survey occasions, which opens up excellent opportunities to compare both morphological and attitudinal changes over time. I will especially focus on the question about professional ideals, which will be more extensively discussed below.

The survey is conducted by the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication (JMG) at the University of Gothenburg in co-operation with the Swedish Journalist Union (SJF). SJF affiliates journalists working in a Swedish medium or in a medium with active business in Sweden. To become a member you must be employed or free-lance and working with mainly journalistic tasks. This means original production, selection, valuation or editing of editorial material, such as taking photos, illustrating, doing research, answering the phone, being reporter or chief editor etcetera. Somewhat broader rules for membership were accepted in 2008, so that journalists employed in the grey areas of convergence media also could be included in the definition. Union affiliation is comparatively high and even though the number of members has decreased due to the financial crisis and new rules for unemployment funding affiliation still involves 90% of the work force (www.sjf.se). In 2006, the number of members amounted to 18000. 6500 of those were employed by daily newspapers, 2500 by public service companies, 1600 by private broadcasting and radio, 3100 worked in the remaining media such as weekly-, monthly- and branch magazines and 1800 worked as freelancers. In addition to those there were also 1600 seniors and 800 students.

The questionnaires were sent by post in order to allow the respondents enough time to think through the large number of questions. Considering the rather extensive questionnaire, demanding somewhere around 500 check marks to be completely filled, the response rate has been very good; between 59-67 per cent.

Managers in charge of news companies are seldom members of SJF, which is the reason for a special questionnaire especially directed at them. The survey is called *The Swedish Managing Editor Survey* and aims at capturing the perspectives of managers. The selection includes all persons with top management positions, locally as well as nationally, at SR, SVT and TV4, and within the daily press with a minimum frequency of three day per week. A total of 182 questionnaires were distributed to these managers and 71 per cent completed and returned it. *The Swedish Managing Editor Survey* was conducted in 2000 and 2005, comprising the same themes as the journalist survey, but with a somewhat less extensive questionnaire. The questions I mainly used were only included in the 2005 version, which is why this will be my reference for comparison.

Selection of Journalists

The high affiliation is almost unique to Sweden and offers an easy way to reach the active journalists by using the union membership register as a sample framework. The sample is random and the numbers have varied between 1500 respondents in 1989 to 2000 in 2005. Representativeness of the journalistic corps in general is high: A comparison with SJF's members register in 1989 revealed a slight loss of women in the response group, and in 2005 there is a decline of 5 percentage points in the group of journalists working in commercial radio and broadcasting.

In my study I have chosen to include the whole sample as it was originally made. I have not, for instance, based my selection on an idea of "pure news" or tried to place different journalisms in order of precedence. As I intend to study variations of journalistic identities within the collective, I want my selection to include as wide a sample of journalists as possible. My principle idea is that a common professional identity only exists if it is shared by a majority of the journalists and people on the fringe of the profession: it should be recognized by everyone who wishes to be included in the professional collective.

There is of course one very strong objection to this selection, and that is the sample frame. Even though a majority of journalists seem to be members of the Journalistic union, possible changes may start with journalists not joining at all – or leaving. That would certainly be an indication of possible de-professionalization and dissolving collective. I cannot reach journalists that are not members and it is possible that they share other values, which cause them to remain on the outside.

5.2 The Society, Opinion and Media Survey

In relation to some questions I will compare the perceptions of journalists and managing editors with the perceptions of Swedish citizens. Their perceptions are drawn from the national *SOM-survey*. This is an annual survey of the general public concerning issues of Society, Opinion and Media (SOM) and is conducted in co-operation with three departments at the University of Gothenburg: CEFOS (the Centre for Research on the Public Sector), the Department of Political Science and the Department of Journalism, Media and Communication. The surveys started in 1986, but only the 2005 version is included in my thesis.

The national SOM-survey is built on a postal questionnaire where a random selection of 6000 persons from the Swedish population has been asked about their media use and perceptions of the media's role in society, among other things. The material is representative both geographically and demographically. The response rate in 2005 reached 64 per cent.[5]

5.3 Operationalization

To begin a study with complete set of data is to begin with great resources at hand: I do not have to manage the data collection myself – it is already there. The response rate and representativeness for this study are high and the selection is wide. The most suitable question in the questionnaire concerns journalist's perceptions of a number of possible ideals. It is worded "A journalist should regard himself as a…" followed by fourteen different statements. These statements are formulated from a basis of professional theory as constructed in the late 1980's. They can thus be derived from established professional criteria such as autonomy, neutrality and public service. A number of items were added in the 1994 year survey, referring to objectivity and entertainment for instance. Those can obviously not be compared to 1989 which is a pity, but such is the nature of time series.

How do I match my research questions with the survey questions? Available data will be analysed from two dimensions: The first concerns the question of homogenization versus fragmentation – two parallel trends that possibly affect the journalistic profession, but how? To explore this I mainly use frequency and correlation statistics. In the case of groupings I wish to see how they align; what patterns can I find? The second dimension concerns the question of substance: Of what ideals is the professional identity composed? Regarding both dimensions the construction of questions is crucial. There may be a strong professional identity built on *other* ideals than the ones I ask about – in that case I will miss it. Fragmentation could possibly appear in alignments undetectable to me. The questions are asked from a strictly professional perspective,

[5] For further explanation of the surveys, conduction and outcome, see http://www.som.gu.se/english.htm.

not leaving much room for alternative interpretations. This is especially important to bear in mind when analysing my second dimension. The question I can answer is therefore: Do any of *these* ideals give substance to the professional identity and, if so, how?

More concretely, I will try to capture possible changes of the professional identity over time and by keeping following aspects in mind:

- The preceding order of different ideals.
- The intensity and homogeneity of opinions.
- Changes over time.
- Clusters/correlations of ideals.
- How Swedish journalism connects with other journalistic fields (internationally), as indicated by support for certain ideals.
- How Swedish journalism relates to the discourse professionalism in general, again indicated by support for certain ideals.

My second aim is to connect formations of the professional identity to various positions in the field, and in that way explain attitudinal variations and changes of ideals over time. This will be achieved empirically by focusing on the following aspects:

- Alignment of ideals with demographic factors such as gender, age and education.
- Alignment of ideals with organizational factors such as type of medium and position within organization.

Validity of Statistical Indicators

In a secondary analysis like mine there is always a risk of operationalization problems; every item may not be perfectly formulated in symmetry with my research questions. The specific survey question was originally asked with a more explorative aim while my study is deductive, meaning that I am investigating a hypothesis from a pre-determined number of criteria.

How valid are the question statements used in the survey as indicators of a professional identity? Reviewing a great number of professional studies of journalism has assured me that possible

deviations from the well-known basis may not be too dissentient. The elements of the journalistic profession have been sorted out through many years of research and it is this research I lean on in my operationalization. Secondary analysis demands a critical approach to existing material and some parts of the overall aim may have to be abandoned. In my case, this means I cannot investigate how journalists perceive their professional status, something that would have been interesting and illuminating. It also means that any possible formations of professional identity based on "new" ideals (for instance more commercially orientated) are difficult to find. There may also be a problem of conceptualizations changing meaning over time; does "objectivity" mean the same in 2005 as it did in 1989? This matter is commented on throughout my empirical chapter where I find it relevant.

Four Themes for Analysis

As a consequence of essential issues crystallizing from the literature, and also as a mean to make my material more accessible, I have sectioned it into four theoretically grounded themes. The survey statements giving grounds for my interpretation of journalistic ideals are therefore ordered into the following thematic categorization:

Theme	Included survey statements
Democratic assignments	▪ *Scrutinize those in power* and *explain complicated events to the audience*. Equals the democratic functions as stated in the 1972 and 1994 official press reports. ▪ *Letting different opinions be heard*. Corresponds to the basic function of journalism to provide a forum for debate, an official statement removed in the 1994 version of the press report.
Professional autonomy	▪ *Objectivity*. As objectivity in both Swedish, European and American literature has turned out to be a central theme this is one of the ideal perceptions I wish to explore. ▪ *Neutrality* and *mirroring*. Two potential ideals that can be connected with different stages in the

	development of modern journalism and guide journalists in their relations with sources and events.
Audience orientation	▪ *Stimulate new thoughts and ideas* and *give people experience.* Those typical standpoints spring from an active participating journalistic approach.
	▪ *Provide diversion.* Is this a journalistic task? The answer to that question has varied between times and contexts; what do Swedish journalists think?
Public sphere	▪ *Influence public opinion* and *acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion.* Those two ideals may seem opposed, but both relate in some way to the public sphere and public opinion.

Analytical Methods

When giving an account of my empirical results I have chosen a number of different ways of doing this. The survey question on journalistic ideals I use as indicator includes, as mentioned, fourteen items and each of those has a five graded response scale; "Fully agree", "Partly agree", "Partly disagree", "Fully disagree" and "Do not know". The "do not know" alternative has been excluded from my analysis since I wish to focus on those who actually have an opinion.

When showing the development over the years, I have furthermore tried to simplify the data by choosing the "fully agree" alternative in my tables. This is to make data easier to grasp and to show how opinion intensity has changed over time. Sometimes this manner of display becomes misleading, however, and this is when opinion intensity is found at the other end of the scale or when answers are evenly distributed over the whole scale. In those cases I have chosen to use balance measure as illustration. Balance measure is obtained by subtracting those who disagree from those who agree.

I have also used bivariate correlations and factor dimensions in the form of Principal Component Analysis. This is because I wish to show the empirical connections between ideals along with the theoretical. In the case of any other statistical displays, these will be explained with reference to the appropriate table.

5.4 Generalizeability

A methodological reflection upon survey analysis in general instantly reveals several problems. As Shuman and Presser (1996:13) notice: "there is no end to problems when one looks carefully at questionnaire items". They can be biased, put in the wrong order, formulated too abstractly or too specifically and so forth. There just do not seem to be any perfect survey questions. I will therefore present an account here of the issues I find most problematic for my own study, but also point out the benefits of the questions (in addition to those already mentioned).

First, my selection is wide enough to discuss larger tendencies but what about the background variables? I will basically use ordinary demographic variables such as age, gender and education. Those are quite unproblematic and allow analysis of groupings. But other background data interesting to me are organizational factors such as where the journalists work; their main tasks and area of coverage. These are sometimes more difficult to validly examine in detail. Free sheet journalists, for instance, are too few to really say anything about statistically. Media types are chosen for this study so that approximately half the respondents are excluded; this is because in this particular case I am mainly interested in journalists working in regular news media. Trade press journalists and freelancers are therefore examples of "media types" that have been excluded. Therefore the small n-numbers of the different groups do not allow control checks for other variables such as gender, education and age (though it may be possible to identify certain types of journalists within the organizations). In these cases I have considered significance in relation to the original population: Since the selection is representative, even small groups may allow some inference, but of course with caution.

Secondly, how to interpret changes over time in material like this? Attitudes change slowly, this is a well known fact, and changes are thus not expected to be drastic during the relatively short period of sixteen years. I will not avoid the analysis of smaller changes though; just because change in this context will happen gradually it can definitely serve as an indication of the directions in which the journalistic profession is moving. The large sample size also helps me in this aspect.

And finally, where is the limit of interpretation? The question is worded in a generalizing manner: "A journalist should consider himself…" and calls for the perception of journalists in general – not the respondent as an individual. But at the same there has to be a connection between the personal situation of the responding journalist and his general view – why else would those views vary? It is on this connection I build the fundamental idea of my thesis: Bourdieu showed in several studies that attitudes, taste and values are formed from individual positions in the field and this basic assumption contains explanation value to me. It emphasizes the structural character of professional formation, meaning it is not journalists' psychological constitution that is focused on but their social relations.

EMPIRICAL PART I

6. OVERALL CHANGES

In the article "Why journalists deserve low pay" Robert Picard (2009), professor in media economics, points out the commoditization of journalistic labour as a problem. To create value, he means, workers have to possess unique skills, abilities and knowledge. Journalistic practice has lost this uniqueness. Journalists share the same craftsman skills, use the same sources and produce strikingly similar stories. Picard sees this homogeneity as a major disadvantage in the survival of news business:

> "One cannot expect newspaper readers to pay for page after page of stories from news agencies that were available online yesterday and are in thousand other papers today. Providing a food section that pales by comparison to the content of food magazines or television cooking shows is not likely to create much value for readers. Neither are scores of disjointed, undigested short news stories about events in far off places." (Ibid.)

So, journalistic practice and content are becoming increasingly similar partly due to the strivings of the occupation to purify professional standards, and partly due to the mechanisms of market competition. Ten years ago, Bourdieu expressed similar apprehensions in his publication *On television* (1998b). He concluded that the journalistic field is structured by flightiness, shallow entertainment ideals and competition for audience acknowledgement. The constant hunt for scoops supersedes originality and diversity which, according to Bourdieu, will have devastating consequences. He saw the internal peer review system being replaced by a commercial logic of "majority consecration" and media visibility and presented a rather depressing picture of the state of journalism (Ibid.). His radical criticism illustrates a lack of faith in the power of individual journalists to implement professional ideals in real practice. The structure is the strongest fundament, forcing single actors into a streamlined

production of spectacular and de-politicized news (Marlière, 2000). The journalistic field is, on the other hand, also marked by a tendency towards fragmentation in news production; with free-lancing and outsourcing becoming increasingly common. It is the tension between the structural thinking of Pierre Bourdieu, and later streams of individualization and fragmentation, that the reasoning of Picard becomes interesting: How do current business challenges form the occupational ideals of journalists? Have these opinions changed over time?

This initial empirical chapter intends to give a brief introduction to the results by dealing with these comprehensive questions. In what way has the professional identity of journalists been formed and moulded in the changing social- and business environment during the period between 1989 and 2005? The issue is, in line with my research questions, approached from two angles: Firstly, the strength of different ideals and their internal order. Have the ideals become stronger or weaker during the research period? Has the rank of ideals changed in any way? Secondly, I handle the question of homogeneity and fragmentation and to what extent these trends are visible in the data material.

Finally in this chapter, I will illustrate how the ideals order themselves into four dimensions that will make a basis for the analysis in the following four chapters. The significance of different individual and professional forms of capital will then be considered in the final empirical chapter; Chapter eleven.

6.1 Strength of Ideals

The eleven statements I use as indicators of a professional identity will now be collectively displayed in order to show their relative positions to each other. Some are more popular than others and the homogeneity of perceptions varies largely. To visualize the results, I have translated the answers into a professional ideals index. The index includes all available scale alternatives and summarises these into a single index value for the collected journalistic corps on each item. 1 on the index scale means refers to the alternative "fully agree", 0,5 represents the alternative "partly agree". Similarly, -0,5 signifies the response alternative "partly

disagree" and -1 means "fully disagree". The values should thereby not be interpreted as per cents or numbers of journalists, but the *strength of ideals* at aggregated level[6].

Table 6.1 illustrates the division of available ideals into three layers: One level obtaining nearly full support from all selected journalists and one middle layer of more fragmented opinions, but still containing ideals that have grown stronger during my research period.

Table 6.1   Journalistic ideals index, 1989-2005

	1989	1994	1999	2005	*Tau-c*	
Scrutiny	0,83	0,86	0,88	0,90	*.06*	**
Explanation	0,78	0,84	0,86	0,86	*.06*	**
Letting different opinions be heard		0,73	0,73	0,74	*.00*	
Stimulating new thoughts and ideas	0,66	0,72	0,74	0,70	*.02*	
Giving people experience	0,63	0,70	0,65	0,61	*-.02*	
Objectivity		0,54	0,60	0,61	*.05*	**
Neutrality	0,36	0,31	0,37	0,43	*.04*	**
Providing diversion		0,36	0,23	0,24	*-.06*	**
Influencing public opinion		0,44	0,33	0,22	*-.13*	**
Mirroring public opinion	0,26	0,32	0,29	0,19	*-.04*	**
Acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion	0,16			-0,18	*-.26*	**
Average number of answers	*823*	*1038*	*1040*	*1064*		

Note: The questions were worded "A journalist should consider himself as …a scrutinizer of those in power/ …someone who explains complicated events to the audience/ …someone who lets different opinions be heard/ …someone who stimulates new thoughts and ideas/ …someone who gives people experience/ …someone who objectively mediates news/ …someone who reports events neutrally/ …someone who provides diversion to the audience/ …influencing public opinion/ …a mirror of public opinion/ …someone who acts as a mouthpiece for local opinion".
Empty spaces means the question was not asked that year.
** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *Swedish Journalist Survey (SJS)*

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[6] The index is calculated by the formula $((1x)+(0{,}5y)+(-0{,}5z)+(-1r))/(x+y+z+r)$ where x,y,z and r are the observed values on the alternatives "fully agree" to "fully disagree".

The last layer includes a few ideals that are declining – together constituting professional identity that is likely to disappear. In this chapter I will discuss them in this order while in following chapters I base the discussion on the correlation between different ideals.

The absolutely most dominating ideal among Swedish journalists, today as well as in 1989, is to scrutinize those in power. This is closely linked to the ideal of explaining complicated events to the public, and they both signal an active and participating approach typical to Swedish journalism – a watchdog approach (Djerf Pierre and Weibull, 2001, Patterson, 1998, Schudson, 1978). These two ideals both increased intermittently between 1989 and 2005 and development is stable in all groups of journalists; whether you are a man or a woman, hold formal qualifications or not and whatever your special area of coverage is, support increases over time.

Below the all-embracing frame of scrutiny and explanation there is a group of five ideals: Objectivity; stimulating new thoughts; giving people experience; neutrality and letting different opinions be heard. They are not as strong as the first two, but still strong enough to give real substance to the journalistic identity: Furthermore most of them have grown stronger during the research period. The difference of index values between 1989 and 2005 may seem small, but most changes are statistically significant (if there are changes) and show a true increase in support for the ideals. Changes of attitudes are known to be slow but in this case one might perhaps have expected them to be larger. Journalistic practice has since the late 1980's been transformed extensively into the digitalized profession it is today; going through re-organizations and a changing social structure of the corps. Old guards have retired leaving room for younger talents; a new generation possibly with the potential for change in the professional identity construction.

At the bottom of table 6.1 we find four ideals that are declining in significance. The first concerns whether journalists should provide entertainment to the audience or not and the corps is evidently increasingly inclined to answer "not". The other three ideals regard journalistic relations to public opinion and it is obvious that this part of the profession is experienced as increasingly problematic. The wish to stay distanced from public opinion is most certainly a reflection of the increasing support for neutrality and objectivity as discussed above, but it

also shows an interesting direction for the profession: Heinonen and Luostarienen (2008) discuss the changing role of professional journalism in relation to the public sphere, which they argue to be changing appearance. As the public sphere relocates to grass-roots organizations and political parties rapidly lose members, the journalistic assignment is changing too. The changing role of journalists is, judging by the journalistic ideals index, refining and focusing on a few single values. The act of scrutiny is indeed to intervene in the public sphere, but clearly doing it from the outside. Compared to the act of influencing public opinion it is far more compatible with the strengthening ideals of objectivity and neutrality.

6.2 Homogenization vs. Fragmentation

Even if some ideals have become more popular at the aggregated level, the question of homogenization still remains: Are these opinions shared by a majority of the journalists or not? The index above does not reveal the dispersion of answers on the scale of available alternatives. All questions have a four degree response scale, and the variance reveals how homogenous or fragmented the attitudes of Swedish journalists really are. Variance values stretch between 0 and 1. 0 means no dispersion at all – everybody shares the same opinion. 1 means maximum dispersion.

The variance in coefficients shows an ongoing homogenization process in the agreement with some ideals but also concurrent fragmentation in relation to others. In table 6.2 (next page) the ideals have been ordered starting with the most homogenous ideal and ending with the ideal showing greatest variance.

Looking at the dominating ideals of the professional identity; scrutiny and explanation, we can see that journalists have grown increasingly homogenous since 1989. Variance has in the case of the explanation ideal dropped by 14 percentage points and regarding the scrutiny ideal by 10 percentage points, which are some of the largest visible changes. This supports the notion of these ideals creating an increasingly stronger base for the professional identity of journalists.

Even if the journalistic corps in many respects is becoming more homogenous, it also reveals manifest differences in opinions.

Perceptions of the ideal of letting different opinions be heard seem to be homogenizing and the same is true for the ideals of objectivity, neutrality and stimulating new thoughts and ideas.

The ideal of giving people experience has actually not gone through the same unification process as the others, since variance is practically the same in 2005 as it was in 1989. Journalists are not as split in this matter as it may seem, however; the distribution is almost fifty-fifty between the two alternatives of full or part agreement. Very few say they disagree (a further discussion on this in Chapter ten).

Table 6.2   **Variance in support of the journalistic ideals 1989-2005**

	1989	1994	1999	2005
Scrutiny	.27	.21	.21	.17
Explanation	.39	.26	.26	.25
Letting different opinions be heard		.39	.38	.30
Stimulating new thoughts and ideas	.42	.34	.35	.39
Giving people experience	.48	.36	.46	.49
Objectivity		.66	.56	.62
Neutrality	.77	.80	.75	.69
Providing diversion		.58	.72	.70
Influencing public opinion		.61	.65	.77
Mirroring public opinion	.84	.73	.75	.82
Acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion	.95			.91
Average number of answers	*823*	*1038*	*1040*	*1064*

Note: The questions were worded: See table 6.1.
Source: *SJS*

In some matters the journalistic corps is not as concordant anymore: Dispersion has increased in relation to the ideals of providing entertainment, influencing public opinion and acting as a mouthpiece for public opinion. Fragmentation is connected to the general decrease in support for these three ideals. Inversely, homogenization of the rest of the ideals is connected with growing support.

6.3 Four Dimensions of the Professional Identity

Looking at the whole picture of change two things stand out: First of all, *the overall ideological frame of Swedish journalism is growing increasingly stronger.* The questions asked in the survey are indeed put from a traditionally professional perspective, not leaving very much room for alternative perceptions, but the journalists do not seem to oppose this discourse. On the contrary; the result reveals an obvious consolidation of professionalism in the sense of journalistic ideology. The second thing to notice is, however, that *this development mainly concerns the ideals of scrutiny and explanation*; two ideals that are supported by almost every member of the Swedish journalist union. They build the fundament on which the professional identity can develop into more organizationally dependent subgroups. Subgroups can also be aligned with gender, age and other demographic factors that all conjoin to determine the journalist's relation to the surrounding professional discourse, something that will be further discussed in relation to each ideal.

The ideals of scrutiny and explanation will thus be regarded as a dimension of the professional identity standing out with special dignity. To this *first dimension* I will add the ideal of letting different opinions be heard, since this is the third most popular standpoint among the journalists, and furthermore it correlates closely with the other two (for correlation of all ideals, see table *i*, appendix).

Figure 6.1   **Dimension 1, including the ideals of scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard.**
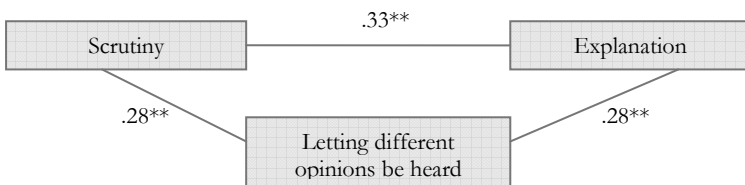
Note: The questions were worded: See table 6.1. ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

These three ideals constitute a fundamental dimension of the professional identity of Swedish journalists because a majority of them adhere to it. But there are three additional dimensions which appear in a principal component analysis. The dominating ideals of dimension 1 have been excluded from the PCA since they correlate with every dimension and therefore do not bring any explanation to the model as a whole – their skewsness rather tends to obscure possible dimensions (Kim and Mueller, 1978). The remaining ideals, however, form three rather distinct dimensions and echo the theoretical themes I previously outlined.

Table 6.3   **Dimension 2-3 of journalistic ideals**

	Components		
	2	*3*	*4*
Neutrality	.848	-.027	.025
Objectivity	.818	.042	-.111
Mirroring	.568	.048	.512
Giving people experience	.051	.870	.043
Stimulating new thoughts and ideas	-.124	.775	.020
Providing entertainment	.159	.602	.348
Mouthpiece for local opinion	.122	.055	.810
Affecting public opinion	-.299	.185	.671
Per cent of explained variance	*23*	*22*	*18*

Note: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaizer Normalization
Source: *SJS*

The ideals of neutrality, objectivity and mirroring come together as *the second dimension* and I intend to relate this to the never-ceasing discussion on the objectivity norm and its relation to the professional and managerial discourses.

The third dimension includes the three audience-related ideals of stimulating new thoughts and ideas, giving people experiences and providing entertainment.

The fourth and last dimension includes the ideals of influencing public opinion and acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion. These ideals reflect journalists' relation to public debate from two different angles, which is relevant due to the process of newspaper depoliticization characterizing my research period. This dimension correlates with both the ideal of mirroring public opinion and of providing entertainment; a fact pointing to an important note regarding the PCA. The components drawn from this easily give the semblance of representing completely different parts of the journalistic corps, but it is important to remember that dimensions do not represent the groupings of different respondents; they represent various formations of the professional identity among the journalistic collective as a whole. The four dimensions will, however, be treated in separate chapters, when I will discuss the ideals and their development in more detail.

7. FUNDAMENTS OF A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

Expectations of the media in general and journalism in particular can be derived from democratic values and necessary functions in democratic societies. These values are keenly supported by the citizens, and state that the press should be free from state ownership and censorship. Media monopoly should be avoided and journalism should respect human rights and support democracy. While not being state owned, Swedish media are still expected to work in the interests of the public. They work on a market influenced by many actors and have every reason to respect their values and the audience will. Media also have an interest in following national laws and maintaining the correct cultural and social postures.

Swedish press policy as formulated in 1972 declares that "mass media should contribute to strengthen and deepen Swedish democracy" (SOU, 1975:125). It should do this by offering information, commentary, scrutiny and group communication. These functions originated from a democratic model based on the formation of free opinion and realization of people's will. The task of offering information aims at creating a public sphere, where citizens have the necessary knowledge to form rational opinions in political matters. These opinions must then be heard in a fair debate in the arena of mass media channels. The group communication function refers to the crucial task of mediating information between citizens. Public spread of information facilitates mutual understanding between different groups in society, and also serves to illuminate the democratic process by making information official. General publicity of official documents is, for instance, a way to acknowledge the scrutiny function of media. Scrutiny is a vital part of representative democracies where elected politicians are held in trust, as media offers a way for citizens to follow up their choices. The role of news media in Western democracies is thus to facilitate free opinion and the implementation of people's choice (Asp, 1992).

The commentary function was discarded in a 1994 revision of the press policy, leaving the three functions of information, scrutiny and forum for debate/group communication. It is, however, included in the question battery of this survey as in "explaining complicated events to the audience". The four functions of news media summarize what journalists, politicians and citizens regard as the main tasks of media in Sweden but expectations regard the collected media supply as a whole; a singular editorial office, media channel or company is not obliged to work towards all three aims concurrently. Nevertheless, journalists clearly seem to incorporate them all into their professional identity.

Table 7.1   Homogeneity in support of the scrutiny ideal 1989-2005
          (balance measure)

Scrutiny	1989	1994	1999	2005
All	+96	+98	+98	+98
Gender				
Women	+96	+98	+98	+98
Men	+96	+98	+98	+98
Education				
With journalistic education	+98	+98	+98	+98
No journalistic education	+96	+98	+98	+98
Organization				
Local morning papers	+98	+100	+98	+100
Metropolitan press	+94	+100	+100	+100
Evening tabloids	+100	+100	+100	+100
SR	+94	+98	+98	+100
SVT	+94	+98	+100	+96
Commercial broadcasting	-	+100	+100	+94
Area of coverage				
Hard news	+94	+100	+98	+98
Soft news	+96	+98	+98	+98
General	+96	+98	+98	+100

Note: The question was worded "A journalist should consider himself a scrutinizer of the powerful in society." Balance measure is obtained by subtracting the amount who disagrees from the amount who agree to a statement. +/- 100 means total homogeneity in support.
Source: *SJS*

Table 7.2 **Homogeneity in support of the ideals of explanation and letting different opinions be heard 1989-2005**
(balance measure)

Explanation	1989	1994	1999	2005
All	+92	+96	+94	+96
Gender				
Women	+96	+96	+96	+96
Men	+90	+96	+94	+94
Education				
With journalistic education	+95	+98	+98	+96
No journalistic education	+90	+95	+92	+94
Organization				
Local morning papers	+88	+95	+94	+96
Metropolitan press	+98	+100	+98	+94
Evening tabloids	+100	+100	+95	+94
SR	+88	+98	+90	+96
SVT	+80	+98	+100	+94
Commercial broadcasting	-	+84	+96	+94
Area of coverage				
Hard news	+92	+94	+98	+96
Soft news	+88	+96	+91	+94
General	+90	+96	+96	+92
Let different opinions be heard				
All		+90	+90	+92
Gender				
Women		+90	+93	+92
Men		+90	+88	+90
Education				
With journalistic education		+90	+89	+90
No journalistic education		+88	+91	+93
Organization				
Local morning papers		+96	+95	+94
Metropolitan press		+87	+90	+93
Evening tabloids		+80	+90	+94
SR		+96	+88	+90
SVT		+88	+80	+82
Commercial broadcasting		+78	+95	+73
Area of coverage				
Hard news		+86	+89	+90
Soft news		+87	+82	+90
General		+91	+96	+92

Note: The questions was worded "A journalist should consider himself …as someone explaining complicated events to the audience/ …as someone who lets different opinions be heard". Balance measure is obtained by subtracting the amount who disagrees from the amount who agree to a statement. +/- 100 means total homogeneity in support.
Source: *SJS*

The three ideals may even be described as the actual basis of the professional identity of journalists in Sweden: In this study, the democratic functions are equalled by the ideals of scrutiny, explanation (commentary) and letting different opinions be heard (forum for debate). The task of providing information is not exactly paralleled by any of the survey questions, but closely relates to the ideals of objectivity and neutrality that are treated in Chapter eight. As showed by balance measure in table 7.1-2, the ideals of scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard completely dominate the professional imagination of Swedish journalists by attaining nearly full support from all journalists regardless of gender, education or organizational belonging. The ideals have furthermore been strengthened a great deal since 1989; a development that is valid in almost all groups.

The journalists' ideal perceptions also illustrate a comprehension of priority among the three media functions, where scrutiny is obviously regarded as the most important journalistic task; the amount that fully agree to this increased by eleven percentage points between 1989 and 2005.

Table 7.3 **Support for the ideals of scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard** (per cent; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	*Tau-c*	
Per cent that fully or partly agree						
Scrutiny	98	99	99	99	*.01*	
Explanation	96	98	97	98	*.01*	*
Letting different opinions be heard		95	95	96	*.01*	
Per cent that fully agree						
Scrutiny	70	75	78	81	*.06*	**
Explanation	65	72	77	76	*.06*	**
Letting different opinions be heard		58	57	58	*.00*	
Average number of answers	*832*	*1045*	*1046*	*1080*		

Note: The questions were worded "A journalist should consider him self a scrutinizer of the powerful in society / …as someone explaining complicated events to the audience/ …as someone who lets different opinions be heard."
* Significant at 95 per cent level. ** Significant at 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

The ideal of explaining complicated events to the audience obtains rather less support, ranking the information task below scrutiny. The ideal of letting different opinions be heard is indeed valued as important by the journalists, but yet is somewhat less prioritized than scrutiny and information. However, no matter what the relative order of ideals, agreement is exceptionally close in relation to them all. Furthermore, looking at the amount of journalists saying they fully agree, it becomes clear that *the intensity* of opinions has increased during the research period, at least considering the ideals of scrutiny and explanation – support for the ideal of letting different opinions be heard seems more static as support is similar in 1989 and in 2005.

7.1 A Mix of Cultural Influences

Scrutiny is in Anglo-American research more often translated to the "watchdog role", clearly pointing to the power function of journalism in those democracies (Kovach et al., 2004, Schudson, 1978). This role was substantially uplifted by the Watergate scandal and the reporters Woodward and Bernstein gained status by personifying the glorified muckraking ideal. Schudson (1993) claims, however, that what Watergate actually did was not let loose hordes of investigative reporters all over America, but rather it contributed to the renewed and increasing mythologization over muckraking. The impression of a mass of reporters eagerly digging for corruption and government wrong-doings may not be as strong anymore, but it is a myth still vibrant. The Swedish journalistic field is highly influenced by Anglo-American traditions, where journalism plays the role of guarding citizens' interests: Journalists should ask the same questions and investigate the same matters that citizens would investigate, if they could. Strömbäck (2001) showed, however, in a survey comparing the opinions of journalists, citizens and politicians that this view is first and foremost supported by journalists themselves: The group of responding citizens agreed least to the importance of the scrutinizing function. The same result was found in a comparison between journalists and citizens from 2005: 73 per cent of the journalists said political scrutiny was a very important task for journalism, but only 56 per cent of the public thought the same (Andersson Odén, 2007). It is of course possible that the opinions of the

three groups were better matched when establishing Swedish press policy in the 1970's than they are today. Citizens are by no means indifferent to scrutinizing power holders, but the obvious discrepancy of the professional identity of journalists in relation to citizens' expectations, indicates that the scrutiny ideal mainly serves as a legitimizing tool for the profession. It also represents an essential motivation to the autonomy of journalists, as they must be independent in order to scrutinize all power sources alike. The interplay of scrutiny and autonomy as professional values might be a double-edged sword in that it both legitimizes journalism as an autonomous field but, at the same time, undermines legitimacy by proposing an exclusive esprit de corps. Public trust demands a delicate mix of authority and folksiness; if the professional exclusivity glides into elitism there is always a risk of diminished trust (see Petersson, 1994).

The solution lies in the altruistic dimension of the profession; promising guaranteed unselfishness and impartiality in all situations. The ideal of explanation possibly signifies something like that; a kind of public service to the audience. Social processes are unquestionably complex matters to grasp, and an important task for journalists is to explain this so that a majority of the citizens can participate. Melin (2008) labelled it an *educating* ideal, meaning that journalists take an active stand in gathering information; getting involved personally; lecturing the audience. As previously mentioned, the ideal of explanation is also a representation of the removed commentary function. According to this, media should take a stand, give advice and try to form public opinion (SOU, 1975).

The commentary guideline was originally more directed to newspapers as radio and TV were already restricted by broadcasting agreements. Newspapers were encouraged to position themselves politically in order to invigorate public debate. This part of the journalistic identity is connected with a continental tradition as shown by Köcher (1986) in a study of German journalists. They take on an advocating role and see journalism as an intellectual profession with a changing potential in society. The professional identity of Swedish journalists may, accordingly, be seen as a mix of different cultural influences, illustrating the contextual dependence of professional development. The explanation ideal furthermore touches upon the

information function in that it aims to give citizens the knowledge they need (but they do not necessarily know they need it). The particular combination of the three ideals of scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard corresponds well with Swedish media policy as developed since the 1970's: Journalism is considered a powerful democratic force that should be used responsibly, allowing some state interventions to protect these functions. However, I consider the ideals of scrutiny and explanation to have some special dignity as they are so very dominant. The ideal of letting different opinions be heard – to offer a forum for debate – is correlated to them but does not attain equally large support, which is why I argue the professional identity of Swedish journalists to be fundamentally built upon the ideals of scrutiny and explanation.

7.2 Variations of the Professional Identity

Support for the ideals of scrutiny and explanation show an upward development in all groups of journalists, but that does not mean there are no differences in between. The same goes for the ideal of letting different opinions be heard, which has remained practically unchanged since 1989, yet shows differences between groups. Those latitudinal variations point to the significance of field positions in relation to professional identity formation, but it depends on the ideal how this significance appears.

Women and Formally Qualified Carry the Ideals

Gender has turned out to be an important factor in several studies determining field positions. Being male is unquestionably an advantage in most situations, while female gender on the other hand may be regarded as negative capital – a debt, because it forces the capital holder to work extra hard to make up for it. Social identities based on gender are probably one of the most powerful identity constructions of all, and most likely one of the last to dissolve in the emerging network society. Gender influence is evident in support of the journalistic ideals so that women tend to support *all* ideals to a greater extent than men. This is a general conclusion that will be further discussed in Chapter eleven. This

overall tendency is however most visible regarding the fundament of the professional identity; the ideals of scrutiny and explanation. Results show an increasing support for scrutiny from both genders, but women have constantly valued the ideal higher than men do – a difference in opinion that furthermore seems to have widened over the years. This means that while the ideal of scrutiny is going through a consolidation process, the gendered dimension of journalism is simultaneously becoming more accentuated. Support for the ideal of explaining complicated events to the audience follows the same pattern: An obvious increase in both groups but with a similarly evident gender gap. The static pattern of the ideal of letting different opinions be heard is valid in control for gender, but the gender difference is evident here as well; women value the ideal higher than men and have done so through the whole research period.

Table 7.4   **Support for the ideals of scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard in control for gender** (per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Av. n	Tau-c
Scrutiny							
Women	73	78	81	84	+11	448	.05 **
Men	69	71	75	77	+8	549	.05 **
Difference	-4	-7	-6	-7			
Explanation							
Women	70	79	80	80	+10	449	.04 **
Men	63	67	74	72	+9	547	.06 **
Difference	-7	-12	-6	-8			
Let different opinions be heard							
Women		61	61	62	+1	500	.01
Men		55	54	53	-2	543	-.01
Difference		-6	-7	-9			
Average number of answers	832	1045	1046	1080			

Note: The questions were worded: See table 7.3. ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

Keeping the gender differences in mind, education still stands out as a very important determinant regarding perceptions of the ideals of scrutiny and explanation. No matter when they enter the occupation, journalists who hold formal qualifications support the ideal to a larger extent than those without qualifications. It is safe to say that, with very few exceptions, the ideals of scrutiny and explanation are constantly stronger with journalists that hold formal qualifications. How much stronger varies over the years and between age groups, but this is a stable pattern. However, this difference is narrowing over the years as journalists without formal qualifications have changed opinions drastically and approached journalists holding some sort of journalistic qualification. Formal degrees do not play the same role regarding the ideal of letting different opinions be heard.

Table 7.5 **Support for the ideals of scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard in control for journalistic qualifications** (percent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	*Difference*	*Tau-c*	
Scrutiny							
No journalistic qualifications	65	71	75	78	*+13*	*.07*	**
With journalistic qualifications	78	79	83	83	*+5*	*.03*	**
Explanation							
No journalistic qualifications	61	67	75	76	*+15*	*.08*	**
With journalistic qualifications	71	79	80	77	*+6*	*.02*	
Letting different opinions be heard							
No journalistic qualifications		57	57	57	*0*	*.01*	
With journalistic qualifications		59	57	59	*0*	*.00*	

Note: The questions were worded: See table 7.3. ** Significant on 99 per cent level. Journalists without formal education may of course have some other form of higher degree.
Source: *SJS*

However, educational background means less regarding the ideal of letting different opinions be heard; in this case it is gender instead that

makes the difference. The general opinion stability in relation to this ideal remains valid in control for both education and gender.

Table 7.6   Support for the ideals of scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard in control for gender and qualifications (per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Tau-c	
Scrutiny							
No journalistic qualifications							
Women	66	75	78	83	+17	.08	**
Men	64	69	72	75	+11	.06	**
Difference	*-2*	*-6*	*-6*	*-8*			
With journalistic qualifications							
Women	80	81	84	85	+5	.03	
Men	77	75	81	80	+3	.03	
Difference	*-3*	*-6*	*-3*	*-5*			
Explanation							
No journalistic qualifications							
Women	69	75	76	85	+16	.07	**
Men	58	62	73	68	+10	.08	**
Difference	*-11*	*-13*	*-3*	*-7*			
With journalistic qualifications							
Women	71	82	83	79	+8	.02	
Men	71	75	76	73	+2	.01	
Difference		*-7*	*-7*	*-6*			
Letting different opinions be heard							
No journalistic qualifications							
Women		59	61	65	+6	.05	
Men		56	54	52	-4	.03	
Difference		*-3*	*-7*	*-13*			
With journalistic qualifications							
Women		63	60	62	-1	-.01	
Men		54	54	58	+4	.02	
Difference		*-9*	*-6*	*-6*			

Note: The questions were worded: See table 7.3. * Significant on 95 per cent level.
** Significant on 99 per cent level. For number of answers in each group, see table *iii* in appendix.
Source: *SJS*

The gender differences mentioned in fact turn out to be stable in control for education regarding all ideals of this dimension: Women also support the ideals of scrutiny and explanation to a further extent than men do, whether they hold formal qualifications or not (table 7.6).

Another attribute connected to the social identity at the individual level is age. A possible scenario would for instance be that younger journalists are more radical, critical and inclined to support the scrutiny ideal. Such assumptions are blighted in this case however; there are no systematic differences depending on age in the perceptions of the ideals of scrutiny and explanation. Looking at every year singularly there may be some differences between age groups, but these are really small (table *ii*, appendix). The conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that both ideals have increased in popularity over time, but that those increases do not seem to be due to the entrance of any new generation. This becomes even clearer when controlling education against age (table *iv*, appendix): Any previous patterns aligned with age practically disappear when educational background is introduced, and considerable educational differences appear in some age groups instead. The same conclusion is drawn in relation to the explanation ideal, which does not show any age patterns at all. Instead the significance of journalistic education persists; the pattern that formally qualified carry a more intense professional identity is stable comparing all years and age-groups.

The Watchdogs of Evening Tabloids
Hatch and Schultz suggest that "organizational culture is to organizational identity what the 'I' is to individual identity" (2004:384). This means that the culture and image of the organization matter in the formation of organizational identity which, accordingly, may in some respects be separate from the professional identity. The concept of organizational identity thus illustrates the complicated interplay between an all-embracing professional identity and subgroups constituted by organizational belonging. It would not be too surprising if perceptions of ideals diverge between journalists of different organizations and media types – or to put it simple; different workplaces.

However, controlling against the variable of media type confirms the overall pattern: Increase in support for scrutiny and explanation is stable regarding journalists from all sorts of media organizations, except for the

metropolitan dailies' reporters. Support for the ideal of letting different opinions be heard follows diverse tendencies within different media types, which makes the intermediate differences in opinions much less in 2005 than in 1994.

Table 7.8 **Support for the ideals of scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard in control for place of work** (per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	*Difference*	*Tau-c*	
Scrutiny							
Local morning papers	72	77	81	85	+13	.08	**
Metropolitan press	73	79	75	88	+15	.06	*
Evening tabloids	77	77	80	95	+18	.12	*
SR	69	87	81	79	+10	.03	
SVT	69	71	84	82	+13	.09	*
Commercial broadcasting		72	81	80	+17	.06	
Freelance	69	66	70	74	+5	.05	
Explanation							
Local morning papers	64	69	76	80	+16	.09	**
Metropolitan press	73	79	75	68	-5	-.01	
Evening tabloids	66	73	80	87	+21	.12	*
SR	63	77	75	72	+9	.03	
SVT	70	69	75	76	+6	.05	
Commercial broadcasting		69	75	82	+32	.11	
Freelance	58	66	74	71	+13	.07	*
Letting different opinions be heard							
Local morning papers		61	63	63	+2	.01	
Metropolitan press		71	55	55	-16	-.10	*
Evening tabloids		47	46	61	+14	.10	
SR		61	55	56	-5	-.04	
SVT		49	54	55	+6	.03	
Commercial broadcasting		53	55	53	0	.01	
Freelance		47	49	52	+5	.04	

Note: The questions were worded: See table 7.3. * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 percent level. The group size varies between 340 and 36 respondents. Fewest are the evening tabloids and commercial broadcasting journalists, while local morning papers constitute the largest group. For discussion on interference please see next page and chapter on research design.
Source: *SJS*

In 2005, the scrutiny- and the explanation ideals are both strongest among evening tabloid journalists. Regarding those ideals, as well as the ideal of letting different opinions be heard, it is also the tabloid journalists that show some of the greatest changes in opinion over time – that is, a major upswing for the ideals in this group.

It is important to note, however, that this is not the case every year: In 1994, the scrutiny ideal was strongest at Swedish Radio and the explanation ideal strongest with the metropolitan press reporters.

Variation over time can partly be explained by morphological factors like changes in gender constellations and improved level of education – changes that are likely to happen differently in various organizations. Controlling organizational differences in professional ideology against gender and education is, as mentioned, difficult since the material, divided in so many groups, becomes unreliable. Furthermore, the division of journalists into different media types affects the significance of my time series; the very small number of respondents in each group causes insignificant figures, even when changes over time seem drastic. The reason why I chose to make this group division in any case, is that I believe the result to be "significant enough" – that is, it allows some interference when placed in relation to theory and previous research in the field. But of course, exact numbers must be viewed with some caution.

I am also able to use the raster of contextual changes to evaluate and clarify my results: Explanations for the changing ideological features of media companies, as indicated by my results, may indeed be found in the surrounding conditions of organizations. Tabloids are clearly suffering from dropping circulation numbers and tough competition from new media channels and other entertainment media. Today, in particular the leading tabloid *Aftonbladet* has invested a lot of resources in online and mobile phone publishing, which has had considerable consequences for organizational structure and practice. The strengthened professional identity of tabloid journalists may be interpreted as a response to those changes and increasing competition. It may also be seen as an act of self-justification, not only in response to regular critique, but also in response to cognitive dissonance arising from professional ideals clashing with everyday practice. On the other hand, tabloids have always been very focused, not only on celebrities and pure entertainment, but on

unexpected revelations in general. They have a long tradition of investigative journalism that has indeed proved to be lucrative and in many ways they carry a tradition of scrutiny, drive and entrepreneurship, perhaps to a further extent than the morning papers, which are financially mainly based on subscriptions.

Professionalization of General Reporters

Up to this point gender, education and to some extent place of work have turned out to be important in the formation of this first dimension of professional identity. But there is also the issue of area of coverage; do the main daily tasks matter to the journalists' perceptions of this dimension of ideals? In table 7.9 (below) the division into hard and soft news is applied. This is a common way of illustrating the ideological valuation of different news areas. According to Tuchman (1978) the labelling of hard and soft news comes from the urgency of some news items (hard), while others do not need to be as "timely" (soft). As editorial routines are focused on quick mediation of current events, "hard news" also implies importance on behalf of "soft" subjects – importance that partly determines the position of journalists. The hard news sections include economy and politics, and are generally deemed to be more attractive to journalists as they signal importance and are more closely connected with the democratic functions of journalism. Soft news includes sports, family and entertainment and has traditionally been deemed to be of lighter weight and more commercial character. In addition to this division, there are general reporters that do not fit into any of the categories but still constitute a large group of journalists.

The journalistic tasks of information, scrutiny and forum for debate intuitively seem more relevant to the hard news journalists, since it is these who cover the democratic processes mainly in focus for the guiding press policy. Results partly confirm this assumption as both scrutiny and explanation were originally strongest with the hard news reporters. Since 1999, however, the ideals appear to be strongest in the group of general reporters even though the difference between them and hard news reporters is small. General reporters also show the largest increase in opinion intensity over time. Support has always been weakest in the group of sports and entertainment journalists, but has increased here too, as they have approached the rest ideologically. The same

pattern is shown for the ideal of letting different opinions be heard, where soft news reporters are the least inclined to agree. Changes indicate a homogenization of hard news- and general reporters regarding the perceptions of what journalists should do. This homogenization process seems to embrace soft news reporters as well, even though their initial position still colours their standpoints in 2005.

Table 7.9 **Support for the ideals of scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard in control for main area of coverage** (per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Tau-c
Scrutiny						
Hard news	74	74	78	81	+7	.05 **
Soft news	69	72	73	77	+8	.04
General	69	80	82	83	+14	.07 **
Explanation						
Hard news	67	73	79	76	+9	.04 *
Soft news	62	70	67	68	+6	.02
General	64	73	83	79	+15	.11 **
Let different opinions be heard						
Hard news		57	55	59	+2	.02
Soft news		52	54	48	-4	-.02
General		63	62	57	-6	-.04
Average number of answers	*588*	*764*	*762*	*815*		

Note: The questions were worded: See table 7.1. * Significant on 95 per cent level.
** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

Another interesting point regarding the ideal of letting different opinions be heard is that support has decreased with the soft news- and general reporters. Changes are not dramatic but indicate that the static impression given in the first tables of this chapter does not tell the whole story. This ideal differs from the other two in that it is more determined by organizational belonging and journalists' areas of coverage, while

support for scrutiny and explanation are also largely influenced by gender and educational background.

7.3 Increasing Ideological Homogeneity

Support for the two ideals of scrutiny and explanation has increased in all possible groups – this is a stable pattern. But are these opinions also more homogenous today than in 1989? It is obvious that the journalist collective in the late 1980's was already rather homogenous in relation to the ideals of scrutiny and explanation. As support for scrutiny and explanation has increased in all groups of journalists, they have also become increasingly homogenous in these opinions. In many news organizations there is no deviation at all. The ideal of letting different opinions be heard cannot be said to be going through a homogenization process to the same extent, as opinions in most groups are extremely stable over time. This ideal has, on the other hand, constantly been strongly valued by a majority of the Swedish journalists which means that it constituted a rather homogenous opinion as early as 1994.

The three ideals of scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard together constitute the basis of Swedish journalists' professional identity: This has increased in strength as well as in homogeneity in all groups of journalists. What does this mean? The consolidation around a few central values that have long been acknowledged as legitimate in the field represents a closing of ranks at the ideological level: "This is what true journalism is – you will never manage without it!" It is a purification of modern journalism in relation to current changes in the communicative revolution. Journalism has largely emerged in response to true needs for information, scrutiny and commentary of the public sphere of the 20th century, but the exclusive role of journalists as pure information collectors is no longer as evident.

The gathering around scrutiny and explanation seems only natural in this perspective as those functions focus on what is considered "the true essence of journalism" - what we cannot expect ordinary people to do: Scrutiny presupposes autonomy on the part of the scrutinizers and legitimate power to intervene in social processes, which private persons or interest organizations lack. Explaining complicated events to the audience presupposes social pathos and a general view from the

pedagogues – a social pathos that journalism in many respects has obtained, not least due to many successful investigations and revelations over the years. Those circumstances form a kind of elitist ideology where citizens are both raised and distrusted: An ideology described by the professor in political science Olof Petersson as *Journalismen* - "The Journalism" (Petersson, 1994). The journalistic ability to see through power holders becomes crucial to democracy, which means that the key to exposure is in the hands of journalists – not the audience. Conclusions are drawn by the journalists, not the people.

The journalistic function of offering transparent communication between social groups remains highly relevant today, because even if Internet offers a wide range of more direct communication opportunities, these can never completely replace the openness of traditional mass media channels – nor perhaps the credibility. By leaving the information function behind and centralizing the functions of scrutiny, commentary and group communication, the journalistic corps shapes a professional identity that fits well into late-modern society. The ability to access information is no longer exclusive. Economic interests, together with public authorities, strive to make information technology public property, and the educational level is generally improving in most countries. The information function is not what makes journalists special anymore, because it is simultaneously performed by several other actors. It is instead scrutiny, commentary and forum for debate that are emphasized in the minds of journalists, and it is no coincidence that precisely these functions were stated in the media policy of 1972; they are truly anchored with those who perform the job, as well as externally. Ideologically this anchorage is only getting stronger.

8. TOWARDS THE LIBERAL MODEL

Autonomy is, as already stated in previous chapters, a fundamental aspect of professional discourse. The judgement of professionals is self-sufficient and should not be affected by any other interests than the clients'. In the case of journalism this is a truth with modifications; public interest is indeed claimed to be the focus of news valuation, but there are also the undeniable interests of advertisers and shareholders. This is one reason for the Press ethical codes to include a section of rules for professional conduct with the purpose of securing the integrity of journalists. It states, for instance, that one should never accept assignments or invitations that may risk one's position as a free and independent journalist. Journalists may never use their positions to gain personal advantages of any kind. The ethical codes express the social agreement that journalists should act on public charge, since it lies in everyone's interest that this legitimacy remains unquestioned.

8.1 Exploring Autonomy from Different Angles

The autonomy of journalism may, however, be given different meanings depending on the cultural context and the dimension of news practice referred to. In this study I reach journalists' perception of autonomy through three different aspects: Firstly, *objectivity* that is a broad concept including the aspects truth, relevance, balance and neutrality (Westerståhl, 1972). It is strongly related to moral and democratic values such as equality and justice, and presupposes a non-discriminating attitude towards sources and subjects. Opposing opinions must not be evaluated and should preferably be given equal space in news reporting. These established conventions allow advertisers and news companies to remain distanced from each other in media content, which increases the

credibility of journalistic material (McQuail, 1991, Golding and Elliott, 1979, Westerståhl, 1972).

Secondly, the *neutrality* ideal concerns the actual presentation of news and constitutes one pole on the dimension of information mediation, where the opposing pole is participation: A journalist with a participating approach engages in the news presentation; interpreting and trying to convince the audience of certain standpoints. The neutral journalist on the other hand mediates information uncommented, non-evaluated and with the objectivity principle as a guiding star (Johnstone et al., 1976). This dimension tells nothing, however, of journalists' approach to the process of information gathering. News may be actively gathered but neutrally presented; it is thus a question of two separate dimensions: One neutral-participating dimension and one active-passive dimension. The active-passive dimension describes journalists' stand in relation to news sources and information gathering; it is possible to actively collect and create news, but it is also possible to just sit passively and wait for the sources to supply that information (Patterson, 1998, Melin-Higgins, 1996b). The passive approach was very typical of early journalism; it was then, for instance, common to publish statements written by politicians word-for-word. Politicians could just decide on going to the press if they wanted something published since the media did not at that time act as autonomous agents of the political field (Ekström, 2006).

The third item concerning the issue of autonomy in my survey relates to precisely this: It is the *mirroring* ideal illustrating an alternative approach to the principle of objectivity, placing on the active-passive dimension; implying a very passive stand towards sources. It means that "truth" must be first priority – even if reality in itself is partial, which makes mirroring hard to combine with objectivity (Djerf Pierre and Weibull, 2001:200). However, the question is worded "A journalist should consider himself as a mirror of public opinion" so it does not illustrate a journalistic stand towards power holders specifically, but towards popular opinions among the public in general. Even so, I consider the word "mirroring" to be the most signifying marker in this item and interpret it as a representation of mirroring as a journalistic conduct.

My three items thereby serve to illustrate how journalists perceive the question of autonomy from different angles:

Table 8.1   **Survey items concerning journalistic autonomy**

Objectivity	Implies truth, relevance, balance and neutrality as a framing professional imagery.
Neutrality	Mediation of news should be unbiased.
Mirroring	Implies a passive relation to sources.

Considering the number of journalists agreeing to these statements it appears that the objectivity ideal is the strongest of those three ideals (table 8.2, next page). More than half of the journalistic corps fully agrees with this and the opinions have furthermore been increasing in intensity over time. Objectivity can be derived culturally from a British tradition of journalistic craftsmanship, where the actual process of news gathering has always been very much in focus. Together with the scrutinizing function Melin (2008) calls this "the Bloodhound" role in that it signifies a bottom up-attitude from the journalists, where they try to "get the *dirty* bits of news on politicians, thereby revealing corruption" (p 82). She means, however, that British news culture in general is more traditional, class-based, male and hierarchical than the Swedish – a visible difference in the professional stand of journalists in these countries. Both are characterized by a participating approach to news gathering, but Sweden has up until now not been marked by the same class-distinctions: Here the corps is homogenously built upon middle class positions, a social affiliation bringing a different set of ideological, and perhaps also professional, values.

The neutrality ideal also increases in strength and intensity, while the ideal of mirroring is losing support. This development could presumably be seen in interplay; as the actual conception of mirroring today appears too passive, neutrality signals similar values but with a more active stand. Neutrality is theoretically a conflicting ideal to the professional "umbrella" of scrutiny and explanation, mainly because explanation implies interpretation. However, the increasing popularity of this ideal is probably a consequence of long term de-politicization of Swedish newspapers, as well as the increasing commercialization of news production. The objective and commentary style of news reporting has

become norm which implies neutrality towards both sources and factual matters.

Table 8.2 **Support for the ideals of objectivity, neutrality and mirroring** (per cent; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Tau-c	
Percent that fully or partly agree							
Objectivity		84	88	88	+4	.04	**
Neutrality	74	71	76	79	+5	.05	**
Mirroring	70	75	72	66	-4	-.05	**
Percent that fully agree							
Objectivity		45	47	50	-5	-.05	**
Neutrality	30	27	30	33	+3	.04	**
Mirroring	23	22	23	19	-4	-.04	**
Number of answers	*825*	*1036*	*1037*	*1064*			

Note: The question was worded "A journalist should consider himself as…someone who objectively mediates news/ …someone who reports events neutrally / …a mirror of public opinion". ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

As journalistic autonomy is found to be increasingly challenged by standardized working procedures and managerial attempts to control, an emphasis on the neutrality ideal can furthermore be seen as an attempt to legitimize the professional privilege of self-regulation – a counter-balance to the forces of restriction and bias in journalism. Such an interpretation implies that increasing support, in this case, rather symbolizes an increasing absence of neutrality, or at least the deteriorating conditions for being neutral. The harder it gets to live out the ideal in reality, the more the corps claims its importance. A conclusion like that may seem pessimistic, but is a consequence of the theoretical frame of Bourdieu where values are not only connected with certain positions and power hierarchies of the field; they are also used as

a means in the ongoing struggle for legitimacy. Put against the changes of commercialization and bureaucratization in the journalistic field, as well as the professional field in general, I therefore suspect the strengthening support of objectivity and neutrality among journalists to be an act of a more defensive than progressive character.

Women Become More Neutral

The strengthening of the objectivity and neutrality ideals are stable in control for gender, but at the same time there seem to be some minor differences between the opinions of women and men. In the previous chapter I mentioned that female journalists support almost all ideals more than male journalists do. This was especially noticeable regarding the three fundamental ideals of the professional identity; scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard, even if the ideals of scrutiny and explanation have strengthened with both men and women. With regard to the autonomy-related ideals objectivity, neutrality and mirroring, gender differences are much more modest. We can see, however, that the general stability in opinion regarding this group of ideals actually mainly concerns male journalists: They have not changed their notion of any of those ideals very much since 1989. The visible change instead is revealed in the group of female journalists (table 8.3, next page).

The only exception from this opinion stability is the neutrality ideal. This ideal has in previous research repeatedly been established as masculine. Many studies do not show any reliable gender pattern at all in this respect, but when they do it is always the same: Women apply a more participating approach based on audience-orientation and interpretation, while men adopt a more neutral and distanced stand (Löfgren Nilsson and Wiik, 2008, Melin-Higgins, 1996a, van Zoonen and Donsbach, 1988). One would assume that, if women hold more participant ideals, this would also show in their views on neutrality and in 1989 there was indeed a small gender difference concerning this area; women were more reluctant to see themselves as neutral reporters than men were. Fifteen years later the tendency is reversed; it is now women who support the neutrality ideal further. While male journalists do not seem to have changed their opinion concerning neutrality since 1989, their support for the mirroring ideal has dropped considerably. This

means, all in all, that previous gender differences concerning the neutral role have changed. Both the ideals of neutrality and mirroring have gone from being further supported by men to being further supported by women. Support for the ideal of mirroring is stable with both genders, but objectivity and neutrality have attained increased support from female journalists. This means that previous gender differences practically disappear; the results show very few gender differences in 2005 that are statistically reliable.

Table 8.3   **Support for the ideals of scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard in control for gender** (per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Av. n	Tau-c
Objectivity							
Women		41	46	51	+10	501	,09 **
Men		48	48	49	+1	547	,01
Difference		+7	+2	-2			
Neutrality							
Women	28	27	28	36	+8	445	,08 **
Men	31	27	32	30	-1	546	,02
Difference	+3	0	+4	-6			
Mirroring							
Women	22	23	25	21	-1	436	-,02
Men	23	22	20	18	-5	538	-,05 **
Difference	+1	-1	-5	-3			
Number of answers	*818*	*1035*	*1035*	*1053*			

Note: The questions were worded: See table 8.2. ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

However, including journalists' education in this analysis gives nuance to such a conclusion: There are indeed gender differences, but neutrality was always more supported by women in the group of journalists without formal qualifications.

Table 8.4   **Support for the ideals of objectivity, neutrality and mirroring in control for gender and formal qualifications**
(Per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	*Difference*	*Tau-c*	
Objectivity							
No journalistic qualifications							
Women		44	47	60	*+16*	*.09*	**
Men		52	52	55	*+2*	*.01*	
Difference		*+8*	*+5*	*-5*			
With journalistic qualifications							
Women		39	44	48	*+9*	*.09*	**
Men		42	41	46	*+4*	*.06*	
Difference		*+3*	*-3*	*-2*			
Neutrality							
No journalistic qualifications							
Women	39	33	32	37	*-2*	*.01*	
Men	34	30	36	37	*+3*	*.03*	
Difference	*-5*	*-3*	*+4*	*0*			
With journalistic qualifications							
Women	18	23	23	35	*+17*	*.14*	**
Men	25	21	24	26	*+1*	*.05*	
Difference	*+7*	*-2*	*+1*	*-9*			
Mirroring							
No journalistic qualifications							
Women	27	22	29	25	*-2*	*-.03*	
Men	28	22	24	24	*-4*	*-02*	
Difference	*+1*	*0*	*-5*	*-1*			
With journalistic qualifications							
Women	17	25	21	19	*+2*	*-.02*	*
Men	16	21	12	14	*-2*	*-.06*	
Difference	*-1*	*-4*	*-9*	*-5*			
Number of answers	*818*	*1035*	*1035*	*1053*			

Note: The questions were worded: See table 8.2. * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level. Group size varies between 124-369 respondents. For exact number of answers in each group, see table *v* in appendix.
Source: *SJS*

Over time men and women have approached each other ideologically, and in 2005 there is no gender difference at all. Instead, the gender difference is today visible in the group of formally educated journalists, where the neutrality ideal was to a further extent supported by men in 1989, then went through a phase without gender differences during the 1990's, and in 2005 ended up as supported more by female journalists.

Conclusively, with regard to the neutrality ideal, it is formally educated men that deviate from the pattern by not agreeing to the same extent as others. However, it is the formally educated women that have changed their opinion the most; their support for the neutrality ideal has increased by 17 percent units since 1989. So it is they who have mainly contributed to the homogenization process surrounding this ideal.

The mirroring ideal also shows interesting variations in the interplay of gender and education. No gender differences were revealed at first sight, but as it happens, this is an ideal that is more supported by women than men, especially in the group of formally educated journalists.

Also the data for the objectivity ideal suggests a gender pattern in control for education: Women support the ideal to a greater extent than men do, irrespective of educational background – at least from 1999 onwards (the situation was the opposite in 1994 when men then supported it more). Support for objectivity increased the most among female journalists without formal education; from 44 per cent in full agreement in 1994 to 60 per cent in 2005. This means that the objectivity ideal, too, has been going through a homogenization process, again due to changes of female opinions. The flexibility of their professional identities in this matter is striking: The participating approach of women that is traditionally referred to in previous research seems to be diminishing rapidly and a gender neutral approach is emerging instead. However, even if women and men now think alike in this matter, the standpoints they focus on were originally both empirically and theoretically gendered as masculine.

Objective Journalist Schools?
Cultural capital in terms of education may not be of the highest value in the field of journalism, it is even likely that "professional capital" like long term experience and access to sources mean more in this context (see for instance Schultz, 2007b, Tuchman, 1978, Ottosen, 2004). However, degree of education probably implies various postures on the

professional identity and ideals. Journalism training programmes function as strong symbolic bankers in the sense that they admit entrance to the field and "use journalist courses to reconstruct and re-establish the doxa" (Melin-Higgins, 1996). Journalistic programmes has furthermore been extremely relevant in establishing and legitimating professional autonomy (Hulthén, 2001, Windahl, 1975).

Table 8.5 **Support for the ideals of objectivity, neutrality and mirroring in control for formal qualifications**
(Per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	*Difference*	*Tau-c*
Objectivity						
No journalistic qualifications		49	50	57	*+8*	*.04*
With journalistic qualifications		40	43	47	*+7*	*.07* **
Neutrality						
No journalistic qualifications	35	31	34	37	*+2*	*.02*
With journalistic qualifications	22	22	23	31	*+9*	*.10* **
Mirroring						
No journalistic qualifications	28	22	26	24	*-4*	*-.02*
With journalistic qualifications	16	23	17	17	*+1*	*-.03*

Note: The question was worded: See table 8.2. ** Significant on 99 per cent level. Group size varies between 342-691 respondents. For exact number of answers in each group, see table *vi* in appendix. Journalists without formal qualifications may of course have some other form of higher degree.
Source: *SJS*

However, the legitimizing function of journalism schools and programmes does not seem to include the inoculation of autonomy ideals; objectivity, neutrality and mirroring are all stronger in the group of non-formally qualified journalists and this pattern is stable over the whole research period. The overall pattern remains stable also in control for education; support for the ideal of mirroring is more or less static in both groups, while objectivity and neutrality are becoming increasingly popular in both groups. The main conclusion to be drawn from this is

that the autonomy-related ideals are stronger with journalists *not* holding any journalistic degree.

There is, however, a small indication of change going on in journalist training programmes as well: While in the group of non-formally qualified journalists there is a positive linear connection between increasing age and support for neutrality, the situation is different in the group of journalists holding journalistic qualifications. In this group journalists aged 33 years or younger agree most with the importance of neutrality. The general increase in support for the neutrality ideal is clearly most apparent in the group of formally trained, regardless of age, and absolutely largest among the youngest journalists.

Table 8.6 **Support for the neutrality ideal in control for age and formal qualifications** (per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	*Average n*	*Difference*	*Tau-c*	
No journalistic qualifications								
33 or younger	31	33	29	30	*121*	*-1*	*,04*	
34-45	32	26	32	35	*171*	*+3*	*,00*	
46 or older	39	34	39	42	*201*	*+3*	*,03*	
With journalistic qualifications								
33 or younger	21	24	21	39	*136*	*+18*	*,14*	**
34-45	23	21	22	28	*201*	*+5*	*,06*	*
46 or older	19	23	27	28	*151*	*+9*	*,07*	*

Note: The question was worded: See table 8.2. * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level. Group size varies between 209-432 respondents. Journalists without formal qualifications may of course have some other form of higher degree.
Source: *SJS*

Results confirm that it is formal qualifications that explain most of the attitudinal differences in this dimension of ideals. This influence is not static, but varies between generations and sometimes displays interesting differences (see table *vii-viii* in appendix). The objectivity ideal, for instance, consistently seems to be strongest with the oldest journalists

and is generally stronger in the group of unqualified journalists. Education and generational belonging interplay here in the sense that the influence of educational background on opinions differs more the older the journalists are, at least in the 2005 survey. Journalists starting their careers in 2000 or later think alike in the matter of objectivity, whether they hold formal qualifications or not. This could indicate a difference in interpretation among respondents when answering the survey questions - do objectivity and neutrality mean something else today than they did previously?

Results for the mirroring ideal indicate that it may be discarded from potential ideals included in the ideological agenda of journalist education programmes. The ideal is, with a few exceptions, stronger in the group of unqualified journalists, no matter when they started working.

8.2 Commercialization Boosts an Objective Stance

Considering the influence of organizational belonging we can see that the overall patterns remain stable in most cases: There is an increasing support for the objectivity and neutrality ideals within most media types and support for the mirroring ideal is more ambivalent. At the same time there are attitudinal differences based on where the journalists work.
The objectivity ideal was in 2005 strongest with the local morning paper journalists and weakest with the evening tabloid journalists (60 per cent in full agreement, compared to 44 per cent). Journalists from other media types range somewhere in between. The largest change in opinion over time is found in the group of commercial broadcasting journalists that increased their support for objectivity by 18 percentage points between 1994 and 2005.

The mirroring ideal seems to have lost support in all media organizations with the exception of evening tabloids where it has almost doubled. Support dropped considerably within the metropolitan press, while the decline in other groups is more modest. Support for the neutrality ideal increases more or less in all media organizations, sometimes going through rather radical changes. The greatest increase in support is found in the groups of SR- and commercial broadcasting journalists, where support has more than doubled. Local morning paper

journalists and tabloid reporters also show some increasing support for the neutrality ideal, but not a great amount.

Table 8.7   **Support for the ideals of objectivity, neutrality and mirroring in control for place of work** (per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Tau-c	
Objectivity							
Local morning papers		53	54	60	+7	-,03	*
Metropolitan press		49	46	52	+3	-,07	
Evening tabloids		37	48	44	+7	,09	
SR		42	50	50	+8	,03	
SVT		43	42	49	+6	,05	
Commercial broadcasting		36	41	54	+18	-,18	
Freelance		27	35	39	+12	,08	
Neutrality							
Local morning papers	36	35	34	43	+7	,04	
Metropolitan press	33	38	16	32	-1	-,04	
Evening tabloids	31	18	38	39	+8	,06	
SR	12	19	26	29	+17	,11	**
SVT	28	17	32	25	-3	,03	
Commercial broadcasting	-	22	27	50	+28	,19	**
Freelance	21	17	27	26	+5	,06	
Mirroring							
Local morning papers	30	29	29	26	-4	,06	
Metropolitan press	20	29	11	13	-7	,00	
Evening tabloids	17	18	32	28	+11	,07	
SR	15	19	20	17	+2	,09	
SVT	21	16	25	17	-4	,08	
Commercial broadcasting	-	14	23	13	-1	,06	**
Freelance	13	11	17	14	+1	-,02	

Note: The questions were worded: See table 8.2. * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level. Group size varies between 340 and 36 respondents. Fewest are the evening tabloid- and commercial broadcasting journalists, while local morning papers constitute the largest group.
Source: *SJS*

Regarding the differences between media types in this matter, we find an interesting difference when comparing public service TV with commercial broadcasting: Neutrality is clearly connected with the explicit commercial purposes of some media types, being absolutely weakest in the group of SVT journalists (table 8.7, previous page).

This assumption is further confirmed by looking at the role played by journalists' area of coverage in their support for those ideals: Support for the objectivity ideal is strongest among journalists working with sports, culture and entertainment – who are called soft news types. It has increased somewhat in the group of hard news reporters, while support within the group of general reporters seems unchanged. Also the ideals of neutrality and mirroring are strongest among sport-, culture- and entertainment journalists.

Table 8.8   **Support for the ideals of objectivity, neutrality and mirroring in control for main area of coverage**
(per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Tau-c
Objectivity						
Hard news		41	42	49	*+8*	*,07* *
Soft news		56	52	57	*+1*	*,02*
General		48	56	48	*0*	*,03*
Neutrality						
Hard news	26	25	27	29	*+3*	*,06* *
Soft news	33	29	36	37	*+4*	*,08* *
General	33	30	33	34	*+1*	*,03*
Mirroring						
Hard news	21	20	19	17	*-4*	*-,04*
Soft news	30	21	20	24	*-6*	*-,02*
General	25	25	28	16	*-9*	*-,04*
Average number of answers	*195*	*259*	*247*	*240*		

Note: The questions were worded: See table 8.2. * Significant on 95 per cent level. Group size varies between 88-376 respondents. Soft news reporters constitute the smallest group every year, even if this is constantly growing.
Source: *SJS*

The principle of objectivity can according to Windahl (1975) fulfil different purposes: It has a commercial function in that objective journalism enhances the opportunities to attract a wider and more heterogeneous audience. It also serves to protect journalists from criticism by promoting the myth of public orientation and unselfishness of journalism – a public service ideal. A third function is to facilitate the professionalization process of journalism, since objectivity features altruism, something that is typical of professions.

The different functions could relate separately to all types of journalism and various media types, but the relative strength of objectivity and neutrality in the group of soft news reporters emphasizes the commercial function as pointed out by Windahl. These journalists often work in a grey area of news coverage and advertising for current cultural products and events. Their wish to stress autonomy is logical as they are sometimes criticized for running errands for the culture- and entertainment industries. Wallin (1998) investigated sport reporters who were not originally regarded as proper journalists, but rather seen as idealistic sport enthusiasts cheering for a team. He found, however, that they too have gone through a process of professionalization, and become increasingly integrated in the newsroom culture. Editorial boundary setting for these journalists has sometimes been extensive; for instance there have been explicit rules against journalists cheering for a special team or being active in sports clubs while covering sports. In that light it is understandable that soft news journalists try to emphasize their autonomy and independence, as well as a professional stand. The two ideals of objectivity and neutrality form an attitudinal dimension typical of reporters working with "lighter" news such as sports and entertainment, because they strive for professional belonging that for them is rather new.

Another study by Dellgran (2006) confirms the complex relation of commercially orientated journalists to journalistic professionalism. They mainly claim to support standard journalistic ideals, but would not stretch to call themselves "proper" journalists, mainly because they do not see themselves as working with "proper" journalism or in the right newsrooms. The unwritten boundaries of professional journalism can thus be verified by those who work in the grey areas of commercial and

soft news: They are right on the edge of the professional community and strive for legitimacy by accentuating ideals typical of professions.

8.3 Liberalization is a General Trend

The ideals of objectivity, neutrality and mirroring all represent journalists' apprehension of autonomy, but in somewhat different ways. They are all homogenizing but in opposite directions: Objectivity and neutrality are strengthening in all groups of journalists, while the mirroring ideal is decreasing in practically all groups. A majority of the journalistic corps thus alludes to the first two ideals and repudiates the third. Those three ideals have revealed a number of interesting changes that collectively point in the same direction: The professional identity of journalists is becoming increasingly influenced by the general liberalization of society.

As early as the 1970's, before economic globalization became an evident fact, several researchers connected objectivity with the commercial side of news business (Schudson, 1978, Windahl, 1975) and it is no coincidence that support for this ideal has increased during my research period. The Swedish media system, like many others elsewhere, has been extensively deregulated and depoliticized since the 1980's. This follows a general trend of commercialization where the main focus has turned to the task of "giving people what they want", increasingly seeing citizens as consumers. In this setting, journalists find themselves producing news content that has to correspond with the wishes of advertisers and owners, in order to create a conducive atmosphere for selling goods (Herman and McChesney, 1997).

The rules of objectivity function as a professional line of defence against commercial changes in that to some extent they hinder economic structures from deciding the journalistic agenda. The increasing support of objectivity and neutrality among Swedish journalists indicates the need for such a defence. However, Herman and McChesney (Ibid.) argue professional objectivity works more in appearance than in reality; it says nothing about what stories to select or what slant to take and the "balance" implied is pointless since, in most cases, there are more than two sides involved. Objectivity is thus, as Windahl (1975) suggested, to some extent a professional norm but at the same time a myth concealing

the actual powers behind news production. It is a mechanism of social control that legitimizes the authority and autonomy of journalism as a profession, simultaneously hiding the commercial interests it relies on (Schudson, 1978).

Swedish media have traditionally had extensive freedom; proudly presenting one of few self-regulating ethical systems that actually does regulate. This has served to safe-guard high journalistic standards and provided for an open system of access to information. Above all, Swedish regulation of the market has empowered the publishers to determine the ideological, philosophical, social and political orientations of the publications they own and control (Humphreys, 1996:64). Freedom of journalism is still extensive, but the rise of the objectivity and neutrality ideals signifies a growing need of journalists to mark distance and independence in their work – most probably a consequence of the far-reaching deregulation of the 1990's.

Increasing separation of the media system from the political system is described by Hallin and Mancini (2004) as one of the main characteristics of the Liberal Model. This differentiation does not mean that media lose all relations with the political world – quite the opposite, as a matter of fact; media is perhaps more than ever before central to political processes. But media is, according to the Liberal Model, increasingly acting in line with its own logic – media logic. This logic comprises a strange mixture of professional and commercial features and the ideas about which of those logics is most influential, diverge. Evetts (2005) explains this relationship by describing it as the "management of professionalism": It is not a question of what logic is most powerful in controlling the development of journalism, because they act in coherence with each other. Proposing a selective, and sometimes false, professionalism "from above" is a way of facilitating organizational changes – as well as wider institutional changes.

Also implied in the Liberal Model is the American, active approach of investigative journalism. An improved educational level of journalists, together with increased professionalism and raised status of journalism, have imposed a culture of "critical expertise" – a culture developed in various forms and extents, but yet spreading across national boundaries (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). This active approach of scrutiny and autonomy has been revealed to be absolutely fundamental to the

professional identity of Swedish journalists (see previous chapter) and is furthermore growing stronger. Increasing support for objectivity and neutrality naturally implies the disclamation of outdated ideals such as mirroring. In the age of media training and the professionalism of sources, mirroring has probably come to mean something other than it did previously: While it used to mean praiseworthy intentions to show reality as it was, today it suggests an unconceivable lack of scrutiny and criticism. The change in meaning can also be explained by an overall recognition of the social constructivist view of "reality": Until the 1960's the ambition to mirror was relevant, since the notion of an objective reality still remained. Today the social constructivist perspective is consensus; we are all convinced that journalism produces constructions of reality and that objectivity is more of an aim to strive for than an actual condition.

Patterson and Donsbach (2004) examined political journalists from five countries, of which Sweden was one, and found that Swedish political journalists were even more orientated towards an active and neutral approach than their American and British colleagues. This would suggest that liberalization in Sweden is a domestic affair, springing from other, different, or at least additional, sources than cultural influence from America. In the context of Hallin & Mancini, however, the media system as a whole is included and in this view Sweden is definitely moving, in general, towards an Americanized model. The ideals of objectivity and neutrality have been relatively strong here since 1989, and do not seem to be weakening. Instead, the tendencies of autonomy-related ideals of objectivity, neutrality and mirroring, shown in this chapter, together confirm that the assumed influence of the Liberal Model in Sweden is increasing.

9. INCREASING AUDIENCE ORIENTATION

One of the most important changes surrounding journalism is commercialization. The commercialization concept has in media research been used to cover a wide range of phenomena: Market adjusted news content – trivialized, tabloidized and sensational; journalists building their personal trademarks; and media companies becoming driven more by commercial purposes than journalistic ideals. Commercialization can also describe more general trends of market orientation and focus on the audience (Wadbring, 2005).

In terms of a changing media culture, commercialization processes may be visible at many levels; the main characteristic of the late modern media market is tough competition. Media companies compete for advertisers and advertisers compete for their target audience (Gustafsson, 2005). Going public forces news firms to show economic considerations in their decision-making to a greater extent than before. Ownership changes increase the focus on profit and may serve to commodify journalistic news content and the audience. There is of course also the question of ownership concentration, which may create monopoly situations jeopardizing democratic accountability and the independence of journalism (McQuail and Siune, 1986). If the media landscape *had* not changed the way it has journalism may have taken another form.

Another important feature of company commercialization is that the traditional separation of market and editorial functions within media organizations are becoming blurred (Djerf Pierre and Weibull, 2009, Hultén, 1999). This has led to a revaluation of market oriented functions at the cost of strict journalistic aims. Commercialization can finally be seen as changes in the journalistic products: Fragmentation, for instance, is one such development driven by expanded audience segmentation and

market forces. News content can also be described by possible shifts in quality and news standards (Plasser, 2005). TV-shows and magazines are now created with the explicit purpose of selling products, making journalistic ideals subordinate in everyday production.

These points represent the general trend of market orientation in society and provide a rough outline for the environment of journalists as they try to maintain their professionalism. In the context of journalists' professional identity this market orientation may correspond with the dimension of audience orientation. Audience orientation is in this study illustrated by three ideals: *Stimulating new thoughts and ideas*, *giving people experience* and *providing diversion*. These three ideals elucidate different aspects of journalists' perceptions of their audience relation. To stimulate new thoughts and ideas and give people experience are both values that work well along with the overall framework of scrutiny and explanation. The ideals of explaining complicated events and stimulating new thoughts and ideas matches rather well in spirit; in 2005 correlating to an amount of .23 (figure 9.1, next page). Together they signify an active participating approach; a stand-point Melin (1996b) calls "The pedagogue". She explained the pedagogue stand to be the most creative and educative of the different approaches, implying an evident audience orientation. Journalists emphasizing this part of the professional identity often stated their motives to be a drive to express them selves and to change society.

The third ideal, however, communicates something else: The image of journalists as audience pleasers symbolizes an ideological direction often painted out as problematic for the journalistic profession: The presumably degrading tendencies of infotainment and tabloidization are, according to several media critics, linking the commercial basis of media with the level of political knowledge and participation in society (Kurtz, 1994). The ideal is by no means new; one third of the newspaper journalists in a 1975 survey (SOU 1975:78) answered that entertainment was a very important task for the newspaper where they worked and this was when the professional struggle of journalism was at its peak. Long before that the ambition to entertain was a natural element of

newspapers; giving everyone something they wanted, whether it was hard political news or soft family stories (Lundström et al., 2001)[7].

Table 9.1   **Correlations between audience-related ideals and the ideals of scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard, 2005** (Tau-b)

	Stimulate new thoughts and ideas	Give people experience	Provide diversion	Scrutiny	Explanation	Let different opinions be heard
Stimulate new thoughts and ideas	1.00					
Give people experience	.49**	1.00				
Provide diversion	.20**	.40**	1.00			
Scrutiny	.16**	.19**	.02	1.00		
Explanation	.21*	.23**	.18**	.24**	1.00	
Let different opinions be heard	.24**	.19**	.18**	.26**	.26**	1.00

Note: The questions were worded "A journalist should consider himself as…someone who stimulates new thoughts and ideas/…someone who gives people experience/…someone who provides diversion to the audience/…a scrutinizer of the powerful in society/…as someone explaining complicated events to the audience/…as someone who lets different opinions be heard". Average number of answers is 1060. * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

In the beginning, televised public service journalism was also very much characterized by the ideal of diverting news mediation (Djerf Pierre and Weibull, 2001). Radio was the only medium not at all marked by entertainment ambitions, being originally strictly orientated towards hard news, something that eventually changed as a consequence of the regionalization of news production (Rahbek, 2004).

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[7] Newspapers indeed include more varied content than merely hard news. However, I believe the results as indicating the journalists' professional perceptions of their role as a whole and what purposes they consider news production to fill.

Entertaining and diverting journalism was thus not very controversial until the professionalization process accelerated in the 1960's. What may be considered to be new during my research period therefore, relates to the intensive 1960's and is, of course, the presumed lack of balance of economically driven tasks, like entertainment, in relation to the publishing ideals and the negative connotations sometimes attached: To amuse and to inform are certainly no antitheses; it is possible, and perhaps even desirable, to present important information in an attractive manner. But diversion is surely irreconcilable with the task of scrutiny and integrates more difficultly into the journalistic identity of professional authority. The notion of scrutiny rests upon independence and diversion is increasingly associated with dependence on commercial interests. It thus becomes more and more important to mark autonomy by disassociating from the symbolism of commercialized audience orientation.

Table 9.2   **Support for the ideals of stimulating new thoughts, giving people experience and providing diversion**
(per cent; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Tau-c	
Per cent that fully or partly agree							
Stimulating new thoughts	93	96	96	95	+2	.01	
Giving people experience	92	95	92	91	-1	-.02	*
Providing diversion		79	69	70	-9	-.07	**
Per cent that fully agree							
Stimulating new thoughts	47	52	56	51	+4	.02	
Giving people experience	44	50	48	42	-2	-.02	
Providing diversion		20	17	17	-3	-.06	**
Average number of answers	822	1036	1038	1064			

Note: The questions were worded "A journalist should consider himself as…someone who stimulates new thoughts and ideas/…someone who gives people experience/…someone who provides diversion to the audience". * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

Furthermore, results show a strong homogeneity regarding the first two ideals: A convincing majority of the journalists say they agree partly or fully to these and support has been the same during the whole research period. With regard to the ideal of providing entertainment, opinions are somewhat more split. There is an overall decrease in support in 2005 compared to 1994, and the answers also show a slightly larger ambiguity as the opinion intensity has dropped.

9.1 Journalists Rally Round Audience-Orientation

The overall tendencies of this dimension remain valid in control for both gender and education: The ideals to stimulate new thoughts and ideas and to give people experiences are more or less static over time and the results show that the gender factor means more to determining those attitudes than education. Women support these ideals to a greater extent than men do, but the two groups have been approaching each other over time so that the gender gap is closing. It is obvious, however, that women hold the participating, audience-related ideals stronger than the men do also in 2005. The exception is the ideal to provide diversion. There are no real gender differences in support for this standpoint and the decrease in support is valid in both gender groups.

Having said that gender is a more influential determinant than qualifications does not make journalist training irrelevant. The influence of journalistic programmes is visible in relation to all three ideals but to various extents: The ideal of stimulating new thoughts and ideas is first and foremost held by journalists with a formal qualifications and that the ideal to give people experience was originally more popular in the group of *non*-formally qualified journalists, but the differences seem to be narrowing over time.

The ideal to provide the audience with diversion is, as mentioned, not as dependant on gender but education seems to matter: The ideal is stronger in the group of non-formally educated journalists (but still not very strong) than in the other group. The difference bolsters the assumption that the three ideals represent two dimensions of audience orientation; one connected to professional efforts of serving the public, and one connected to more mundane interests of commercial character.

Table 9.3   **Support for the ideals of stimulating new thoughts and ideas, providing diversion and giving people experience in control for gender and formal qualifications**
(per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Tau-c
Stimulating new thoughts						
No journalistic qualifications						
Women	58	61	64	51	-7	-.03
Men	41	39	45	44	+3	.04
Difference	*-17*	*-22*	*-19*	*-7*		
With journalistic qualifications						
Women	59	66	63	57	-2	-.03
Men	42	51	59	49	+7	.03
Difference	*-17*	*-15*	*-4*	*-8*		
Giving people experience						
No journalistic qualifications						
Women	48	54	54	41	-7	-.05
Men	41	41	45	40	-1	.02
Difference	*-7*	*-14*	*-9*	*-1*		
With journalistic qualifications						
Women	54	59	49	46	-8	-.08 **
Men	41	51	42	40	-1	.03
Difference	*-13*	*-8*	*-7*	*-6*		
Providing diversion						
No journalistic qualifications						
Women		24	18	22	-2	-.06
Men		19	19	17	-2	-.07 **
Difference		*-5*	*+1*	*-5*		
With journalistic qualifications						
Women		20	15	15	-5	-.07 *
Men		18	16	15	-3	-.02
Difference		*-2*	*+1*	*0*		

Note: The questions were worded: See table 9.2. For number of answers in each group see table *ix* in appendix. * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

The most important conclusion to be drawn, however, is that men and women think more alike in these matters, which means the social attribute of gender decreases in significance to journalists' professional attitudes. The view of participation as a feminine stand (Melin-Higgins, 1996a) must soon be revised if this tendency proves consistent. The number of female journalists in the corps is constantly increasing but their professional identity seems simultaneously to be orientating towards traditional masculine sides of the profession.

9.2 The Diversion Ideal Aligns with Age and Experience

The overall impression that the two ideals of stimulating new thoughts and ideas and giving people experience remained more or less unchanged between 1989 and 2005, remains valid also in control for age, but there are some small differences: To begin with the ideal of stimulating new thoughts and ideas, it seems to be somewhat weaker with the youngest journalists. Looking at 2005, support for the ideal is clearly dropping in the group of journalists aged 29 years or younger (table 9.4). This is a new twist compared to previous surveys where there were practically no significant age differences at all in this matter.

The ideal of providing diversion is, as mentioned, marked by a general tendency of loss of support. In the light of increasing commercial influences and infotainment it would be plausible that younger generations of journalists adopt this ideal to a greater extent, but this is not the case: Quite the opposite as a matter of fact; the ideal becomes stronger as the journalist grow older. To make this ideal a part of the professional identity seems to be an old-school phenomenon as it was strongest with journalists who started their careers in the 1950's and 1960's. This fact could be explained by a changed educational influence from the 1970's onwards as the formalized journalist schools then turned away from the audience orientation of first generations media. The mission to assist democratic processes seemed at the time incompatible with entertainment and escapism. Diversion and entertainment were not serious journalism but should be left to the business of popular media.

Table 9.4 **Support for the ideals of stimulating news thoughts, giving people experience and providing diversion in control for age groups** (per cent that fully agree; Tau-c).

	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Tau-c	
Stimulating new thoughts							
29 or younger	46	55	52	42	-4	-.04	
30-39	49	52	59	50	+1	.02	
40-49	46	52	55	56	-10	.07	**
50-59	47	52	57	52	+5	.02	
60 or older	46	59	50	51	+5	0	
Giving people experience							
29 or younger	53	50	50	41	-12	-.09	*
30-39	43	52	49	40	-3	-.03	
40-49	43	48	46	41	-2	-.01	
50-59	44	51	48	45	+1	-.02	
60 or older	35	51	42	47	+12	.08	
Providing diversion							
29 or younger		19	16	12	-7	-.10	*
30-39		19	15	15	-4	-.09	**
40-49		17	14	15	-2	-.05	
50-59		22	21	22	0	-.02	
60 or older		37	36	25	-12	-.19	**

Note: The questions were worded: See table 9.2. * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

It is obvious however, that the aspect of diversion was not that obnoxious to journalists before the radical 1970's as it appears today. The establishments of journalism schools, growing union affiliation and the 1972 press policy have together served to draw a fine line between legitimate audience orientation and populism. To provide diversion implies adjustment to audience taste and contradicts the idea of autonomy. Such adjustment puts journalistic independence at risk, switching it too far away from a fundamental professional criterion – to stand outside (or above) the people, not engaging too much in folksy activities.

Table 9.5 **Support for the ideals of stimulating new thoughts and ideas, giving people experience and providing diversion in control for year of entering the profession** (percent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Tau-c	
Stimulating new thoughts							
2000's				46			
1990's		57	55	51	*-6*	*-.04*	
1980's	47	52	58	54	*+7*	*.05*	*
1970's	50	49	56	52	*+2*	*.02*	
1960's	45	53	53	55	*+10*	*.07*	
1950's	44	58			*+14*	*.07*	
Giving people experience							
2000's				39			
1990's		53	47	40	*-13*	*.08*	**
1980's	44	52	49	45	*+1*	*.01*	
1970's	44	49	47	45	*+1*	*.01*	
1960's	44	47	47	45	*+1*	*.04*	
1950's	46	53			*+7*	*.08*	
Providing diversion							
2000's				15			
1990's		18	15	14	*-4*	*-.03*	
1980's		19	15	17	*-2*	*-.05*	
1970's		15	17	22	*+7*	*.02*	
1960's		27	32	27	*0*	*-.03*	
1950's		33					

Note: The question was worded: See table 9.2. * Significant on 95 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

The generation difference regarding this ideal is quite dramatic as journalists starting in the 1990's and 2000's seem to feel much more negative towards the diversion ideal than their colleagues of older generations. The relation between age and audience-orientated ideals conclusively tells us that younger journalists are dropping their support while the group of older journalists, on the other hand, has left their passive stand towards sources for a more participating approach.

9.3 High and Low Audience-Orientation

Where the journalists work is of importance, as is the case of many ideals in this study: The professional attribute of organizational centre influences their view of audience orientation. Dividing the journalists into various media types reveals opposing trends in different media organizations. Regarding the ideal of stimulating new thoughts and ideas there is a general increase visible in all morning dailies and in public service radio. The journalists of SVT and evening tabloids on the other hand are decreasing their support for this ideal. Journalists of commercial broadcasting did not change their opinion at all in this matter.

If we proceed with the ideal of giving people experience, this follows a slight negative slope in most news organizations. The exceptions are SR and commercial broadcasting journalists whose support has increased a great deal since 1989. SVT journalists have also made an exception by dropping their support for this ideal by more than 20 percentage units since 1989. SVT journalists are thereby resolutely turning away from the educative approach that those ideals signify. Why this dramatic change in opinion? The space of time in SVT's history, starting in the mid-1980s, has been called the *interpretation* phase, since public service news production then remodelled their audience approach (Djerf Pierre and Weibull, 2001): Instead of the precious active and advocating stand, the increasing audience orientation from the 1980's onwards represented a more audience accommodated and popularized way of storytelling. The increasing complexity of the surrounding society meant, to journalists of the public service channels, that pedagogic ambitions had to withdraw in favour of a more interpretive stand. Those circumstances could shed some light on the changing ideals of SVT journalists, even though the question of why it is exactly those journalists who show the largest changes in this matter still remains.

The general negative tendency of the diversion ideal remains valid in control for organization, even if the decrease in most cases is very small. Support for this ideal within organizations is varying largely over time, perhaps indicating it to be one of the least established and sensitive to the current spirit of time. Tabloid reporters are, not surprisingly, most positive to the notion of entertainment. More unexpected is the

distancing from the diversion ideal by commercial broadcasting journalists.

Table 9.7 **Support for the ideals of stimulating new thoughts and ideas, giving people experience and providing diversion in control for place of work**
(per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

Stimulating new thoughts	1989	1994	1999	2005	*Difference*	*Tau-c*	
Local morning papers	40	42	48	46	*+6*	*.06*	**
Metropolitan press	46	58	54	53	*+7*	*.02*	
Evening tabloids	50	37	50	42	*-8*	*-.05*	
SR	43	63	62	56	*+15*	*.04*	
SVT	62	67	65	53	*-9*	*-.06*	
Commercial broadcasting	-	50	56	51	*+1*	*.06*	
Freelance	54	57	54	58	*+4*	*.02*	
Giving people experience							
Local morning papers	47	50	43	46	*-1*	*-.02*	
Metropolitan press	39	47	53	37	*-2*	*.02*	
Evening tabloids	46	41	58	41	*-5*	*.00*	
SR	37	57	52	51	*+14*	*.06*	
SVT	56	61	44	33	*-23*	*-.16*	**
Commercial broadcasting	-	31	55	44	*+13*	*.00*	
Freelance	35	46	39	49	*+14*	*.04*	
Providing diversion							
Local morning papers		23	19	21	*-2*	*-.05*	
Metropolitan press		25	15	18	*-7*	*-.20*	**
Evening tabloids		28	40	28	*0*	*-.03*	
SR		20	14	15	*-5*	*-.02*	
SVT		13	13	11	*-2*	*-.12*	*
Commercial broadcasting		9	12	6	*-3*	*.01*	
Freelance		12	8	17	*+5*	*.07*	

Note: The questions were worded: See table 9.2. * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level. Group size varies between 36 and 336 respondents. Fewest are the evening tabloid- and commercial broadcasting journalists, while local morning paper reporters constitute the biggest group.
Source: *SJS*

Looking at these opinions as acts of self-justification may explain the difference. While the tabloids possess a more natural position in the field – however disputed – commercial broadcasting journalists are still newcomers that have to constantly justify their presence (Dellgran, 2006). The refusal to acknowledge the diversion ideal as a legitimate stand may thus represent a striving for symbolic capital, especially when related to the up-swing of the ideal to give people experience in this group.

Soft News Reporters Most Audience-Orientated
Considering the role played by journalists' area of coverage in their support for this dimension of ideals, we find that support for the ideal of stimulating new thoughts and ideas, and the ideal of giving people experience, remains more or less unchanged in all groups. Support for the diversion ideal is decreasing in all groups. Most important to conclude is that the three audience-orientated ideals are all most popular in the group of soft news reporters, something that should not be too surprising, since the main purpose for many of them is to amuse or offer diversion to the audience.

The difference in opinion does not only concern the diversion ideal, however; despite the fact that the other ideals connect to a different side of journalism, they seem to be coherent in the group of soft news reporters. Soft news coverage implies generally a more audience-orientated approach which is either of an educating or popular character.

Table 9.8 **Support for the ideals of stimulating new thoughts and ideas, giving people experience and providing diversion in control for main area of coverage**
(per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	*Difference*	*Tau-c*
Stimulating new thoughts						
Hard news	46	54	60	51	*+5*	*.02*
Soft news	45	45	46	44	*-1*	*-.01*
General	41	51	48	48	*+7*	*.03*
Giving people experience						
Hard news	39	47	41	39	*0*	*-.02*
Soft news	47	46	55	46	*-1*	*-.00*
General	43	52	46	39	*-4*	*-.04* *
Providing diversion						
Hard news		17	12	14	*-3*	*-.03*
Soft news		27	26	23	*-4*	*-.07*
General		20	17	15	*-5*	*-.11* **

Note: The questions were worded: See table 9.2. Group size varies between 85 - 352 respondents. Fewest were the soft news reporters in 1989, while hard news reporters in 2005 constitute the largest group. * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

9.4 Incorporating Commercial Values

The question is whether the participating ideals of diversion, stimulating new thoughts and ideas and giving people experience satisfactorily captures the commercial influence on journalists' views of audience orientation. It is likely that organizational changes are met with scepticism and resistance (Gade, 2004, Sveningsson, 1999), but research also shows that a way of dealing with these changes is to incorporate new values into the professional identity (Alvesson, 2004). To show this discrepancy I here use a question about celebrity journalism as an indicator of such identity modifications (table 9.9, next page). Commercialization strikes at different levels of the news process and celebrity journalism may seem like a bagatelle in that context. However,

it is a frequent symbol for the visible changes in news content in a commercial direction, and has, as such, been widely criticized. It is thus mainly connected to the aspect of entertainment and diversion and not to the more accepted forms of audience-orientation also discussed in this chapter.

Table 9.9   **Celebrity journalism does *not* belong in daily newspapers** (per cent that fully agree)

	1989	2005	*Difference*
Journalists (all)	42	27	*-15*
Citizens	60	54	*-6*
Female journalists	52	32	*-20*
Male journalists	36	23	*-13*
Journalistic qualifications	40	27	*-13*
No journalistic qualifications	42	27	*-15*
Local press	45	21	*-24*
Metropolitan press	43	19	*-24*
Evening tabloids	18	3	*-15*
SR	36	25	*-11*
SVT	48	35	*-13*
Commercial broadcasting	43	22	*-21*
Hard news reporters	37	27	*-10*
Soft news reporters	36	22	*-14*
General reporters	46	29	*-17*

Source: Results for the citizen group are drawn from the *SOM survey* 1989 and 2005. All other figures are drawn from *SJS*.

Comparing the opinions of different groups on the matter of celebrity journalism, the first thing that stands out is that acceptance for this sort of journalism has increased since 1989, since the amount of journalists disapproving of its existence has decreased. Some of the largest diminutions are visible in the groups of daily newspaper reporters themselves. Most resistant to this change are the SVT journalists who do

not seem to agree with the relevance of celebrity journalism to the same extent as others. The deviation of public service journalists, in this case, confirms the validity of the question as an indicator of commercial values within the professional frame: SVT journalists are perhaps most sensitive of all to the democratic expectations of the profession, as they are explicitly set to guard citizens' interests according to the broadcasting licence.

Organizational relevance to this opinion is again verified by the deviation of the tabloid reporters. As expected, they are the most positive to celebrity journalism; only three per cent fully agree with the statement. Furthermore, they sustain the notion that even if the questions in this study are asked about journalism in general, journalists tend to answer from their own perspectives and their own positions in the field. It would seem a bit odd if tabloid reporters distanced themselves from celebrity journalism, since this constitutes an essential part of tabloid content.

The female social pathos becomes visible here as well: Women do have a more distinct apprehension of what journalism ought to be than men do and do not agree to the same extent with the existence of celebrity journalism in newspapers. Regarding this matter they have, however, changed opinion quite drastically since 1989 and approached the men in attitude. Both men and women regard celebrity journalism to be a more acceptable element of newspaper content in 2005 than they did before.

Most interesting is perhaps the discrepancy in opinions of journalists and citizens: Citizens are obviously not as flexible as the journalists seem to be about changes of news content; more than half of them fully agree that celebrity coverage is something daily newspapers should let rest. The difference between citizens and journalists was large in 1989, and now seems to have widened even further. Journalists are clearly restrained by company goals and influenced by an internal discussion on journalism, where some previously banned forms today have become more accepted.

Citizens have not been an integrated part of this discussion and would, perhaps, like their newspapers to stay more as they were; orientated towards social, political and economic matters. When criticized, the argument for this change is that it sells – it is what the

audience wants. But is this really so? Even though there is an imminent risk of status answers in the citizen survey, the results clearly state that the journalist corps is not at all representative of the audience in this regard. Journalist acceptance and internalization of commercial values seems to be a fact; and, even if those figures say nothing about the actual news content, they might wish to watch their representativeness more carefully.

But where do these values come from? They are obviously not results of the audience desires, that much is clear. As mentioned in chapter two, the up-rating of entertaining and diverting journalism is forced by company ambitions to reach wider audiences. It is originally a management area, and the change in values most often comes from a managerial discourse. This becomes clear when comparing the opinions of journalists and managing editors on the matter of entertainment in media: 36 per cent of the journalists think that one of media's most important tasks is to provide diversion and relaxation, while the number of the managing editors is almost double.

Again I consider a single statement as an indicator of something wider; the penetration of a managerial discourse. An objection to this indicator may be that the question concerns "media" as a whole and not news journalism in particular, and this is, of course, an important note. However, considering the context of the other survey questions, clearly pointing at news journalism, and the context of respondents in terms of organizational and professional settings, I argue that the interpretation of "media" as "news media" is not that far-fetched from any side.

Table 9.10 **To provide diversion and relaxation is one of media's most important tasks, 2005** (per cent that fully or partly agree)

	%	n
Journalists	36	1007
Managing editors	62	130

Source: Results for the managing editors are drawn from the survey *Managing editor 2005*. Results for journalists are drawn from *SJS 2005*.

The question illustrates one aspect of the managerial discourse and the wide gap it shows in relation to professional discourse. These groups comprise people working within the same organizations; people evidently having quite different ideas about the business purpose. The rather dramatic change in journalists' opinions towards acceptance of celebrity news in ordinary news papers shows, however, the prosperity of managerial efforts: The journalistic profession has not much choice, but to work along with company goals. After all, it is in the interests of all employees that business keeps going.

9.5 The Two-faced Audience-Orientation

The three ideals of this chapter indicate two dimensions of journalistic audience-orientation. Stimulating new thoughts and ideas, together with the ideal of giving people experience, represents the side of professional journalism based on the notion of public service. These are educational ideals signifying an active and participating approach, drawing upon the Swedish welfare tradition of using public education as a democratic tool. At first sight, those ideals seem to be practically unchanged over time, an impression that remains valid in most cases. In some groups, however, there are diverging tendencies and these groups are mostly aligned with organization and sometimes with gender. Women hold the ideals stronger than the men throughout the years, but the gender gap is closing as the groups approach each other. The ideal of stimulating new thoughts and ideas is first and foremost held by journalists with formal qualifications but those differences also seem to be diminishing.

The ideal of diversion is perhaps not entirely new in a long-term perspective, but it has obtained new attention as one consequence of current changes in the field. Despite, or due to, the popularization of news business, the diversion ideal is losing support over time; a loss that is valid in all groups of journalists except for the tabloid reporters.

So, is there a connection between commercialization and audience orientation? The common critique of popularized news presentations and infotainment is mainly based on the argument that if people are seduced by music, drama and personalities they miss important political communication, something that in the end will be unfavourable to democracy. Charming imagery hides the real information and obstructs

rationally made decisions. Those arguments originate in the much questioned hypodermic needle theory mixing people's opportunities for participation with obligations, putting a highly normative raster upon the behaviour of citizens and the democratic role of political news coverage (Brants, 1998). Furthermore, some authors object to the degenerating effects of infotainment, pointing out that entertaining news coverage actually may raise the interest in politics with the audience (Jones, 2005, Brants, 1998).

The critique of commercialized news content has coloured the notion of audience orientation, which is often described today as something journalists should avoid. The emergence of new media possibilities in terms of user generated content, public journalism and the blogosphere is undoubtedly bringing the audience closer to news production. This does not automatically mean, however, that journalists have to be audience orientated in their professional stand, at least not in the sense of producing entertaining and diverting content. Journalists in Sweden adhere largely to the traditional ideas of professional altruism, public service and professional expertise, and the ideal of stimulating new thoughts and ideas and giving people experience, constitutes unproblematic parts of this ideology construction.

The ideal of diversion, on the other hand, signifies values unfamiliar to professional ideology. During the phase of consolidation around explicitly professional ideals, this ideal must be excluded and is consequently losing support. However, journalistic practice and managerial influence within organizational contexts obstruct the possibility of discarding the ideal completely: More than a fifth of the corps still think diversion is an important task and seventy per cent to some extent agree with the diversion ideal. This illustrates the complex and multidimensional character of journalism compared to other professions. It is hard to imagine, for instance, a lawyer agreeing to this statement. But in the case of journalism, the legitimacy of professional expertise is not entirely dependent on authority; there is a certain freedom to be amusing and fun, exposing different sides of life than merely the serious political ones. The existence of this freedom is indisputable, and is a natural aspect of the commercial structure of news business. However, it is not boundless; there may be a fine line between spicing up news a bit to attract the audience and actually budging on

professional standards, but the line it is there. The loss of support for the diversion ideal may thus be interpreted as professional reaction to unwanted changes; an attempt to uphold the imaginary of independence from commercial influence – an influence that is becoming increasingly difficult to ignore. This reaction, however, does not budge journalists' conviction of their role in the welfare state: The public service ideals are still going strong and counteract too radical changes of the professional identity.

10. A CHANGING PUBLIC SPHERE

This chapter will focus on how journalists connect their role to the opinion-related political side of Swedish society. This is perhaps the journalistic identity dimension that has gone through the greatest change during the past decades, since it is so closely bound to the depoliticization of news media. Habermas (1994) described the public sphere as a space for communicative action, where public debate takes place but does not necessarily lead to political decisions – it is rather an essential condition for the democratic deliberation of society. He was very critical of the commercialized development of mass media since he believed it threatened the scrutinizing function. He also thought the entrance of radio-, TV- and film media to make citizens passive and blunted politically; forcing them into a "don't talk back" relationship with news mediation (Habermas, 1962:219f).

10.1 Approaches to the Public Sphere

Whether one agrees with the notion of deliberative democracy or prefers to apply a rational choice perspective, the role of media in the public sphere remains very much the same (Nord and Strömbäck, 2004): One of journalisms main tasks is to offer a forum for debate; that is to create a public sphere where different opinions can be heard. The professional stand of journalists implying objectivity and distance is largely due to the increasing commercialization and institutionalization of news media during the 20th century (Petersson, 2006, Chadha and Kavoori, 2005, Kaplan, 2006). The objectivity norm is of course highly relevant regarding journalistic influence on public opinion: It is desirable that journalism offers a forum where different opinions may be heard and those opinions should be mediated unbiased so that people can draw their own conclusions. But the previous role of journalism in relation to public opinion was of a more advocating and participating character. In

this study, the advocating stance is illustrated by a question about whether journalists should consider themselves to be influencing public opinion or not.

Another very important journalistic function is to open up the local government process to the citizens, making it transparent. This has mostly been a successful project: The news agenda of local press matches the prioritized areas of citizens very well. It is also evident that local journalism possesses extensive agenda setting power, and largely determines what citizens perceive as important issues (Asp et al., 1997). There is, however, at this level, a glide between the meaning of media as agents of power and media as an arena, as local newspapers tend to be so closely bound to local government politicians and officials. Newspapers choose and evaluate the news independently, but factual matters are often mediated in a passive way, giving the press a mouthpiece role for both local politicians and other pressure groups (Nygren, 2003). This aspect of journalists' relation to public opinion is here captured by the question of whether journalists think they should consider themselves as mouthpieces for local opinion or not.

The Out-Dated Craftsman Role

Considering those two opinion-related ideals; influencing public opinion on the one hand and acting as mouthpiece on the other, they are both losing support quite drastically over time, although the first seems to be recognized to a greater extent by the journalists. More than two thirds of them still think that influencing public opinion is something a journalist ought to do, but this opinion has declined by 14 percentage points since 1994. Opinion intensity is also much lower as only 17 per cent fully agreed with the statement in 2005 (table 10.1).

The ideal of acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion refers to a passive journalistic approach to sources and information gathering. The mouthpiece ideal does, similarly to the mirroring ideal, signify an old-fashioned journalistic stand which makes it no surprise that it has become extensively unpopular in 2005: 42 per cent of the journalists agree to some extent, but merely 8 per cent agree fully.

Table 10.1   **Support for the ideals of influencing public opinion and acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion** (per cent; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	*Difference*	*Tau-c*	
Per cent that fully or partly agree							
Influencing public opinion		83	75	69	*-14*	*-.12*	**
Acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion	64			42	*-22*	*-.22*	**
Per cent that fully agree							
Influencing public opinion		29	21	17	*-12*	*-.13*	**
Acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion	20			8	*-12*	*-.26*	**
Average number of answers	*802*	*1026*	*1035*	*1046*			

Note: The question was worded "A journalist should consider himself as someone…who influences public opinion/ …acts as a mouthpiece for local opinion". ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

The ideal of influencing public opinion may at first signal an active and participating approach – so why does this not follow the same pattern as other active ideals that have been strengthened? A principal component analysis (table 10.2, next page) shows, however, this ideal as rather connected to the passive ideals of mirroring, providing entertainment and acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion.

The ideal of influencing public opinion seem thus to mainly connotate a construction of journalism passing its prime; a construction where journalistic advocacy was in accordance with occupational rules, and media could legitimately engage in political campaigning and debates. The two most dominant ideals of scrutiny and explanation have been excluded from the PCA due to their extreme skewness. As practically all journalists have checked the same alternatives with regard to those questions they show no variance and can consequently not explain any variance in the model as a whole.

Table 10.2   Dimensions of professional ideals 2005

	Components		
	1	*2*	*3*
Neutrality	.845	-.002	.017
Objectivity	.778	.080	-.115
Mirroring	609	.078	.495
Giving people experience	.020	.799	.014
Providing diversion	.123	.777	.204
Stimulating new thoughts and ideas	-.116	.615	.040
Letting different opinions be heard	.235	.382	.109
Mouthpiece for local opinion	.109	.057	.886
Influencing public opinion	-.329	.322	.572
Percent of explained variance	*21*	*21*	*16*

Note: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaizer Normalization
Source: *SJS 2005.*

The negative trend of the two ideals remains valid regardless of gender (table *xi*, appendix). Looking at the complete scale of response alternatives, however, it becomes clear that women tend to be slightly more *negative* to the ideal of influencing public opinion: 14 per cent fully disagree while the same number for men is 9 per cent.

The trend also remains valid in control for education. Regarding the ideal of influencing public opinion there are no attitudinal differences based on educational background either. The mouthpiece ideal is, and has been, somewhat stronger in the group of non-formally educated journalists but the difference is marginal (table *xii*, appendix). Controlling these two factors against each other confirms the result; neither gender nor education matters very much regarding the ideal of influencing public opinion or the ideal of acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion. Support is dropping in all groups.

Young Journalists Reject the Mouthpiece Ideal

Considering the importance of age in relation to those ideals we can first conclude that the overall trend remains stable in all age groups. But the age division, at the same time, reveals some differences; both ideals have constantly been strongest in the group of journalists aged 46 years or older and weakest in the group of youngest journalists. This difference seems to be diminishing, however, as the oldest journalists in 2005 no longer divert greatly. Younger journalists were not very inclined to act as mouthpieces back in 1989 either; it is in the group of older journalists that opinions have gone through the greatest changes. Again this confirms that the passive approach following the craftsman role is becoming increasingly irrelevant. Most journalists who maintained this role have retired today, and younger generations have apparently not inherited this stand.

Table 10.3 **Support for the ideals of influencing public opinion and acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion** (per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	*Difference*	*Tau-c*	
Influencing public opinion							
33 years or younger		21	18	14	-7	-.12	**
34-45		28	18	15	-13	-.16	**
46 years or younger		35	27	21	-14	-.13	**
Acting as a mouthpiece							
33 years or younger	13			5	-8	-.19	**
34-45	20			7	-13	-.32	**
46 years or younger	25			11	-14	-.26	**

Note: The questions were worded: See table 10.1. Number of answers in each group varies between 199 and 422, where the smallest group is constituted by young journalists in 1989.
** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

Examining the 1989 data Melin (1996b) found that passive ideals were typical of journalists without journalistic qualifications, while active ideals seemed to be upheld by the group with some sort of formal degree. It was also apparent that active ideals became increasingly popular the higher the degrees held by the journalists. Interestingly enough, it seems that younger journalists with degrees in journalism have also changed their opinion regarding the ideal of influencing public opinion (see table *xiii*, appendix). There were some differences based on education in the group of youngest journalists in the1990's, but these have now disappeared. Former programme students were previously more inclined to influence public opinion and less inclined to act as mouthpieces, and differences regarding the mouthpiece ideal persist to some extent. The change indicates that the professional agenda of journalistic educations may also be moving towards the liberal model of objectivity – the American model. This is actually not a dramatic development since the first initiatives to establish formal education programmes came with American schools as role models (Petersson, 2006:315f). In the 2000's, journalism schools do not seem to lead the way in influencing the general professional identity of all groups – at least not in the case of opinion-related ideals. Instead it appears to be journalistic education programmes and their students, who are increasingly drawn into the discursive influence of a changing environment.

Local Press and Local Opinion
The overall trend of a decline in support for those ideals also remains valid in control for journalists' main area of coverage (table *xiii*, appendix) as well as in control for organization, but there are also differences between media types. Journalists on evening tabloids, for instance, seem to be the most interested in influencing public opinion, while commercial broadcasting journalists are not at all inclined to do this. The mouthpiece ideal shows great differences in opinion in 1989; it was then strongest among local morning paper journalists and absolutely weakest with the evening tabloid reporters. In 2005 those differences had very much levelled out, even though the ideal now seem to be strongest where it was previously weakest – in the evening tabloids.

The drop in the number of journalists who *fully* agree to the mouthpiece ideal is largest within media types that are especially locally

placed to work; local press, Swedish Radio and public service broadcasting. It thus appears to be especially important for journalists within local contexts to distance themselves from the voices of local opinion.

Table 10.4 **Support for the ideals of affecting public opinion and acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion in control for media type** (per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	*Difference*	*Tau-c*	
Influencing public opinion							
Local morning papers		28	22	19	*-11*	*-.10*	**
Metropolitan press		28	17	14	*-14*	*-.18*	**
Evening tabloids		36	21	24	*-12*	*-.18*	*
SR		28	21	12	*-16*	*-.12*	*
SVT		32	28	17	*-15*	*-.12*	*
Commercial broadcasting		14	14	8	*-6*	*-.18*	
Freelance		31	22	19	*-12*	*-.14*	**
Acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion							
Local morning papers	30			11	*-19*	*-.30*	**
Metropolitan press	12			7	*-5*	*-.36*	**
Evening tabloids	5			12	*+7*	*-.16*	
SR	15			4	*-11*	*-.24*	**
SVT	16			5	*-11*	*-.29*	**
Commercial broadcasting	-			11	*0*	*-.19*	
Freelance	20			10	*-10*	*-.24*	**

Note: The questions were worded: See table 10.1 * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level. Group size varies between 33 and 334 respondents. Fewest are the evening tabloid- and commercial broadcasting journalists, while local morning paper reporters constitute the largest group.
Source: *SJS*

In 2005, the objectivity ideal, as shown in Chapter eight, is strongest among journalists on local newspapers compared to journalists of other media types. Something in the environment of this type of medium has contributed towards a strengthening of objectivity and a decline in the mouthpiece ideal.

Swedish press policy subsidies to second papers are based on the assumption that they represents a different opinion from the leading newspaper. However, the local newspaper market has experienced major changes in ownership since the late 1980's. The social democratic newspaper group The A-press was declared bankrupt in 1992 and some of its newspapers were instantly closed down, while others were sold. In some cases they were bought by local labour movements and in other cases merged with the local competitive right-wing or liberal newspaper, a trend that has led to extensive ownership concentration (Hadenius et al., 2008). Implications of this for journalistic content has proved to be increasing similarity between merged newspapers, along with a defusing of political confrontation (Andersson Odén and Bjerling, 2009).

However, consulting the whole range of answer alternatives (table 10.5) the measure of opinion intensity appears to be somewhat misleading: The mouthpiece ideal has in total, as it appears, undergone the greatest loss in support within the metropolitan daily press. Instead, local press journalists are the only ones who still obtain a positive balance measure in this matter.

Table 10.5   **Support for the ideal of acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion** (balance measure)

	1989	2005
All journalists	+28	-16
Managing editors	-	-61
Local press	+47	+3
Metropolitan press	+24	-47
Evening tabloids	+11	-24
SR	+9	-33
SVT	+14	-45
Commercial broadcasting	-	-26

Note: The question was worded: See table 10.1. Balance measure is obtained by subtracting the amount who disagrees from the amount who agrees to a statement. +/- 100 therefore means total homogeneity in support. There was no matching survey for managing editors in 1989 and the commercial broadcasting journalists were then too few to allow inference.
Source: *Managing editor 2005, SJS89-05.*

Metropolitan papers are certainly local organs to some extent, but at the same time they maintain nation-wide coverage. Their subscribers come from all over the country, perhaps making acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion seem rather inappropriate. The opinions of local reporters appear equally logical: The assumption that journalists working locally would be more positive to the mouthpiece function is after all expected. They work close to local interest agents and uphold the ambition of allowing them to be heard. Local reporters also face several constraints in their scrutinizing function; they work amid the tension between professional ideals, business imperatives and the context of a small community. The more cramped the news room and the surrounding community is, the more constrained are the possibilities for journalists to act progressively, investigative and interpretatively (Berkowitz, 2007). As shown in Chapter eight, the mirroring ideal is also most vibrant among local newspaper reporters. These results, taken together, point to the conclusion that the old craftsman role as depicted by Melin (1996b) may undisputedly be on its way out, but it still has some relevance in local settings.

When we compare journalists from any media type, or the journalistic corps as a whole, with the group of managing editors on their opinions of the mouthpiece ideal, there is a striking difference: No matter how much journalists have rejected the mouthpiece ideal, it seems even more disagreeable to persons with executive positions. The drastic difference between journalists and their managing editors confirms the outmodedness of the passive approach. Furthermore it emphasizes the connection between the active objective stance, typical of the liberal model, and the discourse of managerialism. It is not negotiable to act as mouthpieces anymore – not according to the managerial discourse and neither according to professional discourse. These two discourses appear to increasingly be approaching each other, but it is market logic that leads the way. The ideal of influencing public opinion is an active ideal, but it is still losing support, probably because it is irreconcilable to the notions of objectivity and neutrality. Thus it appears that both active and passive ideals focusing on the relationship of journalists to public *opinion* are increasingly being abandoned.

10.2 Journalists Disclaim Opinion-Related Ideals

The power of media increases as they become less of an arena and more of an independent agent. The objectivity norm is simultaneously strengthened and passive ideals matter less. The functions that have been ascribed the objectivity norm by Schudson (2001) and Windahl (1975), for instance, are becoming increasingly important: Objectivity increases the possibility of attracting a larger audience. It also serves to surround the journalistic corps with an air of credibility and professionalism – journalists should no longer interfere with public opinion, except for some investigative journalists, or commentators, who keep this as their special area. The separation of investigative and interpretative journalism reinforces the imaginary of all other journalism as objective.

The increasing amount of power distributed by media actors is not merely positive to journalism. The rise of the objectivity norm may indeed serve as an alibi in situations where this power is questioned, but there have also been internal debates on media power in relation to democracy, where news producers themselves have tried to limit this power through different policies. An example of this is the discussion on opinion polls in the media, as it is very unclear whether they mirror an existing opinion or rather serves as framing and shaping tools for public opinion. Several editors have, therefore, in the wake of this discussion, decided to thin out the coverage of polls prior to elections (Holmberg, 2008). These attempts became visible during the 2006 election, when the number of opinions polls in the media decreased, compared to previous campaigns (Wiik, 2007b). This development matches the drop for the mouthpiece ideal, as the media's use of opinion polls, in many respects, is nothing more than just this. It also matches the decline for the ideal of influencing public opinion, since the polls have been accused of leading the way for opinion, rather than mirroring a reality.

All in all it is obvious that the professional standards of journalism have changed in this matter and are in contrast to previous ideals. Is the falling support for the ideal of influencing public opinion an attempt to break free from social responsibility? The current predominance of market forces within new production may very well lead to this conclusion: Journalists do not want to shoulder tasks if they do not have any means of control. News media offer a forum for public debate, and

the function of letting different opinions be heard is held high among journalists (see Chapter seven). But that is as far as they stretch; they do not wish to get involved in the debate, since the professional norm of objectivity will not allow this. Professionalism implies distance and impartiality; therefore the participating journalistic role must to some extent drop back.

At the same time, professionalism implies authority and expertise, which is why the mouthpiece ideal becomes inconceivable. It is too passive and submissive in its character, and fundamentally clashes with the core ideals of the professional identity – to scrutinize and explain. The exception is, above all, visible amongst local newspaper journalists, since they face quite a different environment than their metropolitan colleagues. The mouthpiece ideal still has some support within this media type.

Dan Berkowitz (2007) discusses the role of investigative journalism in small local settings and concludes that it is hard for those journalists to fully perform the function as watchdogs since they have such close relations with other community actors: "The community's preferred interpretation of itself exerts force on both the journalist and the news organisation to report on events in ways that are resonant to citizens and non-threatening to the dominant power structure" (Ibid:552). He points out that, while investigative reporting in large media markets has become an audience expectation for quality products, this is not always the case in smaller markets, where the audience may have other preferences. This discrepancy is bound to influence the professional identity formation in some way, even though the journalistic corps shares overarching professional standards. Differences in support for the mouthpiece ideal indicate just this: The professional identity constitutes a loose framework, where different subgroups may be contained. Sub-grouping develops from different field positions, since these generate different forms of power. Locally placed journalists may, in that sense, access a smaller extent of action liberty as they find themselves restrained by field rules, and perhaps also carry less professional capital than journalists of nationwide media. It thus seems likely that the roots of diversifications of the professional identity must be searched for in the sub-autonomous field inside the larger field of news production.

EMPIRICAL PART II

11. POSITIONS IN THE FIELD

The first empirical part of this thesis treated groups of journalistic ideals as dimensions of the professional identity. I used the ideals as points of departure for analysis and was, due to that, able to discover trends of increasing strength in some cases and decreasing support in others. I have also been able to conclude that those changes imply a more homogenous stand of the journalistic corps – a stand centring on a few journalistic ideals now freed from individual demographic factors and different organizational purposes: It is scrutiny and explanation that have changed from being strong in 1989 to being completely dominant in 2005. These ideals can truly be seen as creating the professional identity, since they are shared by every occupational member.

Other standpoints still show variations between different groups of journalists, something indicating a separation of journalistic ideology into two levels: One homogenous overarching symbolism – a professional identity – built on the central values of scrutiny and explanation, and, on a second level below; a much more diverse flora of ideals – a mouldable structure, potentially assuming various shapes depending on context and individual career. Examples of such ideals are objectivity and neutrality, that are being supported by Swedish journalists to a greater extent than before – a tendency implying a cross-national spread of the Liberal model as suggested by Hallin and Mancini (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). This conclusion is moreover supported by the fact that audience orientation is becoming more acceptable, even though there is complexity in this matter, as more commercially slanted audience orientation is losing support. Throughout the discussion, I have thus had reason to discuss the meaning of the different social and professional forms of capital that journalists possess. Bourdieu's concepts of capital and habitus emanate from the individual, but only render meaning when placed in relation to the field rules in general, and to other field actors. It is journalists as a group, or divided into smaller groups, who may tell how the different forms of capital are valued in the field. After focusing

on the formation of ideals over time and explaining this, mainly by contextual changes, this final empirical chapter will adopt the reverse approach by focusing on my second aim; *to explore the relationship between the professional identity of journalists and their positions in the field.* Bourdieu argued that everything we say, do and show is evaluated by other actors in the field; I have therefore chosen to consider ideals, and various demographic and social attributes, as attributes determining journalists' positions in the field. Through the empirical exposition, as well as in previous research, some of these factors have proved to be more significant than others, connecting both with the field theory of Pierre Bourdieu and with professional theory: They are education, gender and organizational affiliation – themes that here will make ground for three separate sections where I attempt to achieve my second aim.

11.1 Class and Education Corresponding

Bourdieu saw the educational system as a reproductive agent of power; by promoting the dominant ideology of the field, it corresponds with the interests of dominant actors. It distributes cultural capital among social groups, thereby transforming power relations into legitimate authority (Collins, 1993). Professional training fills two purposes: The first is of course to teach future journalists the craft of the occupation and to socialize them into field culture. The second purpose is to function as a gate, where outsiders may enter the field. Journalistic qualifications have not traditionally been a standard criterion for getting employment; the preferred competence usually emphasized in employment advertisements, has instead been journalistic experience. The academization of journalist schools has, however, clearly been in line with the effort to increase the prominence of education in the field (Ottosen, 2004). The general educational level in Sweden is high, and most journalists have had a satisfactory, all-round education and have extensive cultural capital (but perhaps not a great deal of economic capital), which makes it more important to obtain the right education degree *within* journalism. There are several types of journalistic programmes of which academic degrees are most common.

However, comparing the educational level of the corps between 1989 and 2005, it is the degrees from journalistic education programmes

outside academia that have increased the most (table 11.1). While a majority of the journalists in 1989 completely lacked formal qualifications, this becomes increasingly uncommon as time goes by. Even so, one third of journalists still have different educational backgrounds than vocational ones, which means the Swedish field of 2005 cannot be regarded as entirely closed. However, the gate is slowly closing, or has at least been doing so during my research period.

Table 11.1   Distribution of journalistic degrees among Swedish journalists 1989-2005 (per cent)

	1989	2005
Journalistic degree from university	30	37
Other journalistic education*	12	30
No journalistic education	58	33
Number of answers	*843*	*1061*

Note: *This category contains evening classes, folk high-school and other 'post-gymnasium' education programmes.
Source: *SJS*

In countries practicing journalistic authorization the field is naturally more exclusive due to formal sanctions. Sweden applies a kind of authorization in the form of press cards, issued by the Swedish Newspaper Publishers' Association, the Journalistic Union and sometimes by single media companies. The press card gives access to sources and authorities in a way that is sometimes necessary to fully complete the job. Formal accreditation is, thence, a valuable form of capital to journalists, not least in view of the union. The accreditation is not, however, connected to any form of journalistic degree but may be obtained by anyone employed as a reporter or who is a member of the union.

The Meaning of Cultural Capital

So we can see that a majority of the journalists in 2005 have some form of journalistic training, but what does this mean? How does journalistic degrees relate to other forms of social or professional capital? Comparing the field of 1989 with the field of 2005, in terms of education, we can see that it is the group of formally educated journalists who have changed the most; their average age has increased, they have worked longer as journalists and been longer at their workplaces. This is, of course, due to the fact that the symbolic importance of journalism degrees first started to emerge on a large scale in the 1970's, and that they have now established their position.

Table 11.2   **Comparison of the groups of journalists with and without journalistic qualifications focusing on changes in social and professional forms of capital 1989-2005**

	1989		2005	
	With journalistic qualifications	*No journalistic qualifications*	*With journalistic qualifications*	*No journalistic qualifications*
Years as journalist (mean)	12	17.3	17.7	17
Years at current workplace (mean)	6.5	11.4	9	11.3
Age (mean)	38	40	43	45
Blue collar background*	30%	36%	30%	39%
White collar background*	59%	47%	56%	49%
Working in Stockholm capital	42%	28%	43%	34%
Working on local newspapers	41%	55%	40%	53%
Working with hard news	27%	22%	35%	32%
Working with soft news	8%	13%	17%	21%
Number of answers	*355*	*487*	*714*	*347*

Note: * This is what the respondents themselves claimed as social background.
Source: *SJS*

The number of journalists working in the capital, or on local newspapers, is virtually unchanged. In 2005, as in 1989, journalists working in the

Stockholm area tend to be better educated than those in other parts of Sweden. More than half of the non-formally educated journalists are to be found on local newspapers in both years. Journalists working within national, Stockholm-based media, more often hold some kind of journalistic degree than those working on local newspapers in local settings. This seems to verify the notion that formal education functions as symbolic capital in the field: National media, naturally, holds higher status than the local, as it reaches larger audiences and exerts more influence. Journalists with a national audience also have the opportunity to make a name for themselves in a totally different way than more anonymous local newspaper reporters. Local journalists may, of course, achieve powerful positions locally, but those fields must, in a sense, be seen as subordinate in relation to the national sphere, both politically and professionally. Subordination is expressed as preceding positions in the field specific status hierarchy, not only by journalists themselves, but also by politicians, advertisers and the audience.

Another reason for journalists with a professional education to gather in certain geographic and topic areas is that former students of journalist schools help each other to build careers. Social networks formed at journalist schools serve as recruitment bases into different media channels, as well as forums for professional development – they constitute a form of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). In this context, political scientist Birgitta Niklasson (2005) suggests the term *contact capital* instead of social capital, as the latter is broad enough to include all kinds of social relations; family, friends etc. In the case of ex-classmates it may be difficult to separate the two forms of capital, since they may be friends while they also constitute relations in professional life. The point is, however, that these kinds of informal networks play an important role by integrating the professional field with the general social field. It is not strange, therefore, that journalists with similar educational backgrounds, also tend to adopt similar professional standards.

Declining Significance of Academic Degrees

As already mentioned, there are no dramatic differences in opinion regarding the three funding ideals of the professional identity (scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard), that can be

connected with the respondents' educational background. Journalists think the same whether they are professionally qualified or not.

Table 11.2 **Development of journalistic ideals in the groups of journalists with and without *journalistic* qualifications 1989-2005** (balance measure; Tau-c)

		1989	1994	1999	2005	*Tau-c*	
Scrutiny	*With qualifications*	+98	+99	+98	+96	*.01*	
	No qualifications	+95	+99	+98	+98	*.00*	
Explanation	*With qualifications*	+95	+98	+98	+96	*.00*	
	No qualifications	+89	+95	+93	+94	*.02*	
Letting different opinions be heard	*With qualifications*		+90	+89	+90	*.00*	
	No qualifications		+89	+91	+93	*.02*	
Stimulating new thoughts	*With qualifications*	+42	+32	+44	+59	*.02*	
	No qualifications	+82	+89	+92	+87	*-.01*	
Giving people experience	*With qualifications*	+87	+91	+84	+82	*-.01*	
	No qualifications	+81	+91	+85	+80	*-.03*	
Objectivity	*With qualifications*		+57	+74	+76	*.08*	**
	No qualifications		+76	+78	+76	*.00*	
Neutrality	*With qualifications*	+42	+32	+44	+59	*.03*	
	No qualifications	+54	+53	+57	+61	*.10*	**
Providing diversion	*With qualifications*		+51	+26	+38	*-.05*	
	No qualifications		+63	+46	+43	*-.09*	**
Influencing public opinion	*With qualifications*		+72	+51	+37	*-.16*	**
	No qualifications		+60	+50	+40	*-.08*	*
Mirroring public opinion	*With qualifications*	+33	+47	+42	+29	*.04*	
	No e qualifications	+46	+54	+47	+32	*.04*	
Acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion	*With qualifications*	+25			-20	*-.21*	**
	No qualifications	+31			-12	*-.20*	**

Note: The questions were worded "A journalist should consider himself as …a scrutinizer of those in power/ …someone who explains complicated events to the audience/ …someone who lets different opinions be heard/ …someone who stimulates new thoughts and ideas/ …someone who gives people experience/ …someone who objectively mediates news/ …someone who reports events neutrally/ …someone who provides diversion to the audience/ …influencing public opinion/ …a mirror of public opinion/ …someone who acts as a mouthpiece for local opinion". Empty spaces means the question was not asked that year. Balance measure is obtained by subtracting the amount who disagrees from the amount who agrees to a statement. +/- 100 means total homogeneity in support.
* Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

Differences appear when observing the *active participating* ideals of stimulating new thoughts and ideas, and influencing public opinion. In both these cases, it is the journalists without formal qualifications that agree the most. The same applies for the ideal of providing diversion. Differences erode over time, but are still undisputable.

The *active neutral* approach of the Liberal model has been adopted by journalists with formal qualifications to the same extent as by journalists without qualifications. However, it is the qualified journalists that approached the rest in attitude – a fact somewhat opposing the alleged role of training programmes as ideological agents. If it was so, would not the non-formally educated journalists instead be approaching the professional stand of their colleagues?

The finding suggests that the role of professional degrees has increasingly become a formal and social criterion, but that its symbolic power over professional identities is sapping. In his book *The triumph of emptiness* Mats Alvesson (2008) argues that academization, ethical guidelines and formal authorization often seem to function as window displays rather than as actual measures of quality. A greater number of journalist qualifications over the years is a consequence of the professional struggle for higher status, and may largely be seen as a pseudo structure of labelling with the purpose of upholding a certain image (Ibid.).

Alvessons argumentation is supported by my results: It seems that, while an increasingly large majority of journalists qualify from journalist schools, the *cultivating* effect of these schools is decreasing. In the case of some ideals, the variation between groups persists, but there are in general practically no differences in the professional identities of journalists with or without professional qualifications. There might, of course, be some divergence in the actual practice of those groups, but I find it unlikely. A genuine knowledge of the craftsmanship is necessary for all journalists, and the symbolic meaning of good experience is encouraged, in news room environments, and the journalistic field as a whole. Schultz (2007a) points to "journalistic capital" as a form of capital closely connected with peer-recognition:

> "Having a lot of journalistic capital means having a lot of respect from journalistic colleagues and having a good position internally in the journalistic hierarchy. Journalistic capital can be material as well as

> immaterial. A journalistic award can be a very material award, whereas praise from a colleague, a pat on the shoulder or an appreciated remark in the newsroom can be seen as signs of immaterial symbolic capital" (Ibid:17).

"Journalistic capital" is in newsroom environments surely of greater value than cultural capital in terms of educational degrees. The increasing number of journalistic degrees, therefore, leads me to the conclusion that above all they serve as instruments for professional staging of the field: This is a confluence linking journalistic discourse and occupational professionalism together, and has, as such, had considerable influence since the 1960's. It seems, however, that this influence today first and foremost is a part of the professional project. It is distanced from journalism as a democratic institution in society, in the sense that it no longer furthers any special ideals or values, as it used to do. What it does is shaping the journalistic identity, by building a common spirit of importance, social belonging and professional status.

Journalists – a Creative Class?

The image of journalism as an autonomous profession, focusing creativity, talent and social pathos, parallels well the class structure of journalists: They are well educated middle class, concentrated to metropolitan areas and idealizing professional and democratic values such as scrutiny and explanation. They live an active cultural life, read more books, see movies and discuss politics more often than citizens in general (Johansson, 2007). In many respects, they remind us of the so called *creative class* as described by Richard Florida (2006). He suggests the emergence of a new class in the wake of globalization and individualization; a class whose identities are founded on their role as creative mediators, rather than on the possession of material resources. Because the principal force behind economic growth today is creativity, this new class becomes socially prominent and influential. They are highly mobile, but tend to gather in specific geographical areas, engendering creative centres, where their active lifestyles may bloom in the company of like-minded people. Florida regards this as a new kind of class segregation. Creative workers are often found in knowledge-intensive firms, such as media companies, and expect to be treated as autonomous

individuals in control of their own careers. Interestingly, these creative workers are, most frequently, not independent agents in an economic sense; instead they are employed and dependent on commercial actors (Ibid.).

The description of a creative class fits well with the professional image of journalists, and is undoubtedly true in many cases: Some journalists may indeed be considered to be the intellectual elite of creativity and individuality depicted by Florida. Some become great celebrities and assets to the firms that employ them, with extensive influence over public opinion, and the ability to attract both audience and advertisers. Most journalists do, however, remain anonymous cogs in the constantly spinning wheel of news production, producing standardized everyday news stories (Ottosen, 2004, Östlund, 2000).

The conjunction of creativity and status is interesting, as a comparative study of journalist students in Nordic countries confirms creativity to be the most common motive for applying; the least common motive was status (Björnsen et al., 2007). This seems reasonable; it is probably not external status that primarily drives future journalists, and if it was – who would admit it? But they are, at the same time, very aware of professional hierarchies: Most of the study respondents claimed to aspire to positions on the most prestigious newspapers and also wished to work with prestigious topics such as politics and culture (Ibid.).

The creative class is not only driven by individualism tendencies, it is also in love with meritocracy: They do not identify themselves by economic capital but by self-fulfilment and intellectual success; social status is determined through knowledge and skills – not money. Journalistic education programmes – especially programmes with academic status – serve to stage those internal hierarchies. Being trainers of creative skills, they are easily confused with born talent hot-beds; mixing up craftsmanship with natural traits in order to elevate "the chosen ones". By glozing the underlying causes of cultural and educational differences, meritocracy indiscernibly maintains the standpoints it claims distance from (Florida, 2006). Many Swedish journalists are certainly natural born talents but this is not what completely characterizes them as a group. Creative drive and intellectual freedom need not necessarily be acquired from the well-educated middle class but such is the case here. Swedish journalists are strikingly

homogenous regarding class and cultural capital. The recognition of academic education is partly a consequence of the overall improved level of education in society but, more significantly, a result of the profession being totally occupied by the middle class – their qualities have become the qualities of the profession.

11.2 A Gendered Field in Transition

Gender structure of the journalistic body has changed in many ways during the last decades; changes likely to have influence on the self image of the profession. Gender division among Swedish journalists today is fifty-fifty, in contrast to 1989, when women constituted one third of the work force. They were then underrepresented in radio, broadcasting and the daily morning press, as well as in managerial positions. The situation has changed drastically during the past fifteen years, and even though women in top positions are still rare, the field is more or less in balance in different media sectors and in middle managerial positions. Earlier gender-typing of beats, has on the whole, decreased during the years, but not entirely disappeared (Löfgren Nilsson, 2007a, Löfgren Nilsson, 2004, Löfgren Nilsson, 1994). According to *SJS 2005* the number of journalists claiming to work with hard news is practically the same among women as among men; about one third.

The group of female journalists was younger than their male colleagues in 1989, and the age difference has continued to increase since then. Women within the corps have generally not been nearly as long in the profession as the men, and have thus on average not been quite as long at their current workplaces.

The entrance of more women into the field has partly compensated for the uneven social recruitment within the corps, since previously, working class women were largely excluded. This means that female journalists in 1989 had to adduce several types of symbolic capital, as well as more of it, compared to their male colleagues. They were consequently from a higher social background and better educated than the men; a state still persisting even though the discrepancies are decreasing.

Table 11.3   **Comparison of male and female journalists focusing on changes in individual and professional forms of capital 1989-2005**

	1989		2005	
	Women	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*
Years as journalist (mean)	12.7	16	13.3	21.7
Years at current workplace (mean)	8.5	10	8.8	10.2
Age (mean)	40	41	41	45
Blue collar background*	21%	40%	29%	37%
White collar background*	62%	47%	57%	50%
With journalistic qualifications	53%	37%	71%	64%
Working in Stockholm capital	41%	30%	44%	36%
Working on local newspapers	50%	50%	41%	47%
Working with hard news	19%	27%	33%	34%
Working with soft news	7%	13%	11%	25%
Number of answers	*290*	*553*	*549*	*542*

Note: * This is what the respondents themselves claimed as social background.
Source: *SJS*

It is evident that gender plays an important role in the professional stand of journalists. Melin (2008) found British female journalists who, using various tactics, were struggling for legitimacy within rather strict masculine hierarchies. Women who choose to stay in the occupation opt for becoming "one of the boys" or rely on their female capital as an asset. de Bruin (2004) suggested the professional experience of journalists to be an overlap of professional-, gender- and organizational identities, where the latter comprise "the collectively constructed and continuously renegotiated understanding among the members of an organization of 'who-we-are'". She notes that even though female gender identity, in some situations, may be an advantage, especially in situations outside the newsroom, gender identification in news rooms is most often marked by inequality and causes a powerful stalemate, overlapped with unequal organizational identities. Professional identity offers a way out of this stalemate by re-prioritizing among the identity repertoire. This means shifting the gender identity to a lower position in the individual

identity hierarchy, based on certain incentives. Professional identity is thus, by women, often used as protection in the unequal masculine culture of news rooms. This protection is not absolute as it still has to be acknowledged by other actors; something that might be difficult in organizations where gender identities, to a large extent, coincide with male culture. To men, this is not a problem, since an emphasis on their gender identity only serves their organizational and professional identities – for them there is no discrepancy (Ibid. p. 13f).

An Emerging (Gender) Neutral Approach

The empirical results presented in this thesis clearly show that practical and morphological changes in the journalistic field did influence the professional identity creation of journalists in 1989. Gender differences in support of journalistic ideals appearing in 1989 seem, however, to be slowly disappearing as the corps as a whole homogenizes. Previously prevailing gender logic may be in transition, since both men and women in the profession today, perceive their professional identities differently than before – but in a similar manner.

Values of the Liberal model suggested by Hallin and Mancini (2004) seem to influence Swedish journalists who are distinctly moving towards a more neutral approach – a movement diminishing the significance of individual attributes. The tendency towards neutrality is clear among female journalists, regardless of education, age and place of work. Men, on the other hand, increasingly support ideals labelled as participant and are, in that sense, approaching women in attitude. Neutrality has, as a symbolic attribute in the journalistic discourse, repeatedly been defined as masculine - empirically confirmed in several studies (e.g. Djerf Pierre, 2007, Larssen, 2000, Zilliacus-Tikkanen, 1997, Melin-Higgins, 1996a). According to my results this is no longer true for Swedish journalism – there has been a shift in values based on gender.

Translating my findings into de Bruins frame of understanding, we can see that women tend to stress their professional identity more than men do. They value *all* ideals to a higher extent than their male colleagues, in that way crystallizing more distinct professional identities. The only exception is the diversion ideal that, instead, is further supported by men. But above all – women tend to emphasize the *traditionally* professional ideals of neutrality and scrutiny to a greater

extent (table 11.4). Men seem to be more "laid back" in relation to the symbolism of ideals. Perhaps they do not need to fight so hard for their place in journalism, and their relaxed attitude indicates the posture of a privileged group. The attitudinal differences between men and women can, on the other hand, also be interpreted as indicators of an actual situation; a driving force of the professionalization process. To men, the gap between professional and gender identity has never been a problem – if it even existed!

Table 11.4 **Development of journalistic ideals in the groups of male and female journalists 1989-2005** (balance measure; Tau-c)

		1989	1994	1999	2005	*Tau-c*	
Scrutiny	*Women*	+96	+99	+98	+99	*.01*	
	Men	+96	+99	+98	+99	*.01*	
Explanation	*Women*	+96	+97	+96	+96	*.00*	
	Men	+90	+96	+94	+95	*.02*	
Letting different opinions be heard	*Women*		+90	+93	+92	*.01*	
	Men		+90	+88	+90	*.01*	
Stimulating new thoughts	*Women*	+91	+95	+93	+91	*.01*	
	Men	+83	+90	+92	+88	*.02*	
Giving people experience	*Women*	+90	+93	+83	+80	*-.05*	**
	Men	+81	+89	+85	+83	*.00*	
Objectivity	*Women*		+62	+75	+77	*.07*	**
	Men		+71	+77	+75	*-.02*	
Neutrality	*Women*	+43	+40	+48	+62	*.09*	**
	Men	+52	+45	+54	+56	*.03*	
Providing diversion	*Women*		+54	+32	+36	*-.08*	*
	Men		+60	+42	+44	*-.07*	*
Influencing public opinion	*Women*		+59	+46	+31	*-.13*	**
	Men		+70	+54	+46	*-.10*	**
Mirroring public opinion	*Women*	+38	+55	+50	+36	*-.04*	
	Men	+42	+47	+40	+26	*-.07*	**
Acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion	*Women*	+36			-16	*-.24*	**
	Men	+25			-16	*-.21*	**

Note: The questions were worded: See table 11.2. * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

Female identities are more flexible when adopting neutrality and objectivity, than with regard to the commercial aspects of audience

orientation (celebrity journalism, for instance). In that case it is men who seem more flexible. Identity plasticity thus opens in different directions for men and women – this is how the interplay/overlap of gender and professional identities becomes visible in the changing situation of news business. Masculine rationality has always been synonymous with professional values in people's minds. But in fact, as it turns out, professional values seem empirically to be more feminine, and the shift in support for the neutrality ideal, illustrates a new sort of fusion of professional and gender identities in journalism. Gender identities are, of course, much wider than sole ideals and are still highly relevant in practice. But the professional adjustment of men and women at an ideological level will perhaps also have some bearing on newsroom conduct.

Driving Forces

So what has happened? New media situations and tougher competition endorse a neutral stance (Curran, 2005), to some extent loosening up previous gender patterns. At a time when professions find themselves increasingly questioned, neutrality serves to legitimize the privileged role of journalistic autonomy. To women entering the field on a wide front, it could also serve as symbolic capital in a masculine sphere. Adopting and internalizing traditionally masculine values, increases women's career possibilities and legitimacy within the occupation.

Empirical data also suggest that a new generation of female journalists is replacing the older generation – and holding less participant ideals. Younger female reporters have been brought up in a completely different media environment, and seem to adopt the masculine side of field logic more easily than their precursors did. Changes in professional identity may represent a new generation of journalists – possibly accelerating feminization in terms of shifting ideals. Representatives of this new generation are still too few in the data to fully verify those indications empirically, but a tendency can indeed be traced in the material.

Feminization, Professionalization or Both?

The presumed feminization of journalistic output (e.g. Pantti, 2005, Aldridge, 2001, van Zoonen, 1998) appears to be reflected in the construction of professional ideology. At the same time, it would be naïve to think of the homogenization of identities merely as progress in equality. The span between ideal and practice is expanding and contracting like a rubber band – all depending on the situation. This discrepancy is effectively captured by de Bruin when discussing the interplay of different identities, where gender sometimes overshadows profession and sometimes not.

In my data I detect two tendencies of *feminization* of journalistic identities. One tendency refers to the dichotomies constituting gendered logic being about to change. Change that can appear in two ways: Firstly, by altering the interpreted meaning of different items. Seeing feminization as a consequence of increasingly influential market logic, the value of "public orientation", for instance, may begin to digress slightly from the original connotation (to work in dialogue with the audience). Instead it tends to be associated with the negative sides of commercialization, as in capitalist strivings to "give the audience what they want" – putting professional regards aside. Secondly, the actual dichotomy items may be reversed; neutrality moving place from the masculine side to the feminine. What happens then is a probable devaluation of the ideal as symbolic capital. This is because the gender order, in general, means that feminine attributes are always valued lower than masculine ones – even if they were originally masculine. According to this view, female actions and standpoints are constantly weighed against masculine ones, since the male gender functions as the idealized standard (Hirdman, 2001). A consequence of this is that, even if female journalists adopt traditionally masculine ideals, these ideals will sooner or later lose significance as legitimizing tools, just because they are increasingly seen as feminine.

In my study it is, above all, the ideals of neutrality and audience orientation that are potentially changing place in the gendered logic of journalism. Neutrality by being increasingly feminized and audience orientation by being more accepted as a masculine/professional attribute.

Table 11.5   Potentially changing gendered logic of journalism

Dominant logic ("masculine")	*Alternative logic ("Feminine")*
Public sphere/Elites	Private/intimate sphere/ Everyday life
Male sources and perspectives	Female sources and perspectives
Distance/neutrality/objectivity	Intimacy/empathy/subjectivity
Autonomy ("professional criteria")	Audience orientation (the audience's needs/ interests)

Source: Djerf-Pierre, 2007

The other tendency of feminization is connected with this potential status change of ideals and relates to the increasing number of women in the field. Looking at other professions, it is obvious that feminization processes rather serve to devaluate professional status than anything else. Salaries become or remain low; autonomy declines and men abandon the occupation. Teaching is such an example where feminization has had a serious influence on professional culture and identity construction, and where a majority of the workforce is female, while men still hold the higher positions (Cortina and San Román, 2006). Dentistry is another example of women entering a traditionally male culture (Adams, 2005). Similarly to journalism, dentistry has undergone a rapid development towards increasing competition, larger organizations and more insecure employment. Career goals of female dentists are not separate from those of males, since professional socialization works the same on both genders and most women strive to fit into a masculine role. But despite that, women still earn less than men, work fewer hours and spend more time with each patient: Perceptions of professional values are not gendered, but work practice is (Ibid.).

It is difficult to tell whether women have been entering an already transforming occupation, or if it is changing due to the entrance of women to the field. In any case, current professional development relating to feminization mostly points towards decreased status and autonomy. "Feminine" journalism is, as a sad sort of backlash, deemed

to be subordinate – even if it was originally considered to be "masculine". Professional identity creation of Swedish journalists confirms that gendered field logic is a construction that in some respects, but not all, has bearing upon real practice. The discursive level tends to be strict when professional boundaries and established orders are threatened, but "feminine" journalism did in practice turn out to be very lucrative. The triangular relationship between commercial forces, firming professional identities and feminization therefore deserves to be investigated further. Field specific mappings of a statistical nature constitute helpful bases for comparative discussions, but one would also like to see the effectuation of professional identities in practice, and in what way they interact with gender in everyday work life. Is the homogenization of men's and women's perceptions actually a sign of increasing gender equality, or is the feminization of journalism a first pointer of men leaving the occupation?

11.3 High and Low in the Field

The significance of journalists' belonging to different media types to their professional identity formation has been established several times in previous empirical chapters. However, the factor of "media type" may be seen from two perspectives: *Firstly* as a matter of organization where various mediums bring various practical, as well as ideological, prerequisites to their employees. Those prerequisites are determined by the specific purposes of each medium, the economic situation of the company and by the character of company leadership – components together shaping a unique organizational culture.

Media type may *secondly* be seen as a matter of position in the field, as different media channels exist in the general social order, where both phenomena and agents are constantly valued in relation to each other. The hierarchical placement of each journalist is, as already discussed, determined by class, education and gender, but also by the position of the medium in which they work. Employment at a serious high-up newspaper is finer than working at the juicy gossip magazine.

These two perspectives will both be treated and developed here in order to explain how notions of high and low in the field correspond with the creation of journalists' professional identities.

Professional- and Organizational Identities

Critical media researches often describe news production as a factory, and it certainly *is* an industrialized production in many ways, with standardized news values and routines. But usage of the factory metaphor may lead to too strong conclusions regarding the organizational behaviour of news companies. Journalism is, in many ways, similar to industrial production, but it is not the same. In order to understand the situation of journalists at their workplaces, it is, therefore, crucial to apply a perspective that combines organizational preconditions with creative possibilities and unpredictability (Eide, 1992). The professional organization is an arena for complex work tasks that must be carried out by professionals, but which, at the same time, require stability and standardization. The structure thence forms a professional bureaucracy, where people act rather independently from each other, but with the same training and similar skills (Mintzberg, 1989).

Professional organizations traditionally represented a hegemonic system of guiding principles and supporting structures, based on partnership, collegiality and autonomy. Fuelled by the search for efficiency and flexibility, however, a new archetype has emerged in the shape of "managed professional business", featuring incremental managerialism, as well as business-like structures and language (customers, market share, profit). Other themes typical of the new organizational type are multidisciplinary practice, increasingly individualized rewards, and tendencies towards globalization (Brock et al., 1999). Such a definition fits what Alvesson (2004) calls knowledge-intensive firms, entities including highly qualified professionals using intellectual and symbolic skills in their work. Knowledge-intensive firms are characterized by various degrees of autonomy and quickly adaptable organizational forms, but also by subjective quality assessments and the need for extensive communication to solve problems. These developments are also visible in western news production, which is becoming increasingly focused on commercial concerns and attempts to catch the audience in toughening competition. Organizationally, this has meant extended use of temporary freelancers and, to those holding firmer types of employment, more goal-orientated working environments (Deuze, 2007, Nygren, 2007, Gade, 2004, Gade and Perry, 2003, Sveningsson, 1999).

Evetts (2005) points to the contemporary paradox of increasing the professionalization of service occupations, while the actual conditions for professional autonomy seem to be declining in practice. She asks what consequences this paradox will bring in terms of public trust in occupations; does the increasing application of professionalism as organizational control mean that we can no longer rely on the competence of professionals? Journalists are members of a professional community, but they are also bound to the specific purposes and cultures of their workplaces.

Though not conducting an organizational study, I wish to explain the importance of those specific features to the professional identity. Following Evetts' (2005) division of the professional discourse into two, I place professional identity in relation to occupational professionalism, while organizational professionalism corresponds to the *organizational identity* (de Bruin, 2000, de Bruin, 2004). The concept of organizational identity focuses on negotiations between professional and managerial discourses, negotiations that are often described by journalists in more antagonistic than cooperative terms (Sveningsson, 1999, Gade, 2004). As news organizations are influenced, to an increasing extent, by managerial leadership (e.g. Djerf Pierre and Weibull, 2009) I place the managerial discourse as an influential factor behind organizational professionalism and at the end; the organizational identity.

Figure 11.1   Relations between discourses and identities at work

181
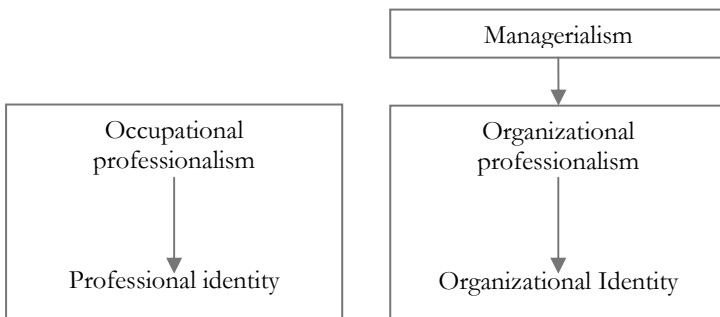
Journalists in Changing Organizations

Deuze (2007) argues that a traditional organizational view of news firms today may be misleading, as so many tasks are performed by people outside the company. Organizational structures loosen up, and participation in more widely stretched informal networks becomes increasingly important to journalistic careers. This means that organizations should preferably be seen as "open systems" where interdependent activities take place; activities linking participants from inter-organizational networks in ever shifting coalitions (e.g. Parker, 2000). This development has also been noted by Paul du Gay (1996), as managers and employers increasingly tend to emphasize the "enterprise" of the individual, instead of common organizational attributes. The enterprise lingo and connotations of efficiency, productivity and autonomy suit the professional discourse well – seemingly transferring power from the organization to the employee (see also Svensson, 2003). The renewed importance of individual drive and networking thus becomes incorporated into the professional identity of journalists.

Storey and colleagues (2005) argue that the increasing entrepreneurialism of journalism, at an individual level, is inspired by the managerial discourse applied from above. Such value changes represent the outcome of changing organizational structures, where new forms of organizational control attempt to redefine the professional identity of employees and freelancers. But the alleged individualism of media workers is, according to Alvesson and Willmott (2002), in many respects a chimera; covering up for re-organizations, outsourcing and rationalizations. Control is still organizationally based, even if the organization itself becomes more loosely composed in its structure. The attempts of managerial discourses to regulate the identity of workers could, on the other hand, sometimes backfire if challenged by professionalism. For instance, too strong a stress on entrepreneurial values from the management may cause workers to distance themselves from the company as a key source of identification.

In my data I trace ongoing negotiations between the two discourses and the ambiguity of the double identities they create. This is especially visible when comparing the trends of professionally funded ideals, such as scrutiny and explanation, which have become almost completely dominant, and the equally upward trends of neutrality and objectivity –

ideals that are connected to the business side of news production and organizational strivings for larger audiences. Organizational identity is obviously much more commercially orientated and drawn towards the economic pole, while the professional identity increasingly tries to balance this, by striving towards the intellectual pole. This is why the composition of journalistic ideals becomes so complex and contradictory. The conflict between the two poles – or to use other terms, the two discourses – is largely a result of the professional struggle, since initially commercial and editorial goals for news publishing were naturally entwined. The identity development of Swedish journalists since 1989 indicates a return to this original state by combining the seemingly opposed ideals of both discourses.

The Status Hierarchy of Journalism

Both the professional- and organizational identities of journalists are related to the internal status hierarchy of the media sphere. In my thesis, I have tried to show this aspect empirically by dividing journalists into groups based on where they work. This means that local newspaper journalists become one group, evening tabloids become one etc. Those groups vary largely in size, which admittedly has had a negative impact on statistical interference. However, I chose this division, since I wanted to identify positions within the hierarchical order of the journalistic field in terms of media types. In this perspective the groups of evening tabloid- and commercial broadcasting journalists make especially interesting examples, despite their relatively small numbers. While not overtaxing percentage differences, over time and between groups, data still reveals some deviations in professional identity between media types that may be derived from perceptions of status in combination with the organizational developments described above.

Tabloid reporters stand out by actually most strongly expressing the professional identity; they support scrutiny and explanation most of all. They have no problems with celebrity journalism entering newspaper pages and are the only group of journalists that show increasing support for the mirroring ideal. Journalists working on tabloids, clearly distance themselves from the mouthpiece ideal while they support the ideal of influencing public opinion most of all. The American watchdog approach of muckraking holds the tabloids in a firm grip over the years.

While other newspapers seem to disassociate from this tradition by restricting themselves to merely commenting and objective style reporting, the role of tabloids has increasingly been to call a spade a spade. Their positions as democratic institutions suffer, however, from the explicit commercialism in everything they do. They may refer to high editorial ideals for publishing, but anything not selling single copies is really not interesting.

Table 11.5 **Journalists' assessments of factors' actual influence over news valuation of an event, 2005** (per cent stating "very large influence" on item)

	Local newspapers	Metropolitan newspapers	Evening tabloids	SR	SVT	Commercial broadcasting	Freelancers
It is sensational and unexpected.	76	77	94	77	69	82	79
It is dramatic and exciting.	62	55	77	64	62	61	69
There is good image material.	22	21	62	24	41	34	28
It has consequences for people's everyday life.	36	28	47	25	26	21	27
There is a good press release.	18	17	12	27	23	21	32
Number of answers	*288*	*88*	*39*	*106*	*92*	*40*	*134*

Note: The question was worded "There are a number of factors influencing whether an event is going to be published in a news medium or not. According to your experience, what actual influence do the following factors have?" The response scale is five-graded where 1 stands for "No influence at all" and 5 stands for "Very large influence".
Source: *SJS 2005*

This standpoint goes for all commercial news publishing and is certainly not unique for tabloid newspapers. But there are indeed differences in how the balance between commercial and professional/editorial regards is taken in various media types. One way of illustrating this, is to

consider the grounds for news valuation of social events, where tabloid journalists show obvious differences in opinion compared to other groups of journalists: While sensation and unexpectedness are standard news criteria everywhere, tabloid reporters stress these to a much larger extent than journalists of other mediums. They also emphasize drama and access to good image material more than others. These factors of news valuation can easily be related to commercial interests, and have little to do with professional ideals of altruism and objectivity.

On the other hand, comparatively many tabloid journalists also state that events having consequences for people's everyday life are more likely to become news events. This reveals an audience-related approach more facetted than merely being commercially driven, but rather signifying an extensively active posture straight in line with the American watchdog tradition. Nor is the possible occurrence of good press releases an important criterion for news value in the eyes of tabloid journalists, which supports this conclusion further. Their active stand is oriented towards investigation and muckraking rather than a passive swallowing of selected news.

Evening tabloid journalists seem, along with local newspaper journalists, to be the most audience orientated – judging by both their journalistic ideals and by their view on news valuation. Audience orientation may, as described in Chapter nine, be considered to have two sides: One in line with professional discourse, where public service ideals may be seen as fundamental, and one more controversial side guided by original capitalist notions of supply and demand. Furthermore these two sides may be seen as expressions of an organizational identity contra the professional identity. Tabloids have traditionally been emphasizing both sides equally, even though their explicitly commercial side has been directive for how other field actors assess them.

Despite the tabloids' popularity, it is metropolitan newspapers that are perceived as more strictly professional, for example Dagens Nyheter and that have repeatedly been pointed out as leading, opinion-moulding organs. The public range of these media types does not differ very much, however; circulation numbers of Dagens Nyheter are even a bit lower than Aftonbladet's – this is not what determines the influence and status of a news channel. In her thesis *Public Confidence in the Media,* Maria Elliot (1997) concludes that the credibility of newspapers is in direct relation to

the class affiliation of their readers. The higher the social status of the readers, the lower they trust they claim to have in evening tabloid media. The status position of news channels is thus connected to a notion of credibility and trust, not immediately linked to their actual performance, but rather to the traditional spectra between popular and folksy and more high-brow and elite culture, and where the medium is placed on this scale according to the audience (Ibid., See also Westlund, 2006).

11.4 Explaining Professional Development by Changing Field Structure

So how does this hierarchical consciousness help to form the professional identity of journalists? The commercialization of the media business is not just imaginary; it is an ongoing process that has extensive influence on journalistic practice and professional autonomy. Perceptions of status are, within journalism as in any field, connected to the two poles of business and culture, meaning that an intellectually decisive stand, orientated towards the democratic role is much more highly valued than the skill to earn money. The two poles have thus traditionally been set as opposites, something that has come to characterize journalistic discourse to a considerable extent – especially regarding notions of audience orientation.

Audience related ideals clearly centre the meaning of the two poles in the tension-field of journalism: It is desirable to be audience orientated, since the audience may also be seen as citizens. Their democratic need for information, scrutiny and debate must be fulfilled by journalism – this is consensus. Journalists who do this by offering hard news in legitimately recognized forums are rewarded with high status, while journalists working with soft news in not so fashionable environments must accept lower placement in the hierarchy. Their practice is namely too close to the economic pole to be entirely acceptable, according to field rules. News shall be produced as a public service, and it is well known that capitalist mechanisms favour the good of the majority at the possible cost of minority interests. Too hard-core an economic view of the news process is, therefore, deemed as improper – it puts democratic interests at risk.

The two forms of audience orientation are represented by different parts of the journalistic corps. They are thus connected with different forms of capital; capital embodied in organizational- and gender identities. Distribution of news beats, as well as recruitment to well-reputed news mediums, is based on field agents' possession of symbolic capital (e.g. Weibull, 1991a:48ff, Djerf Pierre, 2006). Valuation of capital is field specific since professionalism orientates very much away from plain business, but the journalistic field is also extensively imbued by the same assessment of capital as the social field in general. Women have, for instance, been excluded from the profession for a long time, since they were considered unsuitable for intellectual positions. This view has changed drastically during the 20th century when women entered most professional fields on a wide front. The structural change in gender has brought back focus on audience orientation, as "female" journalism has been identified as soft, feature-like and treating social issues by undoubtedly pandering to the public. This kind of journalism sells, which has sometimes served to equate feminization with commercialization (e.g. Pantti, 2005, Aldridge, 2001, van Zoonen, 1998).

Social Capital Devaluating

While commercialization of news content may be labelled as feminine, managerialism is rather regarded as a masculine phenomenon, which may seem contradictory at first, since they follow the same line of development. The contradiction is not that surprising, however; it is just a matter of labelling. Synonymization of feminine and commercial news content is a rewarding construction in the hands of a professional patriarchy. It is not just the professional discourse being potentially feminized – the journalistic body as a whole consists, to an increasing extent, of women, and a natural reaction to this "threatening" feminine dominance would be to paint it black. Empirically, however, there is no ground for these blackening arguments: The commercially slanted audience orientation is above all supported by men, while the women in the work-force rather support the democratically and professionally founded kind of audience orientation. Ideals traditionally considered as professional are overall supported more by women than by men, even though this gap is closing as a consequence of a homogenizing professional identity.

The Liberal model includes professionalism and meritocratic ideals, but simultaneously parallels organizational managerialism. In this model professionalism becomes more of a sales pitch than a driving force, even if it has not been entirely occupied by organizational goals – there is still room for negotiation. The growth of a creative class, as depicted by Florida (2006), fits well with managerial efforts to move the focus from collective occupational aims to the individual's responsibility for his own career. This would mean that the professional identity is becoming stronger, but more as a necessary form of field capital than anything else. The dominating discourse upholds high democratic ideals and boundaries of occupational professionalism, while field practice, on the other hand, is increasingly characterized by organizational professionalism and the need to keep up with competition.

How journalists react to this inconsistency partly depends on where they are placed on the field map, thence the deviations in ideals between groups. At the same time, a strong conclusion of this analysis is that the significance of different forms of social capital to the formation of professional identity over time is diminishing. Differences between genders, age groups and journalists with different educational degrees were greater in 1989 than in 2005. I interpret this as a homogenization of field structure which has impacted professional identity as well. There are, however, indications of persistent status thinking in the field, in terms of organizational position and workplace. The parallel development of the field, increasingly establishing its own rules in relation to other fields, and at the same time being increasingly under pressure from surrounding fields, has made professional capital the most powerful symbolic capital in possession.

Negotiating Identities

The significance of professional capital as a legitimizing tool may be increasing, but one of my main conclusions is that the meaning of "professional capital" is changing. The constant negotiation between professional and organizational interests seems to be moving professionalism into a more commercially orientated direction than before. The approaching of professional identities to organizational is not unproblematic from a professional perspective, but is perhaps the only possible solution to the growing economic problems of the news

industry. Initially, in my empirical part, I referred to an article by Robert Picard (2009), where he argues that journalism must alter skills and practice to survive:

> "Journalism must innovate and create new means of gathering, processing and distributing information so it provides content and services that readers, listeners, and viewers cannot receive elsewhere. And these must provide sufficient value so that audience and users are willing to pay a reasonable price."

He claims that journalists and managers must learn to collaborate in order to make business more adaptable to current market changes. He also argues that journalists must re-acquire the entrepreneurial skills once left behind, to obtain a more proactive approach towards business challenges (Ibid.). In my material, I detect just such a development of identities. Even though journalists sometimes seem reluctant to change, the necessity of it becomes visible in their ideals. The incorporation of commercial values into the professional identity may therefore be seen as an adaption of professionalism to organizational reality.

This development is led by forces of commercialization and liberalization, but also but the increasing influence of women within the work force. A growing feminine part of the journalistic corps has promoted professionally orientated focus on the audience as well as other professional ideals, such as scrutiny and explanation. The connection between commercialization and feminization has been made; regarding news content as traditionally "feminine" areas is gaining ground. I do not, however, draw any conclusions regarding the possible truth of such an assumption; but what I do see is a *related development of overall commercialization of news production and equally ubiquitous feminization of the journalistic profession*. While detecting an increasing similarity between occupational and organizational professionalism, I also recognize a gliding of gendered logics in the field. Again I wish to emphasize that I do not believe that this ideological similarity between genders brings equality to news room practice, since research has rather shown the opposite; organizations put under tough economic pressure seem to accentuate traditional gender roles more than anything else (North, 2009, Löfgren-Nilsson, 2008). My conclusion is, instead, that women within

the workforce become discursively masculinised just because of this pressure. They tend to adopt traditionally masculine/professional values at the same pace as commercial and editorial interests merge into one.

Feminine and masculine identities are thus approaching each other ideologically, but simultaneously exert influence on different aspects of professionalism. While occupational professionalism was originally gendered as a masculine phenomenon, it is today both discursively, and in practice, upheld by women. By so strongly adopting traditionally male values, female journalists force professionalization forward. They also contribute, with the help of commercial forces, by placing focus on audience orientation – a section of ideals that, by its connection to managerial discourse, is likely to be re-evaluated as masculine.

Today, masculine logic in the field seems to be more orientated towards business than towards social pathos, mostly paralleling with organizational professionalism. Judging by feminization processes in other professional groups, it is probable that the conceptualization of "being professional", in *traditional* terms, will lose value as more women enter journalism. This would mean that the previously positive connotations of professionalism, in this context, will fade away at the benefit of the "up-coming" masculine discourse of organizational professionalism.

However, I would like to stress the negotiation between professional and organizational identities and, as mentioned before, the weakening antagonism between these two identities. Organizational professionalism is, with reference to several changes of media markets, becoming increasingly stronger while occupational professionalism, for several reasons, is becoming a legitimizing discourse with lessening practical influence. The approaching of organizational and professional identities is thus a result of power negotiations led by practical incentives that, in the end, is likely to alter the meaning of "being professional".

The example of tabloid journalists illustrates such a far-reaching collaboration between professional and organizational interests, as they emphasize both audience orientation and the democratic assignment to equal extents. This is no coincidence as the tabloid media type has had to struggle fiercely for survival, amid tough competition with emerging TV- and Internet news channels. A similar tendency in ideal perceptions can also be discovered among local newspaper journalists, who similarly find

themselves in competitive turbulence, organizational mergers and harsh economical surroundings. The growth and increasing complexity of news organizations emphasises Weberian bureaucratic rationality and superior control. But the largeness and vastness of those organizations also calls for common norms and boundaries of the professional group, which means that Durkheimian articulations of horizontal solidarity and group identity arise as well – and that the two professionalisms will come together (compare Evetts, 2005, Schudson, 2001).

I believe this development will be more visible in future surveys, as the managerial discourse becomes even more natural to all journalists and less obstructive to the professional discourse. Such a development is rooted in the self-interest of the profession to survive – if more economic way of thinking is necessary, this is what will rise.

12. AN ADAPTIVE PROFESSION

The existence of journalism – and professions in general – seems to be surrounded by opposing tendencies: Fragmentation vs. homogenization and professionalization vs. commercialization. The Liberal Model described by Hallin and Mancini (2004) is obviously gaining ground in Sweden – that is a main conclusion drawn from my results. Considering concrete changes in the field, in terms of increasing competition, new media types, a fragmented audience, changed working conditions for journalists etc, it appears to be the natural consequence of a general liberalization of society. What does this movement towards the Liberal model mean to the model already prevailing in Sweden – the Social Corporative model that so obviously has formed the professional identity of journalists? And what do the contradictory developments of professions in general, and journalism specifically, mean to the professional identity of Swedish journalists? In this final chapter I intend to give some answers to those questions, based on my main conclusions, beginning with the first.

12.1 The Paradox of the Liberal Model

Professionalism is highly valued in the social field as a whole; this is why journalism as an occupation has been struggling for more than a hundred years to reach professional status. The journey has not been entirely smooth though, as the occupation has been forced to face several internal and external obstacles on the way (e.g. Petersson, 2006, Ottosen, 2004). Professional attempts were probably at the peak of success during the 1960's and 1970's: The union was influential, union affiliation was high and a number of academic programmes were established. The democratic significance of journalism was established in a governmental report and sanctioned by various state interventions. But the fall of modernity has shown development to be a non-linear curve. Times

change, and new technology has brought journalism into a completely different light. The Democratic Corporative model typical of Sweden (and other Nordic countries) has slowly changed under the influence of the American Liberal model. Democratic importance is still heavily emphasized by Swedish journalists, especially in terms of the scrutiny and explanation ideals, but other ideals are arising.

The paradox of the Liberal model is that it rests upon an important element of journalistic professionalism (Hallin and Mancini, 2004), while it – driven towards its extreme – in practice removes the actual prerequisites for professionalism, by a too strong emphasis on organizational and commercial values. As discussed in the previous chapter, I find a likely solution to this paradox to be the upheaval of the editorial-economical conflict. A fusion of business interests and professional strivings may secure organizational aims, so that journalism can continue to produce information of public utility. The economic-editorial conflict increasingly is disclosed, interestingly enough, as the ideological construction it always was: The birth of modern journalism more than a century ago was characterized by strong entrepreneurial, as well as liberal pioneering spirits. There was then no internal contradiction between the two sides.

Increasing influence of the Liberal model over the Swedish media landscape represents a return to professional roots rather than the degeneration of an industry. Accusations and concerns of standardized news content, for instance, may therefore be directed – not only towards commercial causes – but equally towards professional strivings, since standardized news criteria appear to be one of its most significant features. News content of widely different media channels and geographic contexts therefore tends to look the same, something becoming a disadvantage in the competition for audiences. Every news company will, in future, have to consider what their unique offer should be to the market supply as a whole. This means specialization in content, as well as in journalistic skills (see Picard, 2009 for further discussion).

Will the Liberal model, then, threaten the values perceived as positive in the Swedish Democratic Corporative model? I would say no. Public Service broadcasting holds a tremendously strong position in Sweden; it is a beloved and well used medium, deemed very credible by the audience (Weibull, 2009). Viewers obviously appreciate social

responsibility being taken by public service as a balancing force to commercial influences on media. Public service may not be entirely unaffected by those forces either, but it still has to conform to the paragraphs of the official broadcasting permit, and may furthermore rely on its long tradition of public confidence. The significance of cultural context for shaping the media system was pointed out in Chapter two, and I would like to emphasize that significance once more here. Increasing influence of the Liberal model does not mean straight Americanization of Swedish news media. Instead it will result in an ideological and practical mix of its own, where public service most certainly will be a crucial component. Attitudinal changes of Swedish journalists indicate accentuated focus on the audience, both as customers and as citizens – a change that will hopefully benefit the interests of both these groups.

12.2 An Ongoing Project of Negotiation

So the answer to my opening questions; is the professional identity of Swedish journalists homogenizing or fragmentizing, will be yes to both: Yes, the journalistic profession is homogenizing its basis; and yes, the outer parts of the professional identity is, to some extent, fragmentizing – together revealing the changeability and adaptiveness of professional discourse at a time when traditional institutions are increasingly being questioned (Castells, 2000a). By not regarding professionalism as a range of independent criteria, but as an ideological construction, I find concerns of possible de-professionalization to be groundless – *at least at an ideological level.* The professional identity is flexible, and formable to a changing context, because its main purpose is to stay in power. Although, by emphasizing the ideologically constructed nature of journalistic professionalism, I do not automatically reject that true altruism may exist. Journalism has largely emerged in response to true needs for information and scrutiny of the public sphere of the 20th century, but the exclusive role of journalists as information gatherers is not as evident anymore. The gathering around scrutiny and explanation seems only natural in this perspective, as those functions focus on the true essence of journalism - it focuses on what we cannot expect ordinary people to do. Scrutiny presupposes autonomy from the

scrutinisers and legitimate power to intervene in social processes. To explain complicated events to the audience presupposes social pathos and a general view from the pedagogues. This forms a kind of elitist ideology, where citizens are both promoted and distrusted: The journalistic ability to see through power holders becomes crucial to democracy, which means that the key to exposure is in the hands of journalists – not the audience. Conclusions are drawn by the journalists, not the people (Petersson, 1994).

The relationship between a common professional identity, a flora of more or less popular ideals at a level below, and the practical conditions for journalistic production frames the field of journalism. The connection between ideals and practice is, however, not self-explanatory: Research has, for instance, found journalistic practice to be more stressful and constrained now compared to some decades ago (Tyrkkö and Karlqvist, 2005, Nygren, 2008, Löfgren Nilsson, 2007b). Nygren (2008) argues that Swedish journalism today is less autonomous, at all levels of the news process, than before, and also more technically and commercially orientated. Stress, digitalization and commercialization – they are all factors that are likely to boost the proletarization of previously free professions. My interpretation of those somewhat contradictory messages is that professional ideals are being used as symbolic capital in the struggle to maintain professional boundaries. The professional identities of journalists are not constructed in a vacuum. They are part of an ongoing project of *negotiation*, where the ideals play an important part. In times of radical changes and pressures, the element of negotiation is likely to be even more emphasized. This means that Swedish journalism is in fact *not* de-professionalizing, but *consolidating* some central values and reforming around others.

Changing Role for Professions

Furthermore, it seems to me that the ideological frame of journalism – and professions in general – is elevating like balloons from the constituting practice. Professional identities are used as ways to manage contextual, as well as internal, changes by emphasizing some crucial values. It is a process of refinement, where a few fixed values constitute a solid base for the profession to rely on, while the journalistic collective

looked upon still more widely, might be increasingly diverse. Again, my data tell nothing about actual work practice and how these ideals are lived in everyday life. If the gap between ideals and practice is opening, what then is the true meaning of these ideals? Do they have other purposes than securing the professional position of an occupational group, and maintaining the status quo regarding our democratic system as it has been known during past generations? It could certainly be a problem if the journalistic identity ceases to have practical relevance and causes a crisis of confidence in many directions: If journalists do not live their ideals – how can we trust them? If they are not independent – on whose side are they on? If they do not perform scrutiny as expected – why should they be let off scrutiny themselves? These questions, and many more, are raised as results of the destabilising influence of the communicative revolution on traditional authorities.

There is no self-evident position for professions anymore, since they adhere to knowledge intensive occupations – knowledge that is no longer as exclusive as it used to be. This development could sympathetically be interpreted as the final break of an elitist knowledge monopoly, since ordinary citizens now have access to previously hidden information and may make their own selection. Such a view implies a democratic potential, compared to the hierarchic character of the preceding industrial society, where people found themselves bound by traditional norms and positions. Now they are largely being released from those constraining conditions; free to form their own lives and, to a greater extent, join in public decision-making processes.

The other interpretation is made from a more critical perspective and includes (at least) two dimensions: First, weakened power of journalistic professionals puts a greater responsibility on ordinary people to select and comprehend the value of various news events. This responsibility assumes an improved level of education as citizens must now possess the knowledge previously reserved for professionals. All citizens do not reach that level, because, even if the educational standards of many countries are high, society is simultaneously becoming increasingly complex and difficult to grasp. Criticism of sources is central, but as the expert roles become available to a larger number of people, this too becomes more difficult. The intimate relation between journalists and sources has often been depicted as a problem to journalistic credibility

and political transparency (see for instance Tuchman, 1978), but it could, at the same time, grant the audience indirect entry to otherwise excluded areas. Citizens' commitment to information seeking and valuation is also a question of time and interest: not everybody has the same amount of these to make their own news selection or to perform scrutiny where it is needed. Secondly, the consolidation of professional journalism, during uncertain surrounding processes, reveals an astonishing endurance of its ideological power. As prerequisites change, the profession does not fragmentise or dissolve – it transforms. This may be a good thing to news workers and audience, as it conserves long term power patterns – which we all may wish to remain as they were, but it may also illustrate the evasive nature of the expert layer trying to stay in control.

12.3 Looking Ahead

Opposing the transforming (and sometimes destructive) forces of market liberalism and bureaucratization, traditional journalistic ideals have attained extensive support over time, and the efforts to fix professional boundaries are strong. The struggle serves to defend traditional values and all the consequences for journalism at different levels are yet not illuminated. Starting from the conclusions of this thesis, I would like to call attention to further areas that still need to be researched: Statistical tools measuring transformative powers at the ideological level can preferably be developed in order to capture "new" ideals of commercial character. I believe, for instance, increasing audience orientation and incorporation of market values into the professional identity to be possible elements of the ongoing adaption process. Standard professional criteria framing most surveys are not at all irrelevant – especially not in comparative studies, but in a time sequence like mine the difficulty of measuring change in terms of new values becomes a problem.

There is, of course, also the matter of linking ideals and practice: When the ideals start taking increasingly discursive shapes they are probably more bound to clash with praxis than ever before. How is this clash visible in the editorial work of different media? How is the symbolic capital of professional ideals valued in daily work, and how can "sub groups" of professional identities be identified in practice?

Professionalism controls practice and when practice places new demands on journalists, this will in turn affect their professionalism. This does not automatically mean, however, that it will dissolve the collective, or even lower the total degree of professionalism. Further investigation into the nature and mechanisms of professional identities will allow us to carry on a nuanced discussion of the future role of journalism – whatever we wish this to be.

SVENSK SAMMANFATTNING

I föreliggande avhandling behandlar jag *svenska journalisters professionella identitet och hur denna har förändrats över tid.* Den tidsperiod jag undersökt spänner mellan 1989 och 2005, en tid som karaktäriserades av stora förändringar av nyhetsbranschen såväl som av journalistkårens sociala struktur. Analysen baseras på enkätundersökningen *Svenska journalister* som genomförts fem gånger under den aktuella tidsperioden och som med sitt omfattande urval och starka svarsfrekvens erbjuder ett unikt underlag för kartläggning och analys av journalister som yrkesgrupp.

Journalistiken i en föränderlig medievärld

Skälen till att studera journalisters professionella uppfattningar över tid är flera. För det första tillskrivs journalistiken som samhällsinstitution stor demokratisk betydelse. Ibland kallas den till och med för vår fjärde statsmakt då den anses fylla fundamentala funktioner av granskning, genomlysning och information - funktioner som det svenska samhället behöver. Journalistikens demokratiska betydelse är mer eller mindre konsensus i den allmänna debatten, inom kåren samt i politiken och har så varit sedan den mediepolitiska debatten på allvar tog fart i början av 1960-talet. Under åren mellan 1989 och 2005 har diskussionerna snarare handlat om journalistikens förutsättningar att leva upp till dessa högt ställda mål.

Ideal och praktik är som bekant inte samma sak och de senaste decennierna har mediebranschen genomgått långtgående förändringar gällande affärsmodeller, organisationsformer samt praktiska arbetssätt. Nya möjligheter att publicera sig digitalt och i etern har medfört hårdare konkurrens och ökade krav på snabbhet och uppdatering. Datoriseringen och nya kommunikationssätt har förändrat journalisternas arbetspraktik, men också journalistikens roll i samhället. Det råder inte längre monopol

på publiceringsmöjligheter då Internet står öppet för alla och envar med tillgång till dator. Teknologiseringen har inte bara förändrat journalisternas arbetssätt utan också utmanat journalistikens roll i samhället. Ju lättare det blir för allmänheten att själva producera och skaffa information, ju svårare har journalistiken att hävda sin legitimitet.

Journalistikens legitimitet är avgörande för yrkesgruppens syn på sig själva och man har kämpat hårt under hela nittonhundratalet för att uppnå professionell status. Det finns sedan länge akademiska utbildningar i journalistik, ett fackförbund med både stort inflytande och hög anslutning, samt interna yrkesetiska regler för hur en journalist bör förhålla sig och agera i sitt yrke. I Sverige, så som i många andra länder, har journalister numera format en självreglerande profession – eller "semi-profession", då yrket inte kräver formell auktorisering för att få utövas. Den professionella statusen ger legitimitet och borgar för objektivitet, public service och oberoende granskning.

Under den tidsperiod jag studerar har även denna status kommit att utmanas. Dels beroende på den förändrade arbetspraktiken; stramare ekonomiska ramar har tvingar in nyhetsproduktionen i allt striktare mallar och det tidigare relativt fria journalistyrket har blivit mer standardiserat. Dels har professioner överlag blivit mindre självklara då vem som helst kan kalla sig expert, något som i hög grad har kommit att gälla journalistiken – dess professionella legitimitet står inte huggen i sten. I bakgrunden till dessa diskursiva förändringar står övergripande processer av individualisering där kollektivets betydelse och traditioners makt är under förhandling.

Slutligen så har journalistkårens sociala struktur förändrats en del sedan 1989. Den viktigaste förändringen är att fler kvinnor har kommit in i yrket, men även andelen med någon form av journalistutbildning har ökat. I min avhandling ställer jag frågan i vilken utsträckning har journalisternas professionella identitet påverkats av dessa processer och i så fall hur?

Avhandlingens syfte

Ett första syfte med avhandlingen är att *beskriva och, i möjlig utsträckning, förklara förändringar av svenska journalisters professionella identitet*. Den professionella identiteten är intressant i sig själv, bara genom sin kollektiviserande och legitimerande funktion, men jag vill även

undersöka den substantiellt i dess olika beståndsdelar. Detta gör jag genom att studera hur journalisternas syn på olika yrkesideal har förändrats över tid.

Ett andra syfte är att *knyta journalisternas uppfattningar om yrkesidealen – och tidsmässiga förändringar av dessa – till deras positioner på det journalistiska fältet*. Med det journalistiska fältet menar jag den arena där journalisterna som aktörer – både individuellt och i grupp – rör sig på i sitt yrkesutövande och som medlemmar av en profession.

Ett bakomliggande perspektiv till båda mina syften är maktperspektivet. Detta eftersom både professionsbegreppet och journalistiken som fenomen så tydligt handlar om makt på olika nivåer.

Teoretisk ram

Mot bakgrund av den hastigt förändrade medieindustrin; individualiserings- och kommersialiseringsprocesser samt journalistikens förändrade roll i informationssamhället är jag alltså intresserad av hur journalisternas professionella identitet har påverkats av dessa förändringar.

Det teoretiska ramverket vilar på två ben, där det första utgörs av aktuell professionsteori. Enligt denna teori kan professionalism betraktas som en diskurs omfattande inte bara traditionella professioner så som läkare och jurister, utan också så kallade "semi-professioner" som journalistiken – professioner som inte i alla avseenden fyller uppställda professionskriterier, men som ändå genomgått en omfattande professionaliseringsprocess. Professionskriterierna utformades av den tidiga professionsforskningen och är fortfarande relevanta då profession som diskurs präglas av de värden som då slogs fast; exempelvis autonomi, altruism och kunskapsmonopol. Det är dock inte detta synsätt jag i första hand använder mig av, utan det diskursiva, eftersom detta öppnar för förändrade betydelser av vad som anses vara "professionellt" över tid och mellan olika geografiska kontexter.

Det andra teoretiska benet utgörs av Pierre Bourdieus fältsociologi. Denna ansats har jag valt då jag tror att profession som diskurs är ett sätt för yrkesgrupper att skaffa sig status i samhället. Journalistiken har onekligen ökat i status under 1900-talet och anses nu vara ett av fundamenten varpå samhället vilar. En idog strävan efter professionell

status, driven inte minst av det starka Journalistförbundet, har burit frukt och journalistiken är sedan länge ett självreglerande yrke som av många betraktas som ett fritt och intellektuellt kunskapsyrke. Som sådant attraherar det en viss typ av människor, nämligen svenskfödd, välutbildad medelklass. Enligt Bourdieu innebär grupperingar av människor i t.ex. samhälleliga klasser, men även i andra kategorier, inte bara att de innehar liknande attribut (så som samma kön, utbildning eller lönenivå), utan också att de har liknade värderingar och attityder. Hans begrepp fält, kapital och habitus erbjuder redskap för att identifiera kopplingar mellan olika gruppgemensamma attribut och attityder. I mitt all handlar det om att undersöka om olika grupper av journalister har olika uppfattningar om sin yrkesroll, samt om dessa kopplingar har förändrats mellan 1989 och 2005.

Jag har emellertid valt bort Bourdieu's begrepp habitus till förmån för begreppet "professionell identitet". Detta har jag gjort eftersom jag menar att professionell identitet beskriver det jag undersöker på ett mer tillfredsställande sätt: En social identitet beroende av yrkestillhörighet och medförande ett antal yrkesideal i olika kombinationer.

Metod och material

Analysen bygger, som tidigare nämnts, på enkätundersökningen *Svenska Journalister* som genomförts fem gånger under den aktuella tidsperioden. Studien är ett samarbete mellan Institutionen för Journalistik, Medier och Kommunikation vid Göteborgs Universitet (JMG) och Svenska Journalistförbundet. Förbundets medlemsmatrikel har använts som urvalsram och då både anslutningen och svarsfrekvensen i ett internationellt perspektiv är ovanligt hög utgör enkäten ett unikt underlag för kartläggning och analys av ett lands journalister.

Jag har använt fyra av de fem enkäterna; 1989, 1994, 1999 och 2005. 1995 sändes en enkät ut speciellt inriktad på demokratifrågor, och eftersom denna var av lite egen karaktär jämfört med de andra har jag valt bort den.

Materialet är alltså av kvantitativ art och jag har framförallt inriktat mig på en fråga om yrkesideal. Den lyder "En journalist bör betrakta sig som…" följt av ett antal påståenden där respondenten kunnat kryssa i svar på en femgradig skala. Exempel på sådana påståenden är "…en som

objektivt förmedlar nyheter och information" och "…en som enkelt kan förklara komplicerade händelser". Dessa påståenden har jag sett som indikatorer på olika yrkesideal; ideal som i sin tur i sammansättning bildar den journalistiska yrkesidentiteten. Ett ideal som en majoritet av journalisterna instämmer i har jag tolkat som utgörande en väsentlig del av deras professionella identitet, medan ett ideal som många tar avstånd ifrån inte kan sägas vara det. Däremot kan förstås avståndstagandet i sig betraktas som en åsikt, varför jag har diskuterat även detta i relation till identitetsskapandet.

Fyra dimensioner av den professionella identiteten

Sammantaget visar resultaten att den svenska journalistkåren blir allt mer homogen i sina uppfattningar om yrkesidealen. Jag tolkar detta som att *den professionella identiteten har stärkts över tid*. Både teoretiskt och empiriskt utkristalliserar sig fyra dimensioner av ideal; fyra dimensioner som tillsammans bidrar till att ge identiteten substans.

Den professionella identitetens bas
Den första dimensionen består av tre ideal som kan sägas bilda fundamentet för den professionella identiteten eftersom i princip alla svarande journalister instämmer i att de är mycket viktiga: Granska, förklara och låta olika opinioner komma fram. Dessa tre funktioner har nämnts i flera svenska pressutredningar och är väl förankrade även utanför journalistkåren. Det är därför inte så förvånande att en majoritet av journalistkåren tycker att detta är viktiga uppgifter. Uppfattningarna har dessutom stärkts över tid – idealen har vuxit sig starkare.

Liberala ideal stärks
Den andra dimensionen relaterar till journalistikens grundläggande autonomi gentemot andra institutioner och belyses genom idealen objektivitet, neutralitet och spegling. Objektivitet och neutralitet knyter an till en angloamerikansk, liberal tradition, men också till professionsdiskursen där opartiskhet alltid varit en förutsättning för legitimitet. Dessa två ideal har också vuxit sig starkare över tid, medan speglingsidealet tappat mark. Inget av dessa ideal är någon nymodighet,

men medan neutralitet kan sägas uppleva en renässans, står speglingsidealet för en urmodig journalistroll som få journalister idag vill kännas vid.

Tudelad publikorientering

Dimension tre handlar om en fundamental aspekt av journalistyrket; nämligen publik-orienteringen. Journalisternas förhållningssätt till sin publik analyseras utifrån tre möjliga yrkesideal; att stimulera nya tankar och idéer, att ge människor upplevelser och att erbjuda förströelse. De två första av dessa tre knyter an till en etablerad hållning inom svensk journalistik, nämligen folkbildningsidealet. En majoritet av journalisterna instämmer antingen helt eller delvis i att de är viktiga – en åsikt som varit konstant under den aktuella tidsperioden.

Idealet att erbjuda förströelse är på intet sätt nytt, men kom från 1960-talet och framåt i skymundan som en konsekvens av yrkets strävan efter professionell status. Förströelse kan betyda mycket, men associeras ofta med lättsam, underhållande och numera också kommersiell journalistik. Det är inte sådan journalistik som i första hand bidragit till professionens ökade status, tvärtom är det något man tycker sig vilja ta avstånd ifrån. Journalisterna blir dessutom allt mer negativa till förströelseidealet över tid.

Journalisternas publikorientering kan alltså ta sig två olika former, där den ena är professionellt orienterad och anses som legitim, ja till och med nödvändig; medan den andra är mer kommersiellt orienterad och inte har vunnit samma acceptans.

Förändrat förhållningssätt till den offentliga sfären

Den fjärde och sista dimensionen fokuserar journalisternas förhållande till den offentliga sfären genom att lyfta fram idealen att påverka den allmänna opinionen, samt att fungera som språkrör för lokal opinion. Dessa två uppfattningar hänger ihop genom att de belyser samma område fast från olika håll. Även om det ena idealet är mer aktivt orienterat och det andra uttryckligen signalerar ett passivt förhållningssätt, befinner sig båda på en neråtgående kurva. Journalisterna tycker inte längre att de varken bör påverka allmän opinion eller vara språkrör på lokal nivå. Frågorna aktualiserar skillnaden mellan journalistiken som arena och som aktör, och i relation till politik

och allmän opinion verkar journalisterna idag vilja stå utanför. Jag tolkar detta som att journalisters roll i den offentliga sfären har blivit allt mer komplicerad och att ett sätt att hantera detta är att helt dra sig undan den sortens frågor. Det handlar också om journalisternas autonomi och objektivitet, samt förutsättningar att granska, då intressekopplingar av alla slag måste undanröjas.

Betydelsen av journalisternas position på fältet

Förändringarna av den professionella identiteten är, med få undantag, valida i samtliga grupper av journalister. Samtidigt finns det skillnader i hur olika grupper förhåller sig till olika ideal jämfört med varandra. Framför allt går det att urskilja tre sociala attribut som är av stor betydelse för utformandet av den professionella identiteten: kön, utbildning och typ av medieföretag. Dessa tre faktorer delar in journalisterna åsiktsmässigt och förändringar av kårens sammansättning i dessa avseenden kan dessutom förklara mycket av förändringarna av yrkesidentiteten.

Feminisering av journalistkåren

Kön är förmodligen den viktigaste faktorn, då det ökade antalet kvinnliga journalister under tidsperioden är den största synliga förändringen av kårens sociala struktur. Från att ha utgjort en tredjedel av kåren 1989 är hälften av samtliga journalister 2005 kvinnor. Kvinnor uppvisar under hela tidsperioden mer distingerade ideal än männen, som verkar ha ett mer "avslappnat" förhållningssätt till sin yrkesroll.

Att ideal som att granska och förklara stärks så tydligt över tid, beror dels på att kvinnorna ökar i antal och de håller dessa ideal högt, och dels beror det på att männen ser ut att anpassa sina åsikter till kvinnorna. Den tidigare så utpräglat manliga logiken på fältet ser därför, om inte praktiskt så åtminstone värdemässigt, ut att ge vika för så kallad feminin journalistik. Detta betyder dock inte med nödvändighet att det journalistiska fältet blivit mer jämställt. Snarare är det så att de av tradition "feminina" idealen bildar tydliga paralleller till kommersialiseringen av nyhetsbranschen då de i mångt och mycket signalerar samma värden: ökat fokus på publiken och "mjuka ämnen" så

som sociala reportage, familj och förströelse. Det ser alltså ut att finnas en värdemässig koppling mellan kommersialiseringen och feminiseringen av journalistiken, men hur denna koppling ser ut i praktiken (om den ens existerar) återstår att undersöka.

Utbildningens förändrade betydelse

Utbildning är annan viktig faktor som skiljer journalisterna åt. Det handlar här inte om utbildning i ett bredare perspektiv, utan enbart förekomsten av utbildningsprogram i journalistik. Detta eftersom en viktig del i professionaliseringsprocessen är etableringen av specialiserade utbildningar, och även akademisering av dessa, då sådana utbildningar kan sägas kultivera studenterna i vissa åsiktsriktningar. Materialet visar dock att även om sådana skillnader absolut har funnits – och fortfarande finns – så är den symboliska betydelsen av examina i journalistik numera mest det: symbolisk. Med tiden har utbildningsbakgrund kommit att spela allt mindre roll för journalisternas professionella identitet då idag de flesta tycker lika oavsett tidigare studier. Vidare ser det ut att vara studenter med journalistutbildning i bagaget som har anpassat sina ideal till den andra gruppens, istället för tvärtom. Det finns i mitt material få tecken på att journalistutbildningarna idag fungerar som vägvisare och progressiva bärare av ideal, vilket givetvis inte utesluter att de fyller andra viktiga funktioner för professionen. Då en majoritet av respondenterna i undersökningen säger sig ha någon form av journalistutbildning drar jag slutsatsen att yrkesutbildning, och i synnerhet då en akademisk sådan, idag verkar som symboliskt kapital och förmodligen även kontaktyta för nya rekryteringar.

Organisatorisk identitet och professionell identitet

Professionalismen som diskurs utmanas av andra, angränsande diskurser på fältet – både från ekonomiskt och politiskt håll. Den diskurs som jag framför allt har valt att lyfta fram som förändrande kraft är management-diskursen (managerialism). Lite hårddraget kan alla företag, enligt denna diskurs, drivas på samma sätt oavsett verkningsområde. Storskaliga, effektiviserade industriföretag står modell för organisationer inom en mängd skilda områden. Management-diskursen är, precis som den professionella diskursen, brett förankrad på olika samhällsnivåer och har fått allt starkare fäste under tidsperioden 1989-2005. Jag ser denna

diskurs som en utmaning av den professionella då den kräver standardisering, utökad byråkrati och drivs framåt av starka vinstintressen. En sådan utveckling motverkar därför en professionalisering som ju sägs bygga på autonomi och allmänintresse.

I min analys har jag sett organisatoriska rationaliseringar och ökade vinstmål som ett uttryck för management-diskursen, medan journalisternas intressen i organisationen står den professionella. De båda diskurserna blir synliga i formandet av dels organisatorisk identitet och dels professionell identitet; två identiteter som befinner sig i ständig förhandling med varandra.

I mitt material har jag sett förändringar av den professionella identiteten som tyder på att den organisatoriska identiteten oftare vinner förhandlingarna idag än tidigare. Journalisterna har, som en följd av detta, börjat införliva kommersiellt orienterade yrkesideal i sin professionella identitet, exempelvis objektivitet och ökad publiktillvändning. Detta betyder dock inte att de båda identiteterna håller på att gå samman i ett: förhandlingarna pågår och kommer att fortsätta pågå. Men de överlappar varandra allt oftare och inom vissa medietyper är överlappningen större än inom andra. Ju mer konkurrensutsatt organisationen är, desto mer sannolikt att den organisatoriska identiteten får övertag i den diskursiva förhandlingen.

En flexibel profession

Professionalismen är högt värderad på det sociala fältet som helhet, det är därför journalister har kämpat i mer än hundra år för professionell status. Journalistiken är dock idag omgärdad av motsägelsefulla tendenser: homogenisering vs fragmentering och professionalisering vs kommersialisering. Ett av mina huvudresultat är att det svenska journalistiska fältet är på väg mot ökad liberalisering av angloamerikansk modell. Detta innebär ökat fokus på försäljning och publikens behov, samtidigt som professionen har en viktig roll i ett sådant mediesystem. Utan journalistikens legitimitet går den nämligen inte att sälja, och legitimiteten är helt beroende av journalisternas professionalism.

I denna motstridiga ström av diskurser och influenser från vitt skilda aktörer har journalistiken som profession antagit en flexibel form. Inför hot om byråkratisering, standardisering och de-professionalisering sluter

sig kåren samman på ideologisk nivå och fokuserar framför allt traditionella journalistiska ideal som att granska och förklara. Samtidigt vet vi att journalisternas vardagspraktik blir allt mer rutinartad och stressig. Tidningsformaten mallas och friheten att skapa sitt eget kreativa uttryck minskar. Min tolkning av denna paradox är att den professionella diskursen idag snarare fungerar som ett legitimerande instrument gentemot både arbetsgivare, politiker och publik än som en faktisk beskrivning av yrkets förutsättningar. Så har det kanske alltid varit, men idag mer än någonsin aktualiseras frågan om hur stort glappet mellan ideal och praktik får vara innan journalistikens demokratiska uppdrag hotas. Det är förstås inte heller självskrivet att journalister ska ha ett demokratiskt uppdrag: Med denna avhandling hoppas jag därför kunna bidra till en fyllig diskussion om hur vi vill att journalistiken ska vara och vilken roll den ska spela i samhället.

APPENDIX: TABLES

Table *i*.   **Correlations of journalistic ideals for the period 1989-2005**
(Tau-b)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Scrutiny	1.00										
2. Explanation	.33*'	1.00									
3. Let different opinions be heard	.28**	.28**	1.00								
4. Stimulate new thoughts	.20**	.23**	.25**	1.00							
5. Give people experience	.14**	.21**	.20**	.48**	1.00						
6. Objectivity	.16**	.19**	.25**	.01	.07**	1.00					
7. Neutrality	.11**	.13**	.16**	.01	.05**	.55**	1.00				
8. Provide diversion	.04*	.15**	.18**	.17**	.36**	.13**	.11**	1.00			
9. Influence public opinion	.05**	.03	.13**	.19**	.14**	-.06**	-.08**	.16**	1.00		
10. Mirroring	.15**	.10**	.20**	.09**	.11**	.26**	.31**	.17**	.11**	1.00	
11. Act as mouthpiece for local opinion	.01	.05*	.09**	.07**	.11**	.02	.09**	.23**	.24**	.33**	1.00

Table *ii.*   **Support for the ideals of scrutiny and explanation in control for age** (per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Average n	Tau-c	
Scrutiny								
34 or younger	74	80	81	82	+8	207	.04	*
35-45	74	73	79	83	+9	292	.06	**
46 or older	61	72	76	78	+17	264	.08	**
n	833	1040	1048	1081				
Explanation								
34 or younger	67	75	79	72	+5	191	.03	
35-45	67	73	80	80	+13	283	.08	**
46 or older	61	71	73	75	+14	256	.06	**
n	829	1041	1048	1079				
Let different opinions be heard								
34 or younger		61	57	55	-6	159	-.04	
35-45		55	56	61	+6	216	.04	
46 or older		58	59	56	-2	226	-.01	
n		1030	1036	1072				

Note: The questions were worded "A journalist should consider himself…a scrutinizer of the powerful in society / …as someone explaining complicated events to the audience/ …as someone who lets different opinions be heard." * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

Table *iii*. **Support for the ideals of scrutiny, explanation and letting different opinions be heard in control for gender and qualifications** (number of answers in each group)

Scrutiny	1989	1994	1999	2005
No formal qualifications				
Women	129	208	247	151
Men	342	347	363	189
With formal qualifications				
Women	151	268	249	369
Men	201	213	188	327
Explanation				
No formal qualifications				
Women	130	208	250	151
Men	337	347	361	187
With formal qualifications				
Women	152	268	248	369
Men	200	214	188	326
Let different opinions be heard				
No formal qualifications				
Women		208	243	150
Men		341	360	186
With formal qualifications				
Women		267	246	367
Men		210	186	323

Note: The question was worded: See table *ii*. Journalists without formal qualifications may of course have some other form of higher degree.
Source: *SJS*

Table *iv* **Support for the ideals of objectivity, neutrality and mirroring, in control for gender** (per cent that fully agree)

	1989		1994		1999		2005	
	Women	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*
Objectivity			41	48	46	48	51	49
Neutrality	28	31	27	27	28	32	36	30
Mirroring	22	23	23	22	25	20	21	18
Average number of answers	*278*	*540*	*473*	*557*	*487*	*545*	*529*	*525*

Note: The question was worded "A journalist should consider himself as…someone who objectively mediates news/ …someone who reports events neutrally / …a mirror of public opinion".
Source: *SJS*

Table v   **Support for the ideals of objectivity, neutrality and mirroring in control for gender and qualifications** (number of answers in each group)

Objectivity	1989	1994	1999	2005
No formal qualifications				
Women		207	248	148
Men		345	364	185
With formal qualifications				
Women		265	247	369
Men		212	187	323
Neutrality				
No formal qualifications				
Women	130	207	245	151
Men	340	344	362	187
With formal qualifications				
Women	151	265	247	362
Men	197	212	186	323
Mirroring				
No formal qualifications				
Women	124	204	240	142
Men	339	343	356	182
With formal qualifications				
Women	149	262	239	363
Men	198	208	181	318

Note: The question was worded: See table *iv*. Journalists without formal qualifications may of course have some other form of higher degree.
Source: *SJS*

Table *vi* **Support for the ideals of objectivity, neutrality and mirroring in control for formal qualifications**
(number of answers in each group)

	1989	1994	1999	2005
Objectivity				
No journalistic qualifications		270	307	191
With journalistic qualifications		192	188	328
Neutrality				
No journalistic qualifications	165	172	208	126
With journalistic qualifications	76	106	102	215
Mirroring				
No journalistic qualifications	128	121	156	79
With journalistic qualifications	57	108	73	116

Note: The question was worded: See table *v*. Journalists without formal qualifications may of course have some other form of higher degree.
Source: *SJS*

Table *vii* **Support for the objectivity ideal in control for formal education and decade of entering the profession**
(per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

Career starting in...		1994	1999	2005	*Difference*	*Tau-c*	
the 2000's	*With journalistic qualifications*			50	-	-	
	No journalistic qualifications			49	-	-	
the 1990's	*With journalistic qualifications*	41	45	46	*+5*	*.04*	
	No journalistic qualifications	53	49	48	*-5*	*-.02*	
the 1980's	*With journalistic qualifications*	40	42	50	*+10*	*.10*	**
	No journalistic qualifications	46	50	65	*+19*	*.12*	**
the 1970's	*With journalistic qualifications*	36	42	44	*+8*	*.08*	
	No journalistic qualifications	43	46	66	*+23*	*.10*	*
the 1960's	*With journalistic qualifications*	51	44	44	*-7*	*-.02*	
	No journalistic qualifications	57	63	53	*-4*	*.00*	
the 1950's	*With journalistic qualifications*	-	-	-	-	-	
	No journalistic qualifications	60	33	-	*+27*	*.32*	
Number of answers		*1020*	*1043*	*1029*			

Note: The question was worded: See table *v*. * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level. Journalists without formal education may of course have some other form of higher degree.
Source: *SJS*

217

Table *viii* **Support for the ideals of neutrality and mirroring in control for formal qualifications and decade of entering the profession**
(per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

Career starting in...	Neutrality	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Tau-c	
the 2000's	*With journalistic qualifications*				42	-		
	No journalistic qualifications				29	-		
the 1990's	*With journalistic qualifications*		26	20	34	*+8*	*.09*	*
	No journalistic qualifications		32	30	29	*-3*	*-.02*	
the 1980's	*With journalistic qualifications*	26	21	23	22	*-4*	*-.05*	
	No journalistic qualifications	32	30	33	40	*+8*	*.06*	
the 1970's	*With journalistic qualifications*	17	21	26	25	*+8*	*.07*	*
	No journalistic qualifications	32	27	34	49	*+17*	*.07*	
the 1960's	*With journalistic qualifications*	20	25	36	42	*+22*	*.14*	*
	No journalistic qualifications	40	34	45	41	*+1*	*.00*	
the 1950's	*With journalistic qualifications*	-	-	-		-	-	
	No journalistic qualifications	34	46	-		*+12*	*.08*	
	Mirroring							
the 2000's	*With journalistic qualifications*				17	-		
	No journalistic qualifications				21	-		
the 1990's	*With journalistic qualifications*		26	17	16	*-10*	*-.13*	**
	No journalistic qualifications		14	24	17	*+3*	*.05*	
the 1980's	*With journalistic qualifications*	18	20	29	20	*+2*	*.02*	
	No journalistic qualifications	22	23	26	29	*+7*	*.04*	
the 1970's	*With journalistic qualifications*	15	24	19	15	*0*	*.01*	
	No journalistic qualifications	25	21	27	27	*+2*	*.01*	
the 1960's	*With journalistic qualifications*	16	28	19	21	*+5*	*.01*	
	No journalistic e qualifications	31	25	33	24	*-7*	*-.02*	
the 1950's	*With journalistic qualifications*	-	-	-		-	-	
	No journalistic qualifications	34	24	-		*-10*	*-.15*	
Number of answers		789	*100 6*	*100 2*	*100 7*			

Note: The question was worded: See table *v.* * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level. Journalists without formal education may of course have some other form of higher degree.
Source: *SJS*

Table *ix* **Support for the ideals of stimulating new thoughts and ideas, providing entertainment and giving people experience in control for gender and qualifications** (number of answers in each group)

Stimulating new thoughts	1989	1994	1999	2005
No formal qualifications				
Women	128	206	249	152
Men	333	343	361	187
With formal qualifications				
Women	150	265	248	369
Men	199	212	186	325
Giving people experience				
No formal qualifications				
Women	126	208	248	151
Men	335	343	360	189
With formal qualifications				
Women	151	266	248	358
Men	201	212	187	324
Providing diversion				
No formal qualifications				
Women		203	238	141
Men		341	355	184
With formal qualifications				
Women		263	242	357
Men		212	183	318

Note: The question was worded "A journalist should consider himself as…someone who objectively mediates news/ …someone who reports events neutrally / …a mirror of public opinion".
Journalists without formal qualifications may of course have some other form of higher degree.
Source: *SJS*

Table *x*   **Support for the ideals of stimulating new thoughts and ideas, providing entertainment and giving people experience in control for length of professional experience** (per cent that fully agree)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Tau-c	
Stimulating new thoughts							
5 years or less	53	58	58	46	*-7*	*-.05*	
6-14 years	49	53	56	52	*+3*	*.02*	
15 years or more	45	47	54	50	*+5*	*.04*	
Giving people experience							
5 years or less	46	54	54	39	*-7*	*-.07*	*
6-14 years	46	52	44	39	*-7*	*-.07*	**
15 years or more	36	49	44	42	*+6*	*.03*	
Providing diversion							
5 years or less		21	16	14	*-7*	*-.12*	**
6-14 years		18	14	15	*-3*	*-.07*	**
15 years or more		17	14	14	*-3*	*-.06*	

Note: The question was worded: See table 9.2. * Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

Table *xi* **Support for the ideals of influencing public opinion and acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion in control for gender** (per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Av. n	Tau-c
Influencing public opinion							
Women		29	21	18	*-11*	*491*	*-.13 ***
Men		28	22	16	*-12*	*541*	*-.13 ***
Difference		*-1*	*+1*	*-2*			
Acting as a mouthpiece							
Women	23			7	*-16*	*393*	*-.30 ***
Men	19			9	*-10*	*520*	*-.23 ***
Difference	*-4*			*-2*			
Average number of answers	*795*	*1021*	*1033*	*1037*			

Note: The question was worded "A journalist should consider himself as someone…who influences public opinion/ …acts as a mouthpiece for local opinion". ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

Table *xii*   **Support for the ideals of influencing public opinion and acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion, in control for age and qualifications** (per cent that fully agree; Tau-c)

Influencing public opinion	1989	1994	1999	2005	Difference	Tau-c	
No journalistic qualifications							
33 or younger		16	15	15	*-1*	*-.04*	
34-45		27	19	15	*-12*	*-.13*	**
46 or older		36	28	19	*-17*	*-.13*	**
With journalistic qualifications							
33 or younger		27	22	14	*-13*	*-.19*	**
34-45		28	17	15	*-13*	*-.19*	**
46 or older		33	25	22	*-11*	*--11*	**
Acting as a mouthpiece							
No journalistic qualifications							
33 or younger	13			10	*-3*	*-.10*	
34-45	22			8	*-14*	*-.31*	**
46 or older	26			13	*-13*	*-.26*	**
With journalistic qualifications							
33 or younger	13			4	*-9*	*-.22*	**
34-45	19			6	*-13*	*-.32*	**
46 or older	21			10	*-11*	*-.15*	**
Number of answers	*794*	*1013*	*1032*	*1020*			

Note: The question was worded: See table *xi*. Number of answers in each group varies between 68 and 260, where young journalists without journalistic qualifications in 2005 constitute the smallest group and older journalists with journalistic qualifications in 2005 constitute the largest. ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

Table *xiii*   **Support for the ideals of affecting public opinion and acting as a mouthpiece in control for main area of coverage** (percent that fully agree; Tau-c)

	1989	1994	1999	2005	*Difference*	*Tau-c*	
Influencing e public opinion							
Hard news		36	24	18	*-18*	*-.15*	**
Soft news		22	16	18	*-4*	*-.07*	
General		27	19	16	*-11*	*-.15*	**
Acting as a mouthpiece for local opinion							
Hard news	16			6	*-10*	*-.24*	**
Soft news	21			12	*-9*	*-.14*	*
General	22			7	*-15*	*-.27*	**
Number of answers	*571*	*751*	*730*	*790*			

Note: The questions were worded: See table *xi*.
* Significant on 95 per cent level. ** Significant on 99 per cent level.
Source: *SJS*

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