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Journalism Education and the Profession

Socialization, Traditions and Change

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Abstract

What is the role of journalism education in the socialisation of future journalists into the profession? This question is discussed in a comparative analysis of two large surveys among journalism students and journalists in Sweden, Poland and Russia in 2011–2012. In the analysis, attitudes towards professional values and integrity are compared between students and professionals. The results show clear differences: Journalists show more professional detachment and less activist ideals than do students. Journalists are also more critical towards development in the quality of journalism and press freedom compared to students. One conclusion is that important parts of socialisation into the profession are still taking place in the newsrooms. There are also important differences between the three countries in terms of traits that are transferred to the students from journalistic cultures in the three countries. An example of this includes the borders of the profession in relation to PR and commercial pressure that are weaker in Poland and Russia compared to in Sweden. The ideals of watchdog journalism are weaker among both students and professionals in Russia compared with other countries.

Keywords: journalism education, integrity, detachment, Poland, Russia, Sweden

Introduction

Academic journalism education has a complicated relation to the profession, one of both conflicting interests and mutual dependency. A growing share of journalists enters the profession through professional education, either on an academic or a vocational level (Deuze, 2006). Professional education can be an “agent of change” in journalism, raising professional standards and the status of the profession. But it can also have a strong element of conservatism, transferring old values and traditions to students becoming journalists (Mensing, 2011). The conflict between practical skills and critical academic thinking has a long history, both within journalism education and between academia and the industry (Philips, 2005).

Journalism education is also part of the socialization into the profession. Teachers with a professional background pass on the language and perspectives of profession-

als to the students, and training in practical exercises gives the students experiences and ways of thinking regarding how journalism is produced in newsrooms (Mensing, 2011). This socialization is continued during periods of internship, and when students return they are filled with tacit knowledge and values from the workplaces.

In the US, journalism education has played an important role in professionalization. Professional standards and ethics, as well as the professional roles of journalists, developed together with universities and their journalism programs, beginning with the first school of journalism in Missouri in 1908 and Pulitzer's donation to Columbia University in 1912 and continuing throughout the 20th century (Medsger, 2005; Mensing, 2011). Journalism education was introduced much later in Europe; in most countries not until after 1945. The result of this late introduction was that the journalistic profession in fact lost influence over both the recruitment and education of future journalists to the academic sphere (see also the chapter by Elin Gardeström in this book). This lost influence is an important explanation for the constant conflict between academic journalism education and the industry. Academic journalism education emphasizes critical thinking, independence and flexibility, while the industry in many countries criticizes education for not offering enough practical training. To gain influence, the media industry in some countries has systems of accreditation in order to set certain standards for education (this conflict in a UK context is described by Philips 2005).

Comparing journalism education and professionals in different media systems

The position of journalism education also differs between media systems. The degree of professionalization plays an important part in analyzing media systems. In early research on journalism students, an increasing homogenization was discussed (Splichal & Sparks, 1994). In later and expanding comparative research in journalism studies, it is clear that the professional culture differs in various parts of the world. Research has shown different patterns in the position of the journalistic profession in relation to the political system, market conditions and the degree of state influence in the media system (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). It is also clear that there are differences in values and ideals among journalists in different media systems. These differences are considered to reflect the national and cultural context of journalism on a national basis (Hanitzsch et al., 2010; Weaver & Willnat, 2012). In this context, journalism education has developed in relation to society, the industry and the academic system.

Research on journalism education often compares journalism students in different countries, examining their motivation to be a journalist as well as values and attitudes towards their own future as journalists (Sparks & Splichal, 1994; Hovden, 2009; Nygren et al., 2010; Mellado, 2012; Stigbrand & Nygren, 2013). There is little comparative

research on the relationship between journalism education and the profession. Key questions in this area include the extent to which education only transfers ideals and practices from the profession to future journalists, or whether the students also have a critical attitude and ambitions to change journalism. The general relationship between education and the profession is also a measure of the degree of distance/closeness between education and the industry. This relationship is also closely connected to the media system.

The purpose of this chapter is to study the relationship between journalism education and professionals in the media industry in three different media systems. Three research questions are discussed:

RQ 1: Are there any differences between journalism students and professionals regarding professional values and the position of the profession in relation to other fields in the media sphere?

RQ 2: What role does education play in the socialization of future journalists into the profession? Are there any differences in this role in various media systems?

RQ 3: Is journalism education bringing ideals and values within various media systems closer to each other, or are national differences reproduced and transferred to new generations?

Methods and empirical material

In various research projects in the past five years, attitudes and values among journalists and students of journalism have been studied in Sweden, Poland and Russia (Nygren et al., 2010; Nygren & Degtereva, 2012; Nygren & Stigbrand, 2013; Nygren & Dobek-Ostrowska, 2015). In some of the surveys the questions have been similar, making it possible to compare answers from students and professionals. In this chapter, these results are analyzed in the following areas:

- Professional ideals and the journalist's role in society
- Opinions on quality in journalism and whether journalists fulfill their role in society
- Attitudes towards the political system and towards PR and corruption
- The relationship between journalism education and the profession

A survey of students in five journalism programs was carried out in autumn 2011. It was constructed in cooperation with representatives of the five departments researched in the project, and was distributed and collected during lectures among students studying for a regular daytime journalism degree, in their second or third year. The sample of students represents typical groups in each department. However, it is not

possible to give any response rate, because the survey was distributed by local teachers and filled in during lectures.

A total of 527 students from five universities answered the survey. The largest groups come from the three big universities in Stockholm, Moscow and Warsaw, with around 150 students at each site. Two smaller groups from Tartu and Jyväskylä also participated in the project, but these results are not included in the analysis in this chapter. The complete results can be found in Stigbrand-Nygren (2013), which also includes interviews with teachers and an analysis of the curricula to give a broad picture of journalism education in these five countries.

Table 1. Characteristics of journalism student at five universities 2011, in term of age (average) and gender (per cent)

	Södertörn	Moscow	Warsaw	Tartu	Jyväskylä
Age (average)	25.0	21.5	22.0	23.9	23.7
Gender (per cent)					
Male	41	18	30	17	20
Female	59	82	70	83	80
Number of respondents	157	141	145	47	31

In all five places, there is a clear majority of female students; the only department with more equal numbers of male and female students is at Södertörn University. One explanation for this may be the strong emphasis on multimedia in the journalism degree program at Södertörn University, as degrees with more focus on technology have traditionally attracted more male students. Swedish students are also older than those in Moscow and Warsaw.

In spring 2012, a survey among professional journalists was conducted as part of the research project *Journalism in change*. In this project, researchers at three universities (Södertörn University in Stockholm, Moscow State University and the University of Wroclaw in Poland) cooperated to study how the professional journalistic culture in the three countries is influenced by media development. The questionnaire was constructed in cooperation between the researchers to reach highest possible validity, so that each question would be interpreted the same way. The fieldwork was organized and carried out by teams in each of the three countries. There are no registers of journalists in the countries, except in Sweden, where earlier research on journalists has been based on the members of the Union of Journalists (Asp, 2012; Strömbäck et al., 2012). In the other two countries, unions organize only a small part of the population and it was not possible to use their records to achieve a representative sample. To use the same methods in the three countries, the project instead used quota sampling to select participants in the survey, in order to build as representative as possible a sample of journalists in each country (Lavrakas, 2013).

Drawing on previous knowledge about the media structure and where journalists work, a quota of journalists was determined for each media type, with the goal

of collecting 500 surveys in each country. Surveys were sent to a wide range of newsrooms in different parts of the country and within different types of media, both by post (mostly Sweden and Poland) and by e-mail, with links to a web-based survey (mostly Poland and Russia). The survey was not sent to named journalists, but rather contained instructions to distribute the questionnaire to all journalists in the newsroom. The journalists returned the questionnaires themselves or filled in a web survey anonymously. When the quota for each media type was filled, the survey stopped.

Table 2. Characteristics of journalists in the survey Journalism in change 2012 (per cent)

	Poland	Russia	Sweden	Total
Male	58	38	47	48
Female	42	62	53	52
≤35 years	42	69	27	47
36-50 years	39	23	36	33
≥51 years	18	7	38	21
Printed paid newspapers	26	35	42	34
Magazines	25	29	13	22
Public service/state radio and TV	22	10	16	16
Commercial tv and radio, online and free-sheets	25	21	12	19
Subcontractors	3	6	17	8
Number of respondents	497	500	500	1 497

Note: Subcontractors include news agencies, production companies and freelancers

The results reflect the media systems in the three countries: Sweden as a strong newspaper country, and Poland and Russia as strong TV/radio countries. The results also show clear differences among journalists: in Russia journalists are predominantly female and under 35 years old; in Poland they are predominantly male and young; and in Sweden the relationship is more equal between the genders and journalists are quite old – nearly 40 per cent over 50 years old. The complete results from the project are presented in Nygren and Dobek-Ostrowska (2015).

In this chapter, results from the two surveys are used to compare students and journalists. The analysis also includes a dimension reduction with a factor analysis (Barmark, 2011). By analyzing correlations between results on the variables within the questions on professional duties, a few dimensions can be defined among the answers. 11 and 16 professional duties among students and professionals are reduced to four and five dimensions. The factor analyses are done using the method of principal components and a Varimax rotation (Kaisers egenverdi >1). The correlations within the dimensions are given alongside each analysis.

Professional ideals

Similar questions posed to the students and the professionals concerned professional values and ideals. A list of “duties” was presented, and each person was to evaluate them on a scale from 1 to 5 (where 5 is very important). The list was based on earlier surveys in Sweden as well as other parts of the world (Asp et al., 2007; Weaver & Willhoit, 2012). The students evaluated eleven different duties, and the same duties were also given to professional journalists in the survey 2012. The journalists also had five other duties to evaluate, in total 16 variables.

The results show similar general patterns in values among students and journalists in all three countries. Traditional neutral ideals such as presenting various opinions and standing free from special interests are important to both students and professionals, while commercial values like economic results for the media company are valued low among both groups. But there are also important differences between the groups:

In *Poland*, professionals put more emphasis on critical ideals such as investigating the powerful and criticizing injustice, but also on neutral ideals like presenting various opinions and standing free from special interests. They also feel that entertainment is important, which is not the opinion among students, who put more emphasis on activist ideals such as influencing public opinion.

In *Russia*, there are clear differences between students and journalists: professionals put much more emphasis on ideals connected to neutrality, while students are much more activist, wanting to influence and educate the public. Students are also more concerned about telling the truth regardless of the consequences, while professionals are much more careful. To be entertaining is much more important to students than professionals.

Table 3. Importance of different duties for journalists (mean)

	Poland		Russia		Sweden	
	Students	Journalists	Students	Journalists	Students	Journalists
Bringing forward various opinions	4.3	4.6	4.3	4.3	4.1	4.4
Criticizing injustice	4.1	4.4	4.1	4.0	4.3	4.4
Stimulating new ideas	4.0	4.0	4.3	3.8	3.8	3.9
Educating the public	4.1	4.3	4.5	3.9	3.8	3.9
Being free of special interests	4.3	4.5	4.0	4.3	4.0	4.4
Being a neutral reporter	4.3	4.2	3.7	4.4	3.8	4.2
Investigating the powerful	4.0	4.6	3.5	3.7	4.3	4.7
Telling the truth regardless of the consequences	4.1	4.3	4.1	3.3	3.9	4.1
Influencing public opinion	4.1	3.5	3.9	3.5	3.4	3.1
Entertaining the public	3.1	4.2	3.6	2.8	3.1	3.3
Ensuring that the media business does well	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.2	2.5	2.6
Number of respondents	144	489	143	492	152	491

Note: The question was the same to both students (2011) and journalists (2012) – how important are the following duties/tasks for journalists in your country? The scale range between 1 (not important) and 5 (very important). The students come from University of Warsaw, Moscow and Södertörn.

In *Sweden* as well, professionals put more emphasis on neutral ideals than the students do, such as standing free from special interests. The most important to Swedish professionals is to be a watchdog concerning power, and this is also important to students. In general, there are only small differences between students and professionals – the ideal of a detached watchdog is most important in both groups, and the commercial ideals are weak.

Altogether, the pattern is similar in all three countries: professional journalists put more emphasis on ideals connected to neutrality and detachment than the students do. On the other hand, students put more emphasis on activist ideals like influencing public opinion and educating the public. There could be many explanations behind this pattern: one could be the strong professional ideology of detachment, the professional experience of using neutrality to protect integrity. This ideal is important to professionals with experience of external pressures and political/economic influence in the daily work of the journalist. If sources and/or owners put pressure on the journalist, ideals of neutrality are important to defend professional autonomy. Students do not have this experience yet, and might be more eager to exert influence in issues important to them.

The results also show that some national differences in journalism are similar among journalists and students. The ideal of “investigating the powerful” is weak among Russian professionals as well as students; this ideal scores 4.6-4.7 among Swedish and Polish journalists, but only 3.5 and 3.7 among Russian journalists and students. This indicates that the weak watchdog tradition in Russian journalism is being transferred to the new generation. But on the other hand, there are clear differences between students and professionals in Russia regarding activist ideals such as educating the public and influencing opinion – it appears as if the old educating ideal of Russian journalism (Trakhtenberg, 2007) is much stronger in education than among professional journalists. Among professional journalists it is more important not to be used for political purposes; for example, Russian journalists say no to promoting the position of women in society in their reporting, with similar arguments (Voronova, 2014).

Also some more commercial values are stronger in Poland, compared with Sweden. Ideals of entertainment and ensuring media business are doing well scores higher among both students and professionals. But in general differences between the three countries are less obvious than between students and professionals.

Dimensions in professional ideals

In a factor analysis of the professional duties, the patterns among students and professionals become more visible. The analysis shows correlations between ideals: those who place high importance on certain ideals are also likely to give high marks to the other ideals within the same dimension.

The analysis of correlation between ideals among students gives four dimensions, four types of ideals among journalism students in the three countries:

1. **Activist – educator:** This dimension has three main parts; to stimulate new ideas, bring forward various opinions and to educate the public. Also the ideal of influencing public opinion and to criticize injustice is related to this dimension, but to a weaker level. This dimension is also responsible, and the ideal of always telling the truth regardless of consequences scores negative. This dimension stands for an active journalistic ideal.
2. **Entertainer:** This dimension is the second most visible among the duties. It includes to entertain the public, to ensure that the media business does well and to influence public opinion. This dimension shows more commercial ideals among journalists, less connected to investigative ideals.
3. **Advocate of justice:** The traditional “fourth estate”-ideals are found in this dimension; to criticize injustice, tell the truth regardless of the consequences and investigate the powerful.
4. **Neutral reporter:** The dimension of a detached journalism is less visible than others among students, to be a neutral reporter and stand free of special interests. This is quite passive journalistic ideal, it is also related to bring forward various opinions but negative in relation to stimulate new ideas.

Table 4. Dimension in professional duties among journalism students, 2011 (factor analysis)

	Activist educator	Entertainer	Advocate of justice	Neutral reporter
Stimulate new ideas	.659	.293	.158	-.140
Bring forward various opinions	.656	.005	.029	.377
Educate the public	.564	.290	.312	-.024
Entertain the public	.014	.752	-.113	-.062
Ensure that the media business does well	-.056	.665	.374	.143
Influence public opinion	.396	.568	-.109	.092
Criticize in justice	.256	.005	.772	.043
Tell the truth regardless of the consequences	-.069	.189	.678	.273
Investigate the powerful	.405	-.086	.555	.065
Be a neutral reporter	.072	.014	.139	.813
Stand free of special interests	.167	.076	.117	.797
Explained variance (per cent)	17	14	13	13

Note: The students comes from University of Warsaw, Moscow State University and Södertörn University, n=443. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Explained variance in total 57 %.

The same patterns of ideals appear among professional journalists, but in a different order and with some differences in the duties within each dimension. The most clear dimension is the same, the activist-educator. But among professionals, also the “neutral

reporter”-dimension is almost as clear as the “activist”. There is also a difference within the dimension of “advocate of justice”, among professionals the ideal of entertainment is also part of this. The five dimensions of professional ideals among journalists are:

1. **Activist-educator:** To mobilize people to act, educate the public, stimulate new ideas, represent different social groups and influence public opinion. These ideals are all part of a traditional activist ideal in journalism in media systems with roots in party press and strong political parallelism (Hallin & Mancini, 2004), and this dimension is the most visible in Russia, Poland and Sweden.
2. **Neutral reporter:** This dimension of a detached and more passive journalist is also clearly visible: to be neutral, bring forward various opinions, stand free of special interests and give objective information.
3. **Advocate of justice:** The ideals within this dimension are close to the traditional “truth teller”, with no responsibility for consequences. To investigate the powerful and criticize injustice, but also with a clear element of entertainment.
4. **Watchdog:** This ideal is in some sense more responsible, more critical towards government claims and scoring high on simplify and explain.
5. **Entrepreneur:** This is the most diffuse of the five dimensions created in the factor analysis. It is focused on media business, but also related to entertainment and influencing public opinion.

In a comparison between dimensions in professional duties among journalism students and journalists, we can see both similarities and differences. The patterns in the dimensions are quite similar, the same kinds of ideals are related to each other among both students and journalists. We can also see that the most clearly visible pattern is the same – the activist-educator. This dimension is non-commercial and oriented towards influencing the society, an old ideal with connections to party press and politics. All three countries also have this kind of background in the media systems.

But there are also differences. The “neutral reporter” is a clear dimension among professional, it explains a larger share of the variance among ideals than among students. In comparisons of single dimensions (table 3) these ideals related to neutrality are much stronger among professionals than among students. Among students, the “entertainer” is the second most visible ideal. These commercial ideals are more diffuse among professionals, more related to entrepreneurial ideals and to be an “advocate of justice”.

Table 5. Dimensions in professional duties among professional journalists 2012 (factor analysis)

	Activist educator	Neutral reporter	Advocate of justice	Watch-dog	Entrepreneur
Mobilize people to act	.792	-.027	.228	-.074	.081
Educate the public	.754	.184	.116	.059	-.084
Stimulate new ideas	.728	.156	.048	.134	-.026
Represent different social groups	.559	.320	.162	-.102	.079
Be someone who influences the public opinion	.551	-.078	-.022	.223	.324
Be a neutral reporter	.013	.806	-.012	-.105	.073
Bring forward various opinions	.255	.704	.088	.158	.037
Stand free of special interests	.044	.695	.293	.124	-.036
Give objective information	.160	.671	.278	.158	-.027
Tell the truth with no regards for the consequences	-.024	.129	.760	.051	-.060
Investigate the powerful in society	.173	.280	.636	.354	-.044
Criticize injustice	.332	.133	.584	.044	-.006
Provide entertainment	.242	.116	.552	-.094	.456
Scrutinize government claims	-.023	-.036	.059	.838	-.033
Simplify and explain	.136	.250	.113	.701	.032
Ensure that the media business does well	.020	.032	-.054	-.005	.905
Explained variance (per cent)	17	15	12	9	7

Note: The analysis is based on the survey Journalism in change 2012 with 1 500 respondents among journalists in Poland, Russia and Sweden. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Explained variance in total 60 per cent.

Professional integrity

Professionalism includes a degree of detachment from other areas in society. It is often a question of keeping the borders clean, to defend one's professional autonomy. These professional borders, in relation to other areas, define the profession (Freidson, 2001). In their daily work, journalists are in touch with actors from many other areas such as politics, PR and commercial interests. Keeping these professional borders clean becomes a way to create a space for professional autonomy.

The surveys show clear differences between students and journalists in the attitudes towards these borders. In general, professional journalists are more restrictive in their attitudes, maintaining more strict borders to other areas than students. The pattern is the same in all three countries, with more restrictive and detached professionals, and students more open in relation to other areas. But there are also differences between the three countries (table 6).

In *Poland*, both journalists and students are very strict regarding the borders to politics. Journalists are not supposed to be politically active, and political influence in media companies is not acceptable. There is a strong sense of integrity in relation to politics among students and professionals.

In *Russia* there is a greater acceptance of political activity, and many students and journalists accept political influence in the media company. This reflects traditions in the media system and a high degree of political parallelism in Russia (Hallin & Mancini 2004). The attitudes in this area are clearly transferred to the young generation (and are stronger among Russian students than professionals).

In *Sweden* the results are more unclear: neither students nor professionals accept political influence in media companies, but students are not as opposed to political activism among journalists as professionals are. This could also be a result of different meanings of the word politics; in the young generation it may have a wider meaning than “party politics” and also include activism outside the parties. It could also be a result of the older generation still having experiences of a “party press” and political pressure on journalism.

When it comes to PR and gifts from sources, the surveys show a slightly different pattern with Poland and Russia being quite equal and Sweden entailing a special case. The borders to PR and communication are more unclear in Poland and Russia than in Sweden, among both students and professionals. A third of the Polish students and two-thirds of the Russian students feel it is acceptable for journalists to also work with PR. One explanation for this may be the fact that PR is integrated in different ways in the departments of journalism, and some students of journalism also study PR and communication (Stigbrand & Nygren, 2013). In Sweden few feel it is acceptable for journalists to work with PR, but this share is larger among students than in the profession. In Sweden the Union of Journalists draws a clear line regarding PR, and in the 1990s it was determined that working with PR/communication is not acceptable for members of the union.

While receiving gifts from sources is acceptable for nearly a third of the Russian journalists as well as many Polish journalists, it is nearly forbidden for journalists in Sweden. These patterns are transferred to the students in all three countries, and the differences are quite small. One explanation for this (as well as for working with PR) could be the financial situation for journalists in Poland and Russia. Another question in the survey shows that almost 50 per cent of the Polish and 43 per cent of the Russian journalists say they can simply survive on their salary, or have to find additional incomes to supplement what they earn from journalism. In Sweden, this figure is 9 per cent. It is easy to have principles when you have a stable economic situation (Glowacki, 2015).

Table 6. Opinions on the relation between journalism, politics and sources among journalism students (2011) and journalists (2012), share who agree (per cent)

	Poland		Russia		Sweden	
	Students	Journalists	Students	Journalists	Students	Journalists
A journalist can't be active in politics when he/she is working as a journalist.	78	87	49	43	47	65
As a journalist, one has to accept political influence in the media company and the limits this places on journalism.	12	6	37	22	7	2
It is no problem for a journalist to also work with PR and information management.	31	21	65	31	19	13
It is acceptable for a journalist to accept gifts from sources, as long as it does not influence his/her professional work.	28	21	32	30	9	4
Number of respondents	140	494	136	484	152	490

Note: The scale range between 1 and 5, and the table shows the share (per cent) who answered 4 or 5. The students come from University of Warsaw, Moscow State University and Södertörn University.

Press freedom and quality

In the evaluation of press freedom, the general opinion is the same among students and professionals in all three countries. In Poland there was a positive development 2011-2012 when Civic Platform was in the government, compared with previous years with "Law and Justice" in rule (from November 2015 "Law and Justice" is back in government). In Russia both journalists and students 2011-2012 think press freedom is being restricted, every second journalist say it is decreasing. In Sweden, the situation is quite stable according to both students and journalists.

But there are clear differences between students and professionals in each country – in all three countries, students are more optimistic than professionals. This is most clear in Poland, where 71 per cent of the students believe press freedom is increasing while the same figure among professionals is 34 per cent. Journalists in Poland are more critical, with nearly a third believing the opposite; they see decreasing press freedom. In Sweden, students are significantly more positive than professionals – very few journalists perceive increasing press freedom, but the figure among students is 38 per cent. One possible explanation for this is different perceptions of what press freedom is: for the young generation, freedom of expression might not be only the absence of state repression but also the possibility to publish. With new net-based platforms (blogs, online news sites and social media), this aspect of press freedom has increased in all three countries.

Table 7. Opinions among journalism students (2011) and journalists (2012) on how press freedom has developed in the past 5-10 years in their country (per cent)

	Poland		Russia		Sweden	
	Students	Journalists	Students	Journalists	Students	Journalists
Decreased	8	29	42	49	18	31
The same level	20	37	36	33	44	56
Increased	71	34	22	18	38	13
Sum per cent	99	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	133	456	131	478	117	389

Note: The students come from University of Warsaw, Moscow State University and Södertörn University.

The students are also more optimistic when it comes to quality in journalism (Table 7). This is extremely clear in Poland: About two-thirds of the Polish journalists believe that quality is decreasing, but the students are much more optimistic – nearly half of them perceive increasing quality. The same difference is visible in Russia, where the students are also more optimistic. In Sweden the difference is quite small: both students and journalists are quite critical of a decreasing quality in journalism.

The question is whether the difference regarding opinions on quality in journalism in Poland and Russia reflects a generational gap, with different generations holding different views on what quality is. Analytic journalism might mean quality for the older generation, while young professionals might value other aspects of the content such as pictures, design/layout and speed. Another explanation might be different time perspectives – professionals have longer experience and can compare within a longer perspective. The difference in evaluation also shows that students have a distance to the profession and professional values; what is quality for students might not be the same for professionals.

Table 8. Opinions among students in journalism (2011) and journalists (2012) on how quality in journalism has developed in the past 5-10 years in their country (per cent)

	Poland		Russia		Sweden	
	Students	Journalists	Students	Journalists	Students	Journalists
Decreased	24	68	28	50	40	46
The same level	28	20	38	32	44	32
Increased	48	12	34	18	16	23
Sum per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	131	456	136	475	124	425

Note: The students comes from University of Warsaw, Moscow State University and Södertörn University.

Distance to the profession and mobility

The differences in the perception of press freedom and quality indicate a distance between the education and the profession, especially in Poland. Other results from the two surveys also show clear differences in the relationship between journalism education and the profession in the three countries. These differences are not related to opinions and attitudes, but are on more of a systemic level in the role of journalism education in the three countries.

In *Poland* only 40 per cent of the journalists have an academic journalism education, and this figure is only a bit higher among those under 35 years old. Many journalists have an academic education in general, but a professional journalism education is obviously not regarded as necessary within the media companies. This is also reflected among the students: only half are fairly certain or sure they want to work as journalists after graduation. Only 25 per cent are sure to get a job in journalism, and many look for alternative jobs in PR and communication (Stigbrand & Nygren, 2013).

In *Russia*, the relationship between education and the profession is closer. Among journalists, 75 per cent have an academic degree in journalism, and among journalists under 35 this figure is even higher. Among the students, two-thirds are sure or fairly sure they want to work as journalists after graduating, and 43 per cent already have a job or are sure they will get one. But the survey among journalists also shows a large degree of mobility – 25 per cent of the journalists expect to be working in area other than journalism within five years. Professionals in Russia are much younger than in Poland and Sweden, with 69 per cent under 35 years old. This group is more mobile, and as we have seen in figures on relations to other fields, they are also more open to PR/communication/politics. Russian researchers talk about journalism as a “social lift” for young Russians (Pasti et al., 2012). This shows that the borders around the profession are lower in Russia, with a greater degree of mobility offering young Russian journalists many options for the future. It also explains the lower degree of detachment among Russian students; there is no need for professional borders when the future labor market is integrated between the fields of journalism, PR/communication and politics.

In *Sweden*, the relationship between academic journalism education and the industry is also quite close. 55 per cent of the journalists have an academic degree in journalism, and among the group under 35 years old this figure is higher. This shows that employers today often prefer young journalists with an academic degree in journalism, which is also reflected among the students: 76 per cent says they are completely or fairly certain they want to work as journalists. Surveys among ex-students show that a majority of them get a job as a journalist. Two years after graduating, two of three former journalism students from Södertörn University were working as journalists full or part time. But these surveys also show a labor market with high barriers to entry, many temporary jobs, and many young journalists leaving the profession after some years (Nygren, 2012).

Table 9. Education degree among journalists (2012) and attitudes among journalism students towards their professional future (2011) (per cent)

	Poland	Russia	Sweden
Per cent of journalists with higher education	89	96	90
Per cent of journalists with academic journalism degree	40	75	55
Per cent of journalists under 35 with academic journalism degree	44	75	70
Number of respondents	472	500	495
Per cent of journalism students certain they will work as journalists	53	69	76
Per cent of journalism students sure they will get a job (or already have)	25	43	30
Number of respondents	144	134	149

These differences in the relationship between journalism education and the profession are important to bear in mind when analyzing attitudes among students and professionals. With a close relationship it is more likely that there will be similar attitudes in both groups, and the role of education in socializing the students into the profession is significant. But looking back at the ideals regarding professional roles of journalists, it is also obvious that a close relationship between education and profession is not the only factor: in Poland the differences in ideals between students and professionals are much less than in Russia, where there is a strong position for education in the profession (see Table 3).

It is still an open question whether (and in that case, how) education influences professional ideals among journalists. Some factors that might have influence are, for example, the social recruitment of new journalists, educational profiles in the journalism departments, and ideologies among staff at universities' journalism departments. It is also a question of the size of the gap between ideals and reality, which becomes visible when all professional educations encounter the labor market.

Some conclusions

The purpose of this chapter is to study the relationship between academic journalism education and the profession in different media systems. The results show both similarities and differences connected to the media system and national context.

The first question was whether there are any differences between journalism students and professionals regarding professional values and the position of the profession. The general answer to this is yes – there are some differences in values and attitudes in all three countries. Professionals put more emphasis on neutrality and professional detachment, drawing more clear borders around the profession in relation to other fields. Students are more open to other fields both in general, and

for their own professional work. Students also place more importance on activist ideals; they want to influence and take part in society more than simply guarding their professional autonomy.

This is a general pattern observed in all three countries. Another general pattern is visible in the factor analysis: the same dimensions of professional values are found among both students and journalists. There are differences in the strength in some key values like neutrality and activist ideals between the two groups, but the patterns are the same nonetheless.

Earlier research has discussed the possibility for journalism education to create more critical journalists rather than simply workers for “the news factory” (Philips, 2005). If this were the case in the three countries, students would have a more critical attitude than professionals, who are accustomed to the daily demands of the media industry. But the results offer no evidence of this; on the contrary, students are less focused on the critical role of journalism and much less critical regarding quality in journalism and the development of press freedom. Students are also less clear on the borders of the profession, and less focused on critical integrity. If the ambition of academic journalism education is to produce journalists with a more critical attitude than usual within the profession, the education is failing in this aspect in all three countries.

The second question concerned the role of education in the socialization of future journalists into the profession. For a professional education this is an important dimension, and in general it seems as if the education largely transfers values and attitudes from the profession to students. But there are also limitations in this process, and the results indicate that important parts of professionalism (borders of the profession, detachment, and what a journalist can do) are still a matter of socialization in the newsroom. Professional journalists in all three countries emphasize professional integrity and neutrality more than students do. Perhaps this often tacit knowledge does not fit into the curricula but is better experienced in the newsrooms.

There are also clear differences between the three countries in the relationships between academic journalism education and the profession. In *Poland* journalism education is young; the department in Warsaw was founded as late as the 1970s, and a majority of Polish journalists have no journalism education. Among the students the professional focus is not clear, with half of them uncertain whether they even want to become journalists. This reveals a gap between education and the profession, and the role of education becomes less important for values and socialization. This also becomes clear in the low share of journalists with an academic journalism education.

Russia has a long tradition of journalism education, going back to the 1920s. It has literary roots, and carries the Russian tradition of an “intelligentsia” in close relation to power but also defending a degree of intellectual space (Trakhtenberg, 2009). Nearly all journalists have an academic journalism education, but mobility out of the profession is also high. Russia has the greatest differences between students and professionals concerning values and professional integrity, perhaps as a result of experiences among the professionals. One explanation for this may be large perceived

gaps between professional values and conditions in the daily work, reported in earlier research on Russian journalism (Nygren & Degtereva, 2012).

In *Sweden* journalism education is young; the first department founded in the 1960s and the department at Södertörn, which participated in the survey, was founded as recently as 1998. Sweden has a high share of journalists with an academic journalism education, and rather small differences concerning values and attitudes regarding professional integrity. This indicates a strong professional orientation in education. Still, there are differences showing that important parts of the socialization take place outside education, in the newsrooms.

The last question concerned the relationship between media systems: is academic journalism education bringing values and attitudes in various countries and media systems closer to each other, or are the differences transferred to new generations? The answer to this is more complicated: both yes and no. In general, the differences between dimensions of professional duties are less pronounced among students than professionals – students in all three countries are quite close in values related to “advocate of justice” while among professionals the difference is very clear. Also regarding other dimensions of professional duties, there are fewer differences among students than professionals. This might indicate a homogenization around some basic values in journalism among students in various media systems.

On the other hand, important national traits of the professional culture of journalism are clearly transferred to the students:

- In Poland, there are clear borders to politics among both students and journalists. In Russia, the attitudes are more tolerant in both groups, concerning both political influence in media companies and political activity for journalists.
- In Sweden there is very low tolerance in both groups regarding taking gifts and working with PR/communication. In Poland and Russia, 20-30 % in both groups can do this even if they define themselves as journalists.
- In Russia the watchdog tradition is quite weak among both students and journalists, while in Sweden this role is important in both groups.

It might come as no surprise that differences in professional journalistic cultures are transferred to the new generation through journalism education. But it raises the question of the extent to which education can be an “agent of change” for journalism, a way to raise standards and quality. These surveys give a picture of journalism education quite far from these critical new journalists envisioned by Philips (2005). Instead, they are less critical of what journalists define as decreasing quality in journalism and limited press freedom. However, they also have stronger motives to assume an activist role to change society (and perhaps journalism also?).

It is also far from the role of education in building the competences of professional journalists, analyzed by Donsbach (2014), who assigns professional education a key role in, for example, the development of professional norms as part of creating a

“knowledge profession”. Of course, professional values and ethics are an important part of any journalism education, including the three departments taking part in this survey (Stigbrand & Nygren, 2014). But the results show that important aspects of the socialization into professional norms and values are taking place in the newsrooms and workplaces. The degree of professional integrity seems to grow when students take the step into the profession, with the experiences of the professional journalist giving them a higher degree of detachment and sense of neutrality and not taking a stand.

There could also be other generational explanations behind the differences. It might be that values concerning professional ethics, integrity and the importance of detachment are changing between generations. These classical values have been important in the development of journalism, but it is not self-evident that they will prevail in the new net-based, interactive and commercial media ecology. This is a question for further research.

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