**Contents**

Abbreviations.................................................................................................................7

Introduction: Journalism professionalization and journalistic culture as a matter of research................................................................9

*Gunnar Nygren and Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska*

1. Professionalization, media development, and comparative journalism studies.................................................................................19

*Gunnar Nygren*

2. Professional journalistic cultures.Design and methods in the research.........41

*Gunnar Nygren, Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska and Elena Johansson*

3. Who is a journalist today? Mapping selected dimensions for comparative study on journalism..............................................................................63

*Michał Głowacki*

4. Changing working conditions..............................................................................97

*Jöran Hök*

5. Media development and professional autonomy............................................119

*Gunnar Nygren*

6. Ideals and values of modern journalists: the search for balance..................153

*Maria Anikina*

7. Journalism and politics.......................................................................................179

*Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska*

8. Journalism and commercialization...................................................................211

*Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska*

9. New tools for old practices? The journalistic profession in the context of interactive participation........................................................................233

*Elena Johansson*

6 Contents

10. Journalistic cultures between national traditions and global trends..........259

*Gunnar Nygren and Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska*

References..................................................................................................................279

List of tables...............................................................................................................303

List of figures.............................................................................................................307

Appendix...................................................................................................................309

Appendix 1: The Questionnaire of the “Journalism in Change” Survey, 2012....................................................................309

Appendix 2: Interview.............................................................................................323

Notes on contributors..............................................................................................325

**Introduction: Journalism professionalization and journalistic culture as a matter of research**

Gunnar Nygren and Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska

Journalism is a kind of social invention. It was born and developed with industri­alism, enlightened then and strove for democracy. The link between these factors is well described by Schudson:

“Journalism is the business or practice of producing and disseminating information about contemporary affairs of general public interest and importance (…), normally presented as true and sincere to a dispersed and anonymous audience so as to publicly include the audience in a discourse taken to be publicly important.” (Schudson, 2003:11)

Journalism is for society and to serve the public sphere, but it is also a business to create the necessary economic conditions. Journalism is supposed to be au­tonomous from state and to be able to act freely. According to liberal theory it shall be the fourth estate of power (Burke, 1989). Independence from political and economic pressure constitutes the role of journalism in a democratic society.

Today, journalism is in crisis. It would suffice to mention the development of a network society (Castells, 1996), new notions of media (media-like services), changes of traditional one-way communication towards more interaction, and a system of “many-to-many” (Jakubowicz, 2009). Business models of the media industry are under pressure; American researchers have just noted: “there is no such thing as the news industry anymore!” (Anderson et al., 2013). The profes­sional roles of journalists are questioned by social media and by users who have become the producers of media content (Lewis, 2012).

Convergence creates new kinds of interactive media systems, and has a pro­found impact on the functioning of traditional media firms (printed press, tel­evision, and radio). The media workplace is changing in the same directions as in other industries –workers have to be flexible, the demands on re-skilling and multiskilling increases and commercial pressure is much heavier (Deuze, 2007; Quandt and Singer, 2009). At the same time ideals and values are sluggish, old ways of thinking clash with new demands in daily work. Journalistic culture is perhaps stronger than many spokesmen of convergence assume (Fenton, 2010; Witschge and Nygren, 2009).

10 Gunnar Nygren and Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska

This development is most visible in the U.S. and the Western part of Europe. There are both differences and similarities between countries and media sys­tems; yet newspapers still flourish in big economies like India and China and traditional TV is the main media format in most countries. Globalization has also created a convergence in journalistic orientations and practices in differ­ent parts of the world. Traditional Western ideals of objectivity and impartial­ity seem to dominate in many newsrooms, and there are many similarities in professional routines and editorial processes (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, 2012; Hanitszch, 2007; McQuail, 2013; Waisbord, 2013). But still there are also many differences among journalists in their ways of being professional, rather reflec­tions of societal influence more than from media organizations and professional norms. Journalism is still very national in many ways, still connected to history and political traditions (Weaver and Willnat, 2012 a; 2012b).

**Main concepts – definitions**

In journalism studies, scholars hold different approaches to journalism as a pro­fession. Zelizer (2004) defines five sets of perspectives in the studies of journal­ism – as a profession, as an institution in society, as text (content), as people, and as a set of practices. These perspectives are not mutually exclusive; the project “Journalism in Change” covers at least three of them:

1. Journalism as a profession: a sociological perspective on journalism covering issues like autonomy, professional standards and values.
2. Journalism as people: who is today’s journalist, and what does this tell us about the position of journalism?
3. Journalism as a set of practices: how is journalism produced today, and how changing processes influence thinking among journalists?

Journalism is this area of human activity, which has changed dynamically during the last few decades (see more in Chapter 1). What is journalism today? One of the most important factors is technology that provokes many implications for both society and journalism (McQuail, 2013: 13). Waisbord (2013) argues for a need to “reinvent professionalism.” He further shows dilemmas and am­biguities, and defines “the professional logic of journalism.” In this context, the model of the three traditions of journalism presented by Donsbach – subjective, public service and commercial (2010:41), seem very interesting and useful for our studies.

Introduction 11

Professional (journalistic) culture is a key concept, which has been used in the project. In social and humanistic research culture is a “whole way of being,” common ideals and practices in a group that separate it from other groups. Culture is socially constructed, and is carried by the people living in the culture as both values and ideals and as tacit knowledge hidden in daily routines. So cul­ture is not only a question of ideology, it is also visible in practice – in journalism it also materializes in the working processes. In the words of Zelizer:

“For recognizing journalism as a culture – a complex web of meanings, rituals, conven­tions and symbol systems – and seeing journalists (…) as its facilitators offers a way to think about the phenomenon by accounting for its changing, often contradictory di­mensions.” (2005:198)

The journalistic culture is an arena where different ideologies and practices can compete and live side by side. Journalistic culture has some common traits, but also big differences. It can be visible from the global level to national journalistic cul­tures, down to cultures in different media companies. In the comparative research project “Worlds of Journalism” (Hanitzsch, 2007) the notion “journalistic culture” has been deconstructed into three levels of analysis where culture is articulated:

• At the *cognitive level*, journalists shape the world, the interpretation of news, and news work in general.

• *Journalistic ideals* – beliefs and values about the role of journalists, the rela­tion to external power and owners (political and economic), the relation to the audience and the role of journalism in a new media environment, profes­sional ethics among journalists.

• *Journalistic practices* – the daily work and what a journalist is supposed to do (multiskilling, newsroom organization), autonomy and decision process­es (the grade of power in the work), norms and routines in the work (tacit knowledge), what the journalists think about changes in their workplace.

Hanitzsch (2007) presents three dimensions of journalistic culture, such as: institutional roles, epistemologies and ethical ideologies, which have been use­ful when creating research tools for our analysis. The purpose of the project “Journalism in Change” is to identify common parts of transnational journalis­tic culture, general changes in journalism in different media systems, as well as differences between the three countries. It is also possible to relate the results to national differences in history and culture, to analyze the relationship between globalization and national differences.12 Gunnar Nygren and Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska

**Literature – earlier studies**

Studies on journalism are very well developed in the Anglo-Saxon world, and in some Western European countries (Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland). In recent years studies in this respect have also been very popular in Scandinavian countries, and one can speak about “a golden decade” in Nordic communication research with the leading position of Sweden (Fernández-Quijada, 2014). Central and Eastern Europe is lagging behind in this respect.

**Research in Western countries**

Most research on how journalism changes in the era of new media development is conducted in the U.S. and Western Europe (Mitchelstein and Boczkowski, 2009; Quandt and Singer, 2009). The results are seldom related to differences in media systems and in journalistic cultures; it is often taken for granted that these results are valid in all kinds of media systems. There is a lack of empirical results in comparative research about changes in journalistic cultures. Most research on journalists is being conducted on a national level, as for example “The American Journalist. News People Around the World” (Weaver et al., 2007) and “The Swed­ish Journalists” (Asp, 2007). State-of-the-art includes many important chapters published in “The Routledge Companion to News and Journalism” (2010), where one can find an interesting consideration of professional identities (Donsbach, 2010) and journalism development (Waisbord, 2010). In this book, we note some arguments for a stronger homogeneity and convergence among journalists both nationally and internationally – due to commercialization and the increasing of editorial control (Donsbach, 2010).

During the last two years several books were published. The key concept of journalism, dilemmas and ambiguities of professional identity, logic of journal­ism, hybrid professional culture, post-professional journalism, were reconcep­tualized by Waisbord in 2013. One cannot forget about McQuail and his latest monograph “Journalism and Society” (2013), where technological changes in journalism are widely analyzed. It is worth mentioning “The Hybrid Media sys­tem” by Chadwick (2013), in which the author dedicates one chapter to changes in journalism due to technological conditions, and shows the boundaries be­tween “professional journalism” and “amateur” blogging.

One of the few exceptions of comparative journalism study is “The Global Journalist in the 21st Century” (Weaver and Willnat, 2012) covering the changes in journalism in 21 countries around the world. Research led by Weaver and Willnat includes the examples of Poland and Russia analyzed by Stępińska et al. Introduction 13

(2012) and Pasti et al. (2012) accordingly. Another significant project, “World of journalisms”, is led by Hanitzsch et al. (2010) and presents results from 18 countries (Russia included). Finally, “Media Accountability and Transparency in Europe (MediaAcT)” the European Union’s project in 2010–2013 was conduct­ed. “MediaAcT” helps us to understand accountability cultures in 14 different countries; it includes the example of Poland (Fengler et al., 2014).

**Research in Central and Eastern Europe**

Without a doubt journalism studies in Central and Eastern Europe have not de­veloped to a similar extent. Their results often cover the example of one country; due to the fact that the studies are often published only in national languages, the access to them is very difficult for scholars from other part of the world.

Similarly to this, there are also some regional comparative studies concerning Central Europe but they are rather narrow and the results are not widespread. The majority of studies are dedicated to political communication and media sys­tems but they lack research on journalistic culture. During the last decades only some scholars from Russia (Hanitzsch et al., 2010; Weaver and Willnat, 2012), Poland (Weaver and Willnat, 2012; Fengler et al., 2014), Bulgaria (Hanitzsch et al., 2010), Romania (Hanitzsch et al., 2010; Fengler et al., 2014), Hungary and Slovenia (Weaver and Willnat, 2012), Estonia (Fengler et al., 2014) participated in international comparative projects.

In recent years some new important publications have enriched studies dedi­cated to this region of Europe. One of them is “Comparing media systems beyond the Western world” edited by of Hallin and Mancini, where we find chapters on Poland (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2012), Lithuania (Balčytienė) and Russia (Vartanova, 2012).

“Media and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe” (MDCEE), was an in­terdisciplinary project funded by the European Research Council (2009–2013). Many interesting reports and articles are the fruit of this research (Štětka, 2013; Bajomi-Lázár; Örnebring, 2013), but also the monograph of Bajomi*-*Lázár “Party Colonisation of the Media in Central and Eastern Europe” (2014). He analyzes five former communist countries (Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, and Slo­venia) and tries to explain variations in media freedom and the politicization of the news media in and across countries.

A collective book “Media Transformations in the Post-Communist World: Eastern Europe’s Tortured Path to Change” (2013) edited by Gross and Jakubo­wicz, is another publication important for the “Journalism in Change” project, above all for the case of Poland. The authors present not only the positive effects 14 Gunnar Nygren and Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska

of transformation after the collapse of communism, but also the problems and uncertainty of this process.

Finally, we should mention “Journalism that Matters. Views from Central and Eastern Europe” where we find one general study “How the Internet changes journalism: some trends in the ‘West’ and ‘East’” of Bajomi-Lázár (2014), two chapters dedicated to Poland (Stępińska and Głowacki 2014; Milewski, Barc­zyszyn, and Lauk, 2014) and one to Russia (Pasti, 2014). All of them are very useful and enriched our research.

**A transnational research project: “Journalism in Change: Professional journalistic culture in Poland, Russia, and Sweden”**

The purpose of the project “Journalism in Change” is to identify common parts of a transnational journalistic culture and common changes in journalism in general in different media systems, as well as the differences among the three selected countries. It is also possible to relate the results to national differences in history and culture, to analyze the relationship between globalization and na­tional differences.

The research design can be described as a “most-different” selection of cases. The project includes three countries representing different media systems, of dif­ferent historical and political backgrounds and different sizes – Sweden, Rus­sia and Poland, situated on the Baltic Sea. All of them have had relationships in the past. They were intense between Poland and Sweden in the times of the 16th and 18th centuries, and between Sweden and Russia from the 12th to 19th century, and Poland and Russia have had a very deep relationship from medieval times until today. The communist period (1945–1989) was significant for Polish and Russian journalism and professional cultures. Despite a common geographical location and history, the three states are different in many aspects: journalistic culture being influenced by different external factors, such as a democratic tradi­tion (or lack of this experience), religion, education systems, economic develop­ment, and access to new technologies of communication. In fact, “Journalism in Change” is the first comparative project covering journalistic culture in these three countries.

We were aware of these differences from the beginning, but we also wanted to look at whether there are any similarities. With the study design it has become possible to analyze what changes in journalism in different types of society have in common, and what kind of differences come from the characteristics of each society.Introduction 15

**Who takes part in the project and why?**

Journalism has experienced deep changes in recent decades. For this reason, it seemed interesting to verify this general opinion in the case of only a few countries using empirical research. The points of departure for this book are based on two variables – technical and economic; it was our goal to observe how these two types of changes are influencing different media systems. The research project “Journalism in Change – professional journalistic cultures in Poland, Russia and Sweden” was conducted in the period 2011–2014. The project assumes a multidisciplinary approach, with researchers in journalism, media so­ciology, and political science. Researchers from Södertörn University (Sweden), Moscow State University (Russia) and University of Wrocław (Poland) worked together in the project to produce this final monograph. Two additional reports were published at the earlier stages of the project (Nygren et al., 2012; Anikina et al., 2013). Dissemination activities also include a number of articles published in scientific journals (Anikina, Dobek-Ostrowska and Nygren, 2013; Dobek- Ostrowska, Barczyszyn and Michel, 2013; Dobek-Ostrowska, Barczyszyn, Michel and Baranowski, 2013; Johansson, 2013, 2014; Johansson and Nygren, 2014; Nygren, 2012c).

**Hypotheses**

We formulated the two groups of hypotheses (see more 2.2.1.), which are impor­tant from the comparative perspective. The first group is linked with similarities/differences among journalistic cultures in three countries:

H1: *There is an increasing similarity in journalistic cultures in different media systems; market influence and liberal ideals are more common in pushing journalism in the direction of a commercialized Western model.*

H2: *The similarities between journalistic cultures are mostly superficial, nationally rooted traditions of history and culture still deeply influence journalistic cultures and preserve differences between them.*

The liberal ideals in journalism are getting stronger with market liberalism; a global media culture is emerging (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). This hypothesis can be defined as a homogenization of journalism in different media systems under the influence of technological and economic development, and the coun­terhypothesis can be the opposite that the similarities are mostly superficial:

H3: *Media development makes the profession weaker as a collective, the borders of jour­nalism are more diffuse and professional autonomy weaker. Journalism, both as* 16 Gunnar Nygren and Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska

*media content and as a profession, will be more difficult to perceive, because it will be different from that which we knew during the 20*th *century.*

H4: *Media development can strengthen the position of the individual journalist, giving him/her new possibilities both in research and in publishing. This can give journa­lists a new kind of autonomy.*

Other research shows that social institutions like journalism are hesitant to aban­don their conventions even in the “age of the net” when communication patterns in society are changed (O’Sullivan and Heionen, 2008). A professional culture is sluggish, and moves only slowly in spite of changes in the surroundings – technical, economic and political. Journalists are often seen as conservative, and research shows that fast changes also promote a reaction of defense of old values (Witschge and Nygren, 2009). This can also be defined as hybridization, when hybrid systems emerge, melting together elements from the global development and national history and traditions (Hallin and Mancini, 2012).

**Research questions**

The hypotheses presented below provoke a long list of research questions, which are presented by the authors in each chapter. The research questions are linked with an area of analysis, but in general, three fundamental questions were ad­dressed:

RQ1: What are the differences and similarities among journalists in Poland, Russia and Sweden when it comes to the basic dimensions (age, sex, education and profes­sional training, membership of professional associations), working conditions, professional autonomy of the individual, organizational and societal level, ideals, standards and values of research’s participants, their relationship with politics and politicians, their attitudes towards commercialization, the new technologies used in journalistic practice?

RQ2: What are the most important factors explaining the differences observed be­tween media systems?

RQ3: How are the factors mentioned in RQ1 influenced by media development in the three countries?

**Methods**

The researchers from the three countries participated in the research workshops and in accomplishing the research. Three methods were used:

*Survey/quantitative data analysis*: A total 1500 respondents – a sample of 500 journalists from each country – Poland, Russia and Sweden, participated in the survey (see more 2.2.3.).Introduction 17

*Interview/qualitative data analysis:* 60 in-depth interviews were conducted with a broad selection of 20 journalists in each country (see more 2.2.4).

The survey and the interviews have covered several areas: 1) Who are the journalists? – age, gender and social position, income, and education. 2) The daily work – employment and conditions, perceived autonomy and influence. 3) Professional identity and relation to politics, commercialism and media owners. 4) Attitudes towards technology, interactivity and change in work. Social media use and multiskilling. 5) Professional roles in society, quality and press freedom.

*Quantitative and qualitative comparative analysis:* Surveys and interviews which were conducted in the three countries allowed us to use the received results for analyzing data sets by listing and counting all the combinations of variables observed in the data set. We compared the unique combination of values of its independent and dependent variables. We compared the data as numbers, percentages, standard deviation, means, factor analysis, and Pearson correlation.

The project has not studied journalism performance and media content. It has focused on the journalists, on how they think about their role in society and in media companies, about their daily work and their reflections on change. For example, journalists gave opinions on the quality of journalism, answering the question of whether it could be said to decrease, or not. There are no empiri­cal data to support these opinions, no content analyses. The results are only the opinions of the journalists.

But in a comparative perspective, this still can bring new knowledge. It is pos­sible to compare different generations, journalists in different kinds of media and in different media systems. What the journalists say has relevance, as long as we believe there is a connection between what you think and how you act.

**Monograph “Journalism in Change”**

This book is designed as a series of comparative chapters in different areas. Each author is responsible for the chapter, but the results have been discussed in the group and were carefully evaluated.

In Chapter One Gunnar Nygren gives a theoretical background to compara­tive journalism studies. The study covers theories on professions, autonomy, as well as research on how current media developments influence journalism.

In Chapter Two, background information on media systems in three selected countries is provided by Gunnar Nygren, Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska, and Elena Johansson. The manuscript also contains a description of methods in the survey and the interviews and how the results have been analyzed.

In Chapter Three Michał Głowacki makes attempts to answer the question “Who is a journalist today?” He puts the emphasis on selected dimensions of comparative studies of journalism: demographic traits and facts on education, conditions of employment and the role professional associations.

In Chapter Four Jöran Hök analyzes daily work practices, working conditions, multiskilling and other dimensions of daily work.

In Chapter Five Gunnar Nygren focuses on the perceived autonomy among journalists and the degree of freedom within given frames in the three countries, as well as on political and commercial pressure on journalists in their daily work.

In Chapter Six Maria Anikina analyzes ideals and values, professional ethics and attitudes towards society. Also verification and other key values are analyzed in relation to media developments.

In Chapter Seven Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska analyzes the relationship be­tween journalism and politics, both the political preferences of journalists and how politics interferes in news processes.

In Chapter Eight Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska analyzes the relationship be­tween journalism and commercialization. This includes foreign ownership and also external economic pressure.

In Chapter Nine Elena Johansson analyzes how journalists relate to social me­dia, how they use social media and for what purposes.

In Chapter Ten Gunnar Nygren and Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska summa­rize the analysis, and relate the results to other comparative research in journal­ism. They discuss the questions of homogenization of journalism globally, or if development is more likely to be described as hybridization of journalism with new forms of media systems emerging.

The project has been led by Gunnar Nygren and financed by the Foundation for Baltic and East European Studies, linked with the academic infrastructure at Södertörns University in Sweden. The team of six scholars, supported by doctoral students and students from each of the studied countries, worked hard in order to achieve the outcomes and were intellectually fascinated by the job. The project helps us to know the situation of journalists and journalism, and to understand better how the countries developed journalistic cultures. The important question is how journalistic culture evolves today in a condition of intensive technological changes and what the perspectives are for the future.