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(Full list of references, in addition to the footnotes, is at the end of the text).

CHAPTER ONE

Frames and Contradictions of the Journalistic Profession

Svennik Høyer and Epp Lauk

Introduction

In his play ‘An Ideal Husband’ Oscar Wilde wrote: ‘In the old days men had the rack. Now they have the Press’. His words reflect the noticeable power the press had acquired in society already by the end of the 19th century. Journalism began to obtain characteristics of a profession, developing from craft towards an occupation demanding certain specific qualities.

The central effort of this chapter is to shed light on some focal points of the development of journalism as a profession throughout history and across nations.

We shall explore three fields that all relate to the process of professionalization. First, we will look at, how journalism became a full time occupation with some social prestige and with a professional ethics in the 19th and 20th century.¹ Then, we will examine how a new text emerged that was distinctly journalistic and finally, we will highlight some essential aspects of how education and university studies in journalism started to grow. In the

¹ This part of the text is partially based on the article: Høyer and Lauk (2003) ‘The Paradoxes of the Journalistic Profession. An Historical Perspective’.

end we will discuss some paradigmatic changes related to professionalism emerging in the 21st century journalism.

The diversified nature of journalism produces many sorts of chronologies when studied cross-nationally. Media technology has its own chronology. Media markets are of widely different sizes and demographics. The number of journalists will also differ widely, compared across markets and over time. Accordingly, the composition of a national press is often unique in many respects, but may not be so in all aspects. Certain factors that are influential in some countries may be marginal or absent in others. The speed of developments in the media systems is uneven. Thus the many chronologies criss-cross – they sometimes overlap and sometimes are delayed relative to each other. This makes a narrative that is not history in the usual sense, but gives us a lot of examples, which illustrate the many conditions under which journalism profession developed. Being aware of this, the reader may find it easier to understand the logic of our text.

From Craft to Occupation

No common agreement exists between scholars whether journalism is a profession, an occupation or simply a craft². ‘Hands-on-learning’ – usually typical to a craft, is quite frequent in journalism. This differs from doctors or IT specialist, architects and other specialized occupations that are categorized as professions. In liberal media systems, journalism is a ‘free’ occupation, which does not require the proof of expertise through passing an exam for a license. On the other hand, journalism resembles professions in many parts; as they all share a certain professional ideology that includes Codes of Ethics, a certain work autonomy and standards of professional excellence. Journalism schools provide specialized training based on research; and journalists have professional and trade associations.

As Kevin Barnhurst argues, ‘sociologists have considered ‘professions’ either a bundle of traits that characterize certain occupations or a way of organizing occupations that tends to enhance their power’.³ The central quality of a profession is the relationship of professional workers to knowledge ‘that colors their relations with the state, institutions, other groups, and individuals in society. In social communication, news-work is a central case in the history of professionalism’.⁴

Barnhurst’s statement echoes the tradition in sociology of professions seeing occupations developing towards professionalism in similar stages, i.e. evolving through a ‘natural history’,⁵ along which particular characteristics or traits typical to a profession are

² The ambiguity of the idea of professionalism in journalism is aptly discussed by Silvio Waisbord *Reinventing Professionalism* (2013).

³ Barnhurst (2013) ‘The Rise of the Professional Communicator’, p. 465.

⁴ Barnhurst (2013), p. 465.

⁵ Millerson (1964) *The Qualifying Associations: A Study in Professionalization*; Wilensky (1964) ‘The Professionalization of Everyone?’; Elliot (1972) *The Sociology of the Professions*.

emerging.⁶ Working from this premise, Leonore O’Boyle assumes that these ‘natural histories’ are likely to repeat themselves within different countries as they modernize.⁷ Geoffrey Millerson’s definition captures the core of ‘professional work’ as: ‘a service provided with a variety of specialized skills on the bases of theoretical or scientific knowledge, given by the individual professional according to a given practice controlled by the professional organization’.⁸

Professionalization, however, cannot be depicted only as a linear or unbroken progress of events repeating itself from one country to another because the very idea of a separate journalistic profession is likely to be challenged differently from one political system to another. Journalism research has challenged almost all elements of the definition of a ‘classical profession’.⁹ Journalists can hardly practice their occupation as ‘individual professionals’ (even when working as freelancers), but they are always related to institutional settings – to news organizations.¹⁰ The norms and standards of journalistic work differ largely across countries and also among news organizations. For example, Plaisance et al. confirm that ideological, cultural and societal factors are critical, and influence how ‘journalists around the globe approach ethical dilemmas’.¹¹ Furthermore, while the codes of ethics are mostly addressed to journalists as individuals, social and political institutions

⁶ See for example Johnson ([1972] 1979) *Professions and Power*.

⁷ O’Boyle (1968) ‘The Image of the Journalist in France, Germany and England 1815–1848; see also Siegrist (1990) ‘Professionalization as a Process: Patterns, Progression and Discontinuity’; Kepplinger and Köcher (1990) ‘Professionalism in the Media World?’

⁸ Millerson (1964), p. 10.

⁹ For example, Johnstone (1976) ‘Organizational Constraints on Newswork’; Beam (1990) ‘Journalism Professionalism as an Organizational Level Concept’; Shoemaker, Eichholz, Kim and Wrigley (2001) ‘Individual and Routine Forces in Gatekeeping’.

¹⁰ Shoemaker and Reese ([1991] 1996) *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content*; Merrill (1989) *The dialectic in journalism: Toward a responsible use of press freedom*.

¹¹ Plaisance, Skewes and Hanitzsch (2012) ‘Ethical Orientations of Journalists around the Globe: Implications from a Cross-National Survey’, p. 651.

articulate responsibilities for the media organisations. When complaints are taken to court or to a self-regulation body (e.g. Press Council), personal responsibilities easily become collective or institutional, the publisher and the editor having the ultimate responsibility for the content.

Journalists' relationship with their audience is definitely not a *client – service provider* relationship. The tasks of journalists consist of understanding society and knowing where important information and relevant opinions are found, and then of knowing how to make this information public and easily understandable. This is the core of professionalism in journalism, which no other profession can perform better. The late professor James W. Carey writes that the true obligation of journalism is to 'provide a common focus of discussion and conversation'¹² and bring it to a public space where everyone can share it.

Formation of a collective identity of journalism

Until the last decades of the 19th century newspapers usually employed few if any journalists in middle sized cities, and only some few editors full time. For contributions the printers depended on correspondents and a milieu of freelancing writers, which most often belonged to the intellectual upper class: professional people, writers, civil servants, teachers, professors, politicians and the most renowned – the authors. For example, of the authors mentioned in the histories of Norwegian literature for the period 1814-49, 94 per cent were active contributors to the press, and served as editors or sometimes even as publishers. This number fell to 69 per cent for the period of 1870-88.¹³ During the first five decades of the 19th century, half of the 114 Finnish editors were university teachers or schoolmasters.¹⁴ Among 38 fully employed journalists in Germany between 1800-1848, 27

¹² Carey (2007) 'A Short History of Journalism for Journalists: A Proposal and Essay', p. 11.

¹³ Høyer and Ihlen (1995) 'Forfattere i pressen'.

¹⁴ Tommila (1988) *Yhdestä lehdestä sanomalehdistöksi 1809-1859*.

had worked as lawyers, officers, teachers, diplomats etc. before becoming journalists. All had academic degrees and among the 25 part-time employees, 5 were professors, 4 rectors, 3 clergymen, 3 lawyers etc.¹⁵ In smaller cities you could find a group of trusted citizens who had a deal with the printer/publisher/editor to contribute newspapers and journals regularly.

Slowly freelancers got more regular positions, especially in the larger cities. By 1850 the *New York Tribune* employed 12 editors and reporters and bought material from 17 outside reporters. In 1854 the editorial staff had grown to 10 associate editors, 4 fulltime reporters, and 38 correspondents. Within the next twenty years, the newspaper craft remarkably diversified, and by 1870, the editorial department included a night editor, a city editor who directed local reporters, a financial editor, a literary editor and a drama and opera critic.¹⁶

In Europe at this time, London was the most advanced city in newspaper publishing with *The Times* as the leading daily. The number of regular contributors of the major newspapers exceeded 100 in the 1850s. The most numerous contributors were court reporters and foreign and provincial correspondents. The contributors worked from outside the editorial offices, borrowing a desk from where they reported – in the Parliament, with the courts, the stock exchange, the police station or the fire department. Literary editors worked where it was most convenient, at home, in public libraries, at school or in the university. The editorial office was reserved for the senior editorial management, working with leading articles, with political and contemporary comments and with organizing the content. Few of

¹⁵ Koszyk (1966) *Deutsche Presse im 19. Jahrhundert. Geschichte der deutschen Presse*. Teil II.

¹⁶ Lee (1937) *The Daily Newspaper in America. The Evolution of a Social Instrument*.

the contributors worked for only one newspaper and almost none had journalism as their only income.¹⁷

The London scenes in the 1850s may be compared to Oslo, the small Norwegian capital, and to *Morgenbladet* as the leading Norwegian daily at the time. The owner and manager's office was on the first floor. The editorial office was a small room adjoining the print office at ground floor where one out of two tables was reserved for the editor for a few hours until 4 p.m., to meet contributors. In the morning he was available at the public library, and in late afternoon he was visiting leading Civil Servants and politicians to collect their manuscripts, which were ordered in advance.¹⁸

Industrialization of the press

At the turn of the 19th century, in the US and in many European countries, the press became a regular newspaper industry addressed to a mass market with the help of a new and fabulously efficient technology. The rotary press, made practicably useful in 1846 was improved by *The Times* in London, which could print 11 000 copies per hour in 1848. The invention of newsprint made of pulp and produced in large rolls to be used in rotary presses, further increased the speed and volume of newspaper production.

Falling copy prices opened the market for many new competitors and started a boom in circulation.¹⁹ After a while the threshold of entry into the market was gradually raised by the amount of investments needed in new technology and to meet the payroll of an increased number of journalists. Investments in the metropolitan press intensified to a level where only wealthy businessmen could own newspapers. The start-up investments for

¹⁷ Örnebring (2013) 'Journalism as Institution and Work in Europe, Circa 1860: A Comparative History of Journalism'.

¹⁸ Høyer (1995) *Pressen mellom teknologi og samfunn. Norske og internasjonale perspektiver på pressens utvikling fra Gutenberg til vår tid.*

¹⁹ Kaplan (2014) 'Press, Paper and the Public Sphere'.

newspapers in London increased from approximately £20 000 in 1855 to £1 50 000 in the 1870s, to £300 000 in 1906-08 and to £750 000 in the 1920s.²⁰ William S. Solomon concludes similarly for New York: in the space of some fifty-five years – from 1841 to 1894 – start-up costs had risen from a few thousands dollars to one million.²¹ In 1871 Horace Greeley claimed that the production of an issue of his *Tribune* needed between four and five hundred workers at the cost of approximately \$20 000.²²

Low priced newspapers – the so-called penny papers or yellow press – pioneered the more volatile mass market, and eventually developed the sensational and visually oriented tabloid journalism. As low copy prices made it possible to reach new layers of society, a new kind of journalism became both possible and necessary. Tabloids or boulevard newspapers popped up everywhere, for example in New York, London, Paris, Berlin and Copenhagen. In Paris the *Petit Journal* reached a circulation of one million in 1887.

The first business entrepreneur in the Scandinavian press was J. C. Ferslew in Copenhagen who operated in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s and started altogether four papers, both up-market and down-market at the same time. He demonstrated a clear market strategy unaffected by political ideology. Ferslew had probably the greatest publishing empire in Scandinavia in the 1860s and 1870s. The first of popular papers in Denmark started in 1860 as *Folkets Dagblad* (The Peoples Daily), which soon reached a wide circulation of 18 000 in 1863. In 1864 Ferslew started a competitor *Dags-Telegraf* (The Daily Telegraph), which became the market leader around 1872-73. Nine years after his first newspaper Ferslew started *Aftenposten* (Evening Post) in the same market segment. Ferslew's strategy for the downmarket was to avoid opinionated articles in an abstract

²⁰ Curran and Seaton (1985) *Power without Responsibility. The Press and Broadcasting in Britain*.

²¹ Solomon (1995) 'The Site of Newsroom Labor'.

²² Parton (1869) *The Life of Horace Greeley*.

style. Instead, Ferslew's editors stressed an apolitical stand, concentrating on news or on interesting trivialities of life in the 'Parisian' style of boulevard papers. This was partly meant to meet the upcoming socialist newspapers and their highly ideological agitation. Finally in 1876 Ferslew started *Nationaltidende* (The National Daily) with an aim not so much to gain a profit or to pronounce a social or political program as to gain prestige in the upmarket.²³

Other traits of the period were increased advertising, compensating for many investments, but adding to the fierce competition between papers. The first advertising agencies in the US came in the 1840s. By 1897, the total input of advertising was approximately 350 million advertisements distributed over 16 000 newspapers.²⁴

The relationship between increasing advertising and decreasing partisanship has for long been the topic of an intense academic dispute in the historiography of the American press, since Frank Luther Mott published his *American Journalism. A History: 1690-1940* in 1941,²⁵ where he claimed that advertising and commercialism decreased partisanship in the press and made it independent. Gerald Baldasty concludes, like Mott, that the amount of partisan news decreased as a result of commercialization in this period.²⁶ The causal link between changing technology and changes in journalism, however, is strongly challenged by Michael Schudson,²⁷ who demonstrates the opposite of Baldasty, namely that in amount of column space, political reporting increased in the period.

²³ Thomsen (1972) *Dagbladkonkurrencen 1870–1970*.

²⁴ Beninger (1986) *The Control Revolution. Technological and Economic Origins of the Information Society*.

²⁵ Mott (1941) *American Journalism. A history of newspapers in the United States through 250 years, 1690-1940*.

²⁶ Baldasty (1992) *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century*.

²⁷ Schudson (1997) 'Toward a Troubleshooting Manual for Journalism History'.

News workers begin to organize

More regular work became available for newspapermen, news-workers, news-hunters, journalists, or in Germany ‘*Zeitungsschreiber*’, in Italy ‘*novelante*’ – or whatever was the favourite term for an aspiring profession. This was a new breed of writers for the 20th century, identifying themselves with their occupation and being increasingly fully employed. Gradually, a sense of a ‘common guild’ emerged, which sought for legitimacy among other occupations and the readers. The questions arose: Who is in and who is out? What are the particularities of this occupation? Who can be regarded a newspaperman/journalist?

The need for legitimacy and higher status, as well as for defending the values of the occupation gave impetus to establishing associations of newspapermen. In 1917, the chairman of the Norwegian Conservative Press Association and editor Torstein Diesen characterized the situation of journalists during the previous two decades in rather dark terms:

A whole lot of us have collapsed at an all too young age. Journalistic work has been nerve-racking, a strain on the willpower, and all out exhausting, yet we have not attained the recognition we deserve, which is necessary for social progress. Daily we – the gentlemen of the press - must fight remnants of a prejudice that journalists and editors are a collection of hungry individuals, failed survivors, useless for normal work.²⁸

The perception of the low social status of journalists and the need for an organization to raise their status permeates statements by European journalists at the turn of the century, but was absent in US discussions.

²⁸ Diesen (1917) ‘*Præssens mænd, deres arbeide, krav og ret*’, pp. 94–95.

News workers started to organize like many trades in the late 19th century: first as social clubs, then as interest organizations and finally as combined organizations representing both economic demands and professional values. Associations for journalists appeared both on the local and national level: in Germany in the 1860s-1870s, in Scandinavia in 1880s-1890s, and in the Baltic countries in the 1900s-1920s.

Great Britain has the longest unbroken tradition of journalism as a regular occupation, and saw the formation of its pioneering Newspaper Society as early as in 1836. A National Association of Journalists with professional aims came in 1884 and founded the Institute of Journalists in 1890. A trade union – the National Union of Journalists – emerged only in 1907.

Associations in the United States did not cover both editors and journalists or to some extent also publishers, like the early European associations. The American Newspaper Publisher Association came into being in 1887. The US news workers began to organize only in the 1890's, since publishers strongly opposed journalists' trade unions,²⁹ and finally founded The Newspaper Guild in 1933, which eventually became an effective organization for wage negotiations.

The first goals of the journalists' organizations were to define journalism as an occupation, to discuss among journalists themselves the problems with the authorities, to invite delegates from journalists' organizations in other countries to their conferences, and to represent the national associations internationally. As Ulf Jonas Björk found in his review of the Press Congress of the World of the 1920s,³⁰ the delegates had a rather ambitious view of what might become the professional status of journalists, stressing education, the importance of professional associations and a code of professional ethics.

²⁹ Kaul (1986) 'The Proletarian Journalist: A Critique of Professionalism'.

³⁰ Björk (1994) 'The Press Congress of the World and International Standards for Journalists 1921–26'.

In national contexts journalists obviously developed a kind of ‘double bind’, being loyal to their newspaper and its ideology and then, secondly, to the ideals of their own craft. In Scandinavia, with a party press, press organizations were often early founded on a political basis, as press organizations for the conservative, the liberal and the labour press. These organizations were for long a barrier to the formation of national and non-political professional organization. By forming trade unions, journalists were labelled as a kind of defectors from the ideological platform of their publication, which raised prompt animosity from publishers and editors. Editors reserved for themselves the role as public spokesmen who defined the ideals of journalism.³¹

Only in the 1920s did codes of ethics begin to appear to which both journalists and editors could appeal to in conflicts. Dicken-Garcia finds in her comprehensive review of the public debate of journalistic standards in the 19th century America, that in her material the word *ethics* appears for the first time in 1889.³² Internationally: a French code of ethics for journalist’s dates back to 1918, a Swedish to 1923, and a Norwegian to 1936. A survey of 28 European countries, however, revealed ethics codes were in most cases adopted only from the early 1950s and later.³³

Thus, by the beginning of the 20th century, when the press was being industrialized in many countries, journalism had acquired several features approximating journalists to well-to-do professions like teachers, lawyers etc. Journalism had become a regular occupation with certain common identity and ethics that united journalists, and aspired to establish their own organizations to bolster the legitimacy of the occupation and raise the social status of its practitioners. Simultaneously, the increasing commercial

³¹ Høyer (2007) ‘The Double Bind of Politics and Profession. Early Organizing Efforts of Norwegian Journalists 1883–1940’.

³² Dicken-Garcia (1989) *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*.

³³ Laitila (1995) ‘The Journalistic Codes of Ethics in Europe’.

pressures of the fluctuating press markets and competition for the readers and advertisers accelerated diversification and specialization of the editorial and news work.

Journalism obtained new dimensions and qualities along with the appearance of broadcasting in the 20th century, when the press ceased to be the only means of mass communication. The advent of television after World War II marked the emergence of ‘the audience’, and mass communication became ‘the media’. Within this framework, notions such as ‘professionalism’, ‘objectivity’ and ‘trustworthiness’, ‘accountability’ and ‘journalism ethics’ as well as education became important elements when discussing journalism as a profession. In addition, the relationship between journalists and public altered remarkably in comparison with the previous century.

Ambivalence of the status of journalists

Within approximately a century, from the first decades of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century the working environments and societal contexts for the journalistic profession evolved at high speed. Journalists needed to consolidate their status as professionals, simultaneously adapting to the emerging new ways of work practices and changing division of functions in the newsrooms.

The increasing specialization of work tasks formalized the news organizations and clearer occupational hierarchies started to take shape. The specialization among journalists according to the fields they covered (politics, economy, sports, etc.) enlarged in the first decades of the 20th century, the sub-editors appeared, then columnists, proof-readers, cartoonists, and photographers. Along with the technological developments, the speed of the news work increased. Reporters were hired to hunt news and sensation, always in the haste to meet deadlines. Their education or qualifications were mostly irrelevant. The working conditions of reporters were not much different from the end of the past century, when, according to Curtis Smythe, journalists worked more and were paid less than plumbers, and

not much more than compositors; and they were paid for volume of work in terms of column inches and lines printed, not for quality; they were hired and fired at the will of publishers.³⁴ Even editors were easily sacked when publishers became dissatisfied with how editors interpreted their intentions. Oral agreements mostly served for job contracts.

The reporters stood at the lowest rung in the editorial hierarchy. When in 1924, an Estonian newspaper published the list of their editorial staff, a man named 'reporter' became so insulted that he went into a pub and got as drunk as a skunk.³⁵ Arthur J. Kaul called American journalists in this period 'proletarian professionals'. Professionalism concealed latent class conflicts in the press, he claims.³⁶

A contrast existed between the objective description of journalism and the subjective image, which journalists held of their work. Journalists endured long hours in news-factories combined with low wages and a lack of job security, and were exploited by publishers bent on earning money. Some editors – like Pulitzer, Hearst, Northcliffe, Beaverbrook and others – were incredibly rich. This system, of course, caused disdain among the poorly paid journalists, both towards the editors and owners, and towards the practical value of their higher education.³⁷

³⁴ Smythe (1992) 'Working Conditions and Their Influence on the News'.

³⁵ Lauk (2000) *Peatükke Eesti ajakirjanduse ajaloost 1900-1940*, p. 37.

³⁶ Kaul (1986).

³⁷ Lee (1976) *The Origins of the Popular Press in England 1855-1914*, pp. 104–110.

Journalists, however, rarely thought that low wages made them into ‘workers’. The charm and appeal of power and social respect, of being close to where important decisions were made, gave many journalists an upward boost in social prestige and self-esteem. Being the last person before publication responsible for the content, journalists were also closer to public responses than other groups in the newspaper industry.

The demands to establish qualification criteria for journalists, controlled by the professional organizations, became frequent in the press circles during the inter-war period. Journalists identified themselves with white-collar occupations and not with trade union ‘proletarians’. Hence, the emphasis on public service function and the ideals of impartiality and objectivity served well as distinctive elements of the developing professional ideology, especially as they were part of a general cultural ‘zeitgeist’ in the early 20th century.³⁸

Objectivity, as the corner stone of the Anglo-American model of free and democratic journalism, was interpreted as a precondition for truthful and accurate reporting, free from bias and personal perspective. On the other hand, the professionalization of journalism with its public service ethos, has been seen as an ‘adaptation manoeuvre’ to insulate newspaper owners/publishers against profit-threatening commercial crises, class conflicts, and public disenchantment with the press.³⁹ It was in publishers’ interests to bind journalism to socially and politically established ‘objective’ facts and opinions – most often represented by the elite.⁴⁰ By infusing journalists with an ideal of apolitical professionalism, political deviant opinions could be controlled. Professional objectivity defused any radical potentialities that news comments could harbour. This applies across ideologies, which undermines the objectivity ideal.

³⁸ Schudson (1978) *Discovering the News. A Social History of American Newspapers*.

³⁹ Kaul (1986), p. 57.

⁴⁰ See for example, Cronin (1993) ‘Trade Press Roles in Promoting Journalistic Professionalism 1884–1917’; Hardt (1996) ‘The End of Journalism. Media and Newswork in the United States’.

Possibly, this is also one of the reasons, why throughout the second half of the 20th century, journalists and researchers frequently discussed and even questioned the objectivity criterion.⁴¹

A modified interpretation of objectivity, which emphasizes factuality and balance as the main elements of ‘objective’ reporting, seems to have replaced the focus on the neutrality of representation. Objectivity is seen more as an element of the process of choice than a format of representation.⁴² Today opinions have moved from a focus on the text to a focus of the attitudes of journalists. In 1996 *The Society of Professional Journalists* in the US dropped the notion of journalistic ‘objectivity’ as the key criterion for professionalism and emphasized accuracy, honesty and fairness of reporting instead⁴³. In the revision of its Code of Ethics in 1994 *The Norwegian Press Association*, which includes both editors and journalists, emphasized ‘credibility’ of the text and the ‘integrity’ of journalists; in the 2001 revisions, ‘accountability’ and ‘self –consciousness’ by reporters were highlighted.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Nordenstreng (1974) *Informational Mass Communication*.

⁴² Westerståhl (1983) ‘Objective News Reporting’.

⁴³ <http://www.spj.org/ethicscode.asp>

⁴⁴ Helstad, Sandve, Rasmussen and Ytterdal (2012) ‘Pressenormers bidrag til journalistikkens selvstendigjøring’, pp. 142–147.

Cornerstones of Professionalization: Texts, Skills and Knowledge

The appearance of a specific journalistic text around the turn of the 19th century was also a sign of emerging professionalism. Barnhurst and Nerone assert that it was the regular use of newswires, which was the main incentive to develop the news-story as a distinct genre in American newspapers.⁴⁵

The gradual development of special education in journalism contributed to the formation of the body of specific knowledge, professional ideology and standards, as well as distinguishing the boundaries of the profession.

News journalism as a distinct text genre

The advent of newswire in the 1850s contributed to the development of the 'inverted pyramid' form of news stories. The most important and new information was put into the title and the 'lead', which capsuled the kernel of the story. This gave journalists some leeway as to which aspects of an event should be stressed as the most important, thus indirectly contributing to the social definition of the event. The appearance of a specific journalistic text around the turn of the 19th century was also a sign of emerging professionalism.

When fact based reporting and 'objectivity' became central principles of journalistic discourse, the character of relationship between journalists and their texts started to change. News interview – an innovation in American journalism of the 1870s-1880s – reserved opinions for experts, while the evaluations of journalists should be kept silent. The questioning technique put the sources of information on the defensive, but also required a bargaining strength on the part of journalists, which they took from the prestige

⁴⁵ Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) *The Form of News. A History*.

of a growing newspaper industry. Mastering these routines, journalists could more easily decide what was important and relevant for their readers, and then seeking their desired information where it was accessible. Newspapers were not dependent on the evaluation of an elite any more, who traditionally had given their information and opinions by calling the attention of an editor or writing articles themselves, when it suited their own interests.

Along with the ascending news press, manned by reporters rather than by opinionated writers, the age of the front-page editorial was over. In the 1890s, the editorial was moved inside the newspaper to a special editorial page. Gradually, the front page also became the space for the most important and expensive advertisements, which reflects the growing competition in the press market.

But the ‘new journalism’, as it was termed at the time, was slow in coming. Harold Stensaas recorded the growth of several indicators of textual forms in six American newspapers during five 10-year periods spaced evenly over a 90-year period from the post Civil War period up to the post–World War II period.⁴⁶ He found that the use of ‘objectivity’, the ‘inverted pyramid’, and authoritative information sources was rare in the 1865–1885 period, but increased and became nearly universal after 1925. Since 1905, the standard news story was an objective report written in the inverted pyramid format citing authoritative sources. This news format – rooted deeply in the Anglo-American liberal model of journalism – travelled to other parts of the world at the beginning of the 20th century.

Danish editor Henrik Cavling was the first in Scandinavia to introduce ‘American style’ journalism in the early 1900s. He had visited the US several times in the 1880s and 1890s and was much impressed by American journalism. After becoming the editor of a major Copenhagen daily *Politiken* in 1905, he changed the newspaper instantly by giving priority to topical news on the front page and hiding editorials and comments inside on

⁴⁶ Stensaas (1986-87) ‘Development of the Objectivity Ethic in US Daily Newspapers’.

special pages. Influenced by Cavling's example the deputy editor Oscar Hemberg of *Dagens Nyheter* in Stockholm reshaped his paper after an American model.⁴⁷ In the Baltic countries, narrative story telling continued along with 'telegram' news (as translations of telegraph news from Russian via the Russian Telegraph Agency) until the end of World War I. In Estonia, the genre conventions of news story modernized as late as the 1920s, when the Estonian press slightly developed towards an Anglo-American news paradigm.⁴⁸ There was also a connecting link between Scandinavian, American and Estonian journalisms: a well-travelled Estonian journalist Harald Wellner, who also worked as news correspondent for Scandinavian newspapers, was a proponent of 'American style' journalism in Estonia. He also published a handbook for journalists (*Reporter*) in 1932,⁴⁹ which introduced the basic techniques of news gathering and reporting, following the American example.

Even more than genre or representation standards, the advancement of communication technology changed the relationship between the journalistic text and its creator, and also diversified journalistic work and altered its environment. Radio multiplied the possibilities of using the word, and various new genres developed, which led to the emergence of a new kind of journalism – radio journalism. Journalists became known not only via their texts, but also very much by their voice. The distance between the journalists and their texts increased in news broadcasts, where newsreaders and not journalists themselves presented the texts.⁵⁰ On the other hand, radio enabled more immediate contact with public, who were not only readers anymore, but also the audience. The interview

⁴⁷ Marzolf (1982) 'Pioneers of "New Journalism" in early 20th Century Scandinavia'.

⁴⁸ Harro (2001) 'Changing Journalistic Conventions in the Press. Empirical Studies on Daily Newspapers under different political conditions in the 20th century Estonia', p. 105.

⁴⁹ Wellner (1932) *Reporter. Ajalehe-kaastöö tehnika*.

⁵⁰ For the case of Norway, see Vagle (2011) 'Time and Space in Early Norwegian Radio: Technology, Textuality and Discursive Roles and Relations'.

received new dimensions on radio, and later on television, becoming the main tool for both newsgathering and news presenting. Simultaneously, journalistic work developed into teamwork – not only on radio and television, but also in the newspaper editorial offices, where journalists maintained only partial control over their texts. The ‘computerization’ of the editorial process during the 1980-1990s changed journalism from a creative work into an industrial production with a strictly pre-planned structure of pages, and consequently – the format and content of the stories.

Journalism education and research

The first decades of the 20th century saw the early beginning of journalism as part of university studies. In the United States, Schools of Journalism were founded at the University of Missouri in 1908 and at Columbia University in New York 1912.⁵¹ The first institute and chair of ‘Zeitungskunde’ in European universities was established at the University of Leipzig in 1916 with Karl Bücher as Head and Professor.⁵² Regular studies in journalism outside Germany were started with seminars on journalism in Zurich and Bern in 1903, in King’s College, City University of London between 1922 and 1939, and in Finland with a two-year course in journalism at the college level from 1925.⁵³

Journalism training in Poland started as early as in 1917 with the first School of Journalism established in Warsaw, and in following years, also in Cracow and Poznan.⁵⁴ In the Baltic countries, Lithuania was the only one to establish courses for journalists in 1922 by the News Agency ELTA and 1926 by the daily *Trimitas*. In 1933, several news organizations together arranged a national distance-learning programme (*Journalism*

⁵¹ Banning (2000) ‘The Cradle of professional Journalistic Education in the Mid-Nineteenth Century’.

⁵² Koszyk (1966).

⁵³ Himanen (1985) *Oppituolin historiasta. 60 vuotta toimittajakoulutusta*; Wilke, (2013) ‘Journalism’.

⁵⁴ Hadamik (2005) ‘Between East and West or Simply “Made in Poland”? The Many Different Styles of Today’s Polish Journalism’, p. 214.

Courses at Home), in which about 500 journalists participated. In the University of Kaunas, lectures on journalism started in 1925, but the Department of Journalism was not opened until 1941, during the Nazi occupation, and closed again together with the whole University in spring 1943.⁵⁵ For most of Western Europe, regular trade schools and university studies in journalism were added after World War II. In the countries controlled or occupied by the Soviet Union, Communist Parties supervised journalism education, since journalism was regarded as an ideological occupation for the support of Socialist/Communist political systems. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, these countries started to rebuild their journalism education, taking example from the principles of the ‘western/liberal’ model of journalism. In 1990, the European Journalism Training Association (EJTA) was established in Brussels. Today, it unites 55 journalism teaching centres and universities from 24 countries across Europe. They work together to improve journalism education in Europe, enabling members to collaborate on exchanges and teaching and research projects, and meet regularly to exchange ideas and information⁵⁶.

As an independent field of research, journalism established itself by the beginning of the 2000s. When the journal *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism* was launched in 2000, it largely discussed the questions: ‘What is journalism studies? What are the objects, methods, approaches and theories of it? What is the future of journalism studies?’

We know from history that early attempts at conceptualizing journalism as a specific science were not successful. The efforts of German *Zeitungswissenschaft* (‘newspaper science’) in the 1930s and *Publizistikwissenschaft* (‘journalism science’) from the 1960s onwards to define specific objects, methods and theories of journalism as science, arrived at a

⁵⁵ Juraite, Lauk and Zelče (2009) ‘The Professionalization of Journalism in the Baltic States: The Origins of Practice, Structures and Cultures (until 1940)’.

⁵⁶ <http://www.ejta.eu>

conclusion that this *Wissenschaft* ('science') is a certain junction of various disciplines.⁵⁷ Although 'journalism science' as such does not exist, 'journalism studies' has achieved the status of an independent multidisciplinary field of research, which combines a range of methodological approaches that are used in various fields of scholarship. A large community of journalism scholars exists, who contribute to a number of specialized academic and professional journals. Academic journalism education in many countries uses scholarly research as the basis of professional knowledge. Journalism-specific theories are developing (e.g., gate-keeping theory, agenda-setting theory; several theoretical concepts for studying news, news sociology etc.). Journalism studies provide the necessary vocabulary for public discussions and critical analysis of how the 'watchdog' is doing.

Professional Ideology – a Variety of Roles and Values Globally

The discourse of 'free and responsible press' as the ideal of professional journalism goes back to the 1940s, when ownership concentration and increasing political and economic influence of the media companies in the US initiated a debate of the media's role in a democratic society. The Report of the Hutchins Commission in 1947 declared that moral obligation of the 'agencies of mass communication' is to prioritize the needs of society and stated that only their responsible performance can guarantee them freedom from government control.⁵⁸ In the consequent decades, this concept seeped into the international discourse, where the liberal model took shape in the attempts of journalists' organizations to define professional journalism.⁵⁹ This model views the media as a communication channel between

⁵⁷ See for example, Bömer (1928) *Bibliographisches Handbuch der Zeitungswissenschaft*; Groth (1948) *Die Geschichte der deutschen Zeitungswissenschaft*.

⁵⁸ The Commission on Freedom of the Press (1947) *A Free and Responsible Press. A General Report on Mass Communication: Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines, and Books*.

⁵⁹ Nordenstreng (1998) 'Professional Ethics: Between Fortress Journalism and Cosmopolitan Democracy', p. 132.

government and citizens, but still professionally separated from the government. The media are to provide citizens with objective, balanced information, necessary for individual decision-making. Their main task is to form and mediate public opinion, scrutinize and criticize the activities of politicians, and of the power elite in general. In order to fulfil these functions, the media must have legal and institutional support from the state, such as protections of freedom of expression, access to information and an independent judiciary. In turn, the media are expected to use their power responsibly and to establish self-regulatory institutions in order to safeguard this responsibility.

Although there is a big discrepancy between this model and reality (for instance, the impact of self-regulation on media performance is rather an exception than a rule), the liberal model has become a shared ideology in industrialized countries for the professionalization and for interpretation of the mass media systems.⁶⁰ Furthermore, it has also become the basis of journalism education, especially at the University level. The success of this model in forming the perceptions of professional roles of journalists clearly appears in the study, by Colin Sparks and Slavko Splichal, among journalism freshmen from 22 countries. They concluded that, measured by their attitudes, there is not a typical ‘European’, ‘West-European’, ‘American’, ‘Latin-American’, ‘socialist’ or any other politically or geographically defined student of journalism.⁶¹ University education very obviously promotes the Anglo-American journalism model as a trans-cultural professional canon and a unified role perception, which journalism graduates acquire globally.

When it comes to practitioners who are not always journalism graduates – and the representative surveys always include them as well– the picture changes

⁶⁰ Mancini (2000) ‘Political Complexity and Alternative Models of Journalism: The Italian Case’, p. 267.

⁶¹ Sparks and Splichal (1994) *Journalists for the 21st Century. Tendencies of Professionalization Among First-Year Students in 22 Countries*.

remarkably. The global surveys, done by the teams of David H. Weaver in 21 countries between 1986 and 1996 (among more than 20 000 journalists) and in 31 countries between 1996 and 2011 (among 29 000 journalists) reveal that journalists in different countries represent a variety of attitudes towards professional values.⁶² Compared nation by nation the survey answers demonstrate little or no international consensus about the purpose of journalism, except to bring the news as fast as possible to the audience. There ‘are strong national differences that override any universal professional norm or values of journalism around the world’. ... ‘In short, it seems that no country or territory has a monopoly on professionalism among journalists’.⁶³

A comparative study on ethical orientations of journalists in 18 countries by Patric Le Plaisance, Elizabeth A. Skewes and Thomas Hanitzsch also demonstrates that ‘ethical orientations do indeed vary across news organizations’⁶⁴ and that ‘country-level differences matter more than [media] organizational differences’. ‘Ideological, cultural and societal factors ... are critical and sometimes, dominant, influences on the way journalists around the globe approach ethical dilemmas’.⁶⁵

In their seminal work *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*, Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini take professionalism as one of the dimensions for outlining the three models of media systems: Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist, North/Central European or Democratic Corporatist and North Atlantic or Liberal model.⁶⁶ The names of the models well reflect the areas, which had to some extent similar features of

⁶² Weaver (1998) *The Global Journalist. News People Around the World*; Weaver and Willnat, eds. (2012a) *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century*.

⁶³ Weaver (1998) p. 473.

⁶⁴ Plaisance, Skewes and Hanitzsch (2012), p. 651.

⁶⁵ Plaisance, Skewes and Hanitzsch (2012), p. 654.

⁶⁶ Hallin and Mancini (2004) *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*.

journalistic professionalism. The differences between the models, however, were bigger than the similarities among the countries.

After the collapse of the Soviet communist regimes in Europe, journalists and media professionals in former communist bloc countries faced the task of re-evaluating and redefining the role of the media and journalists in society. It was largely assumed that the newly free media in democratizing societies would naturally follow the path of the liberal model of journalism. However, regardless of numerous efforts to export the liberal model (sometimes also put on a par with ‘western’ journalism) and experiences of ‘profession-building’ to East-Central European new democracies, there was no success in replacing the communist model with a liberal or western one,⁶⁷ although the favourable framework of democratic government, market economy and freedoms of the press and expression were present. The research, conducted in some of these countries in the 1990s, demonstrated that the value systems of the societies and journalisms were incompatible with the liberal concept. According to a Latvian survey, conducted in 1998, journalists still largely saw themselves as providers of opinion and interpretation (53 per cent of Russian-speaking journalists and 32 per cent of Latvian-speaking journalists) and guardians of the public’s interests (53 per cent of Russian-speaking journalists and 36 per cent of Latvian-speaking journalists). In Estonia, a quarter of journalists in 1995 believed that helping people to form opinion, to influence their value assessments and attitudes is a very important task of journalists, while another 58 per cent considered it important. The only adopted ‘western’ role model was that of a quick transmitter of information.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Lauk (2009) ‘Reflections on Changing Patterns of Journalism in the New EU Countries’, pp. 69–71

⁶⁸ Lauk (2008) ‘How Will It All Unfold? Media Systems And Journalism Cultures in Post-Communist Countries’, p. 195.

Nurhaya Muchtar and Thomas Hanitzsch describe a similar situation concerning the efforts to introduce the liberal model in Indonesian journalism.⁶⁹ They conclude that ‘adoption of Western journalism practices was hampered at least temporarily by various factors, most notably a clash of professional values during training in addition to tough competition and the high costs of news production’.⁷⁰

Furthermore, the ideals and values of the liberal model, though theoretically widely appreciated, do not fully function in journalism practices even in Western countries. Taking an example from Italian journalism, Mancini argues that ‘there is a striking contradiction between a sort of theoretical wisdom diffused among most of the professionals (journalism has to be neutral and detached from power) and the real practice (journalists are advocates and close to different social powers)’.⁷¹ The higher the degree of media commercialization and uncertainty of balance between public and business interests, the lower the chances of journalists to adhere to their professional ideals.

During the 25 years of transformation of society and the media systems, the education of journalists in Central and Eastern European countries (especially those, which have joined the European Union) has closely followed the philosophy of the liberal model and in this way, contributed to the adoption of its values and standards among journalists. Thus, even if the actual adherence to these values and standards varies from country to country, journalists appear to appreciate them and largely base their evaluation of professional performance on the criteria of the liberal model.⁷²

⁶⁹ Muchtar and Hanitzsch (2013) ‘Culture Clash. International media training and the difficult adoption of Western journalism practices’ among Indonesian journalists’.

⁷⁰ Muchtar and Hanitzsch (2013), p. 184.

⁷¹ Mancini (2000), p. 266.

⁷² See for example, Fengler, Eberwein, Mazzoleni, Prolezza and Russ-Mohl, eds. (2014) *Journalists and Media Accountability. An International Study of News People in the Digital Age*; Glowacki, Lauk and Balčytiene, eds. (2014) *Journalism that Matters. Views from Central and Eastern Europe*.

Comparisons of Codes of Ethics show certain global agreement on some central professional values. In 1994-95 the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Tampere collected codes of professional conduct from 31 European countries ranging from the Atlantic to the Urals.⁷³ The most widely accepted responsibilities for journalists in these documents are the accountability towards the public and towards sources and referents.⁷⁴ Yehiel Limor and Itai Himelboim compared 242 codes of ethics from around the globe⁷⁵ and concluded that media organizations worldwide have adopted mainly US norms and ideals of professional conduct, and therefore, being neutral, distant from politics and loci of power appear as central qualities of professional journalist.

The idea that rapidly developing online journalism may reshape the traditional model and role of journalism is a common theme in much of the research and is also shared by many journalists working in online news services.⁷⁶ On the Internet, journalism obtains new dimensions that affect a number of ethical issues and give them different significance for journalists and the public than before the Internet era. Cooper lists 40 effects created by new technology that are inextricably linked to ethical issues.⁷⁷ He argues that each new communication technology retrieves, amplifies, transforms, obsolesces, or mixes ethical issues from the past or creates new issues for the future.

Among crucial issues related to the ethics online are credibility and verification of information. The possibility of using hyperlinks enables journalists to be more transparent about the sources of their stories and provide the readers with additional information about

⁷³ Nordenstreng (2003) 'Media Ethics in Europe: In Search of Core Values'.

⁷⁴ Laitila (1995).

⁷⁵ Limor and Himelboim (2006) 'Journalism and Moonlighting: An International Comparison of 242 Codes of Ethics'; Himelboim and Limor (2008) 'Media Perception of Freedom of the Press: A Comparative International Analysis of 242 Codes of Ethics'.

⁷⁶ Preston (2009) *Making the News. Journalism and News Cultures in Europe*.

⁷⁷ Cooper (1998) 'New technology effects inventory: Forty leading ethical issues'.

the issue concerned. It is not easy to track down the original source of the material if there is no reference or link to it, and this makes unauthorized copy-paste tempting. This is both a legal and moral issue. Copyright laws give general framework for using somebody else's creative production or intellectual property. In journalism, concerning quoting or borrowing from another media outlet, two practices exist: the rules may be inserted in the codes of ethics (e.g., Finland) or agreed upon among news media organizations (e.g. Estonia).

Various ethical problems also arise in connection with online newsgathering methods, e.g. identifying as a journalist when joining online groups; protection of sources, when every bit of information can be 'googled'⁷⁸; quoting e-mail messages in the stories, etc. An important ethical issue arises concerning online archives of news outlets, where the editorial offices are to decide what should be stored and preserved and what should not.⁷⁹ How all these issues will be addressed in the ethical codes is yet to be seen. Richard van der Wurff and Klaus Schönbach, on the basis of interviews with 60 experts in the Netherlands, propose 'a voluntary but binding code of journalistic conduct as an instrument to protect and stimulate the quality of journalism in the online environment.'⁸⁰ The proposed code is strongly focused. It only contains the core standards of journalism: a relatively small selection of the norms to be found in virtually in all traditional journalistic codes all over the world'⁸¹

Alternative journalistic cultures

Journalistic cultures, different from the Anglo-American, existed on the continent of Europe and developed differently due to historical circumstances, especially in Russia and

⁷⁸ Searched on Google.

⁷⁹ Lauk and Kuutti (2014) 'Ethical Demands and Responsibilities in Online Publishing: The Finnish Experience'.

⁸⁰ van der Wurff and Schönbach (2011) 'Between Profession and Audience. Codes of Conduct and Transparency as Quality Instruments for Off- and Online Journalism'.

⁸¹ van der Wurff and Schönbach (2011), p. 419.

the Soviet Union. In 1902 Lenin wrote – in his pamphlet *What must be done* – that ‘objectivity’ should not, by any means, be a quality of the party press for communists. Journalism should be subjective, in the sense that it should always defend and advance the cause of the party. This became a foundation for the press and media all over the Soviet Union and its satellite countries for four decades following World War II.⁸²

The strictly censored journalism in the Soviet Union contained no dramatic or sensational news: no accidents, no murder, adulteries or corruptions. The news focused exclusively on positive occurrences. Important news could be delayed for many days or not reported at all for ideological reasons. Political decisions and important events were published only when the party found it opportune. The interpretation of history was reserved for party officials and for approved historians. News stories in the Soviet media followed a chronological order, except in newswires delivered by foreign news agencies.⁸³ The ‘inverted pyramid’ was re-introduced in Estonian journalism only in the early 1990s, when censorship and ideological supervision were removed. However, the genre standards of liberal journalism were adapted to only a certain degree in Central and East European countries. The efforts of thousands of Western experts who flooded Central and Eastern Europe almost immediately after political changes had occurred, were only conditionally successful in exporting their journalistic philosophy to these countries. In many countries (Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Estonia, Latvia etc.), where, historically, the early press had strongly contributed to nation building, the development of national culture, languages, literature and education, literary traditions valuing individual style and expression maintained continuity in the news discourse.⁸⁴

⁸² Lauk (2005) ‘The Antithesis of Anglo-American News Paradigm. News Practices in Soviet Journalism’, p. 170.

⁸³ Harro (2001), pp. 110–11.

⁸⁴ See, for example, Høyer, Lauk and Vihalemm (1993) *Towards a Civic Society. The Baltic Media's Long Road to Freedom. Perspectives on History, Ethnicity and Journalism*.

Polish journalism, for example, had gone through far-reaching modernization and professionalization process in the 1900s-1930s, in several aspects different from the Anglo-American model. Polish journalism remained closely connected with literature and arts, and preserved the narrative/literary style up to the present day. Polish journalists do not regard themselves proponents of fact-centred journalism, but ‘tend to give their stories an individual touch by playing with words, creating pictures, using associations and providing interpretations’.⁸⁵ The most famous Polish reporter – Ryszard Kapuscinski – used a literary style that was not accepted for Western journalists, even when he wrote from Africa. As Pamela Shoemaker and Akiba Cohen found in their ten nations study; social and political system differences influence the attitudes of journalists also of what and how news can be published.⁸⁶ Local criteria of what ought to be selected and published as national and local news, dominate the editing process. The same is not true about news agency dispatches and today’s online news production, where the primary criteria are speed and prominence.

Journalism and innovative communication technologies

The introduction of computers both in the printing and in the editing of newspapers radically changed editorial routines and the internal chains of command. Merja Helle,⁸⁷ a former experienced journalist, describes how computer technology changed editorial routines in a large Finnish newspaper. Computer technology shifted the focus of collegial discussions from the individual news story towards the whole newspaper edition. Jobs could rotate across earlier professional borders and – as one particular consequence – it removed the task of the former news evening sub-editor.

⁸⁵ Hadamik (2005), p. 212, p. 215.

⁸⁶ Shoemaker and Cohen (2006) *News Around the World: Content, Practitioners, and the Public*.

⁸⁷ Helle (2000) ‘Disturbances and Contradictions as Tools for Understanding Work in the Newsroom’, pp. 81–114.

In Helle's analysis, news stories are not primarily authored individually; they are as much planned in groups, co-authored and co-edited. Stories can be written directly into the editorial database, even from overseas locations. 'Computer assisted reporting' was the name of the game. Today, various layout and design programmes are used, which enable processing the texts quickly and present content both in print and online.

From the early 1990s, the Internet underwent an exponential growth. This quickly brought journalism online. Journalists started writing stories in two versions: one for print and another for the Internet. A new type of journalism – online journalism – emerged by the late 1990s along print, radio and television journalism, with its own specific journalistic characteristics.⁸⁸ Mark Deuze defines three new dimensions of journalistic work online: The online journalist has to make decisions as to which media format or formats best convey a certain story (multi-mediality), consider options for the public to respond, interact or even customize certain stories (interactivity), and think about ways to connect the story to other stories, archives, resources and so forth through hyperlinks (hypertextuality).⁸⁹ All these dimensions carry even more weight within the context of convergence of newsrooms, which involves close co-operation between formerly distinct newsrooms and various other parts of modern media company.⁹⁰ Through convergence, online journalism transforms into multimedia journalism. Journalists are required to simultaneously serve multiple platforms by making versions of the one story for print, TV or radio, tablet, mobile and the web.

In the technology-centred newsrooms, the requirements for technical skills of journalists are continuously rising. In the BBC, tech-savvy journalists have taken on a new

⁸⁸ Deuze (1999) 'Journalism and the Web: An Analysis of Skills and Standards in an Online Environment.'

⁸⁹ Deuze (2003) 'The Web and Its Journalisms: Considering the Consequences of Different Types of Newsmedia Online', p. 206.

⁹⁰ Deuze (2004) 'What is multimedia journalism?', p. 140.

centrality.⁹¹ The changes are rapid and require quick re-skilling, which appears difficult especially to the older generations. Kaarina Nikunen, studying consequences of convergence in Finnish newsrooms, found that older journalists were easily made redundant, mostly for economic reasons.⁹² In the process of convergence, they ‘struggled to hold on to their professional values and notions of expertise when, in practice, they had difficulties in bringing their expertise into use’. She demonstrates how technological and economic imperatives challenge journalistic autonomy and professional identity: in the integrated newsrooms, experienced journalists who were specialized to cover certain fields were ‘required to be able to move from one subject area to another, to adapt and to hold a broad base of skills. ... In this new situation, they no longer had the time for, or the possibility of, following their area of specialization as intensively as before and they had to adapt to the increasingly intense daily rhythm of ‘the new’ news production’.⁹³ The increased multi-skilling is another change that affects the sense of expertise and professional identity, as it leaves less time for fact checking and contextualizing the news.

Paradigmatic Changes in Early 21st Century’s Journalism

The development and global adoption of communication technology have acquired speed in the 21st century. When it took about 200 years for printing technology to spread throughout Europe, Twitter needed only six years to reach 100 million users (from 2006 to 2012) and another two years to double this number. The use of smart phones is growing exponentially to over two billion users today, replacing computers as input devices.

⁹¹ Belair-Gagnon (2015) *Social Media at BBC News: The Re-Making of Crisis Reporting*.

⁹² Nikunen (2013) ‘Losing My Profession: Age, Experience and Expertise in the Changing Newsrooms’, p. 1.

⁹³ Nikunen (2013), p. 10.

Today, in addition to providing new platforms and formats for content (blogs, wikis, video sharing sites), Web 2.0 enables users to interact on social media sites (for instance Facebook as the most popular) and to become creators, publishers and transmitters of content. ‘User-generated content’ and ‘citizen journalism’ are phenomena that have radically changed the relationship between the journalist and audience.

From gatekeeper to gate watcher

In addition to the enlargement of audience participation in content production, Nico Drok outlines five more innovative trends developing in the 21st century journalism and journalistic work.⁹⁴ First, the availability of abundance of information makes it essential for journalists to be able to convey trustworthy and reliable information. ‘Efforts to establish an image of reliability should substitute the old tenet of objectivity with transparency’.⁹⁵ Second, ‘the role of gathering and quickly disseminating information becomes less important than that of analysing and contextualizing it’ to help people to navigate through post-modern life.⁹⁶ The former ‘gate-keeper’ is turning into ‘gate-watcher’, a navigator who is filtering, structuring, recalibrating and contextualizing news instead of creating/writing them.⁹⁷ Third, fixed genres need to be discussed and renewed to meet the growing need for a variety of genres and narrative forms. ‘Such story-telling elements as multiple layers in the story, multiple perspectives, tension and recognition ... should be incorporated more often into the daily routines’.⁹⁸ Personalised and varying narrative remains a property of professional

⁹⁴ Drok (2013) ‘Beacons of Reliability’.

⁹⁵ Drok (2013), p. 147.

⁹⁶ Drok (2013), p. 147.

⁹⁷ Bruns (2011) Gatekeeping, Gatewatching, Real-Time Feedback: New Challenges for Journalism; Lee-Wright (2012) ‘The Return of Hephaestus: Journalists Work Recrafted’; Opgenhaffen, d’Haenens and Corten (2013) ‘Journalistic Tools of the Trade in Flanders’.

⁹⁸ Drok (2013), p. 147.

journalists even if robots/algorithms take over the production of news. The first steps towards automated news production have been already done, and it is a growing trend. Fourth, journalists must have skills to provide content for a variety of platforms (cross-media function), and be familiar with the peculiarities of various media. Finally, Drok also mentions the growing need for journalistic entrepreneurship, which demands the understanding of the market and the economy of journalism.⁹⁹

From employee to entrepreneur

Journalists can no longer expect to be employed full time by the news organisations throughout their job careers. Increasingly, journalists establish their own small enterprises ('one-man-orchestras' or co-operatives), which not only produce, but also distribute and sell the content, mainly through the Web. Unlike in the 'old times', described earlier in this chapter, the establishing of an online enterprise or publication does not need huge investments, but only access to a computer and the Internet, and the necessary skills.

Some of the small journalistic enterprises successfully produce quality journalism – investigative and analytical stories, which they sell directly to the readers. Finnish *Long Play* can serve as an example¹⁰⁰. Annually, *Long Play* produces 12 investigative features and essays – longer than newspaper stories, but shorter than books – which can be read from any device as e-books. *Long Play* is wholly financed by subscriptions.

As Anderson and colleagues argue, in the 20th century, the paradigmatic form of news organization was the big corporation that employed journalists, but in the 21st century, other forms of journalistic work organizations will play a bigger role.¹⁰¹ While large corporations tend to encourage employees to follow established routines, entrepreneurial

⁹⁹ Drok (2013), p. 147.

¹⁰⁰ <http://longplay.fi/>

¹⁰¹ Anderson, Bell and Shirky (2012) 'Post-Industrial Journalism: Adapting to the Present'.

journalists can take more risks and are more flexible to changes and innovations. They are also more autonomous and self-reliant in their work and, as Peter Lee-Wright argues, based on his research, they may not care about joining professional organisations.¹⁰² How journalists' common professional identity changes after transforming from an employee into an entrepreneur is a question of the future.

The 21st century has seen a paradigmatic shift in news distribution: constant news flow on multiple platforms simultaneously accessible with all kinds of digital devices. The speed of news production has increased to the extreme, and online journalists have no chance to check the facts. For effective search for sources and reliability check, specific search strategies and skills are necessary. However, online searching skills among journalists tend to be of mediocre quality.¹⁰³ Sometimes, the stories become completed and corrected several times after publishing. Typical to online publishing is the commercial pressure to produce more with fewer resources, which frequently means distributing slightly changed content across many different media platforms. According to Nick Davies, journalists nowadays produce about three times the content their colleagues produced three decades ago.¹⁰⁴

The 'inverted pyramid' structure is not the only model for an online news story anymore. Journalists often use intriguing titles and leads, current 'news' stories do not necessarily tell the main point of the story first, the introduction are composed in order to catch readers' attention. This is a widely used technique for attracting readers to 'click' on the story (also called 'click-journalism'), which contributes to selling advertisements. Web metrics have become an important indicator of performance of newsrooms. Journalists are continuously monitoring web traffic: how many times their story has been seen, which stories are preferred by the readers, whether a story attracts comments and how many, is the story

¹⁰² Lee-Wright (2012), pp. 32–33.

¹⁰³ Opgenhaffen et al. (2013), p. 129.

¹⁰⁴ Davis (2009) *Flat Earth News*.

shared on Facebook or Twitter and how many times et cetera. ‘Statistical analyses show associations between editors’ perceived economic benefits and their willingness to make editorial adjustments based on audience web metrics’.¹⁰⁵

Changing dimensions of journalistic creativity

In the early periods of the press, journalism was clearly a literary activity, and so, a part of Arts. Many famous journalists were also authors and many famous authors were also journalists (Tom Wolfe, Jack London, Mark Twain, Truman Capote, Hanna Arendt, Emil Zola, August Strindberg, Henrik Ibsen, Anton Chekov – just to mention some). Literary traditions live strongly in journalism cultures of many nations, especially those with dramatic raptures in their democratic development (for example the Baltic countries, Hungary, Poland and other Central and Eastern European countries). Modern journalism, however, stands far from the literary field, being produced within industrial and organizational frameworks aimed at profitable businesses. Journalism, especially print journalism, is largely constrained by rules and conventions, broadcasting journalism, in addition, by its technology. Online publishing is basically accessible to anyone. Probably, in online journalism, news organization’s business interests appear as the major constraints. The question arises how much these frameworks allow or restrict creativity of journalists?

Janet Fulton and Philip McIntyre studied Australian journalists’ perceptions about creativity of journalistic work.¹⁰⁶ They argue that the same structures that constrain journalists’ creativity also enable them to produce their work. The absolute freedom as a prerequisite to creativity is problematic, and it is more appropriate to understand creativity as ability to make choices under existing conditions rather than an absence of constraint.

¹⁰⁵ Vu (2014) ‘The Online Audience as Gatekeeper: The Influence of Reader Metrics on News Editorial Selection’, p. 1106.

¹⁰⁶ Fulton and McIntyre (2012) ‘Journalists on journalism’.

According to Fulton and McIntyre, journalists ‘tied their experiences into both the domain and field’ and were aware that ‘creative activity cannot result solely from an individual but is the product of a system’.¹⁰⁷ It also appeared that journalists consider some formats less creative than the others (esp. hard news) and point out reviews, travel and feature stories as more creative. Other journalists emphasized that all journalism is a creative endeavour and creativity can be used in all genres and formats. Fulton and McIntyre conclude that ‘while there are structures, such as those of the field, that constrain journalists in their production, they also have choice in, for example, the way they use elements of the domain such as the use of certain words, the writing style, the angle and the lead they choose’.¹⁰⁸ If journalists have enough autonomy within the news organizations to make their independent choices, they certainly can be creative in above described way. In large news organizations, however, journalists work under various pressures that limit their possibilities of independent decision-making.¹⁰⁹ It seems by practical evidence that small journalistic enterprises enable more creativity both in choosing topics and approaches and forms for presenting the stories.

Concluding remarks

By looking across centuries we discover that a few simple patterns are repeated, but separated by great distances of time, while many parts of the role of journalists changed more continuously. New technology represented an impetus for change, but journalistic conventions changed more slowly and in many directions, dependent on its political and cultural contexts. Early newspapers were organized around the printing office, while contributors of content were more loosely connected to this enterprise through non-formalized agreements. Revolutions in printing technology and telegraphy in the latter half of

¹⁰⁷ Fulton and McIntyre (2012), p. 22.

¹⁰⁸ Fulton and McIntyre (2012), p. 23.

¹⁰⁹ Fengler et al. (2014).

the 19th century started an industrialized production process, which also necessitated a more formal organization of content providers who got office space in newspaper headquarters; now named as journalists. For most of the next century journalists worked hard to acquire more autonomy in their work, to organize collective actions and improve working conditions, to set ethical standards in codes of professional conduct and to develop formal education and systematic research in journalism. As an important part of these transformations, journalistic genres developed and made the news article into a specific type of texts, easily recognized by readers. The structure of the news story evolved from a chronological narrative into the ‘inverted pyramid’ with the most important information on top, and further to ‘click candy’ with an attractive, but not necessarily informative beginning. Journalistic text, once the creation of a gifted individual, gradually transformed into a collective and impersonal product made under the dictates of editorial routines. Creativity, however, was maintained in some genres, such as features or travel stories (although travel stories are often written by more than one journalist). The Internet has opened up new channels for creativity – journalists write in their blogs or put their videos on YouTube about the issues that they regard important but cannot publish in their employer’s platform (be it newspaper, a portal or broadcasting).

The effects of the digital technology and the Internet are still in progress and concern not only how texts are made and processed, but also how work is structured in media. The functions of sub- and desk-editors, news managers, copy editors – and also typesetters and printers – were made redundant together with the introduction of computers in newsrooms and printing plants. Reporters became ‘field-journalists’ working from anywhere using various electronic devices, and rarely having a permanent ‘station’ in the newsroom. The reporter has become a ‘universalist’ who reports on anything without specializing on certain fields or topics. Under the economic pressures of efficiency, news organizations are giving up with specialist reporters or transforming

them into ‘generalists’. While large editorial structures are shrinking, small media enterprises are emerging in the first decades of the 21st century.

The role perceptions and functions of journalists have made an interesting transformation curve. The ‘enlightener and teacher’ of the pre-industrial period was replaced by a ‘news hunter’ in the late 19th century. During the 20th century a ‘watchdog of public interests’ gradually replaced the ‘objective informer’, and finally, a navigator operating the 24/7 news-machine online is emerging.

Symbolism of changing times can also be found in how editorial headquarters appear. The formerly hospitable offices of editors, who received visitors personally, mutated into an image of a fortress with electronic locks and key-cards, where uninvited visitors were not welcomed. Today, the doors are open to the public again, but the interactivity happens virtually, on the comment fields or social media platforms. Many of the contributors work on several platforms outside the newspaper headquarter or are freelancing. History returns.

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