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Finnish Journalism Students : Stable Professional Ideals and Growing Critique of Practice

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**Stable professional ideals, growing criticism towards journalistic practice.
Finnish journalism students' perceptions about the profession**

Introduction

This chapter examines Finnish journalism students' motives for studying journalism and their perceptions about journalism as a profession. Motives and perceptions are understood as a part of the professionalization process of the future journalists. In the academic literature journalists' professionalization process is described, among other things, as a distinctly ideological development, as the emerging ideology served to continuously refine and reproduce a consensus about who was a 'real' journalist, and what (parts of) news media at any time would be considered examples of 'real' or 'good' journalism. As Deuze (2005) puts it, these evaluations shift subtly over time; yet always serve to maintain the dominant sense of what is and should be journalism. The current evolution towards participatory communication and media culture as well as to market and audience oriented news media and journalism, among other things, make the questions of professional ideals, ideology and professional skill of future journalists central because the journalistic norms and practices connected to them can be seen in many ways opposite to those of modern journalism.

Our chapter starts with a discussion about Finnish journalism culture and professional journalists' self-understanding about central values of their profession. Our discussion touches the ideals and practices of modern journalism – public service, objectivity, autonomy and ethics - and their evolution in the context of Finnish media culture. We shall then present the Finnish journalism schools involved in the Hovdabrekka study, and describe the group of respondents, the Finnish journalism students, in general terms.

In our analysis we will focus on the questions in the questionnaire that concern journalism students' reasons for choosing journalism, their priorities in different aspects of journalistic competence and their perceptions about the roles of journalists in the society. We focus on these questions as we think they are central to the discussion of journalists' professionalization process and help to capture and illustrate possible changes in students' perceptions about the central values of 'good' journalism and practices of 'good' journalist.

Changes in students' perceptions over time are discussed as we understand journalistic ideals and practices are evolving, historical and local constructions. We shall also examine Finnish journalists' motives and self-understanding about the profession in relation to the changes in Finnish media business and journalism culture as well as in relation to the changes in professional journalists' notions of the ideals and practices of 'good' journalism. Furthermore, to outline the specific Finnish profile in journalism and journalism education, results will be compared to the results in a study with similar aims concerning journalism students in Sweden, Russia, Poland, Estonia and Finland (Stigbrand & Nygren 2013).

Changing Finnish news media and journalism

Newspapers have been the paradigmatic institutions, within which the professional culture of Finnish journalism emerged. Even with the diffusion of professional practices of journalism, the identity of journalists has espoused a modernist ethos, including the right and obligation to criticize elites and to independently set the news agenda. However, in the media saturated, digital and globalized consumer culture, newspapers and mainstream news media in general face challenges

and problems that call for a re-evaluation of professional cultures of journalism. Finnish media companies live with growing economic pressures and renew their operations during a transformation of the whole media sector. Fewer subscribers, lower income from advertisement, and growing demand for profit in media companies have brought tightening budgets and less human resources for the newsrooms. The problem in achieving gains in digital revenue is one of the major current challenges.

Market and audience are important key words in today's journalistic development work within Finnish media companies. The reason for the audience and market orientation is the fear that if the media does not please people by offering them interesting stories on various platforms and forms, its position in their everyday lives, saturated by the entertainment media, will further weaken (Hujanen 2008, 2014). This has become a serious concern even in countries with well-established printed media, such as Finland. Audience and market orientation has included a growing interest by the news media in market oriented audience research, directing attention to the interests, desires and lifestyles of target groups and advertisers.

Audience orientation, the use of market research tools and the power shifts in media companies both reflect and has led to an increase in the influence of media owners and advertisers in defining the practice journalism. As a whole, it has become increasingly important for the Finnish news media to serve their readers, listeners and viewers in multiple roles: as consumers, consumer citizens, and politically active citizens. From the viewpoint of the tasks of mainstream journalism and journalists the shift means that besides informing, empowering and supporting public debate the task of entertaining is valued as important. Kantola (2011) has described the change as a development from high modern journalism towards liquid journalism in Finland. A liquid modern journalist is flexible, producing contents that appeals both to common sense and emotions, and combining the tasks of information transmission, telling stories, raising discussion, entertaining and even startling the reader.

In the context of constant changes and innovation projects, novel audience oriented news policies and new management cultures have been introduced into Finnish news media. Organizational changes have challenged individually defined journalistic autonomy in many ways. The role of news management in planning, leading and supervising journalistic work process has grown alongside the organizational and structural changes (Koljonen 2013).

As regards the evolution of the news policies, the newspapers, for example, have rewritten their policies setting citizen-based and/or audience-oriented journalism as their key aim. The importance of elite opinions and expertise has been questioned by the need to explain political issues through stories drawn from people's everyday lives – through their voices and faces. As a part of this development, Finnish dailies have had projects inspired by public journalism (Ahva 2010). It challenges the professional idea of journalism as an autonomous mediating public process between the political elites and citizens. According to public journalism, journalists should perceive their audiences as citizens who compose *publics* (Rosen 1991) and possess legitimacy to participate in the political processes. Journalists, instead of being independent from publics, have thus tried to become genuine resources for people in their participation and deliberation.

During the recent years, the notions of 'audience participation' and user-generated content have become focal ingredients in Finnish media houses innovation work and in the reinvention of the notion of 'good' journalism. The 'notion' of participation or participatory ideal of journalism is often discussed in academic literature in relation to the ideal of objectivity and autonomy. The objectivity norm claims that journalists are impartial, neutral, fair and thus credible providers of

information (Deuze, 2005: 446-447). In this ideal, journalists are defined as truth seeking media workers, aiming at factual, accurate, balanced and fair reporting (Tuchman, 1978). Besides objectivity, the modern ideals of autonomy and ethics support the requirement of dispassionate and impersonal journalism, with an outsider and matter-of-fact position and perspective. The ideal of autonomy presupposes that journalism is independent of economic, political or other outside efforts of influence. Ethics refers to the idea of journalists having a specific sense of ethics, validity and legitimacy.

The types of participatory news in the mainstream news media and the attitudes of professional journalists towards audience material have been studied in Finland and elsewhere, focusing on how professional journalists assess and incorporate audience material in their perceptions and practices (e.g. Singer 2007, Heinonen 2011, Hujanen 2013). While journalists have perceived contacts to and with the audience as good for journalism they have found participatory culture to be particularly unsettling to professional paradigm of journalism (Heinonen 2011). Finnish journalists expressed ten years ago a worry of losing autonomy and a problem in seeing value in the content produced by citizens (Ahva 2012, 798) and this perception seems to be deeply rooted in Finnish journalists' professional identity. So far, a majority of the professional journalists have not regarded citizens' contribution as 'real' or 'proper' journalism (Heinonen & Domingo 2009, 70; Örnebring 2013).

Even though there is no formal qualification or education requirement for the journalism profession in Finland, expertise and knowledge of the principles of journalism has been perceived by the journalists as the qualification of the profession. Following this, content which is produced in line with the modern journalistic ideals and practices of journalism is perceived by Finnish journalists as trustworthy, of high quality and unbiased. Content produced outside the newsroom and by the readers is perceived by many practicing journalists as problematic: in principle unreliable, subjective, and biased. Because of this, participation of the audience must be managed and controlled. In this way the Finnish journalists' negotiation about journalistic ideals and practices has until recently reflected the modern ideal of objective and autonomous journalism. (Hujanen 2013)

Finnish journalism education programs

Journalism education programs in Finland are located in three universities and a few polytechnics. Journalism education is given at the master's level in Finnish language at two universities, University of Tampere and University of Jyväskylä. The journalism education in Swedish language is carried out in the Swedish School of Social Science (SSSS), at the University of Helsinki. Polytechnics in Helsinki (Haaga-Helia), Turku (Turku University of Applied Sciences) and Oulu (Oulu University of Applied Sciences) also have journalism programs. All the journalism programs have an intake of new students every year. The yearly intake of journalism students is 80 in Tampere, 20 in Jyväskylä, 20 in Helsinki and 30 in Turku.

The School of Communication, Media and Theatre (CMT) at the University of Tampere - the former Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at the Faculty of Social Sciences - is the oldest and largest journalism education program in Finland. The first courses started in Helsinki in the 1920's at the Institute of Social Science (Yhteiskunnallinen korkeakoulu). Later, the Institute moved to Tampere and became the University of Tampere which started to offer an academic and a vocational journalism program in 1966. Nowadays, instead of two separate programs, the School of Communication, Media and Theatre at the University of Tampere offers degree programs in journalism studies, media education, media culture, speech communication, theatre and drama studies as well as theatre work for nearly 900 undergraduate students, 550 of them majoring in journalism. Taken as a major subject journalism and mass communication offers teaching leading to

Bachelor's, Master's, and Doctor's degrees. Most of the students complete a master's degree in journalism studies or in photojournalism.

At the University of Jyväskylä, in the Department of Communication a journalism education program started in 1987. The journalism education program is situated in Jyväskylä at the Faculty of Humanities. Journalism is the major subject in the Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degrees. The studies also prepare the students for postgraduate studies in Journalism. At the University of Jyväskylä most students admitted in the program complete a master's degree with journalism as their major subject.

At SSSS journalism education started in the 1960s. Journalism can be studied as a major subject at bachelor's level. The program offers the main academic journalism education within the Swedish-speaking community in Finland. The aim of the study program is to teach the students professional journalistic skills as well as to familiarize them with the Swedish-language news media in Finland. After completing their bachelor degree SSSS students can continue their studies within the University of Helsinki without a separate entrance examination in the subject Media and communication, at the Department of Social Research, in the Faculty of Social Science.

Turku University of Applied Sciences started its journalism training in 2011, and offers a major in journalism at the bachelor's level. Before that it was possible to study journalism at Diaconia University of Applied Sciences in Turku. It started its journalism education in 1999.

As academic disciplines the university level journalism programs in Finland introduce students to journalism and media, communication and journalism research. The focus of the studies is both on the theory and practice of journalism. This entails not only professional but also societal and cultural knowledge and an educational path aiming at a scientific education. On the one hand, journalists' training imparts up-to-date knowledge and skills for working in various media (the press, radio, television, and net media), and on the other hand, studies provide the students with the basic skills for an academic career.

The aim of the journalism programs is that students learn to continually observe and analyze occurring phenomena and events in society. The studies aim at enhancing students' capability to understand the position and importance of the media in society and to critically scrutinize the working methods of the media, as well as the position of journalism in society. Critical inquiry is one of the leading principles in journalism programs, referring to an analytical way of approaching events and processes. The studies aim at providing students with means to analyze the journalistic working process and its products: a guiding principle is that journalist must be able to critically look for, evaluate and process information, and to present it to the public in an intelligible and interesting form. The programs examine the role and functions of media in society, the legislation and the ethics of journalism, the relationship between the media and its audience, and the historical development and present structure of the media system in Finland and elsewhere.

At the Turku University of Applied Sciences, the education in Media degree program's Journalism specialization area aims at giving students skills and knowledge in journalism and at enabling the students to further professional development and entrepreneurship. During the course of their studies students make connections with the professional life through research and development projects. The specialization in journalism aims at educating versatile professionals into the needs of working life. The focus of the education is on journalistic competences needed for working in a multimedia environment — to combine the methods of expression typical to different media in a

multimedia environment. In organizational communication the students familiarizes themselves to the work of communication and publicist professions.

Hallin and Mancini (2004) have described the Nordic countries as very similar, as “Democratic Corporatist” media systems, characterized by high newspaper circulation, strong professionalization and state intervention. According to Ami Lönnroth (1997), in a study on the European journalism schools, the Nordic schools were in many ways similar to the other European journalism education programs. Members of the European Journalism Training Association shared many features; they included many practical elements, trained for all types of media, favored teachers with a background in the field and included internships in their programs. The period after 1997 has been an era of further academic integration for the Nordic schools. The former independent Journalist programs are today parts of universities. Typical for the university educations in Finland today is that both professors and university lecturers have doctoral degrees, often combined with at least some practical experience.

The respondents

In the first two Hovdabrekka surveys in 2005 and 2008 students from the University of Tampere, the University of Jyväskylä and the University of Helsinki (SSSS) participated. In 2012 the University of Applied Arts in Turku joined the project. A total of 4665 students in 30 schools from five countries have taken part in the survey, with a response rate of 51 percent. The total amount of Finnish students participating in the Hovdabrekka survey in 2005, 2008 and 2012 is about 500 persons. Looking at the results it is important to bear in mind that the samples are small, and national differences should not be overrated, as there is considerable variation within the countries as well. Hovden (2014) discusses the overall methodological issues in a recent article, such as the trans-national equivalence of concepts and contexts in surveys, comparative samples and “whole-nation bias”. We agree, and try to be cautious in our interpretations.

The proportion of female students is larger in Finland than in the other Nordic countries.

Table 1. Proportion of female respondents (%) from Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland

Country	2005	2008	2012
Finland	56	71	81
Sweden	64	65	62
Norway	57	60	64
Denmark	58	52	52
Iceland	-	-	67

(Hovden 2014, 650)

The proportion of female respondents has grown in Finland since the introduction of the survey study, whereas the proportion has been rather stable in Sweden and Norway, and slightly reduced in Denmark.

In Finland and Sweden one third of the students came from the capital. The regional diversion is greater in Norway and Denmark. Typical for Finnish students was that they reported both their parents have a great interest in culture, especially literature and theatre, to a considerable greater extent than their Nordic peers. Most of the students were satisfied with their studies, and chose journalism as their first priority. The preferred working place in the future for Finnish students has dominantly been a national newspaper (49 percent in 2005) or local newspaper (18 percent in 2005),

but the tendency was clearly declining (national paper 21 percent and local paper 8 percent in 2012), whereas the interest in magazines has been growing (from 1,9 percent 2005 to 22 percent 2012). The reported preferred workplace reflects the situation in the market, where the big daily newspapers are having economic difficulties.

Finnish students' opinions on subjects in the education, and personal qualities

In all surveys, Finnish journalism students have rated the training of source criticism, journalistic genres as well as language and spelling skills the most important subject areas that should be included in the journalism curriculum. About 84 percent of all Hovdabrekka Finnish respondents on average regarded "source criticism" to be very important, while 81 percent claimed it for "journalistic genres" and 72 percent for "language and spelling skills". "Academic methods" and "media history" were among the least valued subject areas that journalism schools should teach. The students' evaluations of essential subject areas of learning were to a great extent attached to the journalistic production process. The fact that research-related areas of learning such as "academic methods" and "media history" were less prioritized may partly reflect the traditional division in journalism schools between "practice" and "theory". Studies in journalism were associated with the practical goal of becoming a professional journalist. Consequently, only 21 percent of Finnish students, compared with 28 percent of Norwegian and 45 percent of Swedish students, declared a high agreement with the statement that their studies were too theoretically oriented. A majority of 65 percent of students on average fully or partly agreed that they have learned more about the journalistic practice during their internship period than during their studies at the university. Students regarded studies in journalism to establish a close relationship with the journalistic practice and professional identity.

When asked about the most important personal qualities for a journalist, Finnish journalism students regarded curiosity and linguistic expression as the most important personal features a journalist should have, followed by thoroughness and knowledge about society.

Table2. Important personal qualities for a journalist (Percentage "very important")

Year	2005	2008	2012	total
Curiosity	66	72	79	74
Good expression and formulation skills	75	79	68	74
Thoroughness and precision	68	70	75	72
Knowledge about society	72	70	60	66
Sense of justice	72	62	57	61
Creativity	47	40	30	37
Efficiency	30	38	32	35
Empathy for individuals	32	24	23	25
Broad life experiences	17	23	27	24
Political neutrality	23	23	21	22
Rudeness	13	16	14	15
Knowing what sells	2	5	11	7
Charming personality	6	6	5	6
Close relationship to sources	4	3	4	3
Respect for authorities	13	1	2	3

The least important personal qualities for a journalist were considered to be qualities that are not compatible with the basic journalistic ideals of neutrality, impartiality and balance, such as "knowledge about what sells", "personal charm", and the "journalist's close relationship to sources".

Additionally, students also considered the role of journalism as a critical force in society, which is reflected in the least respected quality of “respect for authorities”.

Finnish students’ motives for choosing journalism

The main motives for choosing to study journalism seemed to be very stable among the Finnish respondents. Above 90 percent all three years chose the motives “working with interesting themes” “a varied and lively occupation” and “meeting interesting people”. Very high scores were also given for “a job with much freedom and independence” and “being creative”. Also the factors with very low response rates seem to be stable. The possibility to become famous only attracts 3, 6 and 3 percent. Motives slightly on the rise are “helping individuals” and “explaining complicated matters”.

Table3. Motives for choosing journalism (Percentage of respondents)

	2005	2008	2012	Total
Working with interesting themes	100	97	97	97
A varied and lively occupation	97	97	96	96
Meeting interesting people	92	90	93	91
Being creative	85	91	92	91
Job with much freedom and independence	79	86	79	82
Wish to inform	77	82	83	82
Take part in the debate in society	69	86	75	80
Explain complicated matters	55	73	72	71
Fight injustice	60	75	72	72
Identity as journalist attractive	48	51	60	54
Helping individuals	44	67	57	60
Investigate those in power	55	56	57	56
Safe employment	47	37	38	39
High status job	31	31	38	34
Good salary	27	21	28	24
Becoming famous	3	6	3	4
Joy of writing	69	73	*	(46)

*not included in the questionnaire 2012

Stigbrand and Nygren (2013) have compared journalism education in Sweden, Russia, Poland, Estonia and Finland. Motives for becoming a journalist were the same top five for all five programs – encountering interesting subjects, creative work, meeting interesting people, having an independent work and experiencing the pleasure of writing. The biggest difference was related to fame and wealth, salary, high status, becoming well known, which were stronger in Moscow and Warsaw than in Södertörn and Jyväskylä. (ibid, 98). The motives were combined and reduced to three dimensions, which showed high correlations for groups of motives: the social reform, money and status, and self-expression. The dimension of social reform included promoting freedom and democracy, fighting injustice, being a watchdog, and maintaining public debate. The dimension of money and status incorporated the elements of acquiring high salary and status as well as becoming well-known. The dimension of self-expression referred to working with interesting subjects and people, travelling, and having a creative job.

The dimension of self-expression was strongest in all countries. The dimension of money and status came second for Moscow and Warsaw, whereas the social dimension came second in the other three programs (Södertörn, Jyväskylä, Tartu). (ibid, 99) The Finnish students in the Hovdabrekka surveys

also prefer motives related to self-expression. They value the social dimension, and place issues related to money and status last, like the students from Södertörn, Jyväskylä and Tartu in Stigbrands and Nygrens (2013) study.

Finnish journalism students' perceptions on the journalist's role in society

The ideal of journalism as public service is central and very much alive in Finnish journalism students' understanding of the journalism profession. In their perceptions the role of journalism as a fourth estate was strongly present in all of the years studied (2005, 2008, and 2012). Almost all of students regarded it as a central task: 98 percent of the respondents agreed completely or to some extent that a journalist should investigate people in powerful positions in society. In this regard, there were no changes during the course of the study. Likewise, for Finnish journalism students it was important that journalists explain complicated events to people in simple ways; 98 percent of the respondents agreed completely or to some extent that this role is central for journalists.

Finnish journalism students' perceptions reflect the ideal of public service also in the sense that almost all the students studied regarded it as a central role of the journalist to embrace active societal criticism and act as a counterforce to inequality: 98 percent of the respondents agreed completely or almost completely that a journalist should be critical to injustice in society. There were also other societal roles Finnish journalism students perceived as important. The idea that it is the journalist's task to engage people to a public debate was perceived as central. In all, 94 percent of the respondents agreed completely or almost completely that a journalist should promote a public debate where everyone has an opportunity to participate.

Furthermore, almost all (93 %) students saw that the journalist's role in fostering ideas is important. The journalist's task to stimulate new ideas and thoughts was perceived even more an important task towards the end of the research period. A total of 95 percent of the respondents agreed completely or almost completely in 2012 that a journalist should promote a public debate where everyone has opportunity to participate. The percentage was 88 seven years earlier (2005).

However, simultaneously also the ideal of objectivity was strongly present in journalism students' understanding of their profession. The percentage had grown during the period of the research from 78 (2005) to 96 (2012). This means that almost all journalism students who answered the questionnaire agreed completely or almost completely that a journalist should present news in an objective way. At the same time, as many students as that did not agree completely or almost completely that a journalist should be someone who can disregard all other interests in society. The percentage of the students who agreed completely or almost completely with this claim was 77.

Only a minority (one third of the respondents) saw that a journalist should be responsible for the financial well-being of the media company. Noteworthy is, however, that this percentage had grown, being 20 percent in 2005 and 39 percent in 2012.

Finnish journalism students' views on Finnish journalists' work practices

When it comes to the ethics, Finnish journalism students' opinions about Finnish journalists' work practices and code of ethics varied. Almost a third (27 %) of the students saw it as a very accurate description of Finnish journalism that journalists explain the underlying causes of things that are happening. A fifth of the students saw it as a very accurate description that journalists highlight issues that people would not otherwise know about. A fifth (19%) of the students saw it as a very accurate description of the Finnish journalism practice that journalists are good at protecting their

sources. However, during the course of the research project this percentage had shrunk from 30 to 15.

When such answers on above mentioned claims about Finnish journalism and journalism practice were taken into account too in which students perceived claims as somewhat accurate descriptions, the picture of the students' perceptions remains somewhat similar. A clear majority (86 %) of the students perceived it as a very or somewhat accurate description that journalists explain the underlying causes of things that are happening. A majority of the students seem to think journalists cover issues about which people would not otherwise get information: 70 percent of the students saw it as a very or somewhat accurate description that journalists highlight issues that people would not otherwise know about.

There seems to be a trend that the students increasingly recon that journalists dramatize the events that happen. 76 percent of the students saw it as a very or somewhat accurate description. While 61 percent of the students thought this way in 2005, 74 percent of them were in 2012 of the opinion that this was a very or somewhat accurate description of Finnish journalism practice and code of ethics. A majority of the students seem to think that journalists protect their sources quite well. 70 percent of the students saw it as a very accurate description of the Finnish journalism practice that journalists are good at protecting their sources.

While Finnish journalism students, on one hand, seem to see Finnish journalism practice serving the public interest the students, on the other hand, tend to question the Finnish journalism practice. About half (53 %) of the students saw it as a very or somewhat accurate description of journalism practice in Finland that journalists are often acting out of self-interest when pursuing news. There seemed to be a rise in this kind of perception. While the percentage was 41 in the year 2005, it had risen to 61 by the year of 2012. About a half (50 %) of the respondents also thought that it was a very or somewhat accurate description that journalists often are prejudiced. During the course of the research the percentage had risen from 32 to 48.

Reflections (röd text: Jaana, bold: Nika)

Finnish journalism students' views on journalism are in many ways traditional, but besides reflecting the high modern ideals of journalism **they** also reflect the ongoing change in Finnish media, journalism and journalistic practices. Almost all Finnish journalism students who answered the questionnaire agreed completely or almost completely that a journalist should present news in an objective way. Finnish journalism students' perceptions reflect the traditional ideal of public service in the sense that almost all the students in the studies regarded it as a central role of the journalist to be a critic of injustice in society. The idea that it is journalist's task to engage people to public debate was also perceived as central.

At the same time, the main motives for choosing to study journalism reflect more individually oriented motives and **a wish** (the will) to be able to work creatively. The motives mentioned included "working with interesting themes", "a varied and lively occupation" and "meeting interesting people". Very high scores were also given for "a job with much freedom and independence" and "being creative". Individually-oriented motives may relate to the fact that the Finnish journalism students rated the training of source criticism, journalistic genres as well as language and spelling skills the most important subject areas that should be included in the journalism curriculum.

At least to some extent the results may tell about a conflict between how the Finnish journalism students see the role of journalism in society - the traditional role of the journalist as a watchdog, criticizing power and catalyzing debate - and their relatively individual motives for choosing the occupation in order to express themselves and have an interesting job. In the era of liquid journalism, young generations of journalists increasingly face insecurities in their employment and discontinuities in their career path, which is reflected in an increased interest in self-promotion and needs for personal branding among journalism students (Lehtonen 2013). The liquid ethos in journalism is heightened by the cultural mode of late modernity that puts emphasis on the individual life-politics, and by the ramifications of technological development, especially in the networked online communication where individual profiling, reputation management and networking have become central dimensions.

Nevertheless, in a comparison between the Nordic countries Finnish students still appear to more closely represent the ideal-types of neutral reporting and professional autonomy of the Democratist Corporatist journalism model. Hovden and colleagues (Hovden & Ottosen 2013, Hovden 2014) identified in Nordic journalism students' views on professionalism the opposite dimensions of participatory versus neutral ideals, and the opposite of investigative ideals versus recreational ideals. Keeping all the earlier mentioned reservations in mind, the study showed the Danish students are closer than the others to recreation, whereas the others were keeping up traditional ideals. Whereas Norwegian students stressed participatory ideals and Swedish students were more oriented towards investigative ideals, students from Finland (and Iceland) emphasized objectivity and neutrality.

The strong emphasis on the ideal of objective journalism among Finnish students can be explained at least partially through the fact that the respondents were mainly first-year students and in their studies the focus is on news journalism. Not only do academic curricula put stress on news adoption during the first year, but the adoption of standardized norms of an occupation is also typically seen as a necessary condition in the initial phase of socialization into a profession. However, one could expect that in line with the development of their professional identity, Finnish journalism students would increasingly start putting more stress on participatory journalism ideals, given that newsrooms increasingly embrace them as a central part of their news policy (Hujanen 2014) and public journalism projects are familiar to several newsrooms.

Even though the ideal of objectivity is central for Finnish journalism students, at the same time the results indicate the students in practice question the possibility of objective journalism and journalism serving the public interest. Namely, about half of the students saw it as an accurate description of journalism practice in Finland that journalists are often acting out of self-interest when pursuing news. The students also increasingly recon that journalists dramatize the events that happen. When discussing the results, it is also important to understand the limits of the study. Even though the Finnish journalism students highlighted the ideal-typical values of neutral reporting and professional autonomy, the everyday news work may easily differ from that. In other words, it is not possible to see a parallel between the ideals and practices of journalism.

The study does not indicate that the tasks of entertaining and serving the audience as customers were perceived as central by the Finnish journalism students. Because of this it is difficult to argue that students' perceptions fully represent the ideals and practices of liquid journalism. However, students' views as a whole tell about the changing context of journalism and working as a journalist. The fact that Finnish media companies live with growing economic pressures, tightening budgets and less human resources for the newsrooms could also be seen in students' understanding of the profession and its practice. 40 percent of the Finnish journalism students saw in 2012 that a

journalist should be responsible for the financial well-being of the media company. This percentage had grown from 20 to 39 in seven years (2005–2012).

This trend together with tendencies of more market-oriented attitudes among journalism students in other Nordic countries may point to a future development of profession's self-understanding. In other words, it is likely that the transition from the high modernist ideals toward liquid ethos in the professional culture of journalists will be reflected among Finnish journalism students and journalists more strongly in the future. The fact that Finnish journalism students came from homes with more interest in culture than in other Nordic countries in the Hovdabrekka study may explain why Finnish students showed so far more resistance to the market orientation and cherished autonomously-oriented ideals more strongly.

There can also be internal differences according to different institutional profiling between journalism schools. Interestingly, Hovden (2014) observed in his analysis on Nordic journalism students that the students from Helsinki had opinions closer to their Swedish, Norwegian and Danish peers than the Finnish students in Tampere and Jyväskylä, reflecting the cultural differences between the Swedish and Finnish cultures in Finland. **This difference may also reflect students' practices of using media. Swedish speaking journalism students seem to follow actively Nordic media, especially Swedish media.**

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