

<https://helda.helsinki.fi>

Introduction : The Nordic Model of Journalism Education

Fredrik Hovden, Jan

NORDICOM, Göteborg University
2016

Fredrik Hovden , J , Nygren , G & Zilliacus-Tikkanen , M H 2016 , Introduction : The Nordic Model of Journalism Education . in J F Hovden , G Nygren & H Zilliacus-Tikkanen (eds) , Becoming a Journalist : Journalism education in the Nordic countries . NORDICOM, Göteborg University , Gothenberg , pp. 11-23 . <
http://www.nordicom.gu.se/sites/default/files/publikationer-hela-pdf/becoming_a_journalist.pdf
>

<http://hdl.handle.net/10138/231690>

acceptedVersion

Downloaded from Helda, University of Helsinki institutional repository.

This is an electronic reprint of the original article.

This reprint may differ from the original in pagination and typographic detail.

Please cite the original version.

The Nordic Model of Journalism Education

Jan Fredrik Hovden, Gunnar Nygren, Henrika Zilliacus-Tikkanen

There is a "Nordic model" of journalism education. This is partly due to great similarities in the Nordic countries and their history, which has led to similar political and media systems, systems of professional journalism and education. But it is also a result of the extensive dissemination of ideas across borders due to a tradition of close collaboration and close social ties among the Nordic journalism educators.

The Nordic countries are part of a common history and culture, both in the broad sense and in the more specific history of their media and journalistic systems. Since Viking times, the countries have been intertwined. Politically this has happened through the various unions since the 12th century, and they have a highly shared literature and arts background, made possible by the linguistic situation (the Scandinavian languages are dialects with a common root in Old Norse, and are easily understandable across borders. The Finnish language has different roots, but Finland is a bilingual country, Swedish being its other official language). Liberal democracy was gradually introduced in all these small countries throughout the 19th century and the early 20th century, and strong welfare states have developed with a largely shared social-democratic politico-cultural foundation, with principles of universalism and justice, and an ethics of contribution, work and distribution (Brochmann and Hagelund 2012) - often referred to as the "Nordic model".

Within the Nordic region the organization of mass media and communication has followed parallel paths, leading to distinct media systems whose similarities are often emphasized in international reviews (Meier and Trappel 1992; Curran 2002; Hallin and Mancini 2004). As noted by several scholars (e.g. Gustafsson 1980; Hallin and Mancini 2004; Mancini 2005), the formation of European media systems - marking an important difference to the US - have been closely connected with the underlying philosophy of the welfare state. Two incorporations of such ideal objectives entail the establishment and strong support of public-service broadcasting, and economic subsidies for the press, the latter practice having started in Scandinavia and later being adopted in many other countries (Mancini 2005). While these ideas have been variously implemented - and upheld - in the European countries, the Nordic countries can be said to form a relatively homogenous case, with a particularly strong link between these welfare ideals and media

organization, bringing some scholars to suggest the notion of media welfare states (Syvertsen et al. 2014).

In the work of Hallin and Mancini (2004), the Nordic countries are seen as the most similar of all the countries within the *Democratic Corporatist* model of media systems, as well as the most ideal-typical example of it, opposed to the Southern European countries in the *Polarized Plurist* corner and the mostly English-speaking countries in the *Liberal* corner (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Relation of the individual cases to the three models (Hallin and Mancini 2004)



Some of the common features emphasized for Democratic Corporatist systems, as summarized by Nord (2008), are: an early development of a mass-circulation press and a high relative circulation of newspapers even today; historically a strong party press thus providing external pluralism; a shift towards a neutral commercial press and broadcasting relative autonomy in political issues; strong journalistic professionalism and institutionalized self-regulation; strong state intervention at a structural level; press subsidies; and strong public service broadcasting. In contrast, the Liberal model (e.g. the US and UK) is seen as characterized by a press with more moderate circulation, market-oriented media, highly professional but non-institutional self-regulation, and less state intervention in the form of subsidies and regulation (Hallin and Mancini 2004).

Nordic scholars have discussed at length the adequacy of this description for the Nordic countries. Lars Nord (2008), in a historical study based mostly on media market statistics (excluding Iceland), notes that international media market trends have weakened many

of the central traits of Hallin and Mancini's model, and moved the Nordic countries towards the Liberal model: a loss of newspapers' party press character; declining importance of governmental press subsidies; ownership concentration; and a shrinking number of newspapers and falling audiences for both the press and public service broadcasting, to name but some. At the same time, the changes have not been the same in all four countries or occurred with the same strength. Particularly Denmark, which has traditionally had the least developed newspaper market, also appears to be the country to have moved most towards the Liberal model (Ibid.)

On the other hand, Nord identifies many persistent characteristics of the Nordic media systems: the press still has a strong self-regulation system, the daily newspapers and public broadcasters have been quite successful in defending their market position in the age of Internet (with the Nordic countries having the most digitally connected public in the world, cf. Bilbao-Osorio, Dutta, and Lanvin 2014) and increasing private competition, and readership figures are still generally much higher than in most Liberal countries. While Nord suggests that the Nordic countries are best seen as "four different variations of a mixture of democratic corporatist national structures and more external liberal influences" (Ibid.) he still, like ourselves and other scholars (see e.g. Syvertsen et al. 2014), finds it meaningful in an international context to talk of a Nordic model of media systems, although perhaps more with the logic of what Wittgenstein (1965, 166) calls family resemblance than in the form of essential core traits shared by all.

A Nordic model of journalism education?

Not surprisingly, given their comparable societies and media systems, journalism education in the Nordic countries has many similarities, in both the history of their development and their present situation.

Whereas there were some important pre-war initiatives for the teaching of journalism in the Nordic countries, the start of formal journalism education - like in most other North European countries - was mainly a feature of the post-war era. With the introduction of television and the expansion of the traditional press and radio, the in-house apprentice system could not train enough journalists to keep up with demand. Also, the rising importance of journalism in society strengthened the view that it should become a profession and needed a formal education structure (Weibull 2009). The initiatives for formal journalism programmes were often a joint effort by the press organizations and universities, although the power relations between these actors appear to have varied (Ibid. and Gardeström in this anthology), resulting in a variety of arrangements. Often, journalism programmes started as independent institutions and were later nationalized and became part of the college and university system, reflecting the high level of trust in government institutions in the Democratic Corporatist model (Ibid.), in contrast to the

often more hesitant development of formal journalism education in many Liberal systems (cf. Hallin and Mancini, p. 222). Furthermore, regional and other interests have contributed to the geographical and institutional spread of institutions offering vocational training, contributing to today's mosaic of journalism programmes in the Nordic countries.

Until the late 1990s, journalism education in Denmark was completely dominated by one institution - the Danish school of Journalism in Aarhus, which in 1960 was disassociated from the University of Aarhus and began being led by a board of journalism professionals. Offering vocational training for newcomers and established journalists, it in effect held a monopoly on journalism education until the late 1990s, when two much smaller university-based education programmes were established in Roskilde and Odense (Minke 2009). Aarhus has also hosted a Nordic course for journalists, usually lasting three months, for more than 50 years.

Norway's modern journalism education has been institutionally more pluralistic. Starting as a press-governed journalism school in 1965, it was later incorporated into Oslo University College. Competing programmes were established in several coastal towns - starting with Volda in 1971, followed by Bodø and Stavanger in 1987. A Christian Lutheran institution, Gimlekollen, established its school for journalism in 1981 and was approved as a full college in 1996. Later establishments include programmes at the old universities of Oslo and Bergen (the former in cooperation with its city's university college), one in Kautokeino for the indigenous Sami people, and others at a major business school and an international college - both of which later discontinued their programmes (Bjørnsen, Hovden and Ottosen 2009).

A similar pluralism can be seen in Sweden. A journalism institute was established in Stockholm in 1960. Two years later a similar institute was established in Gothenburg, and in 1977 both were integrated into the university system. In the 1980s and 1990s many new programmes were established, including Södertörn University, Mid-Sweden University in Sundsvall, and Linnaeus University in Kalmar. Universities in Umeå, Uppsala and Lund have also offered short journalism programmes. In addition, a number of independent vocational programmes are offered in different forms (Weibull and Ghersetti 2009).

In Finland, short courses for journalists were introduced in 1925 at the Civic College in Helsinki, a semi-academic institution primarily educating civil servants. In 1960 the school was upgraded and became the University of Tampere, and began offering an academic journalism programme and a vocational programme in 1966. A journalism programme in the Swedish language started in 1962 at the Swedish School of Social Science. Today, journalism programmes in Finland are located at three universities and a

few polytechnics. Master's degrees are offered in the Finnish language at two universities, the University of Tampere and the University of Jyväskylä, and a Bachelor's degree in Swedish is offered by the Swedish School of Social Science at the University of Helsinki, with the option to continue with a Master's in communication. Polytechnics in Helsinki (Haaga-Helia), Turku (Turku University of Applied Sciences) and Oulu (Oulu University of Applied Sciences) also offer journalism programmes. (See the chapter by Hujanen, Jaakkola & Zilliacus-Tikkanen for more information.)

Comparable journalism programmes did not exist in Iceland until much later. The Union of Journalists instead assisted its members in finding relevant courses and training within and outside Iceland, and the courses at the Nordic Journalism Centre in the Danish city of Aarhus were very popular. The University of Iceland started offering a one-year study in practical communication in 1987, which became a two-year Master's degree in journalism in 2004. A BA program mixing traditional media studies and journalism has been offered at the University of Akureyri since 2003 (Guðmundsson 2009).

There are some notable differences between the offerings of journalism education in the Nordic countries. In Norway many regional universities teach journalism, a result of an active state policy to develop the country's less inhabited regions. Denmark, in contrast, which is a smaller country (in area but not in population), had for a long time only one journalism programme. In Finland the language divide (both Finnish and Swedish are official languages) has resulted in journalism programmes in both languages. In Sweden the most important academic journalism programmes originally developed outside the old universities, partly as a result of difficulties establishing a new professional education in an old academic environment.

In a review of the journalism education landscape in 33 European countries, Kaarle Nordenstreng (2009) concludes that "... the overall landscape emerging ... is far from clear and does not follow the simple division into three proposed by Hallin and Mancini". While we agree with this description on a European level, we will still argue that the Nordic countries, despite their many differences, offer a largely shared, and somewhat different, model for journalism education than most other European countries. Whereas countries like Germany usually admit only students with a strong academic background to their journalism programmes and offer in-house training (volontariat), the Scandinavian countries offer an integrated model (Weibull 2009) whereby the programmes offer both practical courses in media production and more academic subjects, often taking in young students with little educational or work experience. Also, the process described by Splichal and Sparks (1994) as the "graduatization" of journalism is very strong in the Nordic countries, as a Bachelor's or Master's degree in journalism has become the norm as a prerequisite for entering the profession. In Sweden, about 70 per cent of all journalists under 35 years of age have an academic journalism education,

and universities have become the main path into the profession. In Poland, in contrast, only a minority of young journalists come from an academic journalism programme (Glowacki 2015).

The many similarities of their educational and media systems, and relative lack of language barriers, means that Nordic journalism teachers have very often looked across the Nordic borders for useful models and inspiration for their own programmes. The development of the early journalism schools in the 50s and 60s was done in close collaboration across the borders, and in 1963 this was formalized in the establishment of a Nordic network for journalism education which today includes 21 schools¹, and since 1963 has organized regular meetings, seminars and exchange programmes for Nordic journalism teachers (for more information, see Westman 1993). Helped by the small size of the Nordic teaching community, this network has strengthened the social bonds of this group and also constituted a common marketplace for pedagogical ideas, normative ideals and practical ways of teaching journalism which has contributed to their swift spread and a remarkable homogeneity in the journalism programmes in the Nordic countries.

New challenges for journalism education

The Nordic system of journalism education can be regarded as something between a unique and a typical case (cf. Yin 2003). While being a part of Western Europe, the Nordic countries constitutes a region with offer a distinct system and tradition for journalism and journalism education. The focus on the particularities of this case and its internal variations show ways of making journalists which differ from more well-described cases in other media systems (particularly the UK and the US). And if read in an anthropological spirit, such comparisons provide insight in the way journalism as a practice, a belief and a subject of teaching is connected to a particular societal situation - the organization of the national state, its media markets, the educational system, national and journalistic cultures and so forth. This book thus adds a broad collection of studies of a (internationally, at least) relatively little-known case to the small, but fast-growing international academic literature on the subject (see in particular de Burgh 2005, Franklin and Mensing 2011, Frölich and Holtz-Bacha 2003).

On the other hand, the case for a Nordic *exceptionalism* should not be overstressed. Even if journalism research has lessened considerably the former faith in the universalism of the US model of journalistic professionalism and other countries' inevitable movement towards it (for a critique, see e.g. Weaver and Wilnat 2012), the general aims of teaching journalism in most countries are quite similar: students need to know how to express

¹ <http://nordiskjournalistutbildning.org> (In Swedish only).

themselves, understand the genres, master the instruments of production and how to handle sources, become familiar with the national professional norms, and so forth. As a consequence, the teaching of journalism is in important ways quite similar all over the world. Furthermore, journalism in the Nordic countries is subject to changes and pressures shared with most other countries in the Western world. On a societal level these are linked to megatrends like economic and cultural globalization, a changing composition of the population (e.g. due to increasing immigration and level of schooling), the impact of new information technology, and so forth. A major ongoing reorientation is simultaneously taking place within journalism; Martin Eide (2015) has suggested four major trends:

- *a de-industrialization of journalism* (e.g. changes due to the collapse of traditional business models for news journalism, and a digitalization of production which means it is less bound to time and space than analogue journalism);
- *an increasing need for the justification and legitimation of journalism* (e.g. via media accountability systems and other systems of transparency vis-a-vis the public and politicians);
- *the participatory turn: changing relations between journalistic professionals and amateurs* (e.g. blogs, citizen journalism); and
- *a changing cognitive framework among professionals for understanding journalism* (e.g. the increasing use of metaphors of teamwork, dialogue, conversation).

Each of these aspects poses major challenges for journalism education. The changing needs (real and perceived) for the various qualifications of a journalist, the changing organization of the production of journalism, uncertainty about the relevant norms and obligations of journalism versus the public, new ways of communicating with a highly educated public, new technology for the production and dissemination of news - everything that changes the production of journalism and its role in society necessarily poses both problems and possibilities for those who take on the task of educating the new entrants to the profession.

Summary and plan for the book

The work with this anthology started, fittingly, as a pre-conference to the conference for Nordic journalism teachers in Reykjavik in September 2014. But the initial idea for this book came much earlier, at a similar conference in Höfðabrekku in 2004. While not offering an exhaustive or representative review of the research tradition for this theme in the Nordic countries - not least because of its emphasis on the most current research and on studies encompassing more than one school - this book demonstrates many of the common preoccupations in this extensive and growing body of research.

Part 1: A Nordic model

The book consists of twenty chapters organized in four parts. In the first part, this introduction is followed by a comparative review of the early institutional history of Nordic journalism education. Criticizing whig history presentations of journalism education as a natural progression in the history from trade to profession, *Elin Gardeström* (Chapter 2) argues that the establishment of formal journalism programmes in Sweden was a solution largely forced upon the press organizations, who fought to maintain control over the accreditation and training of journalists, wanting to socialize them to the particular regional and political culture of their newsrooms. As mass media expanded and was commercialized in the post-war years, however, this original apprentice system broke down, as the newspapers were neither able to train enough journalists nor keep their trainees very long. Given the real threat that other actors (universities, the Nordic council, political parties, private entrepreneurs) would arrange journalism education according to their agendas, the press was forced to collaborate in establishing independent schools of journalism, which were later nationalized and became part of the state educational system. While there are important variations on this story in the different Nordic countries, not least in the degree of collaboration of the press with academic institutions and the time frame of the integration into universities, Gardeström argues that the Nordic countries have largely followed similar paths.

In Chapter 3, Jan Fredrik Hovden and Rune Ottosen present an overview of the Hovdabrekka study, the largest survey of journalism students in the world at the time of writing, surveying almost five thousand students from 30 journalism programmes in the Nordic countries in the years 2005-2012. They provide an overview of the main differences in the students' professional ideals and views regarding journalism, their job aspirations and social recruitment. Interpreting their data largely from a Bourdieuan perspective, they find that Nordic students overall have a largely shared professional orientation (with the Scandinavian countries being the most similar), but note that the differences are larger within in each country than between the countries, which points to the importance of understanding the particular social recruitment patterns and the nature of the institutions involved. The authors also argue that Nordic students are becoming more similar in their professional orientation.

Part 2. Professional (re)orientations

In the second part of the book, Nordic journalism students' professional orientation is analysed in more detail through a series of chapters mixing more detailed regional accounts, comparisons to other countries, and further contextualization through comparisons with professional ideals asserted by teachers and curricula. *Gunnar Nygren* (Chapter 4) looks at how Swedish journalism students differ from their Polish and Russian counterparts, and how the students differ from the professionals in their country.

While it is found that important national traits of the professional culture of journalism are transferred to the students (e.g. finding more tolerance in Russia for the political activity of journalists than in Poland, a lower tolerance for working with PR in Sweden, and lower watchdog ideals in Russia), there are also quite surprising similarities. In each country students are not more but less focused on the critical role of journalism, and less critical regarding quality in journalism and the development of press freedom than the professionals, who also emphasize professional integrity and neutrality more than students do. As Nygren writes, this might indicate that important parts of professionalism (the borders of the profession, detachment, and what a journalist can do) are still a matter for socialization in the newsroom.

Combining surveys of students, interviews with educators and analyses of syllabi within three very different Swedish journalism programmes, *Gunilla Hultén and Antonia Wiklund's* work (chapter 5) identifies divides and conflicting positions between the students' and educators' journalistic ideals, between teaching practices and the content of the syllabi, and between educational ideals and learning outcomes. Educators are generally more inclined towards investigative journalism, while students are more oriented towards the aesthetic and narrative aspects of journalism, the latter occupying a weak position in the learning outcomes of the universities' syllabi. In particular, their work points to the challenging position of the educators, who must navigate between the need to adjust the training to a transforming media landscape and to meet the expectations of the students, and the obligation to comply with the requirements of the national educational system.

Using data from the Hovdabrekka surveys, two Danish and three Finnish scholars then give an overview of the professional orientations of the students in their country. Focusing on the students' attachment to the "hierarchies of production" in light of the changing industry, *Jannie Møller Harley and Maria Bendix* (Chapter 6) find that while Danish students have somewhat increased their interest in specializing in multimedia and online journalism in recent years, their ideals remain quite stable and largely traditional, with work in television and print being valued higher than working online and at magazines, and ideals of the investigative reporter, working in hard news and so forth, are still dominant among the next generation of journalists in Denmark. *Jaana Hujanen, Maarit Jaakkola and Henriikka Zilliacus-Tikkanen* (Chapter 7) provide a thorough discussion of the particular history of journalism education and the changing industry situation in Finland, noting a similar pattern in this country and also pointing out a conflict between how the journalism students see the role of the journalist in society - as a watchdog, a criticizing power and a catalyst of debate - and their relatively individual motives for choosing the occupation.

The last two chapters in this part are concerned with an important part of journalism

students' orientation to their future profession which is seldom studied: their media consumption. As the authors note, such consumption is important, firstly because up-to-date general knowledge of the social world and its debates is an important prerequisite for contributing to the grand conversation, a task whose importance is not only stressed by the schools and the profession but is also cited by students as a very important motivation for becoming journalists. Furthermore, media consumption is also an important way for students to learn journalistic craftsmanship (e.g. genres, storytelling) and professional norms. Finally, the students' media consumption may also provide us clues about their future professional use of and preferences for various media. *Ulrika Andersson* (Chapter 8) finds that while there are national variations, Nordic journalism students generally consume printed and online newspapers to a higher extent than the average young adult media user. They are also much like their peers in that they devote a great deal of time to social media activities and television watching, and prefer online media to printed news media. A similar result is found by *Erik Eliasson and Maarit Jaakkola* (Chapter 9) in their investigations of Swedish and Finnish students, where they argue that the ubiquitous ownership of private smartphones and the students' active readership of new media and fundamental cross-media behaviour have an unrealized pedagogical potential for journalism schools.

Part 3: Meeting the challenges

While the professional orientation of journalism students will always be different from that of previous generations, and thus holds the potential for conflicts with and a rejuvenation of the profession and the teaching of journalism, these are but some of the many challenges journalism teachers face in these turbulent times for journalism.

What exactly is it, for example, that the industry wants from the journalism school? Bypassing the speculation of other researchers, *Arne Krumsvik* (Chapter 10) goes to those in the industry who hire his journalism students, and asks them. In their view, the new talent required in the market of today consists of critical journalists who have good communication skills and understand the business of news. Journalism school, however, is seen as doing a better job teaching competences regarded as less important to recruiters, such as genre- and medium-specific knowledge, and the role of the journalist in society. This points to a gap between supply and demand, which journalism schools need to consider carefully.

Another challenge is not only that many journalism students have a hard time finding relevant jobs, but also that their chances for a successful career is strongly gendered. Tracing 500 alumni from a journalism school over a 20-year period, *Hege Lamark* (Chapter 11) finds that while women in Norway have long been in the majority among journalism students, men are still in the majority when it comes to starting work as a

journalist after qualifying, and this gender gap increases over time. While the reasons for the gap appear to be complex, Lamark's demonstration of gendered patterns of exclusion should be heeded by every journalism educator. The same goes for the work of *Anders Graver Knudsen* and *Gunn Bjørnsen* (Chapter 12), who both quantitatively and qualitatively explore the situation of journalism students - and journalists - with a minority background. Exploring first the various attempts to increase their numbers and success, the interviews also shed light on the particular challenges these journalists face in their professional life, particularly what they call the burden of representation – the expectation that they have a special obligation to represent the ethnic “others” in Norwegian society.

The increasing multi-ethnic character of the Nordic societies and the need for journalists who reflect this development is linked to another series of challenges, related to increasing globalisation. First, many journalism schools have a transnational cooperation, in many cases with non-Western countries, offering exchanges and meetings of both teachers and students. *Terje Skjerdal and Hans-Olav Hodøl* (Chapter 13) argues that for students, such experiences are often very positive, and in some cases appear to be directly responsible for leading them to careers working with global issues. *Kristin Skare Orgeret* (Chapter 14), while also arguing for the many benefits of such institutional cooperation, demonstrates how certain issues in which the cultural and political differences are great - in her case, attitudes to homosexuality among Norwegian and Ugandan journalism teachers - can be both a highly thorny subject in cooperation but also educational, by shedding light on how journalistic concepts that appear to be globally shared - like “objectivity” - are actually highly polysemic, with varying definitions across and within geographical regions.

Last in this section, *Roy Krøvel* (Chapter 15) tackles the issue of how journalism education prepares students for a theme like global warming, which demonstrates the problems of treating journalistic objectivity as a question of balance. Surveying professional journalists, journalism students and educators, Krøvel finds that whereas the students are initially more idealistic and positive regarding political engagement, they gradually become more similar to the journalists in their professional norms, e.g. becoming less inclined to accept membership in political organizations and more inclined to see objectivity as balance.

Part 4: Meeting the field

Many of the changes and troubles facing Nordic journalism are personally and intensely experienced by the journalism students themselves. The internal training in “doing real journalism” at the journalism schools and their first time spent at a “real” newsroom outside are very important, formative experiences for the students in their professional

careers - in some sense, a professional rite of passage (van Gennep 1981). How do the journalism students experience this meeting with a new journalistic reality that is often far from the protected situation and ideals of journalism school? How do they learn to decide what is newsworthy and to give - and receive - criticism and input concerning their journalism work? And is journalism school a conservative or reactionary force in the development of journalism?

In Chapter 16, *Jenny Wiik* complements the previous, mostly quantitative studies with written reflections by Swedish journalism students following their internships. She shows how the expectations of the fundamental flexibility of labour and willingness to change are inscribed in the experiences of the students, who express a pragmatic and perhaps disillusioned attitude regarding working in news media. They feel that their creativity, enthusiasm and proficiency in digital media are desired, but often find themselves being used for simple, monotonous duties and believe their chances for a stable, long-term appointment are slim. If the journalistic ideals they learned in school are mentioned, it is usually to emphasize their unattainableness. Some students question their choice of career while others are more optimistic, and see possibilities to reinvigorate the field and strive for journalistic ideals, albeit perhaps in new forms. Wiik notes that journalism educators need to not only think more about how to prepare students for the great variation in internship organizations and the realities of their work, but also how to use the students' experiences to re-evaluate and redefine the journalistic role in a democratically sustainable way.

In the next three chapters, four scholars discuss how professional competences should be - and are - learned at journalism schools. Based on a study of twelve Danish journalist interns, *Gitte Gravengaard and Lene Rimestad* (Chapter 17) criticize deficiencies in the traditional teaching of the news criteria in the Danish journalism education, offering instead an eight-factor model of what they see as a more adequate description of what "a good news story" is in real newsrooms. *Hilde Kristin Dahlstrøm* (Chapter 18) finds that students feel they learn a great deal from internal practice periods and get a realistic taste of the profession that awaits them, but that practical skills are highlighted as learning outcomes. *Astrid Gynhild* (Chapter 19) discusses the usefulness of feedback training in building productive and trusting learning environments for students.

Ending with a critical discussion on the role of journalism schools, the contribution of *Ida Willig* (Chapter 20) suggests that the dominant form of journalism education in the Nordic countries, through the strong focus on journalism as a craft and the practice of long internships, also contributes to an orthodox and conserving dynamic in the journalistic field. In her case, Denmark, where there are only three formal places of education, the question also arises as to whether the schools do not contribute to a narrow recruitment to the profession. She suggest that there is very little competition regarding

the core values of journalism, and a homogenous culture consecrating the craft perspective of journalism.

Bibliography

Bilbao-Osorio, Beñat, Soumitra Dutta, and Bruno Lanvin (2014) *Global Information Technology Report 2014*. Geneva: World Economic Forum.

Bjørnsen, Gunn, Jan Fredrik Hovden, and Rune Ottosen (2009) “The Norwegian Journalism Education Landscape” in Terzis (ed.) *European Journalism Education*. Bristol: Intellect Books/UCP.

Brochmann, G, and A Hagelund (2012) *Immigration Policy and the Scandinavian Welfare State 1945-2010*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian.

De Burgh, Hugo, ed. (2005) *Making journalists*. London: Routledge.

Curran, James (2002) *Media and Power*. London: Sage.

Eide, Martin (2015) “Journalistic reorientations” in Eide, Larsen and Sjøvaag (ed.) *Journalism Re-examined*. London: Intellect.

Franklin, Bob, and Donica Mensing (2014) *Journalism education, training and employment*. New York: Routledge.

Fröhlich, Romy, and Christina Holtz-Bacha (2003) *Journalism education in Europe and North America: an international comparison*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.

Ghersetti, Marina, and Lennart Weibull (2009) “The Swedish Journalism Education Landscape” in Terzis (ed.) *European Journalism Education*. Bristol: Intellect Books/UCP.

Glowacki, Michal (2015) “Who is a journalist today: mapping selected dimensions for comparative studies on journalism”. In Nygren, Gunnar and Dobek-Ostrowska, Boguslawa: *Journalism in change. Professional journalistic cultures in Poland, Russia and Sweden*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang

Gudmundson, Birgir (2009) “The Icelandic Journalism Education Landscape” in Terzis (ed.) *European Journalism Education*. Bristol: Intellect Books/UCP.

Gustafsson, Erik (1980) “The Press Subsidies of Sweden: A Decade of Experiment.” In

Smith (ed.) *Newspapers and democracy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT.

Hallin, Daniel C., and Paolo Mancini (2004) *Comparing media systems. Three models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mancini, Paolo (2005) "Is there an European model of journalism?" In de Burgh (ed.) *Making journalists*. London: Routledge.

Meier, W. A., and Joseph Trappel (1992) "Small states in the shadow of giants." In Siune and Truetzschler (eds.) *Dynamics of Media Politics*. London: Sage.

Minke, Kim (2009) "The Danish Journalism Education Landscape" in Terzis (ed.) *European Journalism Education*. Bristol: Intellect Books/UCP.

Nord, Lars (2008) "Comparing Nordic media systems: North between West and East?" *European Journal of Communication* 15(1):95-110.

Nordenstreng, Kaarle (2009) "Soul-searching at the Crossroads of European Journalism Education" in Terzis (ed.) *European Journalism Education*. Bristol: Intellect Books/UCP.

Splichal, Slavko, and Colin Sparks (1994) *Journalists for the 21st century*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Pub.

Syvertsen, Trine, Hallvard Moe, Gunn Enli, and Ole Johan Mjøs (2014) *The Media Welfare State: Nordic Media in the Digital Era*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Van Gennep, Arnold (1981) *Rites de passage*. Paris: Picard.

Weibull, Lennart (2009) "Introduction: The Northern European/Democratic Corporatist Media Model Countries." In Terzis (ed.) *European Journalism Education*. Bristol: Intellect Books/UCP.

Westman, Ulla-Stina (1993) "Tretton berättelser om Soc&kom" (Thirteen tales of Soc&kom). *SSKH Meddelanden* 28. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Willnat, Lars, and David H. Weaver (2012) *The Global journalist in the 21st Century*. New York: Routledge.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig (1965) *Philosophical Investigations*. New York: MacMillian.

Yin, Robert K (2003) *Case study research: design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.