

Journalistic Roles, Values and Qualifications in the 21st century

How European journalism educators view the future of a profession in transition

Nico Drok

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1. Foreword

Over the past thirty-eight years, I have been working in journalism education in the Netherlands. Looking back, the first twenty years (1980 – 2000) were rather uncomplicated. Journalism was doing very well in our part of the world. Print circulation rose to a historic height in the nineties. Audience ratings and advertising revenues peaked. Our main job as educators was to closely follow this highly successful industry by teaching our students the tricks of the trade, together with some reflection on journalism's role in society and knowledge about political, social, economic and cultural issues. Being in this 'follower mode' has been a rather comfortable position.

At the end of the nineties this began to change. The public's interest in the products of professional journalism stagnated and for the first time in decades started to drop. Scholars and media organizations alike began to worry about the future of professional journalism. A BBC-report effectively described quality journalism as "*a melting iceberg travelling south*" (Barnett & Seymour, 1999). For journalism education things became more complicated. The status quo in the industry could no longer serve as the indisputable aim. Journalism schools had to change from the *follower* mode to the *innovator* mode (Deuze, 2006). They had to get used to the idea that they should become active players in the process of renewing journalism.

In order to help renewing journalism through education, institutes for journalism education had to replace aiming at the status quo by aiming at an uncertain future. Should the new aiming point be journalism as it is most likely to develop, given current techno-economic trends? Or should the discussion be taken to a normative level by asking what journalism *could* be (cf. Zelizer, 2017)? Many schools of journalism seemed to be reluctant to opt for a more normative approach of innovation. In their thinking about renewal they were rather persistent in their inclination to follow the industry. And thus define innovation mainly in terms of commerce (e.g. business models, entrepreneurship, niche-marketing) and technology (e.g. social media, data mining, mobile distribution, virtual reality), and not so much by questioning the goals, roles and values of professional journalism. At the same time many educators became more concerned with the growing emphasis on the training-for-the-industry paradigm in journalism education (Goodman & Steyn, 2017).

There can be no doubt that students should learn to master the essential routines of their future profession. This still is a necessary condition in journalism education, but it is not sufficient in times of change. Next to that it is getting more important that they learn to ask critical questions about the culture of journalism in a changing context. "*Journalists need to be able to critically reflect the current values and practices and possibly alter their own professional positions and work methods due to this reflection*" (Ahva, 2013: 20). In recent years the broader concept of innovation – that is: not only focusing on the (economic and technological) *means*, but also include rethinking the *ends* of journalism – has gained ground. The European Journalism Training Association (EJTA) has acknowledged this and taken '*Renewing journalism through education*' as the central theme for its strategy in the coming

years. A key concept in that strategy is that of the ‘reflective practitioner’ (cf. Schön, 1983). In this concept, two traditions within European journalism education come together: on the one hand the academic tradition, aimed at reflection and research on a meta level, on the other hand the vocational tradition, aimed at mastering practical skills and knowledge on the executive level. In the concept of the reflective practitioner both dimensions are combined in a balanced way.

In the process of renewing journalism through education, teachers play a pivotal role. What so they see as the most important tasks for future journalists? In which direction do they want professional journalism to evolve? What do they consider to be the essential values? Which qualifications would they want their students to have after completing their journalism education? However, there is little knowledge about the views of journalism teachers on the journalistic roles, values and qualifications of the 21st century. That is why the European Journalism Training Association launched a large-scale survey among journalism educators about *their* vision. The research design has made use of the large-scale, international research programme “Worlds of Journalism” (<http://www.worldsofjournalism.org/>) that is focused on practitioners and on the worldwide research programme “Journalism Students Across the Globe” (<http://www.jstudentsproject.org/>), that is focused on journalism students. This will enable comparisons between practitioners, teachers and students.

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Dr. Maria Lukina – Chair	Moscow
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We hope that this research report can shed some light on how journalism teachers view the future of a profession in transition.

Nico Drok
Zwolle, May 2019

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2. Introduction¹

The crisis in journalism

Professional journalism has left its golden age. After several decennia of prosperity and growth in circulation, in viewers and listeners and in advertisement turnout, professional journalism finds itself confronted with a profoundly uncertain future. It has arrived at a crossroads: can it move to 'digital' and after that continue its path in the same direction, or is a turn into a new direction required? Is it enough to reconsider the financial and technological *means* that journalism needs to do its job, or does it also call for rethinking the *goals and values* of journalism. In recent years, many studies appeared that consider journalism as being 'disrupted' (Nieman Reports, 2012). They suggest that professional journalism needs to be 'reconstructed' (Downie and Schudson, 2010), 'rethought' (Peters and Broersma, 2013), 'reinvented' (Waisbord, 2013), 'rebuilt' (Anderson, 2013), 'reconsidered' (Alexander et al., 2016) and 'rethought again' (Peters and Broersma, 2017).

Ten years earlier, in the period that started with the birth of Web 2.0, the idea grew that "the people formerly known as the audience" (Rosen, 2006) would take over control of the media and a new era had arrived: the era of "we, the media" (Gillmor, 2004). The optimism about the virtues of 'citizen journalism' has gone again (cf. Quandt, 2018), and has been largely replaced by the conviction that we still need professional journalists that serve the public and support a democratic culture by

- providing an insight into important political, economic and socio-cultural conditions
- holding institutions and officials accountable,
- supporting citizens to make choices in societal and personal contexts (cf. EJTA, 2013).

These are tasks for independent, critical and reliable professionals and they should not be given in the hands of the state, of commerce or of amateurs. However, the profession that has to guarantee relevant and trustworthy information finds itself in a double crisis: a financial crisis and a functional one.

The *financial* crisis concerns the diminishing reach of paid for mainstream news media. The interest of the public for professionally produced news is going down, especially among the young (see for instance Mindich, 2005; Curran et al., 2014; Drok et al. 2017). This often goes hand in hand with a decreasing willingness to pay for news, which clearly is threatening the existence of mainstream news media, especially those in the private sector (Splichal & Dahlgren, 2016).

The *functional* crisis is also about a diminishing reach, but on a deeper level. It concerns the declining relevance and meaning of journalism for various groups and communities in society.

¹ This Introduction contains parts of the book chapter 'Innovation' by Nico Drok, in Rupar, V. (2017). *Themes and Critical Debates in Contemporary Journalism*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Blumler (2011: xv) has interpreted the two crises as follows: *“One is a crisis of viability, principally though not exclusively financial, threatening the existence and resources of mainstream journalistic organisations. The other is a crisis of civic adequacy, impoverishing the contributions of journalism to citizenship and democracy.”*

Within the news industry, these two crises are not always clearly distinguished. They are mostly seen as one and the same crisis. As a consequence, the causes of *both* crises are considered to be of a technological or economic nature. Therefore, also the solutions are looked for in the techno-economic sphere. This might work for the financial crisis, but it is not enough to deal with the functional one. What is lacking is a thorough reflection on the roles and values of professional journalism, for *“the too often missed cultural component in explanations of the current crisis facing news, democracy and journalism in an age of digital media”* (Franklin, 2016). To understand the importance of this cultural component, we should first consider the social field of public information and communication in which the current professional culture of journalism could develop: the mass media model.

Professional culture in the mass media model

The mass media model is based on a number of specific historical conditions that can be summarized as follows. In the course of the 20th century a mass audience emerged, on the basis of a rising general level of education, growing incomes and increasing leisure time. New printing and broadcasting techniques promoted large-scale production and distribution of news. Applying these techniques led to a rising degree of capital accumulation, which functioned as a barrier to enter the news market and strengthened the trend towards concentration in the news industry. Professional journalism became a monopolistic supplier of a wanted and scarce good, that was difficult to copy-paste and often well-protected by copyright. These historical circumstances – mass audience, monopoly, scarcity – have had a strong positive impact on journalism in terms of turnover and growth. The mass media model has been the basis for the ‘golden age’ of journalism, the period of exceptional growth in the news industry during the second half of the 20th century. Picard (2013) has calculated that real income has grown with 300 percent between 1950 and 2000, which he calls: *“the unusually lucrative moment of the late 20th century.”* This translated into a substantial growth of jobs.²

The current culture of professional journalism has strong roots in this successful era. Over the years consensus grew about the core values of professional journalism, the *trias journalistica*: autonomy, objectivity and immediacy (cf. Deuze, 2005; Weaver and Willnat, 2012; Willnat, Weaver & Wilhoit, 2017; Hanitzsch, 2013; Hanitzsch, & Vos, 2018). Autonomy was seen as a necessary condition for practicing journalism free from hindrance, limitation or manipulation. Objectivity was about applying proven methods in order to be able to offer well-balanced and accurate information. Immediacy was seen as indispensable for the

² For instance: in my country (The Netherlands) the number of professional journalists grew ten times as fast as the general population between 1960 and 2000 (450 % against 45 %).

fast dissemination of news about important events and issues, what most professionals see as the core of their journalistic work. These three interrelated values have to a large extent defined the relation of professional journalism to three central concepts: power (autonomy), reality/truth (objectivity) and time (immediacy) (cf. Ahva, 2010). They set professional journalism apart from public relations, fiction or propaganda (cf. Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2007).

In the successful second half of the 20th century the professionalization of journalism advanced, for instance through codification (e.g. Code of Bordeaux, 1954) and the strong growth of the number of institutes for professional schooling in journalism. This reinforced the emancipation of journalism and contributed to the professional quality of journalistic work. However, a professionalization process can have its downsides. As the process advances, professional values and norms can become relatively autonomous and the profession can alienate itself from the rest of society (cf. Aldridge and Evetts, 2003).

At the end of the century, many stakeholders feared that in professional journalism such an alienation process was going on. *“Critics in and out of journalism agreed that journalists, like any other professional group, could become a conspiracy against the public”* (Schudson, 1999, p.121). Autonomy evolved in the direction of a desire for full professional autonomy which included stronger detachment from the public. Objectivity evolved into the direction of the belief to be a mirror of reality and truth, which included claiming neutrality. Immediacy evolved in the direction of a thirst to be first, which included a growing emphasis on getting scoops. The majority of professional journalists became devoted to the role of the neutral mirror of reality, whose main task is to spread information as fast as possible (cf. Weaver and Willnat, 2012; Hanitzsch, 2013). This direction in which the colouring of the *trias journalistica* evolved – detachment, neutrality claim, scoop driven – threatened to widen the gap between the profession and the public. As Steele noted at the end of the 20th century: *“The creation of a professional class of journalists may have produced an alienation between journalism and the public”* (1997, p. 164). This is problematic for a profession that legitimizes itself on the basis of its democratic function and of its claim to act on behalf of the public (cf. Rosenberry, 2010; Ryfe, 2017).

A changing context

The societal context in which professional journalism operates, has changed in many respects over the past two decades. These changes are manifold and sometimes contradictory, but they can – with some good will – be summarized by distinguishing four main developments: informatization, internationalization, individualization, and informalization (the 4 i’s; cf. Drok, 2007).

Informatization concerns the process in which digital information technology becomes all-pervasive, entering almost every aspect of public and private life. It facilitates the emergence of a new social infrastructure of public information and communication that allows every individual or group to disseminate information on a large scale by themselves (citizen

publishing) or via a professional news organisation (user generated content, co-creation). This new structure also promotes 'disintermediation', the surpassing of journalism by public or private parties in their communication with the public, especially through the use of social media.

Internationalization concerns the growing mobility of people, goods and ideas and the increasing economic and political interdependence between nations. Important issues in society, such as sustainability or security, become more complex and can only be solved at a supranational level. At the same time, globalizing trends lead to a revival of local identity and local community. It will become more important to connect the global and the local, according to the motto: "*life is global, living is local*".

Individualization concerns the process where individuals break away from traditional social structures and value systems. It stimulates cultural diversity and individual freedom of choice, but it can also strengthen fragmentation and polarization. The process of individualization has reinforced the diminishing interest for membership of traditional civil society associations like the political party, the trade union or the church in many countries, especially among the up growing generation. At the same time there seems to be a growing need for new forms of connectedness: large-scale events flourish and communities thrive, virtual as well as geographical.

Informalization is related to individualization, but the primary focus is on the diminishing of social distance, especially with regard to its vertical dimension. It affects the relationship between the general public on one side and elites, experts and authorities on the other, which can lead to lower levels of institutional and hierarchical trust. The authority of a professional – a teacher, a doctor, a journalist – no longer automatically comes with the job, but must expressively be earned.

Against the background of these four fundamental developments, the transition from the mass media model to the network model takes place. As said before, in the context of the mass media model professional journalism has been very successful. At the turn of the millennium this started to change, as three important pillars of this model – monopoly, scarcity, mass audiences – began to erode. The monopoly on both the production and the distribution of news is coming to an end. Many new news suppliers (including aggregators, algorithms and amateurs) have entered the market and many news sources bypass professional journalists and turn to the public directly. The scarcity of news is coming to an end, partly because of the increase of the number of news suppliers, but also because digitalization has made it so much easier to copy-paste and share the news. Information has the habit of doubling when it is shared, unlike most other economic goods. As a consequence, news is increasingly seen as something you get for free, especially among the younger generations. The one-way communication to mass audiences also is coming to an end. Fragmentation of audiences requires a stronger focus on communities and target groups, that are prefer interaction to top-down communication.

Journalism in the network model

The network model requires a new interpretation of core values of professional journalism like autonomy, objectivity and immediacy. Obviously, professional autonomy remains indispensable whenever sources try to influence reporting or when the state or the market tries to suffocate journalism's freedom of investigation and expression. However, an autonomous and detached attitude with respect to the *public* should be replaced by an openness to connect and cooperate. Obviously, objectivity in method (valid, accurate, fair) must remain a distinguishing feature of professional journalism. However, the claim that the *outcome* of journalistic work is a neutral and objective reproduction of reality is questioned by growing parts of the public and difficult to maintain. It should be replaced by being transparent and showing engagement, as a new basis for establishing trust and credibility. Obviously, immediacy will remain a defining characteristic of news, as the public wants to be able to continuously monitor the world that surrounds them. However, ultimately, much of the fast news will be automated or taken over in other ways, and professional journalists should focus on slower forms of journalism, aimed at verification, investigation and problem-solving.

Figure 1 **From Mass Media Model to Network model**

20 th Century <i>Mass Media Model</i>	21 st Century <i>Network Model</i>
Infrastructure: <i>Disseminative</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- News Monopoly- Information Scarcity- Mass audiences- One-way communication	Infrastructure: <i>Interactive</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Many news suppliers- Information Abundance- Communities- Two-way communication
Journalism Culture: <i>Sender-oriented</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Autonomy- Neutrality- Objectivity- Scoop-oriented	Journalism Culture: <i>Connective</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Cooperation- Commitment- Transparency- Context-oriented

The fundamentally changing context of professional journalism, summarized by the transition from the mass media model to the network model, is an extensive and complex process (see Figure 1). It raises important questions for 21st century journalism. How to connect with the public? How to be of value in an environment where news is abundant and concentrated attention is scarce? How to develop a journalism that enables the public to come to grip with their problems? How to deal with important long-term issues in a way that offers the public

new perspectives instead of more disillusion? These kind of challenges are difficult to meet if journalists keep considering themselves mainly as detached disseminators of neutral information, as many still do according to the role perception studies that are carried out around the world (cf. <http://www.worldsofjournalism.org/>).

Over the past years, we have seen the emergence of many labels that try to grasp the new direction that journalism should take. To mention a few: communitarian journalism, conversational journalism, engaged journalism, participatory journalism, interactive journalism, reciprocal journalism, constructive journalism, solution-oriented journalism, community journalism, citizen-based journalism, slow journalism, conciliatory journalism, conflict-sensitive journalism, care journalism. All of these express the need for innovation of journalism's *culture*. Here lies an important task for journalism education.

Renewing journalism through education

As stated before, during the second half of the 20th century journalism was doing very well in our part of the world. Print circulation rose to a historic height in the nineties. Audience ratings and advertisement revenues peaked. Finding a job in journalism after graduation was relatively easy. The main task for educators was to closely follow the highly successful industry by teaching students the tricks of the trade, together with some reflection on journalism's role in society and knowledge about political, social, economic and cultural issues. Being in this 'follower mode' was a rather comfortable position.

At the end of the century things started to change. The public's interest in the products of professional journalism started to drop and nowadays news media organizations and scholars alike worry about the future of professional journalism. For journalism education the status quo in the news industry can no longer serve as the indisputable point of reference. The function of journalism in society is changing profoundly and therefore journalism schools can no longer focus on journalism as it is today. They have to look beyond the status quo and develop a normative vision on the future role of journalism in society (cf. Zelizer, 2017). As Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng and White (2009) note: "*At issue is not only what is the role of journalism in society but above all what this role should be. Such a perspective of the media's mission in democracy leads us to a normative level – beyond factual landscapes toward values and objectives*" (2009, p. vii).

Journalism schools have to become centres of reflection and they need to change from the *follower* mode to the *innovator* mode (Deuze, 2006). This is easier said than done. Many schools of journalism experience declining numbers of students and budgetary cutbacks. This favours cautiousness and a growing emphasis on the training-for-the-industry paradigm in journalism schools (cf. Goodman & Steyn, 2017), and the news industry usually wants employees that are immediately usable in the production process. Furthermore, students often have a short-term interest in getting their first job. On top of that, in many countries accreditation bodies stimulate educators to confirm to the status quo by persistently considering student's achievements at an internship and their chances of quickly getting a first

job as very important indicators for educational quality. Next to that, journalism teachers are mostly not that eager to look beyond the current practice of journalism in the first place. These are all strong mechanisms in favour of staying in the follower mode.

And if schools of journalism despite these mechanisms persist in focusing on innovation, they are usually inclined to define innovation mainly in terms of commerce (e.g. entrepreneurial journalism, new business models) and technology (e.g. robot journalism, virtual reality journalism), like the news industry does. Understandable as that may be, in the current era a broader concept of innovation is needed, one that expressively includes the cultural dimension. *“This requires shifting focus away from a fixation with anticipating technological change and emerging business models, turning instead to persistent, historically rooted concerns about journalism’s sustained democratic value”* (Creech & Nadler, 2018, p.194).

The European Journalism Training Association (EJTA) has acknowledged this and taken *‘Renewing journalism through education’* as the central theme for its strategy. A key concept in that strategy is that of the ‘reflective practitioner’.³ In this concept, two traditions within European journalism education come together: on the one hand the academic tradition, aimed at reflection and research on a meta level, on the other hand the vocational tradition, aimed at mastering practical skills and knowledge on the executive level. In the concept of the reflective practitioner both dimensions should be combined in a balanced way.

Journalism education can be perceived as a way *“in which society can intervene to influence the development of journalism”* (Curran, 2005, p. xiv). The current transition to a network society requires such an intervention, since *“...journalism is of central importance to contemporary society and its future cannot simply be left to chance or its current producers alone”* (McQuail, 2013, p. 197). In the process of adopting a concept of innovation that includes redefining the roles and values of professional journalism, teachers play a pivotal role. They have to pave the way for a journalism that fits the network model, not only in terms of technology and economics, but also in terms of professional culture.

Professional culture is at the heart of this research. The research aims at clarifying the views of teachers at European institutes for journalism education on the most important elements of the culture of journalism: its roles, its values and its qualifications. In the following chapters, the outcomes of a large-scale survey among over thousand European journalism teachers about their views on these issues are presented. Chapter 3 will go into the characteristics of European journalism teachers: who are they? Chapter 4 will focus on the future roles of journalism, divided into two elements: the tasks that journalists perform in society and the views on the position of journalists within society as well as with regard to reality/truth. Chapter 5 will go into the different role orientations in relation to journalistic values and qualifications. In chapter 6 some final conclusions will be drawn.

³ The term ‘reflective practitioner’ became popular through the work of Schön (1983), which strongly linked reflection to action. In EJTA’s strategy the concept includes reflection on the societal function of journalism.

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3. Journalism Teachers in Europe: who are they?

In this chapter, the teachers at European institutes for journalism education are mapped out. Firstly the geographical spread of EJTA Members and the respondents are described, followed by a description of the main background characteristics: Gender, Age, Educational degree, Years of Practical Experience and Teaching Subject. After that, the cross-relations and regional differences between the various background characteristics are examined.

3.1 Geography

3.1.1 EJTA Members and response

All member institutes of the European Journalism Training Association have participated in the survey. At the time of the data collection (January/February 2018) the following institutes were member and thus participant:

Country	City	Institute
Albania	Tirana	Albanian Media Institute
Austria	Wien	FHW Fachhochschule
	Krems	Center for Journalism, Danube University
	Salzburg	Kuratorium für Journalistenausbildung
Belgium	Gent	Arteveldehogeschool
	Hasselt	PXL Hogeschool Limburg
	Kortrijk	Hogeschool West-Vlaanderen
	Brussel	Institut des Hautes Etudes des Communications Sociales
	Mechelen	Thomas More
	Brussel	Erasmus Hogeschool Brussel
	Antwerpen	Artesis Plantijn Hogeschool
Bulgaria	Sofia	Sofia University
Croatia	Zagreb	Zagreb University
Cyprus	Nicosia	Open University Cyprus
Denmark	Aarhus N	Danish School of Media and Journalism
	Odense	University of Southern Denmark
Estonia	Tartu	Tartu University
Finland	Tampere	University of Tampere
	Helsinki	University of Helsinki
	Jyväskylä	University of Jyväskylä
	Turku	Turku University of Applied Sciences
	Helsinki	Haaga-Helia University of App Sciences
France	Paris	IPJ Dauphine PSL
	Paris	Ecole Supérieure de Journalisme de Paris
	Metz	Université de Lorraine Metz
Georgia	Tbilisi	Georgian Institute of Public Affairs
Germany	Wilhelmshaven	Jade University of Applied Sciences
	München	Deutsche Journalistenschule

	Hamburg	Akademie für Publizistik
	Sankt Augustin	Bonn-Rhein-Sieg University for Applied Sciences
	Dortmund	Technische Universität Dortmund
	Stuttgart	Hochschule der Medien Stuttgart
Greece	Thessaloniki,	Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
Ireland	Dublin	Dublin Institute of Technology
	Dublin	Griffith College Dublin
Italy	Milan	Catholic University of Milan
	Perugia	Centro Giornalismo Perugia
	Milan	University of Milan
Macedonia	Skopje	School of journalism and Public Relations
Netherlands	Zwolle	Hogeschool Windesheim
	Tilburg	Fontys Hogescholen
	Utrecht	Hogeschool Utrecht
	Ede	Christelijke Hogeschool Ede
	Maastricht	European Journalism Centre
Norway	Oslo	Oslo and Akershus Univ College of App Sc
Portugal	Lisboa	Centro de Formação Profissional para Jornalistas
Romania	Cluj	Babeş-Bolyai University
Russia	Moscow	Lomonosov Moscow State University
	Stavropol	North-Caucasus Federal University
	Chelyabinsk	South Ural State University
Serbia	Belgrade	University of Belgrade Political Sciences
Slovenia	Ljubljana	University of Ljubljana
Spain	Barcelona	Pompeu Fabra University
	Eskoriatza-Gipuzkoa	Mondragon University
	Madrid	Escuela de Periodismo UAM - El País
Sweden	Göteborg	Göteborgs Universitet
	Kalmar	Linnaeus University
	Huddinge	Södertörn University
	Stockholm	Stockholm University
Switzerland	Luzern	MAZ – Die Schweizer Journalistenschule
	Winterthur	IAM Institute of Applied Media Studies
	Neuchâtel	Université de Neuchâtel
Turkey	Eskişehir	Anadolu Üniversitesi
United Kingdom	Lincoln	University of Lincoln
	Birmingham	Birmingham City University
	Stoke-on-Trent	Staffordshire University
	Plymouth	University of St Mark & St John
	Liverpool	Liverpool John Moores
	Southampton	Solent University Southampton

Next to these, two additional school from France participated: from Tours and Strasbourg.

Not all European schools of journalism are a member of EJTA, but in most countries the leading schools are. The total of the participating institutes provides this research with a solid and representative base. The questionnaire was completed by more than 60% of the teachers, which can be regarded as a satisfying response. Therefore, the outcomes of this research paint a sufficiently reliable picture of the views of European journalism educators on Journalistic Roles, Values and Qualifications in the 21st century.

3.1.2 Geographical spread

In total, 1195 respondents started answering the questionnaire. Subsequently, almost 15% of them fell out during the process and 1010 respondents reached the finish.⁴

The 1195 respondents are divided over the 28 member countries as follows (Table 3.1.1):

Table 3.1.1 Geographical spread of the responding teachers

Country	N Started	%	Partially answered	Completed
Albania	10	0,8%	1	9
Austria	43	3,6%	12	31
Belgium	93	7,8%	14	79
Bulgaria	19	1,6%	3	16
Croatia	12	1,0%	0	12
Cyprus	10	0,8%	1	9
Denmark	30	2,5%	5	25
Estonia	9	0,8%	0	9
Finland	48	4,0%	2	46
France	155	13,1%	21	134
Georgia	20	1,7%	4	16
Germany	49	4,1%	18	31
Greece	26	2,2%	5	21
Ireland	35	2,9%	5	30
Italy	53	4,4%	10	43
Macedonia	19	1,6%	2	17
Netherlands	100	8,4%	11	89
Norway	16	1,3%	1	15
Portugal	33	2,8%	5	28
Romania	28	2,3%	3	25
Russia	129	10,8%	7	122
Serbia	7	0,6%	1	6
Slovenia	13	1,1%	3	10
Spain	35	2,9%	8	27
Sweden	42	3,5%	7	35
Switzerland	89	7,4%	22	67
Turkey	12	1,0%	4	8
United Kingdom	58	4,9%	8	50
Total	1193	100%	183	1010

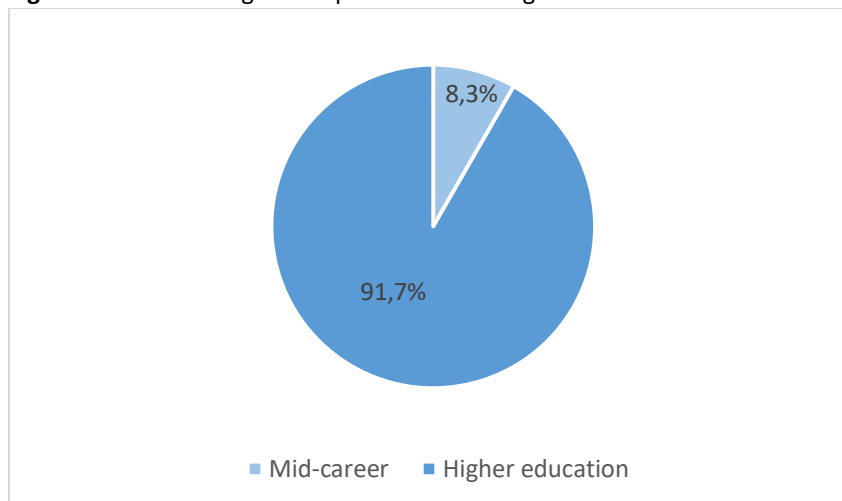
⁴ During the process of filling in the questionnaire, the number of respondents gradually dropped. In the end, about 15% of the respondents did not complete the questionnaire. In this report the actual number of respondents is taken for each question.

The European Journalism Training Association is characterized by diversity. Our member have different cultural backgrounds, they speak more than 20 different languages. Next to that, they also differ with regard to their history, political background, socio-economic conditions, media systems, views on journalism, educational traditions, types of institutions, types of students, lengths of programs, educational goals and the size and number of institutions for journalism education. For instance, Belgium and the Netherlands belong to those countries with a rather high density of journalism schools, with a considerable size, up to over 1000 students. In South Eastern Europe, in contrast, the number and size of schools of journalism is mostly modest. Table 3.1.1 gives a fairly good indication of how the educational capacity in the field of journalism is spread over Europe, although some countries are underrepresented (e.g. Germany) or overrepresented (e.g. France).

The EJTA-members can be divided into two major groups: institutes for higher education (IHE) and institutes for mid-career education (IMCE). Institutes that are in the first group are part of tertiary education and educate predominantly on the bachelor and/or master level. Institutes from the second group are focused on life-long learning and educate people that already started a career, in journalism or otherwise.

The first group is by far the largest, as is reflected in the response: 92% Higher Education; 8% Mid – Career.

Figure 3.1.1 Percentage of respondents from higher education and midcareer.



3.1.3 Six regions

Because it can be very difficult to gain a clear overview of the outcomes of a research with 28 countries involved, it was decided to group the participating countries into six regions: North, Central, East, South East, South West and West. Over the past years, quite some empirical research has been done into the best way to make a classification into regions, often with the ground-breaking work of Hallin & Mancini (2004) as a starting point.⁵

The outcomes of these empirical studies are not univocal and depend on the countries that were taken into account. The selection of countries that Brüggeman et al. (2014) did, fits best the geographical spread of the respondents in our research. On the basis of cluster analysis they sketch a dendrogram with four clusters: North (a/o Sweden, Finland), South (a/o Italy, Spain), West (a/o Ireland, Portugal) and Central (a/o Germany, Austria). This clustering can serve as a starting point, although it has some counter-intuitive elements (UK in Central and not in West; Portugal in West and not in South) and the choice of countries causes some problems: the population of purely European countries is disturbed by including the US, while on the other hand European countries from Eastern Europe and the Balkans are left out.

In our clustering we included East and South East as categories and we put the UK together with Ireland in West and Portugal together with Spain and others in South West. Like every other clustering, ours can be criticized. Labelling Germany and four of its smaller neighbouring countries as 'Central' could only be done because countries like Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Belarus did not have an EJTA member at the time of the data collection. Next to that decisions with regard to countries that are on the border of two regions, like Estonia (in our research grouped under North on the basis of their language) or Slovenia (in our research grouped under South West on the basis of their Roman Catholic tradition), can be criticized. Anyway, the placing of these smaller border countries has no major consequences for the overall picture.

Taking everything in consideration, the 28 participating countries were grouped as follows:

⁵ Hallin, D.C & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Examples of recent research:

Brüggemann, M. et al. (2014). Hallin and Mancini Revisited: Four Empirical Types of Western Media Systems, *Journal of Communication*. 64, 1037–1065

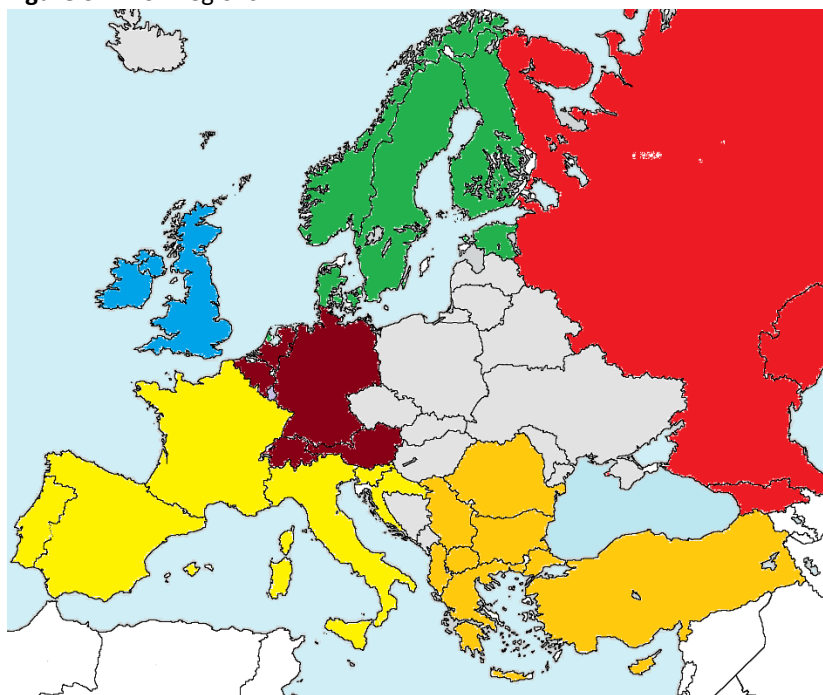
Hallin, D.C. & Mancini, P. (2017) Ten Years After Comparing Media Systems: What Have We Learned?. *Political Communication*, 34(2), 155-171, DOI: 10.1080/10584609.2016.1233158

Herrero, L. C. et al. (2017). Rethinking Hallin and Mancini Beyond the West: An Analysis of Media Systems in Central and Eastern Europe, *International Journal of Communication*. 11(2017), 4797–4823.

Mellado, C. et al. (2017). The Hybridization of Journalistic Cultures: A Comparative Study of Journalistic Role Performance, *Journal of Communication*, December 2017 DOI: 10.1111/jcom.12339

Table 3.1.2 Six regions

	Region	N	%	
	North	145	12%	Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Estonia
	Central	374	31%	Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria
	East	149	12%	Russia, Georgia
	South-East	131	11%	Albania, Macedonia, Romania, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Serbia, Turkey
	South-West	301	25%	France, Italy, Portugal, Spain Croatia, Slovenia
	West	93	8%	Ireland, United Kingdom
	Total	1193		

Figure 3.1.2 Six regions

Four regions are more or less equally represented, with about 10% of the total population of respondents. The regions South West (including a/o France) and Central (including a/o Germany) are considerably stronger represented: 25-31%. These proportions did not alter substantially in the course of the questionnaire (see Table 3.1.3)

Table 3.1.3 Six regions at the start and the finish of the survey.

	Region	% START	% FINISH
	North	12%	13%
	Central	31%	29%
	East	12%	14%
	South-East	11%	11%
	South-West	25%	25%
	West	8%	8%

The two types of members – higher education and mid-career institutes – are not equally divided over the regions. Mid-career institutes can mainly be found in Central and South West Europe.

Table 3.1.4 Type of institute by region

REGIONS X INSTITUTE TYPE %	North (N=145)	Central (N=374)	East (N=149)	South East (N=131)	South West (N=301)	West (N=93)	
Institute for higher education	97%	87%	100%	98%	86%	100%	94,5%
Mid-career training centre	3%	13%	0%	2%	14%	0%	5,5%

3.1.4 Response styles and correction

Cross-national survey research is plagued by many problems. One of the most difficult ones is that countries culturally differ in their response styles (Hofstede, 2001).⁶ Research has shown that there are “systemic differences between countries with regard to response styles” (Harzing, 2006: 244).

A 26-country comparison showed that respondents from Northern (like Denmark or Finland) and Central Europe (like Germany and The Netherlands) are less inclined to use categories 4

⁶Hofstede G. 2001. *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations across Nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA. : SAGE Publications

There is a huge body of research with regard to cross-national comparisons. See for instance:

- Beugelsdijk, S., Kostova, T., Kunst, V. E., Spadafora, E., van Essen, M. (2018). Cultural distance and firm internationalization: A meta-analytic review and theoretical implications. *Journal of Management*, 44, 89-130.
- Harzing, A.W. (2006). Response Styles in Cross-national Survey Research; A 26-country Study. *International Journal of Cross Cultural*, 6(2), 243–266.
- <http://www.geerthofstede.nl/>

and 5 and more inclined to use the middle response (3) on a five-point Likert-scale than respondents from Eastern (like Russia or Poland) or Southern Europe (like France or Greece).⁷

One way of dealing with this issue is to correct or standardize the results, although standardization might also mitigate some of the true differences. It remains difficult to assess what part of, for instance, a high mean score is caused by the effect of a certain response style and what part “truly reflects a strong opinion about the subject in question. In addition, for questionnaires that cover different topical areas, standardization over the questionnaire as a whole might cause a strong response bias for one part of the questionnaire to unduly impact on the scores of another part of the questionnaire” (Harzing, 2006: 260; see also: Hofstede, 2001).

In our research, we found systematic differences between the six regions in the answers with regard to both tasks and view. These differences more or less match the regional differences that were found in 2006. The mean of the answers of respondents from countries in North and Central Europe was on average considerably lower than the mean of the answers of respondents from countries in East and South East Europe. Respondents from the West and South West were in the middle (see Table 3.1.5). The average answer of respondents from North and Central was corrected with + 6 %, from East with – 5%, from South East with -7% and from South West and West with +1% and -1% respectively (see Table 3.1.6). These corrections stay well within reasonable limits, but they most likely help to get the best possible comparison between the six regions.

Table 3.1.5 Deviation from the overall average

North	0,94
Central	0,94
East	1,05
SouthEast	1,07
SouthWest	0,99
West	1,01

Table 3.1.6 Correction factor per region

North	1,06
Central	1,06
East	0,95
SouthEast	0,93
SouthWest	1,01
West	0,99

⁷ See: p. 253, Table 2, in Harzing, A.W. (2006). Response Styles in Cross-national Survey Research; A 26-country Study. *International Journal of Cross Cultural*, 6(2), 243–266.

3.2 Background characteristics

This paragraph gives a description of the population of journalism teachers in Europe. “Journalism teachers” is defined as all educators/trainers at an institution for journalism education, regardless of the subject they are teaching, the size of their teaching job or the nature of the institution (higher education or mid-career). In this paragraph the population is described on the basis of relevant background characteristics. In the next paragraph (3.3) associations between these characteristics and views of teachers on roles are examined.

3.2.1 Gender

The first background characteristic is gender. Table 3.2.1 shows that a slight majority of teachers is male: 53,5%, against 46,5% females. The question about gender was situated at the end of the questionnaire, together with some other questions about background. This explains the number of 1019 respondents (instead of the number of 1195 who started the questionnaire).

Table 3.2.1 Frequencies of gender

Gender	N	%
Male	545	53,5%
Female	474	46,5%
Total	1019	100%

3.2.2 Age

The average age of a journalism teacher in Europe is approximately 47 years. More than 40% of the respondents is older than 50, more than 70% is older than 40 and 95% is older than 30 (Table 3.2.2).

Table 3.2.2 Frequencies of age

Age	N	%
20-29	51	5,0%
30-39	235	23,1%
40-49	317	31,1%
50-59	290	28,5%
60-69	115	11,3%
Older	11	1,1%
Total	1019	100%

For further analysis and to keep the results conveniently arranged, respondents are divided into four age categories: 20-39; 40-49; 50-59; 60 and older (Table 3.2.3).

Table 3.2.3 Frequencies of age categories

Age category	N	%
20-39	286	28,1%
40-49	317	31,1%
50-59	290	28,5%
60 and older	126	12,4%
Total	1019	100%

3.2.3 Educational degree

More than 90% of journalism teachers in Europe has a degree in higher education. For 80% of the teachers this is a Master- or a PhD-degree. A very small group (<3%) has secondary school as their highest completed education (Table 3.2.4).

Table 3.2.4 Frequencies of educational degree

	N	%
PhD degree	368	36,1%
Master degree	448	44,0%
Bachelor degree	123	12,1%
Secondary school	28	2,7%
Other	52	5,1%
Total	1019	100%

For further analysis the categories 'Secondary school' and 'Other' are combined (Table 3.2.5).

Table 3.2.5 Frequencies of categories of educational degree

	N	%
PhD	368	36,1%
Master	448	44,0%
Bachelor	123	12,1%
Other	80	7,8%
Total	1019	100%

3.2.4 Practical Experience

At institutes for journalism education it is fairly common that teachers have affinity with and practical experience in journalism. In Europe, five out of six teachers have practical experience in the field. About two out of three teachers have more than 5 years of experience (Table 3.2.6).

Table 3.2.6 Frequencies of years of practical experience working as a journalist

	N	%
None	167	16,4%
1-5	184	18,1%
6-15	291	28,6%
16-30	260	25,5%
More than 30	116	11,4%
Total	1018	100%

3.2.5 Teaching Subject

The majority of teachers at a European institute for journalism education teaches Journalism (skills, principles): almost 60%. The next group in line are teachers of Communication science/Media theory (11,8%). After that follow General knowledge (6,0%), Research methods (5,4%) and Language (4,0%) (Table 3.2.7).

The high percentage of respondents that teach Journalism Skills and/or Principles is related to the fact that at many European universities the study of Journalism follows an undergraduate or bachelor programme in another discipline, for instance politics, language, history or sociology. The follow-up study in Journalism can therefore strongly focus on the skills and principles of journalism. The same kind of logic counts for most of the mid-career courses.

Table 3.2.7 Frequencies of teaching subject

Teaching subject	N	%
Journalism (skills, principles)	690	59,5%
Communication science/ Media theory	137	11,8%
Language (native, foreign)	46	4,0%
General knowledge (e.g. economics, history, law, philosophy)	70	6,0%
Research methods	63	5,4%
Other	153	13,2%
Total	1159	100%

For further analysis the Teaching subject- categories were brought back to two: 'Journalism' and 'Other' (Table 3.2.8).

Table 3.2.8 Frequencies of categories of teaching subject

	N	%
Journalism	690	59,5
Other	469	40,5
Total	1159	100%

3.2.6 Future qualifications for teachers

From the previous paragraphs arises the following image of the average European journalism teacher: this teacher can be as much a man as a woman, is about 47 years of age, has a university degree on the master or PhD-level, has about 15 years practical experience in the field of journalism and teaches most often skills and principles of Journalism.

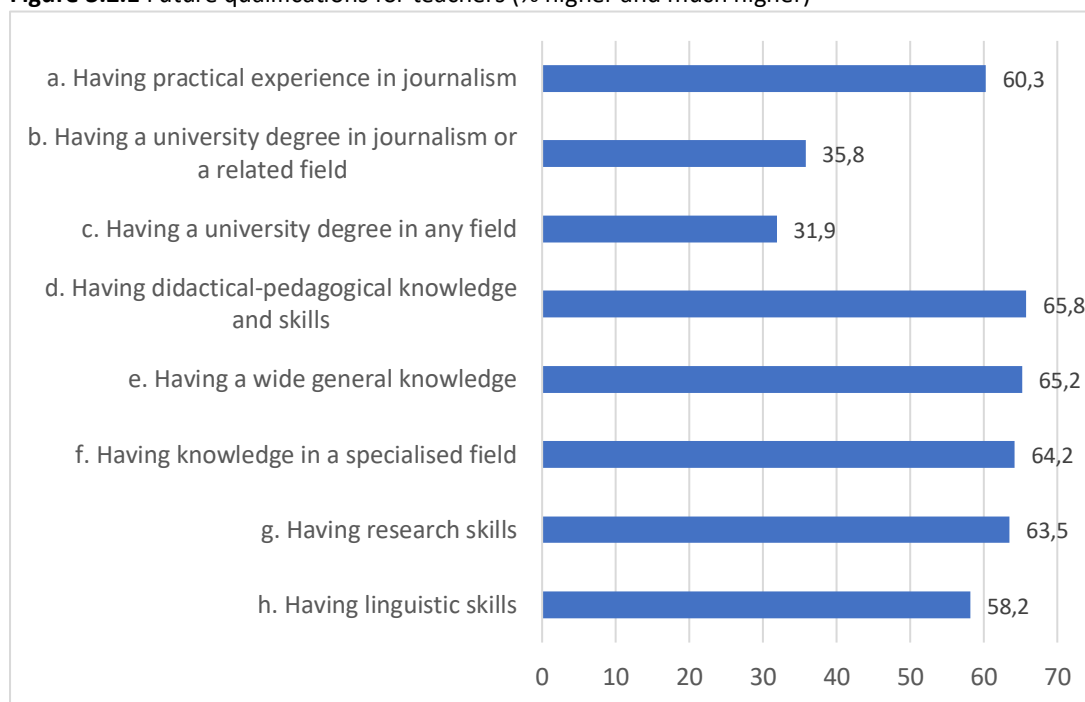
In this concluding paragraph, we will have a short look on how the respondents view the future qualifications for journalism teachers. Which qualifications do they think will become more important in the next decade? Respondents could choose from 8 rather broad categories and they were invited to add a 9th alternative: Something else (please specify).

The questions was:

“In the next ten years, for journalism teachers the importance of the following qualifications should become 1. Much lower, 2. Lower, 3. Same as now, 4. Higher, 5 Much higher.”

In Figure 3.2.1 the outcomes are presented by means of the percentage of respondents that answered (much) higher, that is: categories 4 and 5.

Figure 3.2.1 Future qualifications for teachers (% higher and much higher)



Approximately 60% of the respondents believe that the importance of most of the qualifications for teachers should become higher or much higher. The ranking order is: having pedagogical knowledge and skills, having a wide general knowledge, having knowledge in a specialized field, having research skills, having practical experience in journalism and having linguistic skills. The differences in percentage between these categories are small.

About one out of three respondents believe that having a university degree should become (much) more important in the next decade. It should be noted that having a university degree on at least the master level is already a prerequisite for getting a job at an institution for higher education.

Roughly one in four (26%) respondents has used the possibility of adding “Something else”, although less than 5% actually followed up on the request to “please specify”. There is huge variety in the additions that were made, but most of them are about ‘skills’. Like Social skills, Marketing skills, Visual skills, Psychological skills, Coaching skills, Intercultural skills, Teamwork skills, Analytic skills, Communication skills, Soft skills (being responsible, creative, flexible) and – last but not least – skills in the field of information technology (IT-skills).

Overall, the majority of respondents believe that the qualifications and demands for journalism teachers should be taken to a higher level in the ten years to come.

3.2.7 Views on the future labour market for students

The survey concluded with a question about the future labour position of students. The question was: *To what extent do you agree that your current students will be working in following positions within the next 10 years?*

The answering categories were:

5 Strongly Agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral 2 Disagree 1 Strongly Disagree

Figure 3.2.2 shows that on average teachers do not strongly believe that their students will have a contracted job at an established news organisation. In most countries the traditional news media are going through difficult times, facing regular cutbacks. The average circulation of newspapers is going down and so do the numbers of viewers and listeners of news bulletins and shows. Nevertheless, many teachers believe that although the contracted staff may be shrinking, there will still be a lot of professional journalistic work to do: freelancing for established news organizations is seen as the most likely position that graduates will be in, followed by doing journalism at a less established new outlet or start-up. Furthermore, there is reasonable support for the idea that journalists in the future will do work that is related to journalism, in the fields of PR, Communication or Media Production. The answers paint a picture of a future labour market that is more fluid than it used to be in the 'golden age' of journalism, when graduates mostly had little trouble finding a job in journalism itself.

Figure 3.2.2 Teachers' view on the future labour market position of graduates (means)



3.3 Cross-relations background characteristics

The next step in the process of describing how the European journalism teachers can be characterized, is to go into the possible cross-relations between the various background variables. Are, for instance, younger teachers more often females? Do teachers with a PhD degree more often teach other subjects than journalism? Do male teachers more often have a long-lasting practical experience before they became teacher? These types of questions will be the subject of the next paragraphs.

3.3.1 Gender (with Age, Degree, Experience, Subject)

The first variable that is analysed is gender. The question is whether or not there is an association between gender on the one hand and age, degree, experience and subject on the other.

Table 3.3.1 shows that female teachers are slightly over-represented in the age categories up to 50 years; compared to females, males are more often 50 years or older. The differences are small, but statistically significant. Furthermore, male teachers are on average about two years older than female teachers: 48,3 years against 46,2 years.

Table 3.3.1 Frequencies of Age category separated by gender

Age category	Male (N=545)	Female (N=474)	Total
20-39	26%	31%	28%
40-49	28%	35%	31%
50-59	30%	27%	29%
60+	16%	8%	12%
Total	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2(3)=23,94, p=.000$

Table 3.3.2 shows that 44% of the men as well as of the women completed a degree to master level. Women clearly have more often a PhD degree (43% against 30%), while men more often have a bachelor degree as the highest degree (16% against 7%). The difference in educational level is significant.

Table 3.3.2 Frequencies of Educational degree separated by gender

Educational degree	Male (N=545)	Female (N=474)	Total
PhD	30%	43%	36%
Master	44%	44%	44%
Bachelor	16%	7%	12%
Other	10%	6%	8%
Total	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2(3)=33,14, p=.000$

Table 3.3.3 shows that males have on average more practical experience than females. Males have a higher percentage in the categories '16-30' and 'More than 30' years of experience, females in the categories 'None' and '1-5'. Again, the differences are small, but still statistically significant.

Table 3.3.3 Frequencies of Practical experience separated by gender

Practical experience	Male (N=545)	Female (N=474)	Total
None	13%	20%	16%
1 – 5	16%	20%	18%
6 – 15	29%	29%	29%
16 – 30	27%	24%	26%
More than 30	15%	7%	11%
Total	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2(4)=25,39, p=.000$

With regard to the teaching subject, Table 3.3.4 shows that males more often than females teach journalism. This difference is not statistically significant (on the level $p < .001$).

Table 3.3.4 Frequencies of Teaching subject separated by gender

Teaching subject	Male (N=545)	Female (N=474)	Total
Journalism	64%	56%	60%
Other	36%	44%	40%
Total	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2(1)=6,00, p=.014$

Overall, with regard to gender we can conclude that the differences between men and women concerning age, educational degree, years of practical experience and the subject that is taught, are limited though significant in the statistical sense. Women are on average younger, have completed a higher level of education, have less extended practical experience in the field and more often teach other subjects than journalism, compared to men.

3.3.2 Age (with Degree, Experience, Subject)

In this paragraph, the relation between age and the other background variables is examined. In the previous paragraph the relation between age and gender is already dealt with; this paragraph focuses on degree, experience and teaching subject.

Table 3.3.5 does not give a univocal picture. For instance, the percentage of teachers with a PhD degree is above average within the age categories 40-49 and 60+. It is likely that some of the 20-39-year-old teachers are in the process of obtaining a PhD degree, but have not yet finalized it. The percentage of teachers with a master degree is well above average in the youngest age group. One could conclude that there is a slight negative relation between age and degree: the younger the teacher, the higher educated she or he is. But again: the picture is not univocal.

Table 3.3.5 Frequencies of Degree separated by age category

Degree	20-39 (N=286)	40-49 (N=317)	50-59 (N=289)	60+ (N=126)	Total
PhD	32%	43%	33%	37%	36%
Master	50%	41%	46%	33%	44%
Bachelor	12%	9%	15%	13%	12%
Other	6%	7%	7%	17%	8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2(9)=31,22$, $p=.000$

There appears to be a rather strong relation between age and the number of years of practical experience in the field of journalism. This seems logical and could have been expected. It is, nevertheless, remarkable that no less than 44% of teachers in their sixties (or older) have more than 30 years of practical experience. One must consider that in most cases both careers (being a journalist and being a teacher) are not passed through subsequently but simultaneously. Many teachers at journalism institutes are at the same time working as a professional journalist. This situation most likely explains how almost half of the teachers from the youngest group (47%) can have 6 to 15 years of experience.

Table 3.3.6 Frequencies of Practical experience separated by age category

Years of practical experience	20-39 (N=286)	40-49 (N=317)	50-59 (N=289)	60+ (N=126)	Total
None	16%	19%	15%	16%	16%
1 – 5	32%	15%	11%	11%	18%
6 – 15	47%	27%	19%	12%	29%
16 – 30	6%	38%	35%	17%	26%
>30	0%	0%	21%	44%	11%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2(12)=377,81$, $p=.000$

Table 3.3.7 shows that age does not clearly relate to the teaching subject. Journalism as well as other subjects are taught by younger as well as older teachers in about the same degree.

Table 3.3.7 Frequencies of Teaching subject separated by age category

Teaching subject	20-39 (N=286)	40-49 (N=317)	50-59 (N=289)	60+ (N=126)	Total
Journalism	64%	58%	59%	61%	60%
Other	36%	42%	41%	39%	40%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2(3)=2,01$, $p=.57$

3.3.3 Degree (Experience, Subject)

In this paragraph the relation between degree and two other background variables is examined. In the previous paragraph the relation between age and gender on one side and degree on the other is already dealt with; this paragraph focuses on experience and teaching subject.

Table 3.3.8 shows that degree and practical experience are clearly related. The general rule is: the higher the degree, the lower the number of years of practical experience. Teachers with a PhD or master degree are overrepresented in the categories 'none', '1-5' and '6-15', whereas teachers with a bachelor or other degree as the highest one are overrepresented in the categories '16-30' and '>30'.

It is not uncommon for teachers to combine their teaching with practicing journalism or with working on getting a PhD or master degree. Table 3.3.8 suggests that combining teaching with both is far less common.

Table 3.3.8 Frequencies of Practical experience separated by educational degree

Years of practical experience	PhD (N=368)	Master (N=448)	Bachelor (N=123)	Other (N=79)	Total
None	24%	14%	7%	13%	16%
1 – 5	25%	16%	8%	13%	18%
6 – 15	31%	31%	23%	13%	29%
16 – 30	14%	29%	42%	34%	26%
>30	7%	10%	20%	28%	11%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2(12)=122,29$, $p=.000$

Table 3.3.9 shows a significant difference between the educational level of teachers of journalism and teachers of other subjects. The bachelor degree as highest level of education is far more common for journalism teachers than it is for teachers of other subjects, whereas the PhD level is overrepresented in case of teachers of other subjects.

Table 3.3.9 Frequencies of Teaching subject separated by Educational degree

Teaching subject	PhD (N=368)	Master (N=448)	Bachelor (N=123)	Other (N=79)	Total
Journalism	47%	65%	83%	66%	60%
Other	53%	35%	17%	34%	40%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2(3)=58,95, p=.000$

3.3.4 Experience (Subject)

In this paragraph, the relation between years of experience and the teaching subject is examined. In the previous paragraph the relation between age, gender and degree on one side and experience on the other is already dealt with.

Table 3.3.10 shows a clear relation between the years of practical experience and the teaching subject. Teachers with no practical experience overwhelmingly teach other subjects than journalism, while those who have 6 or more years of experience are clearly overrepresented when it comes to teaching journalism.

Table 3.3.10 Frequencies of Teaching subject separated by Practical experience, number of years.

Teaching subject	None (N=167)	1– 5 (N=184)	6– 15 (N=291)	16– 30 (N=260)	>30 (N=116)	Total
Journalism	17%	40%	74%	80%	78%	60%
Other	83%	60%	26%	20%	22%	40%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2(4)=245,20, p=.000$

3.4 Geographical spread background characteristics

For an international organisation like EJTA it is interesting to know whether or not there are differences between countries or groups of countries (regions). This paragraph will compare the six regions (North, Central, East, South East, South West, West; see paragraph 3.1) concerning the distinguished background variables (gender, age, degree, experience, subject).

3.4.1 Gender

Overall the gender distribution is 53,5% males and 46,5% females. The clearest difference can be found in the region East, with 78% females and 22% males. In the regions West and South West it is the other way around, be it with a less spectacular deviation. Apart from region East, the region South East is the only one with a majority of female teachers.

Table 3.4.1 Frequencies of Gender separated by Region

Gender	North	Central	East	South East	South West	West	Total
Male	51%	59%	22%	49%	65%	61%	53,5%
Female	49%	41%	78%	51%	35%	39%	46,5%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2(5)=75,67, p=.000$

3.4.2 Age

Table 3.4.2 shows considerable differences between the regions concerning their age distribution. Especially region East shows relatively high percentages for the age categories '20-29' and '30-39': in total 56% of teachers in the East is under 40 years of age, which is twice the average percentage (28%). The teachers in the region South East are on average also younger than average, but less distinct than in the East.

Table 3.4.2 Frequencies of Age separated by Region

Age	North	Central	East	South East	South West	West	Total
20 – 39	17%	22%	56%	32%	27%	18%	28,1%
40 – 49	29%	28%	25%	42%	33%	35%	31,1%
50 – 59	33%	38%	13%	20%	27%	28%	28,5%
60+	21%	11%	7%	6%	13%	20%	12,4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2(15)=102,45, p=.000$

As a consequence the average age of journalism teachers in the various regions also differs considerably, as is shown in Table 3.4.3. The average age of teachers in North and West (50) is the highest and no less than nine years higher than the average age of teachers in East (41).

Table 3.4.3 Average Age in years separated by Region

	North	Central	East	South East	South West	West	Total
Average Age	50	49	41	44	48	50	47

3.4.3 Degree

Table 3.4.4 shows clear differences in educational level between the regions. Having a PhD-degree is far more common in South East (78%), East (60%) or North (43%) than in other regions, specifically Central and West (both 19%). These two regions have in turn a relative high percentage of teachers with a master degree (Central: 64%; West: 51%). Of course, this regional comparison of degrees is complicated by the fact that the requirements one has to meet to get a degree can differ from country to country, especially with regard to the PhD-degree.

In Europe as a whole, 80% of the teachers have completed an education to the masters or PhD level. In the regions West (70%) and South West (71%) this percentage is below average; in the region South East this percentage is clearly above average (96%).

Table 3.4.4 Frequencies (%) of Degree separated by Region

Degree	North	Central	East	South East	South West	West	Total
PhD	43%	19%	60%	78%	27%	19%	36,1%
Master	40%	64%	21%	19%	44%	51%	44,0%
Bachelor	16%	11%	4%	3%	18%	18%	12,1%
Other	1%	7%	15%	1%	11%	12%	7,8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi²(15)=232,87, $p=.000$

3.4.4 Experience

In most regions about three out of four teachers have more than five years of practical experience: North (74%), Central (72%), West (77%) and South West (80%). This is clearly lower in the regions East (54%) and South East (52%). These are the two regions with the highest rate of teachers with a PhD degree, as we have seen in the previous paragraph. Journalism education in the East and South East comes from a relatively strong academic tradition with less emphasis on vocational training and practical skills.

Table 3.4.5 Frequencies (%) of Experience separated by Region

Experience	North	Central	East	South East	South West	West	Total
None	14%	20%	20%	20%	11%	13%	16,4%
1-5	24%	18%	26%	28%	9%	10%	18,1%
6-15	37%	23%	36%	32%	28%	21%	28,6%
16-30	21%	25%	14%	17%	34%	39%	25,5%
>30	5%	13%	4%	4%	18%	18%	11,4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi²(20)=106,42, $p=.000$

3.4.5 Subject

Overall, about 60% of the teachers at institutes for journalism education in Europe – academic and mid-career – teach journalism (skills, principles). In the regions Central and South East this percentage is ten points lower: 50%. In the regions West (72%) and South West (71%) it is about ten points higher. These percentages are difficult to interpret without considering the structure of journalism education in the various countries. For instance: in some countries the study of journalism has a four-year programme which includes substantial courses in the fields of history, economics, law, politics and so on; while in other countries journalism is designed

as a one or two year programme that follows a study in another field (e.g. history). In the latter case the curriculum can have a stronger focus on journalistic skills and principles.

Table 3.4.6 Frequencies (%) of Subject separated by Region

Subject	North	Central	East	South East	South West	West	Total
Journalism	61%	50%	59%	50%	71%	72%	59,5%
Other	39%	50%	41%	50%	29%	28%	40,5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2(5)=42,16, p=.000$

3.4.6 Views on future labour market

Table 3.4.7 shows the differences between teachers from the six distinguished regions with regard to the future labour market position of their students. With regard to the possibility of having a contracted job at an established news organization, teachers from the East are far more positive than the average teachers whereas teachers from the Central are the least optimistic. Overall, teachers from the West have the most optimistic view, especially with regard to the possibilities outside of journalism, combining journalism with something else or working at a start-up; teachers from the South West in general have the most pessimistic view, especially with regard to the three options that their colleagues from the West feel relatively optimistic about: working outside of journalism, combining it with something else or working at a start-up.

Table 3.4.7 Views on future labour market separated by Region (Means)

	North	Central	East	South East	South West	West	Mean
Having a contracted job at an established news organization	3,20	2,79	3,85	3,20	3,04	3,10	3,12
Working outside of journalism and communication	3,54	3,54	3,38	3,60	3,22	3,97	3,48
Doing part-time journalism and part-time something else	3,87	3,75	3,84	3,57	3,20	4,00	3,64
Working at a media production company	3,82	3,67	4,02	3,62	3,67	3,98	3,73
Doing journalism at a start-up/new outlet	3,88	3,74	3,85	3,90	3,39	4,14	3,76
Working in a PR/communication job	3,78	3,69	3,80	3,76	3,90	4,00	3,80
Freelancing for established news organizations	3,90	3,87	3,94	3,65	4,06	4,12	3,93

4 Journalistic Roles

4.1 Introduction

As was stated in chapter 1, much of the discussions about renewal and innovation of journalism is focused on the means: the technological means and the financial means. As technology is changing rapidly and business models are disrupted, rethinking the means is a necessary condition to ensure a sustainable version of professional journalism. But it is not a sufficient condition. We also need to fundamentally rethink the goals of journalism, what journalism is and what it should do. There is much less discussion about this cultural aspect of renewing and redefining journalism. It is important to remind that “journalism is an ism” (Nerone, 2012: 447). “That is, it is a belief system. In particular, it is the belief system that defines the appropriate practices and values of news professionals, news media and news systems.”

Journalistic roles or role conceptions are a key element in the study of the culture of journalism. In the Preface of the book ‘Journalistic Role Performance’, Hallin defines role conceptions as “normative understandings of what journalism is and what it should do” (Mellado et al., 2017: xi). He adds that “journalistic role conceptions are in this sense central to the culture of journalism, but also part of a culture more widely, since they can’t function to legitimize journalistic practices unless they are accepted to a substantial extent by other actors.” Over the past decades there has been a lot of research on journalistic role orientations. As Hanitzsch and Vos (2018: 147) state: “No review of literature can do justice to the breadth of scholarly work on journalistic roles.” However, most of the studies have focussed on the view of journalists themselves (e.g., *Worlds of Journalism Study*). In recent years, a comprehensive study on the views of students of journalism – as being the future generation of journalists – has been initiated (*Journalism Students around the Globe*). But no large-scale study on the views of teachers has been done, at least not in Europe.

This is an omission, especially since the views of teachers are supposed to have an impact on the courses and curricula they develop. And these courses and curricula are supposed to have influence on the way new generations of journalists will define their role in society. In this regard, researching the views of journalism teachers on important aspects of journalistic roles faces the same kind of challenges as the more common study of the views of journalists themselves, which “generally found weak correlations between the roles that journalists consider most important and the manifestation of these roles in actual news coverage” (Weaver et al., 2018: 22).

Nevertheless, “the discourse of journalistic roles is the central arena where journalistic culture and identity is reproduced and contested; it is the place where the struggle over the preservation or transformation of journalism’s identity takes place” (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2018: 151), and it is interesting to know the view of journalism teachers and see if these views relate to background characteristics and geographical region. The study of journalistic roles deals with a range of basic philosophical questions, which are linked to ontology (who are we, what

should we do?), epistemology (what can we know?), deontology/ethics (how should we act?) and eschatology (where do we go, what can we expect?). In this research, these philosophical questions are translated into practical survey questions about background characteristics, about the position in society and about journalistic tasks (ontology), about the position towards reality/truth (epistemology), about ethics (deontology) and about views on the future directions of journalism (eschatology). This chapter will focus on the ontological and epistemological questions about the view on journalistic tasks, the view on the position of journalists in society, and the view on the position of journalists towards reality/truth.

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4.2 Tasks

In this research, the respondents were asked to assess 18 items that refer to the tasks of journalism. These items are derived from the extended literature on role perceptions and role orientations, especially from the Worlds of Journalism Study.⁸

To emphasize that we are interested in a normative view on the importance of the tasks involved, and not in an assessment of the factual importance of these tasks in actual daily practice, the word ‘should’ has been underlined in the introductory question. The question runs as follows:

“We now would like to know your personal view on what the future direction of journalism should be. We are especially interested in what you think about the future importance of a number of tasks that professional journalists perform. Compared to today, in the next ten years the importance of the following task for professional journalists should become:

5. Much Higher 4. Higher 3. Same as now 2. Lower 1. Much Lower“

Table 4.2.1 shows that the teachers believe that the vast majority of tasks should become more important in the next ten years. There are very little items with an average score of 3,00 or lower. There are four exceptions: d. Provide entertainment and relaxation (2,55), g. Make as many stories as possible each day (2,39), k. Concentrate on news that will sell (2,42) and q. Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens (2,04). The standard deviation (SD) of these items is relatively high, which means that the spread in the answers is relatively high and the consensus relatively low. Next to that, all four items are to a certain extent related to a consumerist concept of the tasks of journalists. The normative view of the average journalism teacher in Europe is that journalism should not evolve in that direction in the next decade.

There are six items/tasks that have an average score of 4 or higher, which means that these are the ones that according to the teachers most clearly should gain importance in the coming ten years. Half of them have a score of about 4,00: c. Monitor and scrutinize government (4,00), i. Monitor and scrutinize business organizations (4,01) and l. Provide information that people need to make political decisions (4,04). These three items are more or less related to the control-function (watchdog, adversarial) of journalism. The other three have a substantial higher average score of about 4,20. These are b. Stay away from stories that cannot be verified (4,19), h. Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs (4,20), and n. Provide in-depth background information (4,26). These three items are related to the analytical function of journalism (interpreter, researcher).

Chapter 5 will go further into the clustering of tasks into roles. A provisional conclusion is that European teachers of journalism believe that the analytical and scrutinizing roles of journalism should become more important in the next ten years and a consumerist approach should not. An important presupposition in our research is that the views of teachers do have an impact, or at least some influence, on the choices they make in their programmes and on the things they stress in their teaching. However, there could be a gap between what the teachers would

⁸ <http://www.worldsofjournalism.org/>

want and what actually is possible in everyday teaching, within the limits of curricula and accreditation systems. Whether or not this gap exists in journalism education (just as it does in journalism practice), has not been the subject of our research. Our hypothesis would be that the level of professional autonomy of teachers is in general relatively high and that their views and convictions play an important role in the curricula and the classroom. Future research should try to find out whether or not this actually is the case.

Table 4.2.1 The view of European journalism teachers (N= 1089) on 18 different tasks (Means)

Tasks	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
a. Get information to the public quickly	3,38	0,96
b. Stay away from stories that cannot be verified	4,19	0,92
c. Monitor and scrutinize government	4,00	0,81
d. Stand up for the disadvantaged	3,85	0,81
e. Provide entertainment and relaxation	2,55	0,95
f. Expose social abuses	3,88	0,80
g. Make as many stories as possible each day	2,39	1,02
h. Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs	4,20	0,75
i. Monitor and scrutinize business organizations	4,01	0,79
j. Give ordinary people a chance to express their views	3,45	0,97
k. Concentrate on news that will sell	2,43	1,03
l. Provide information that people need to make political decisions	4,04	0,78
m. Concentrate on bringing the latest news	3,01	0,86
n. Provide in-depth background information	4,26	0,73
o. Monitor and scrutinize civil society organizations	3,80	0,75
p. Motivate people to get socially involved	3,67	0,87
q. Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens	2,04	1,04
r. Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems	3,80	0,81
	3,50	0,87

Figure 4.2.1 shows the percentage of each of the five answering categories with the items ranked in the order of average approval. This paints a visual picture of the outcomes, but of course not an essentially different one.

Next to the four items with an average score below 3.00, that were discussed above, there is one more item that has a higher percentage in the red sector (21% in total says: lower or much lower importance) than in the green one (16% says: higher or much higher importance). This is item m. Concentrate on bringing the latest news (average 3.01). The next one in line - seen from the bottom up – is a. Get information to the public quickly (average 3.38). The relatively low scores of these two items suggest that not only the consumerist view on journalism gets little support from the teachers, but also the concept of fast journalism.

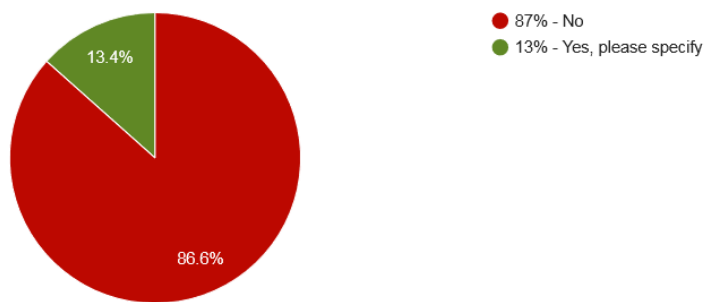
Figure 4.2.1 The view of European journalism teachers (N= 1089) on 18 different tasks; ranking

Sub-questions	Resp.	% of responses					avg	m
n. Provide in-depth background information	1089	40	46	11			4.26	
h. Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs	1089	38	45	14			4.2	
b. Stay away from stories that cannot be verified	1089	45	35	14	3		4.19	
l. Provide information that people need to make political decisions	1089	30	46	22			4.04	
i. Monitor and scrutinize business organizations	1089	29	44	23			4.01	
c. Monitor and scrutinize government	1089	30	41	27			4	
f. Expose social abuses	1089	24	43	30			3.88	
d. Stand up for the disadvantaged	1089	23	41	33			3.85	
o. Monitor and scrutinize civil society organizations	1089	18	45	34			3.8	
r. Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems	1089	19	46	29	4		3.8	
p. Motivate people to get socially involved	1089	18	36	38	5		3.67	
j. Give ordinary people a chance to express their views	1089	14	33	37	12	3	3.45	
a. Get information to the public quickly	1089	14	26	45	11	3	3.38	
m. Concentrate on bringing the latest news	1089	6	13	59	16	5	3.01	
e. Provide entertainment and relaxation	1089	3	10	41	31	14	2.55	
k. Concentrate on news that will sell	1089	3	11	30	34	19	2.43	2
g. Make as many stories as possible each day	1089	3	11	28	37	20	2.39	
q. Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens	1089	3	7	18	33	35	2.04	4

5. Much Higher 4. Higher 3. Same as now 2. Lower 1. Much Lower

After each structured, closed question in the questionnaire there has been room for making additional comments. Aft the question about the journalistic tasks 13% of the respondents made use of this opportunity, which comes down to almost 150 comments.

Figure 4.2.2 Percentage of respondents with comments



Of course, there was a lot of variation in the reactions. Nevertheless, three main categories can be distinguished.

The *first* category of remarks concerns the alleged normative character of phrasing of the question. It can be subdivided into two groups: the first group is about the respondents' feeling that the questionnaire itself is biased and that the researchers have a hidden agenda; the second group is about the feeling that the question triggers 'wishful thinking'.

Examples of remarks from the first group are:

- *It is hard to avoid high-mindedness when questions are so obviously value-laden.*
- *These questions are very leading and it is clear what the makers of the questionnaire think of what should be.*
- *It looks like a cool introduction of questions that explore the potential of constructive journalism.*

Examples of remarks from the second group are:

- *Most of my answers are brave wishes – maybe reality plays the scene differently.*
- *A reality check tells us this might not be the scenario.*
- *I have expressed a wish, not an analysis.*
- *My answers are wishful thinking.*
- *I think the answers you get will be quite predictable: journalism educators are idealists and removed from the practical realities of putting out a sustainable product.*

The *second* category of remarks concerns the fact that the questions are about journalism as a whole, whereas respondents feel that the answers are different for different types of journalism.

Examples of these remarks are:

- *This is a too general question. It depends of the area of specialization of the media.*
- *The questions do not differentiate between different types of journalism, thus answers are likely to be unreliable.*

- *Difficult to answer in general. Tasks are different for different types of journalist (political journalist, sports journalist,...).*

The *third* category of remarks concerns the direction in which journalism as a profession should go. These remarks can be seen as a kind of explanation of the answers that were given in the closed question about the tasks.

Examples are:

- *Speed, repetition, shared sources, clickbait, need to be much less of a feature, replaced with longer, more considered analytical and investigative journalism.*
- *Journalists' role in breaking news will quickly be much diminished, but if trust in journalistic standards can be restored, the journalist will have a great role to play in evaluating, scrutinizing, verifying and interpreting news.*
- *The development of solutions journalism will be increasingly important.*
- *More focus on in-depth and investigative news. Speedy reporting on 'what happened' can be done by anyone. Investigations only by journos.*
- *Overall, I see the need of not being so focused on the 'breaking news'. Journalism still needs to talk about more a-temporal news and go deep in the analysis to discuss about societal issues.*
- *The most sustainable business model for journalistic media is to strengthen its role in enhancing active citizenship.*
- *In journalism, media should concentrate more on so called slow journalism.*
- *Slower news, but more accurate.*

The vast majority of the remarks are valuable. Part of the remarks is aimed at the method that was chosen. In the construction of a questionnaire a balance has to be found between the investment of time and effort that can be asked from respondents on the one hand and the number of sub-issues that can be addressed on the other. A subdivision into various forms and specializations of journalism has been a bridge too far and not of the highest priority given the goal of this research (see chapter 1).

The impression that a questionnaire is biased can be strengthened by the use of closed type of questions. In order to limit the risk that respondents would see the questions as biased, all the items in this questionnaire are derived from earlier research. Furthermore, a five-point scale is chosen with a neutral position in the middle and with comparable wording in the agree and the non-agree part of the scale: agree, strongly agree versus disagree, strongly disagree. The remarks from the third category seem to reinforce the overall image that arises from the answers on the question about the tasks itself: the future tasks of journalism should lie in the field of investigating and giving in-depth information and not so much in the field of fast reporting.

4.3 Position (Neutrality/Objectivity)

This paragraph focuses on the normative view on journalism on two levels: the normative position of the journalist in society (interventionist or non-interventionist) and the normative position of the journalist with regard to reality/truth (mirroring or constructing reality).

The question was phrased as follows:

“The following question is about the position of journalists in society (‘neutrality’) and with regard to reality/truth (‘objectivity’). A journalist should...”

And again, the answering categories were:

5. Strongly Agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly Disagree

The twelve items that were used are derived from earlier research.⁹

Table 4.3.1 shows that overall a majority of teachers agrees with or subscribes to each of the twelve positions, although they are mutually opposed or conflicting. There is one position that is paramount for journalism teachers in Europe: j. be transparent about the working process. This item has by far the highest score (4.45). It also has the lowest standard deviation (0.68), which indicates that there is a relatively high level of consensus about this item. Two positions get relatively little support: d. influence public opinion (3.12) and f. set the socio-political agenda (3.15). This could point to (again: on average) a preference for a neutral position. This seems to be corroborated by the three items after the one about being transparent: i. not let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting (3.97), g. mirror reality as it is (3.93) and a. be a detached observer (3.87).

⁹ See for instance:

Hanitsch, T. (2007) Deconstructing Journalism Culture: Toward a Universal Theory, *Communication Theory* 17, 367-385

Hanitzsch, T. (2011). Populist Disseminators, Detached Watchdogs, Critical Change Agents and Opportunist Facilitators: Professional Milieus, the Journalistic Field and Autonomy in 18 Countries. *International Communication Gazette*, 73, 477-494.

Hanitzsch, T. & Vos T.P. (2018). Journalism beyond democracy: A new look into journalistic roles in political and everyday life. *Journalism* Vol. 19(2), 146–164

Weaver, D. H. & Wilhoit, G.C. (1996). *The American journalist in the 1990s: U.S. news people at the end of an era*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.

Weaver, D. H., Beam, R. A., Brownlee, B. J., Voakes, P. S. & Wilhoit G.C. (2007). *The American journalist in the 21st century*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.

Weaver, D. H. & Willnat L. (eds.). (2012). *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century*. London/New York: Routledge.

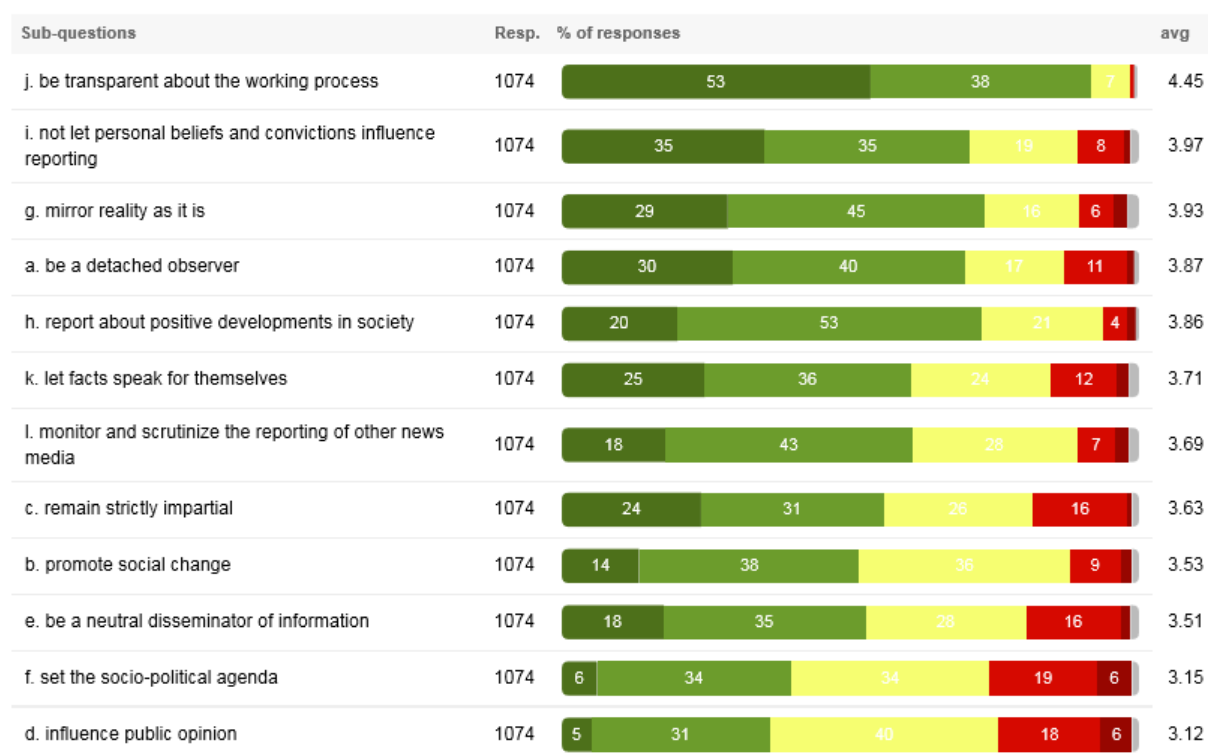
Willnat, L, Weaver, D.H. & Wilhoit, G.C. (2017): The American Journalist in the Digital Age, *Journalism Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2017.1387071

<http://www.worldsofjournalism.org/>

Table 4.3.1 The view of European journalism teachers (N= 1074) on 12 different positions (Means)

A journalist should...	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
a. be a detached observer	3.87	1.00
b. promote social change	3.53	0.91
c. remain strictly impartial	3.63	1.05
d. influence public opinion	3.12	0.95
e. be a neutral disseminator of information	3.51	1.02
f. set the socio-political agenda	3.15	1.00
g. mirror reality as it is	3.93	0.96
h. report about positive developments in society	3.86	0.83
i. not let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting	3.97	0.99
j. be transparent about the working process	4.45	0.68
k. let facts speak for themselves	3.71	1.04
l. monitor and scrutinize the reporting of other news media	3.69	0.92
Overall Mean	3.70	0.95

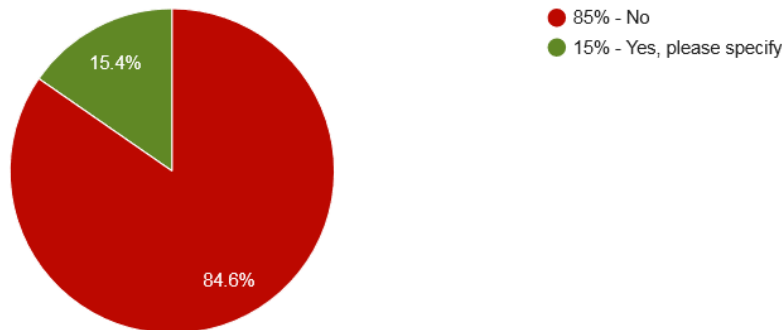
Figure 4.3.1 shows that with regard to position there is less consensus than there was with regard to tasks (Figure 4.2.1). All items show 'green' (agree) as well as 'red' (disagree) answers, be it that the green answers have a higher frequency.

Figure 4.3.1 The view of European journalism teachers (N= 1074) on 12 different positions; ranking

5. Much Higher 4. Higher 3. Same as now 2. Lower 1. Much Lower

Almost one of six respondents has given a comment on this question (Figure 4.3.2).

Figure 4.3.2 Percentage of respondents with comments



Again, there is high level of variation and diversity in the comments that were given. Nevertheless, two main categories can be distinguished. The first category could be called “it depends”. The tenor of these remarks is that it is difficult, if not impossible, to assess the given items without having a context. Examples are:

- *It all depends on the situation, the topic, the outlet and the person of the journalist. In fact, I find it very disappointing to be asked to paint a picture that focuses on uniformity in journalism.*
- *It depends on the issue and the context. My belief is also that there is a need for different kinds of journalists.*
- *Obviously, the answers to these questions depend on the type of journalism we are talking about. If it is news reporting, it should be impartial and neutral; if it is opinion journalism, it won't be these.*
- *A lot depends on the genre. In news journalists must be factual, impartial, neutral. In some types of feature stories and analysis the journalist may step more forward and colour the story.*
- *It is hard to answer the questions as the questions speak about “journalists” as a group, yet this group and the types of media and stories they report for is (sadly) too differentiated.*

The second category is about clarification or explanation of the answers that one has given, with the common thrust that there is no such thing as neutrality or objectivity. Examples are:

- *Objectivity is a myth.*
- *It is impossible to not let beliefs and convictions influence reporting.*
- *To mirror society as it is, is not really possible.*
- *A lot of ‘old’ thinking. For example. In my view it is not a choice to influence public opinion. If you publish and people interact with your story, you influence by definition.*
- *True objectivity is impossible, but it is important to strive for fairness and balance.*

The high number of comments on the impossibility of neutrality and the sometimes sharp wording that is used, are to a certain extent in contrast with the clear majority of the answers on the question about the position itself and which indicates that teachers in general rather strongly support a neutral position. In the comments there often is a reference to the academic view on reality which could be a sign of disappointment or even irritation about the persistency of an allegedly naïve belief in objectivity among practicing journalists. In any case, the answers to this question (including the comments) indicate there are relatively strong differences in opinion about the position of journalists in society and with regard to reality.

4.4 Tasks, position and background characteristics

This paragraph focuses on the question whether there is a relation between various background characteristics on the one hand and the views on tasks and positions that were dealt with in the previous two paragraphs (4.2 and 4.3). The background variables that are taken into account are gender, age, degree and subject.

4.4.1 Gender (Tasks & Position)

Figure 4.4.1 shows only modest differences between males and females with regard to their view on the future importance of the distinguished tasks for professional journalists. The average score on each item is usually a little higher for females. The difference between females and males is the biggest on the following four items: Stand up for the disadvantaged, Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems, Motivate people to get socially involved, and Give ordinary people a chance to express their views. Men only show a higher score on the consumer-oriented tasks: Provide entertainment and relaxation, Concentrate on news that will sell, and Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens. Interesting as this may be, none of these differences are statistically significant (see appendix 2, Table 1).

Figure 4.4.1. Future importance of tasks for professional journalists separated by gender (Means)

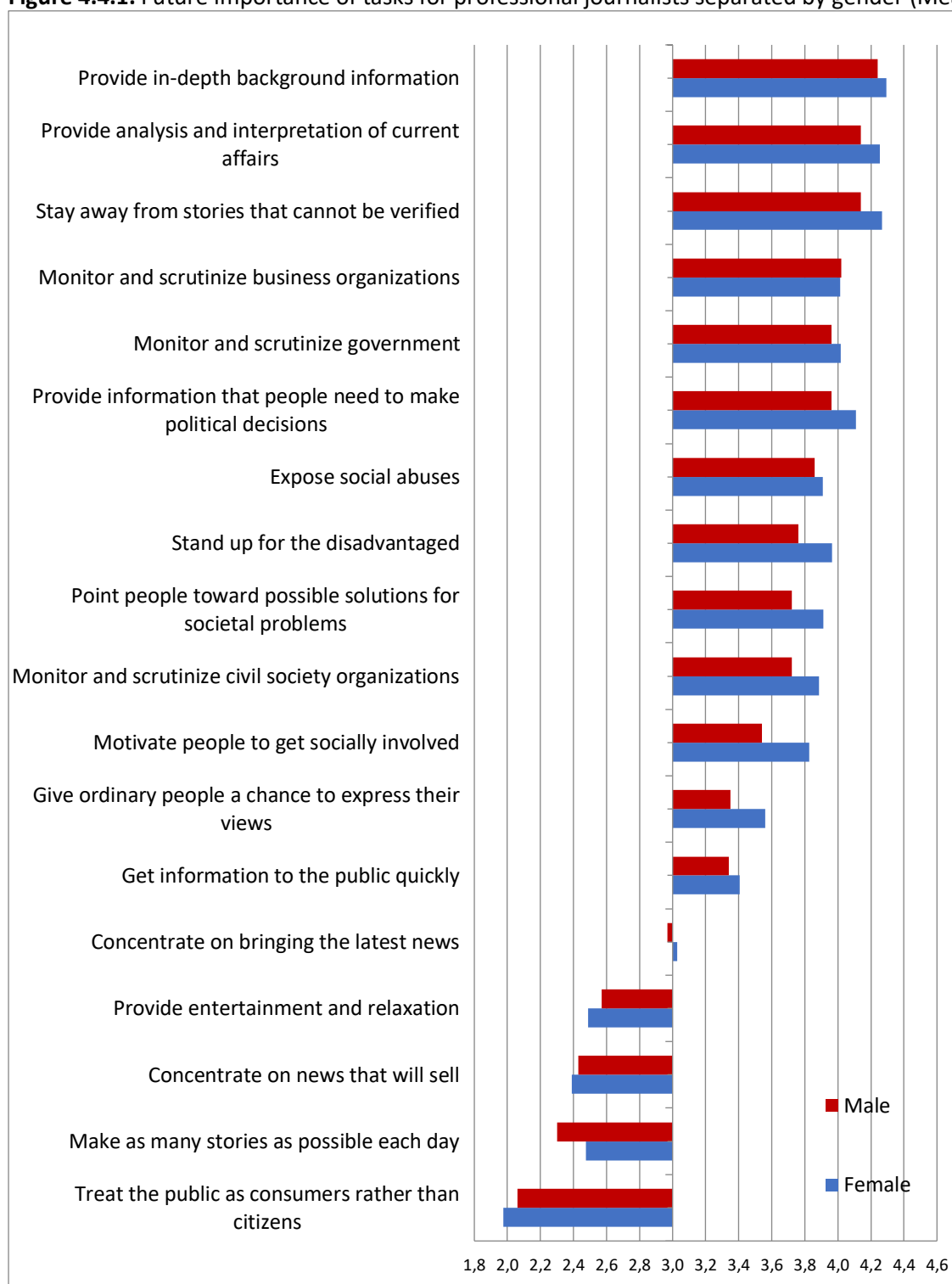
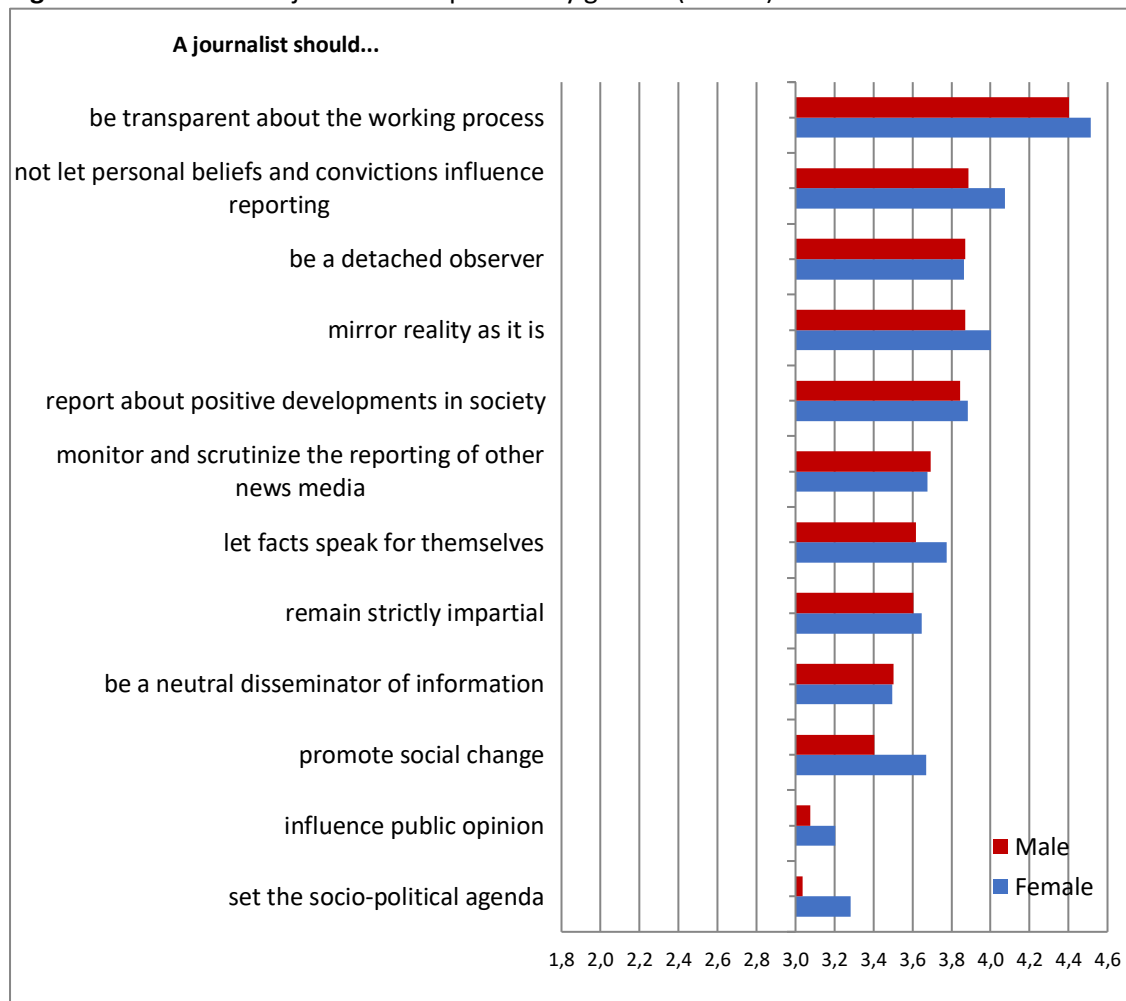


Figure 4.4.2 shows that the differences in view on the position of journalists are relatively small, just as they were with regard to journalistic tasks. Next to that, females are again a little more outspoken than males. The biggest gender-differences concern the following two items: Promote social change and Set the political agenda. In these two cases females have a

significant higher level of agreement ($p < .001$; see Appendix 3, Table 1, for an overview of mean scores and levels of significance).

Figure 4.4.2 Position of journalists separated by gender (Means)



In general, male and female teachers show a rather high level of consensus in their views on the desired future tasks and position of journalists.

4.4.2 Age (Tasks & Position)

This paragraph focuses on the question whether or not the background variable 'Age' associates with views on journalistic tasks and the position of journalists in society and with regard to reality. Figures 4.43 and 4.4.4 show that age – like gender – has little effect. Furthermore, even the significant differences that can be found do not point consistently in one direction or the other. (See Appendix 2, Table 2 and appendix 3, Table 2, for an overview of means scores and levels of significance.)

Figure 4.4.3 Future importance of tasks for professional journalists separated by age categories (Means)

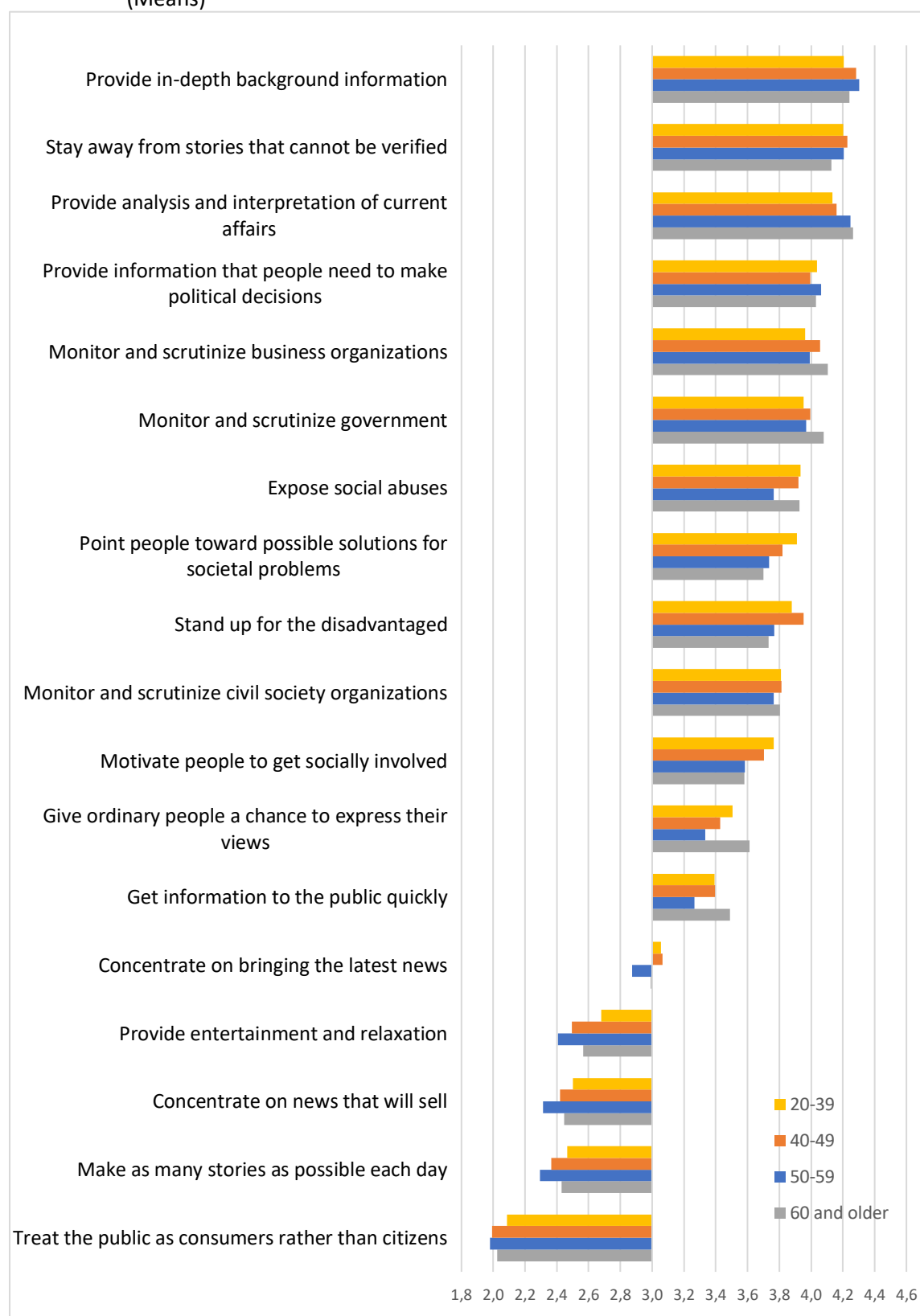
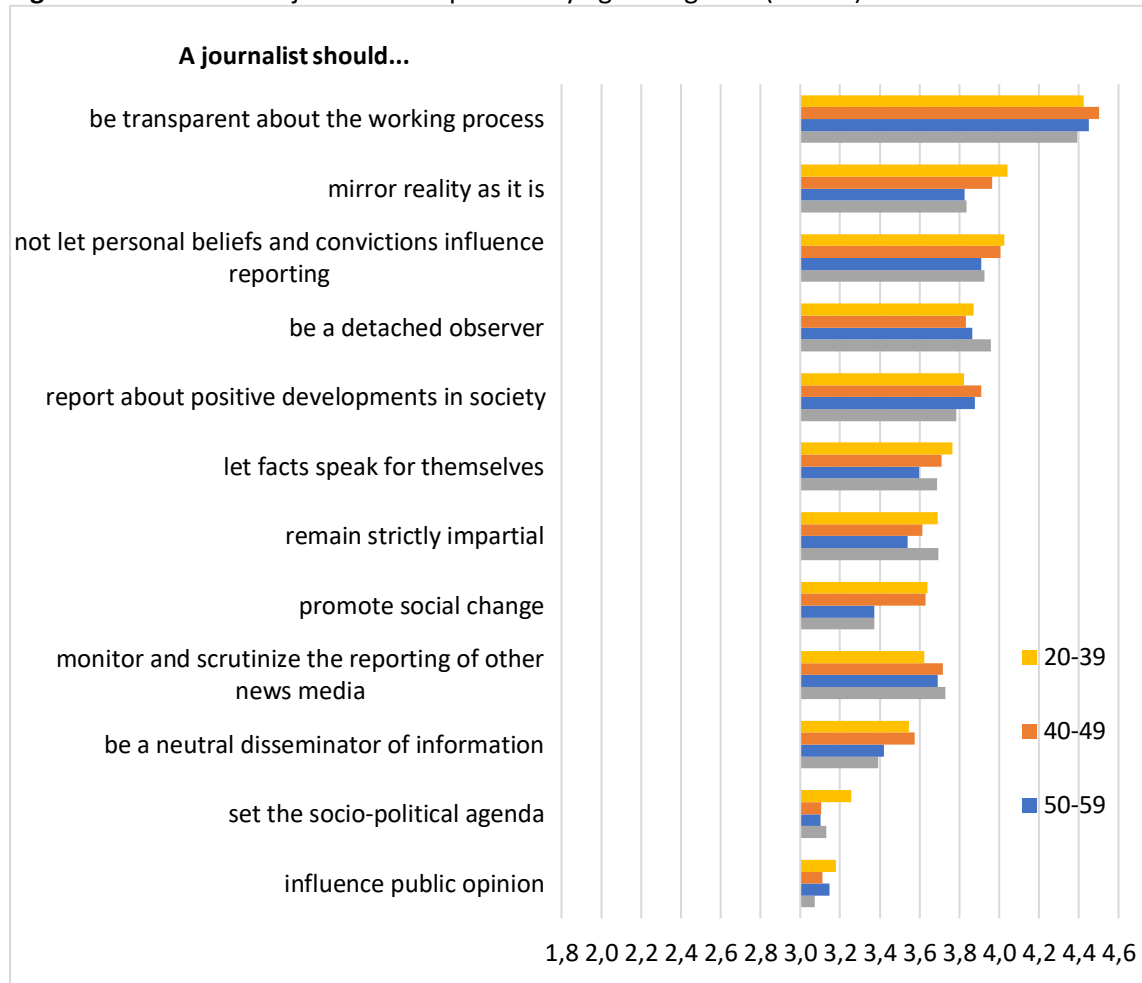


Figure 4.4.4 Position of journalists separated by age categories (Means)

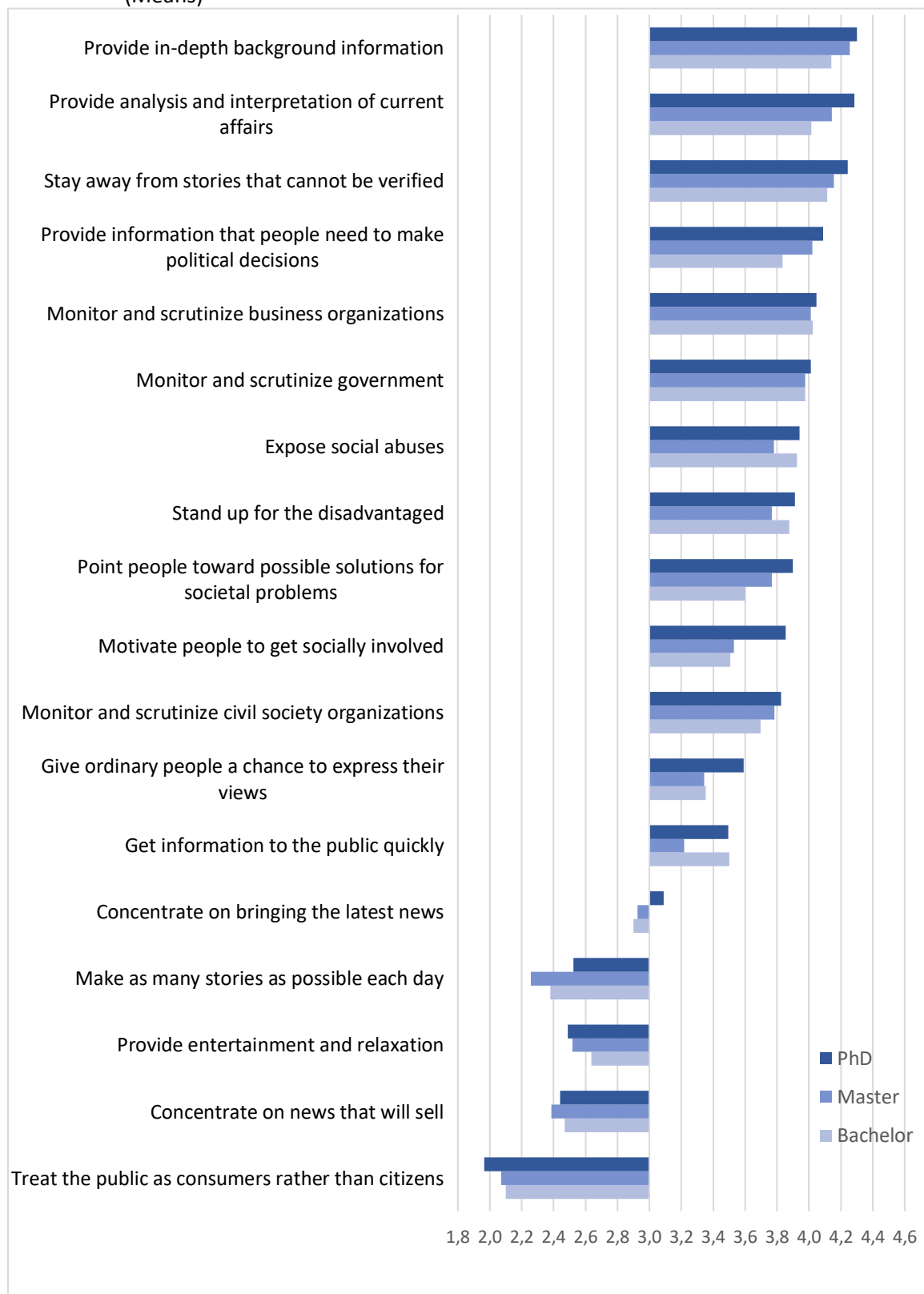


4.4.3 Degree (Tasks & Position)

This paragraph focuses on the views on journalistic tasks and the position of journalists in society and towards reality, separated by educational degree. Just as the two former background variables (gender, age) educational degree does not seem to have a huge and univocal influence on these views.

Having said that, it is noticeable that respondents with a PhD-degree in most cases show the highest level of agreement with regard to the future importance of the distinguished tasks. There are four exceptions: respondents on the bachelor-level show the highest scores on Get information to the public quickly, Provide entertainment and relaxation, Concentrate on news that will sell, and Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens. However, only the first of these shows a difference that is significant (see Appendix 2, Table 3).

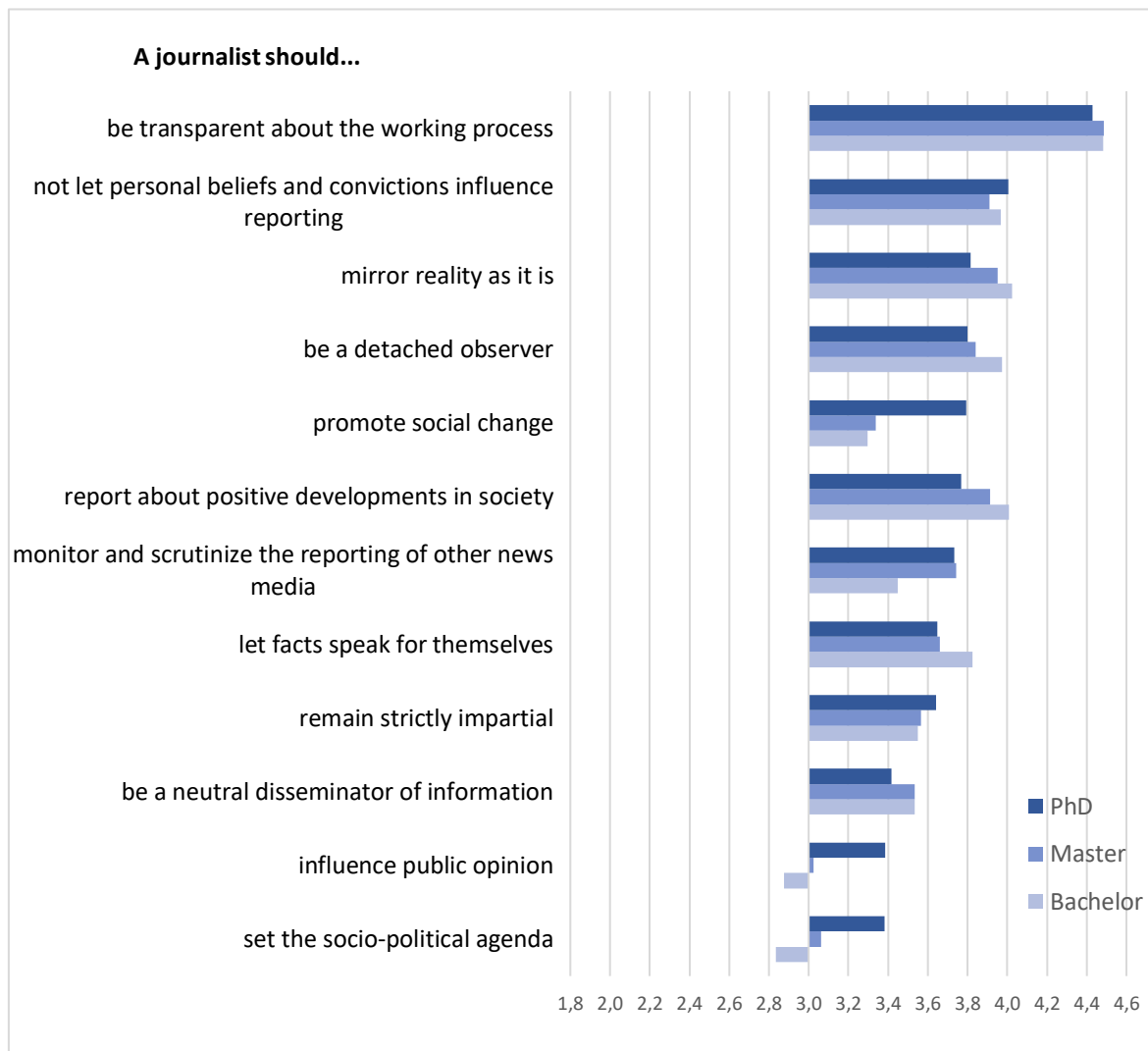
Figure 4.4.5 Future importance of tasks for professional journalists separated by educational degree (Means)



The same kind of pattern can be seen in Figure 4.4.6, about the position of journalists. It is remarkable that the scores of teachers with a PhD-degree always are the most outspoken (high or low), with one exception: Monitor and scrutinize the reporting of other news media.

The high score of PhD-level teachers is most clear in the following cases: Influence public opinion, Set the socio-political agenda, and Promote social change. Teachers with a bachelor-degree, on the other hand, show relatively high scores on: Mirror reality as it is, Be a detached observer, and Let facts speak for themselves. The fourth in this row does not completely fit in this pattern: Report about positive developments in society. (See Appendix 3, Table 3, for a more precise overview of mean scores and significance levels.)

Figure 4.4.6 Position of journalists separated by educational degree (Means)

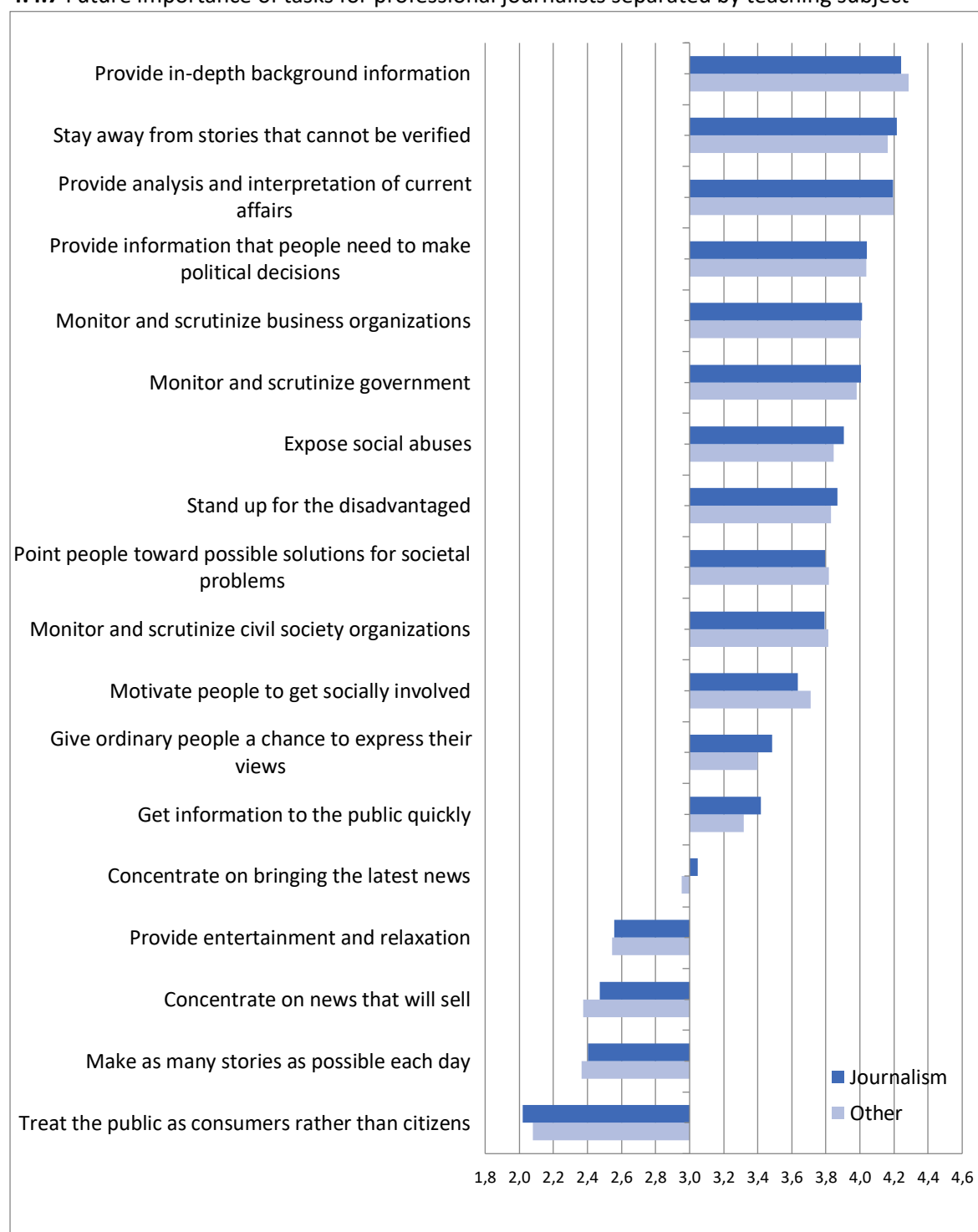


Overall, it can be concluded that educational degree does not have a huge impact on the views on journalistic tasks, but it does have some influence in the (epistemological) field of the position towards reality, and the (ontological) position in society.

4.4.4 Subject (Tasks & Position)

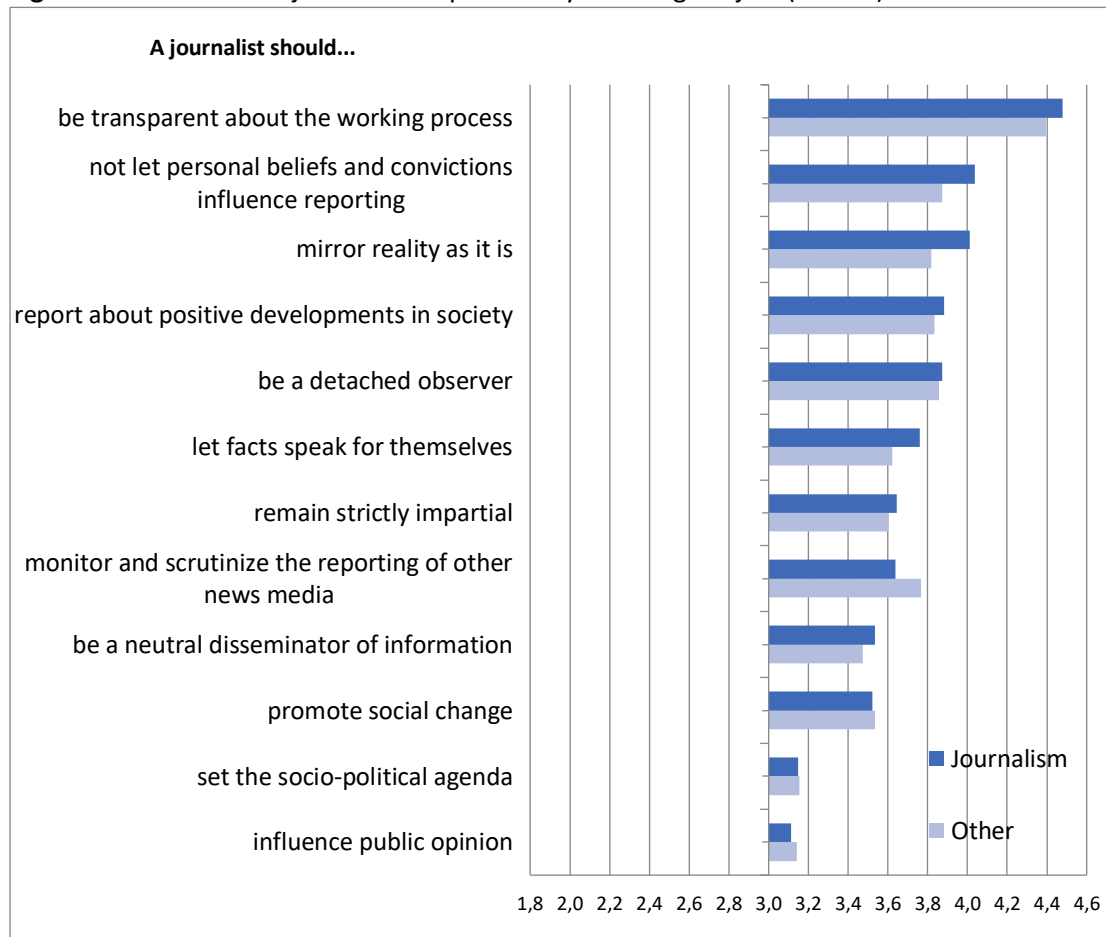
This paragraph goes into the relation between the subject that is taught (Journalism or Other) and the view on tasks and position of journalists. Figure 4.4.7 shows a high level of consensus between the groups with regard to the views on tasks. There are no significant differences (see Appendix 2, Table 4).

4.4.7 Future importance of tasks for professional journalists separated by teaching subject



With regard to the position of journalists, the level of consensus is somewhat lower. Teachers that teach the subject Journalism score significantly higher on the items that relate to the concept of neutrality/objectivity: Not let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting, Mirror reality as it is, Let facts speak for themselves, but lower on Monitor and scrutinize the reporting of other news media. (See appendix 3, Table 4.)

Figure 4.4.8 Position of journalists separated by teaching subject (Means)



4.5 Tasks, Position and Regions

This paragraph focuses on the regional differences with regard to the views on the future importance of journalistic tasks and the position of journalists in society as well as towards reality. In paragraph 3.1.3 the 28 participating countries were divided into six European regions: North, Central, East, South East, South West and West. As is explained in paragraph 3.1.4 the answers of respondents are corrected due to differences in answering style.

4.5.1 Tasks and Regions

Table 4.5.1 shows that the teachers from the six regions differ significantly in their views on most of the distinguished tasks. These differences will be highlighted in the graphics of *Figure 4.5.1*. Apart from the tasks about which the teachers have different views, there are a few tasks on the future importance of which the teachers agree, regardless of region. ‘Stand up for the disadvantaged’ gets an overall relatively high support: all regions show scores within the range of 3,84 – 4,15. About the same can be said about ‘Expose social abuses’ (3,85 – 4,10). Next, there are two tasks with a rather high level of consensus, but with lesser support: ‘Give ordinary people a chance to express their views’ (range 3,31 – 3,66) and ‘Motivate people to get socially involved’ (range 3,59 – 3,91). Finally, there are three items with a relatively high level of consensus, but with low average scores. These are: ‘Provide entertainment and relaxation’ (range 2,47 – 2,61), ‘Concentrate on news that will sell’ (range 2,33 – 2,75) and ‘Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens’ (range 1,92 – 2,21). It is interesting to know that journalism teachers from all European regions support the idea that journalism should focus on societal tasks and not on commercial ones.

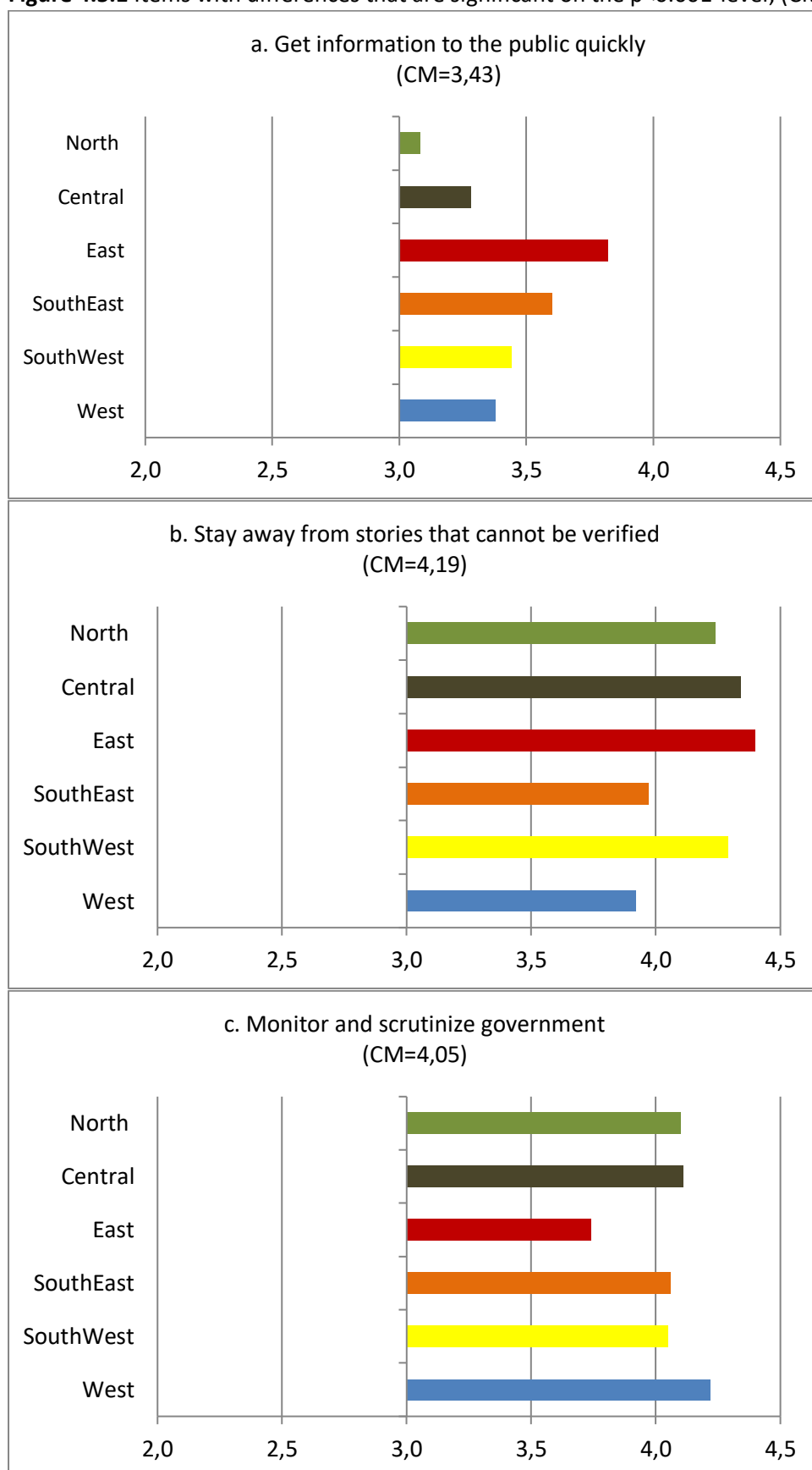
The views of the teachers from the six regions differ significantly on the other 11 tasks. On some tasks/items the answers show similar patterns (see *Figure 4.5.1*), such as the ones on ‘Provide in-depth background information’ on one side and ‘Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs’ on the other. And also the three on ‘Monitoring and scrutinizing’ (government, business organizations, civil society organizations). Focusing on the regions, one could say that the six regions could be regrouped into three: North/Central, West/South-West and East/South-East. North and Central show the lowest scores on the tasks that are related to faster forms of journalism, such as ‘Get information to the public quickly’, ‘Concentrate on bringing the latest news’ or ‘Make as many stories as possible each day’. East and South-East show the highest scores on these three tasks, compared to the other regions. But they show relatively low scores on the three items concerning monitoring and scrutinizing (government, business, civil society) and on the items that are related to investigative forms of journalism, such as ‘Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs’, ‘Provide in-depth background information’, and ‘Provide information that people need to make political decisions’. The regions West and South-West are often in between North/Central on one hand and East/South-East on the other, with one exception: teachers in West/South-West show relatively low support for ‘Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems’.

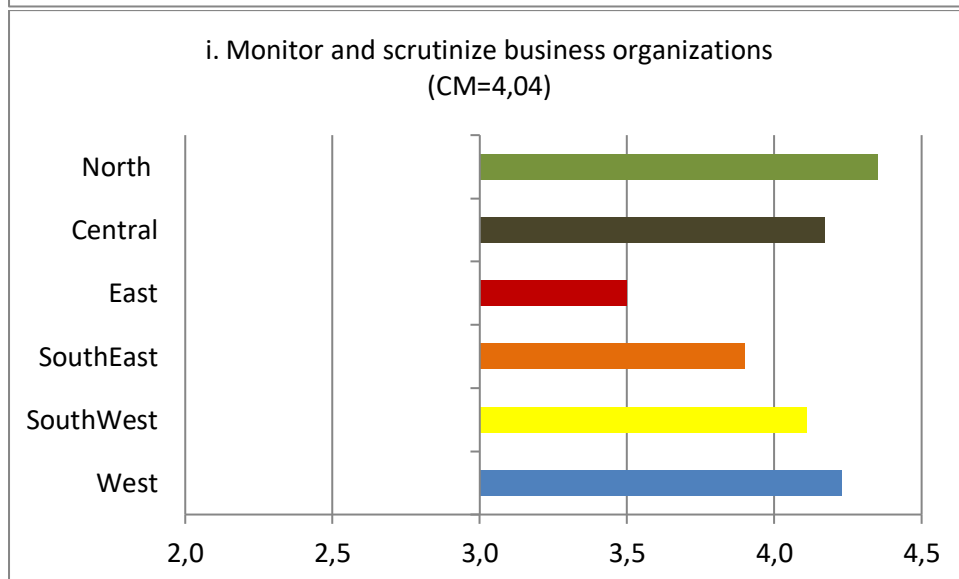
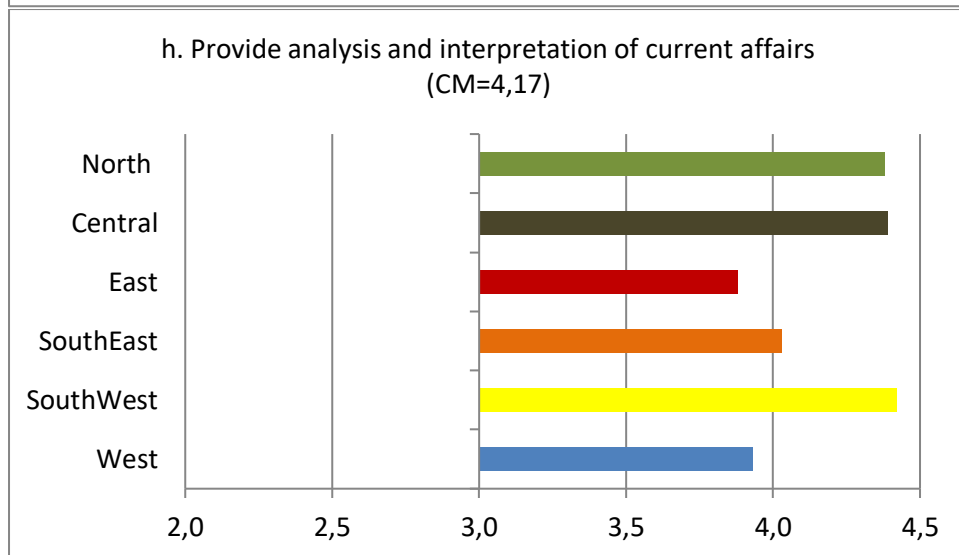
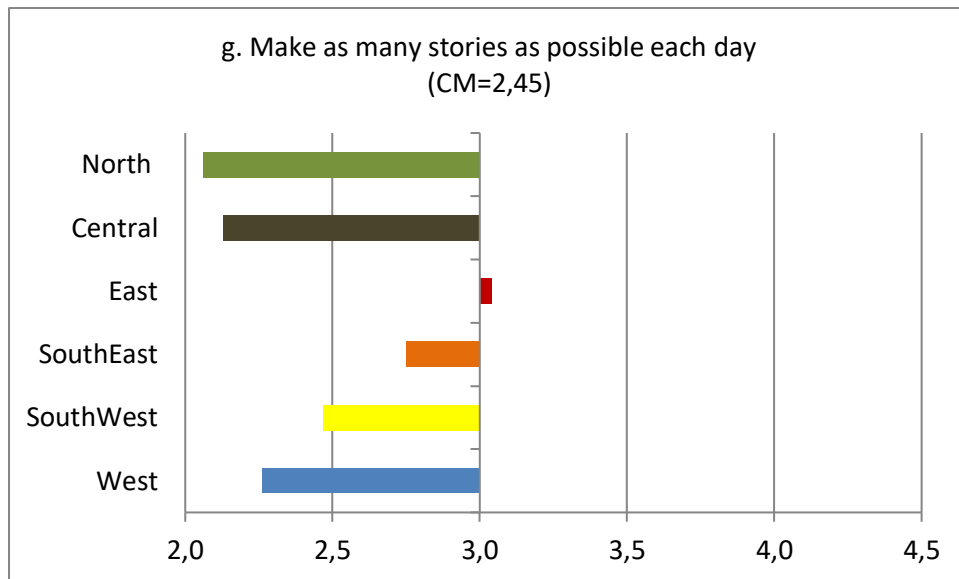
Table 4.5.1 Journalistic tasks divided by region (Means)

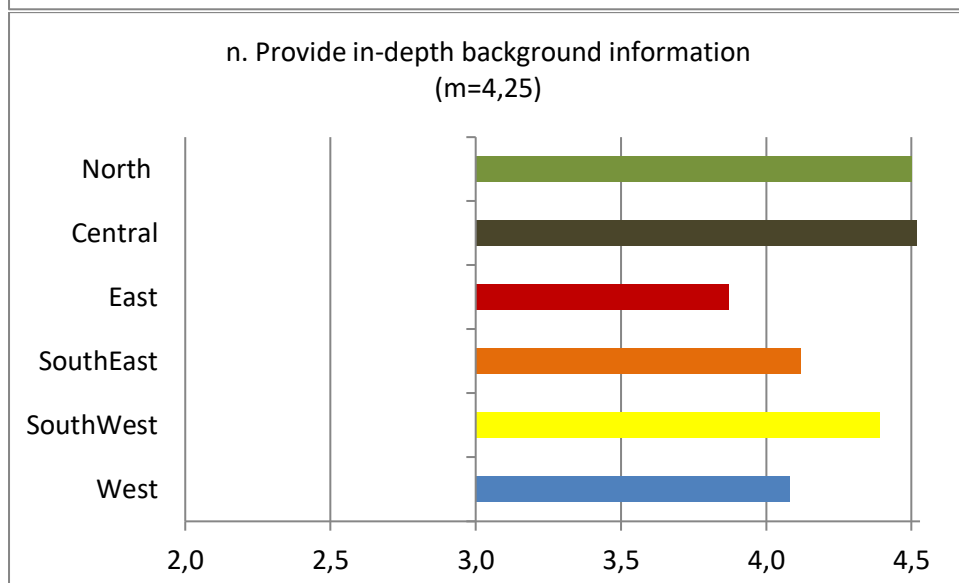
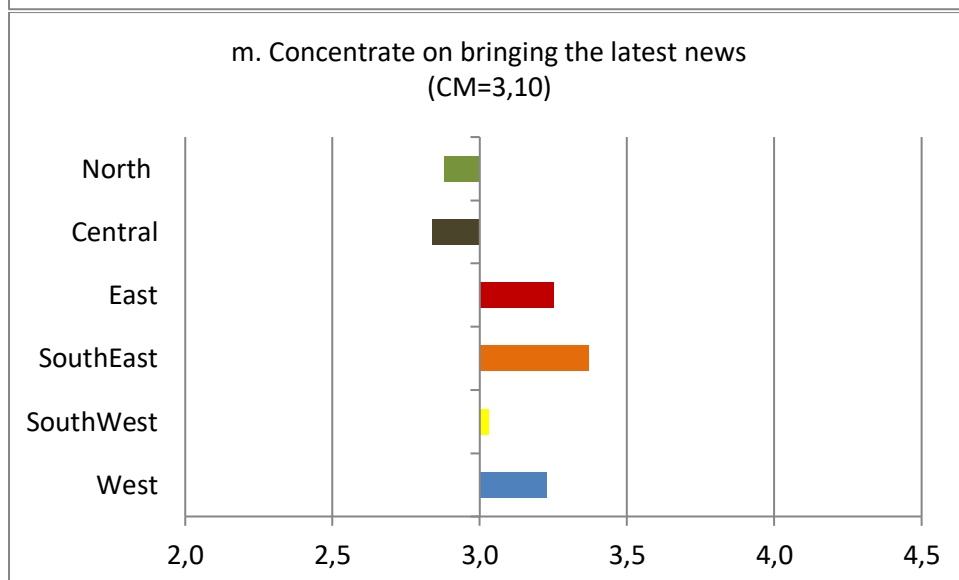
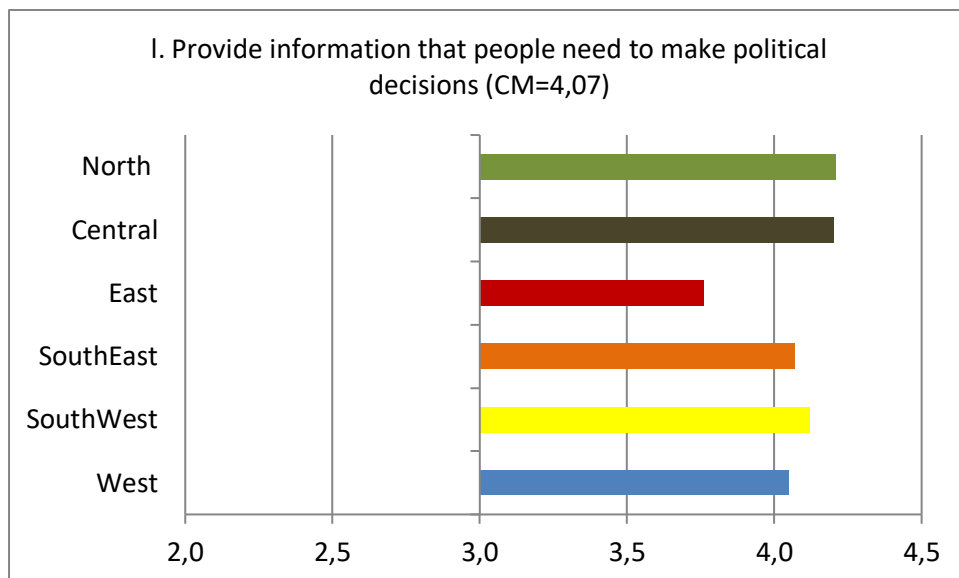
Tasks	North	Central	East	South East	South West	West
a. Get information to the public quickly *	3,08	3,28	3,82	3,60	3,44	3,38
b. Stay away from stories that cannot be verified*	4,24	4,34	4,40	3,97	4,29	3,92
c. Monitor and scrutinize government *	4,10	4,11	3,74	4,06	4,05	4,22
d. Stand up for the disadvantaged	3,87	3,84	3,94	3,88	3,89	4,15
e. Provide entertainment and relaxation	2,47	2,60	2,59	2,57	2,61	2,61
f. Expose social abuses	3,90	3,90	3,85	3,87	3,99	4,10
g. Make as many stories as possible each day *	2,06	2,13	3,04	2,75	2,47	2,26
h. Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs*	4,38	4,39	3,88	4,03	4,42	3,93
i. Monitor and scrutinize business organizations*	4,35	4,17	3,50	3,90	4,11	4,23
j. Give ordinary people a chance to express their views	3,55	3,31	3,66	3,59	3,54	3,44
k. Concentrate on news that will sell	2,43	2,45	2,75	2,46	2,33	2,48
l. Provide information that people need to make political decisions*	4,21	4,20	3,76	4,07	4,12	4,05
m. Concentrate on bringing the latest news*	2,88	2,84	3,25	3,37	3,03	3,23
n. Provide in-depth background information*	4,50	4,52	3,87	4,12	4,39	4,08
o. Monitor and scrutinize civil society organizations*	3,94	3,90	3,61	3,75	3,85	4,05
p. Motivate people to get socially involved	3,77	3,65	3,91	3,79	3,59	3,74
q. Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens	1,96	2,13	2,16	2,13	1,92	2,21
r. Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems*	4,04	3,94	3,98	3,79	3,67	3,66

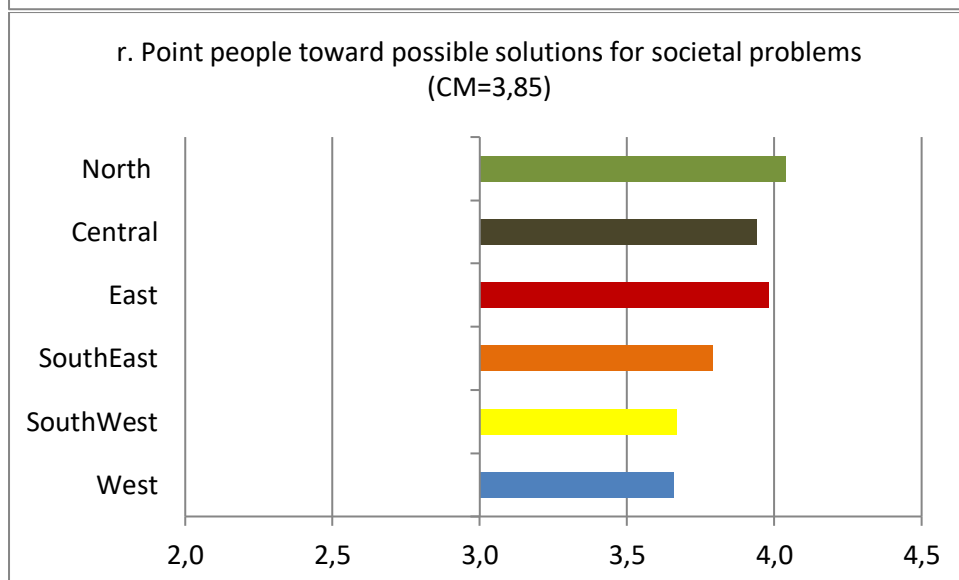
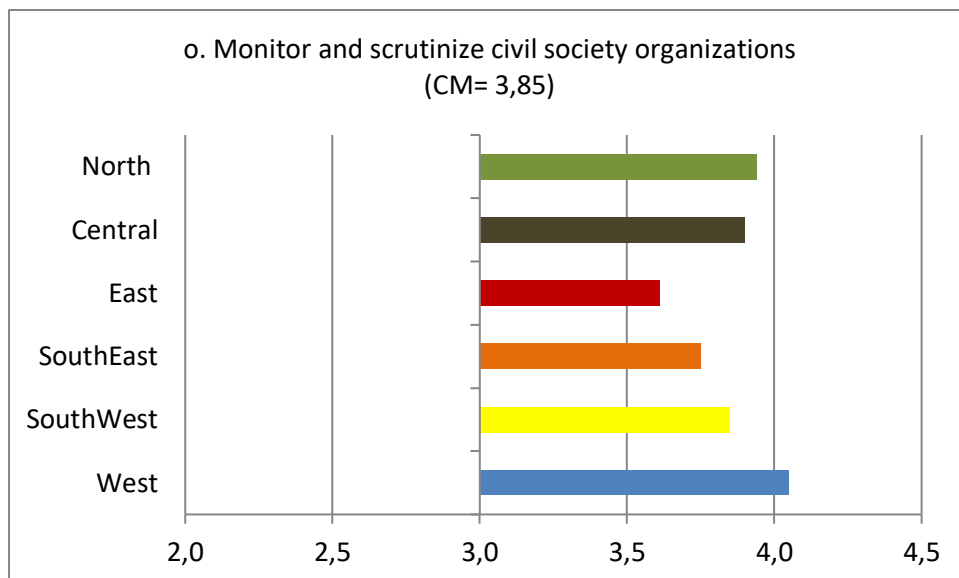
*=Significant on the $p < .05$ level (ANOVA-test; see appendix 2, Table 5)

Figure 4.5.1 Items with differences that are significant on the $p < 0.001$ -level; (CM=Corrected Mean)









4.5.2 Position and Regions

On most of the items that are related to the position of journalists, the teachers of the six regions have significantly different views. On only three items the differences are not significant on the $p < 0.001$ -level, but still considerable. These three items are: 'be a detached observer', 'be a neutral disseminator of information' and 'let facts speak for themselves'. They reflect the rather popular view that there is a (social) reality out there and that journalists should try to reflect that reality in a neutral, factual and detached way. The average score on these three items is the highest in the West (3,81) and South-West (3,81), followed by East (3,75), South-East (3,74) and Central (3,72). The North follows at a distance (3,54).

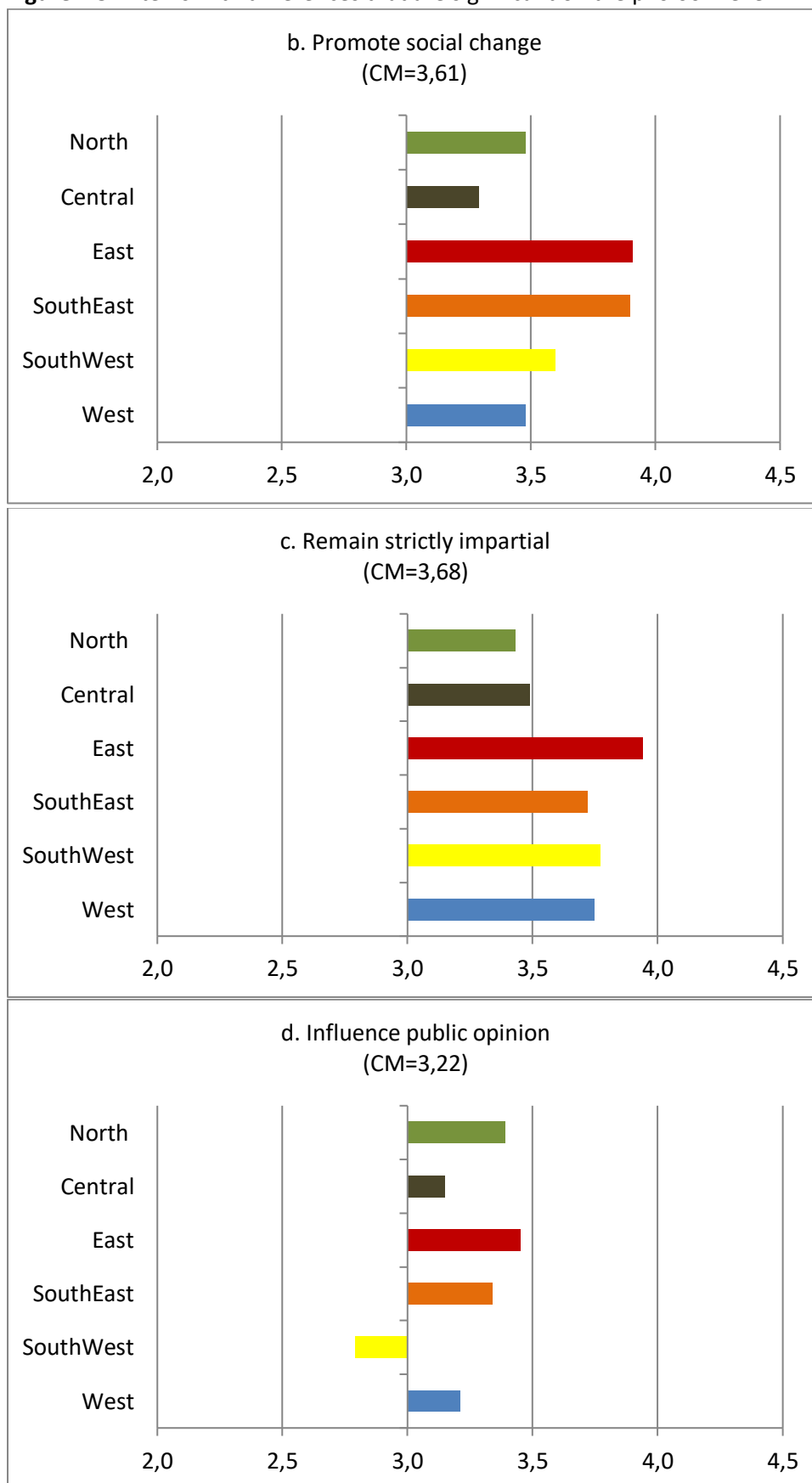
Looking at the (rather highly significant) differences between the regions on the other nine items, it is not easy to find a consistent pattern (see Figure 4.5.2). For instance, the East shows the highest score on 'promote social change', 'influence public opinion' and 'set the political agenda', but also on 'remain strictly impartial' and 'mirror reality as it is'. In the previous paragraph, concerning journalistic tasks, it was possible to regroup the six regions into three. With regard to journalistic position such a regrouping is not possible, although North and Central still show high resemblance. The next chapter will go deeper into the issue of underlying patterns.

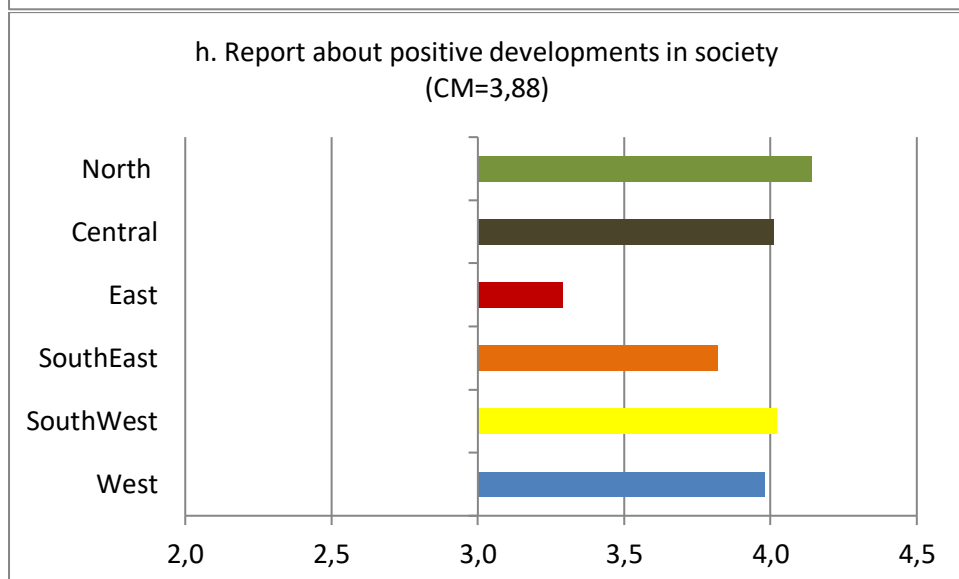
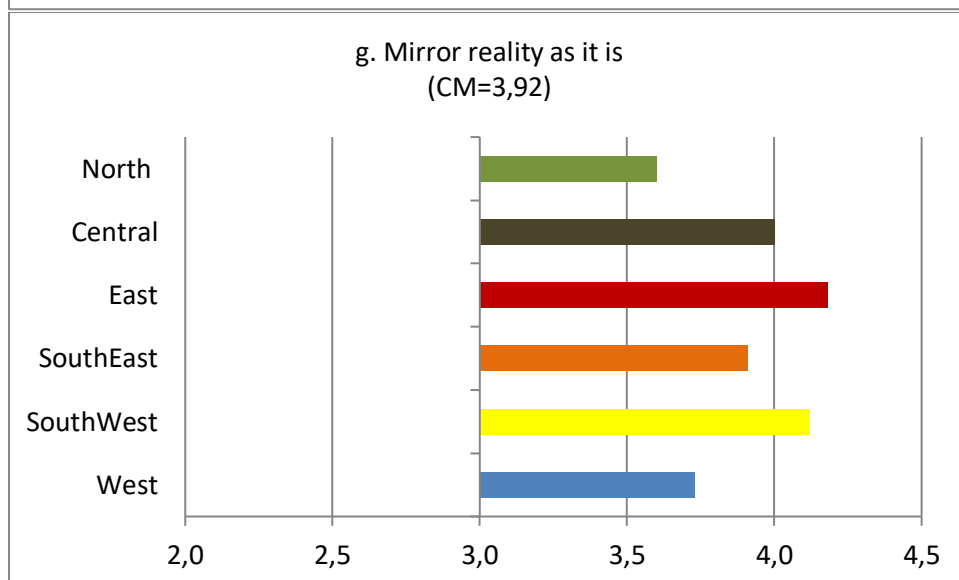
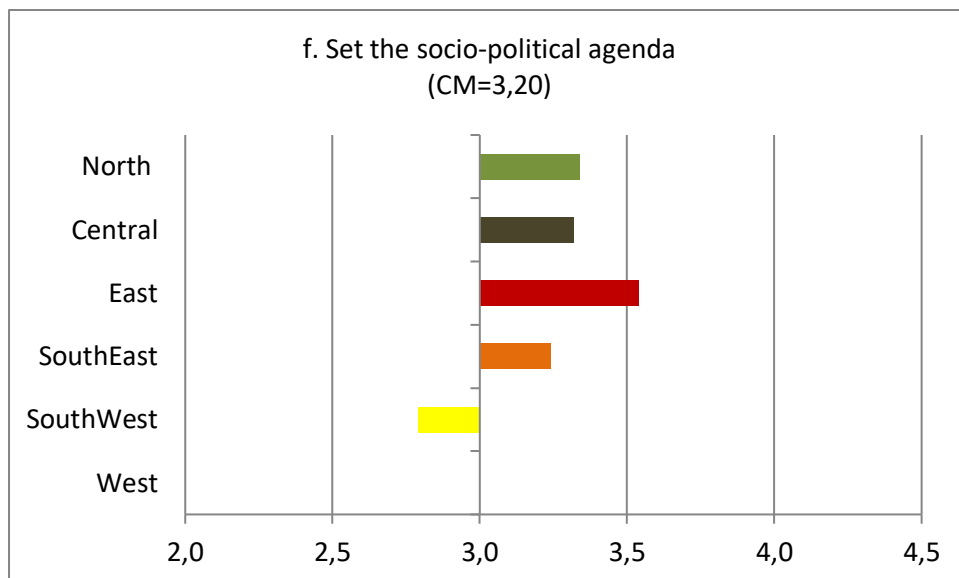
Table 4.5.2 Journalistic position divided by region (Means)

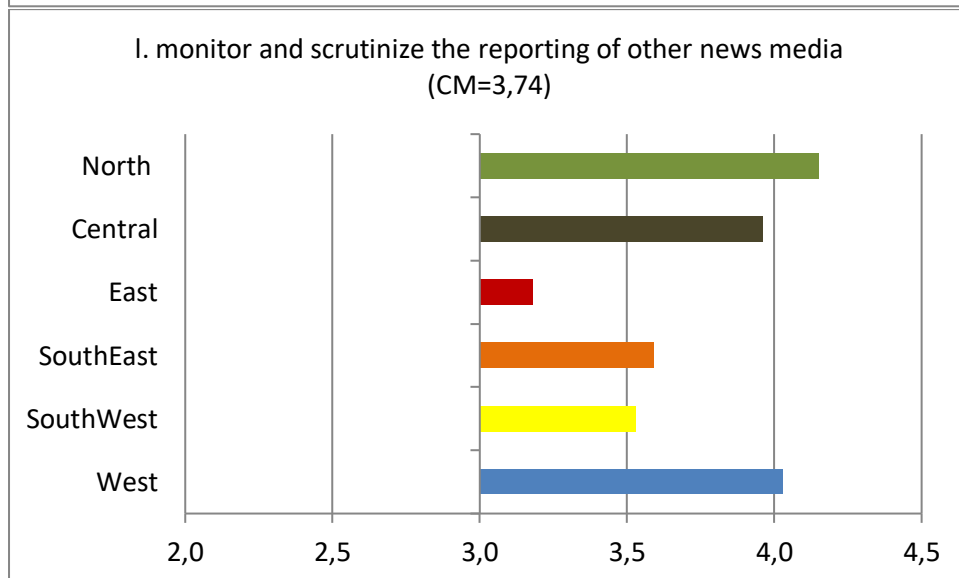
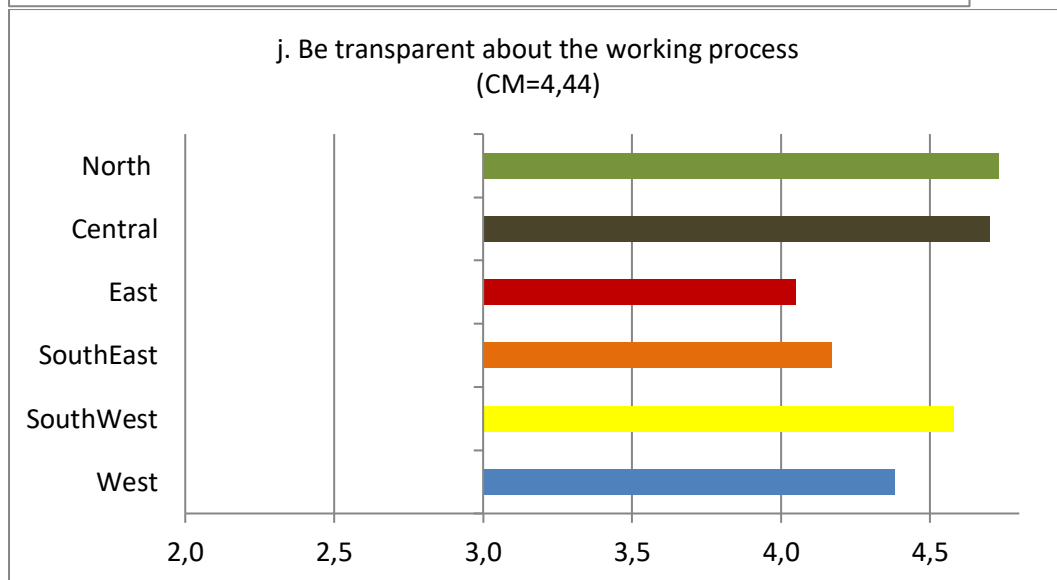
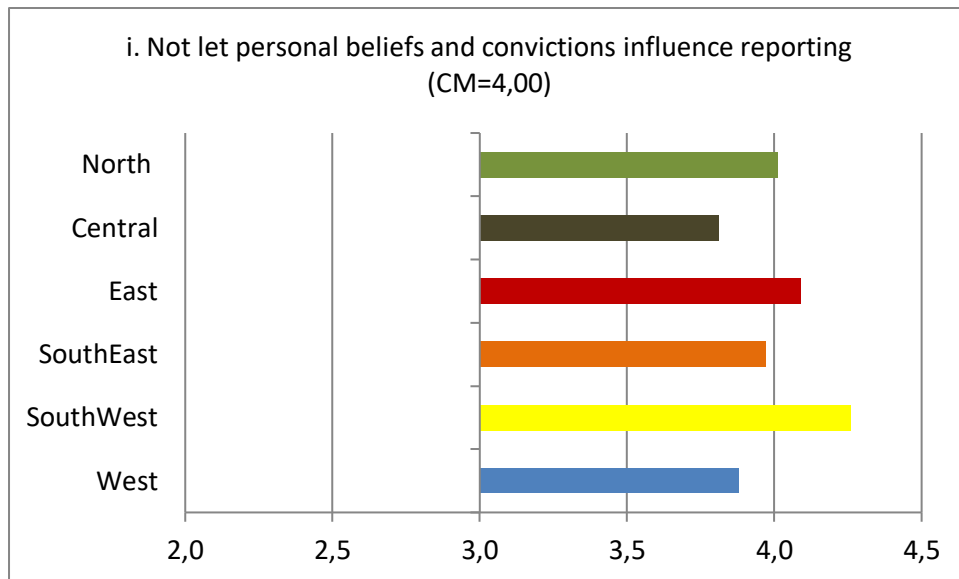
Position A journalist <u>should</u> ...	North	Central	East	South East	South West	West
a. be a detached observer*	3,69	4,00	3,84	3,81	4,03	3,84
b. promote social change*	3,48	3,29	3,91	3,90	3,60	3,48
c. remain strictly impartial*	3,43	3,49	3,94	3,72	3,77	3,75
d. influence public opinion*	3,39	3,15	3,45	3,34	2,79	3,21
e. be a neutral disseminator of information*	3,31	3,53	3,47	3,58	3,66	3,70
f. set the socio-political agenda*	3,34	3,32	3,54	3,24	2,79	3,00
g. mirror reality as it is*	3,60	4,00	4,18	3,91	4,12	3,73
h. report about positive developments in society*	4,14	4,01	3,29	3,82	4,02	3,98
i. not let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting*	4,01	3,81	4,09	3,97	4,26	3,88
j. be transparent about the working process*	4,73	4,70	4,05	4,17	4,58	4,38
k. let facts speak for themselves*	3,62	3,62	3,94	3,84	3,74	3,90
l. monitor and scrutinize the reporting of other news media*	4,15	3,96	3,18	3,59	3,53	4,03
Total (corrected)	3,74	3,74	3,74	3,74	3,74	3,74

*=Significant on the $p < 0.05$ level (ANOVA-test; see appendix 3, Table 5)

Figure 4.5.2 Items with differences that are significant on the $p < 0.001$ -level.







4.6 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter had focused on the views of European journalism teachers on two key elements of journalistic roles: the tasks that journalists should perform and the position they should have in society and towards reality and truth.

With regard to the first element, the tasks, the outcomes paint a clear picture and show a rather high level of consensus. The three items that turned out to be at the top of the ranking of 18 items in total are all related to slower forms of journalism: 1. 'provide in-depth background information', 2. 'provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs' and 3. 'stay away from stories that cannot be verified'. At the other end of the ranking the following three tasks are found: 16. 'concentrate on news that will sell', 17. 'make as many stories as possible each day' and 18. 'treat the public as consumers rather than citizens'. These three items at the bottom of the list are related to a commercial view on journalism's tasks. One can conclude that on average European teachers believe that journalism should move in the direction of slower forms of journalism, aimed at citizens and not primarily at consumers.

With regard to the second element, the position, the outcome is less univocal. In the top 3 of the ranking of 12 items we find: 1. 'be transparent about the working process', 2. 'not let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting' and 3. 'mirror reality as it is'. This points in the direction of a preference for a neutral position for journalists. This is, more or less, reinforced by the fact that the following two items are at the bottom of the ranking: 11. 'set the political agenda' and 12. 'influence public opinion'. However, it is not consistent with item 10. 'be a neutral disseminator of information' being at the bottom. Looking at all 12 items, the general tendency in the outcomes is nevertheless a stronger support for journalists being a 'mirror' than for journalists being a 'mover'.

Breaking down the results on the basis of the teachers' background characteristics (gender, age, degree, subject) does not offer huge new insights. The effect of *gender* on tasks and position is negligible. The same goes for the effect of *age*, albeit that younger teachers are a bit more inclined to support a commercial view and a bit less inclined to favour slower forms of journalism. Nevertheless, younger teachers do show higher scores on items such as 'point people toward possible solutions for societal problems' and 'motivate people to get socially involved'. The *degree* (highest obtained: PhD, Master or Bachelor) of the teacher also does not have a convincing impact on tasks and position. Just as the younger teachers, respondents with a PhD degree show a little stronger support for pointing people toward possible solutions for societal problems and motivating people to get socially involved. However, unlike the younger teachers, they show an above average level of support for slow journalism and a below average level of support for commerce-oriented tasks. Furthermore, PhD-respondents are more supportive of tasks that are related to a 'mover'-type of journalism, promoting social change, influencing public opinion and setting the political agenda. Respondents with a Bachelor degree on the other hand are more supportive of tasks that are related to the 'mirror-type' of journalism, mirroring reality, being a detached observer and letting facts speak for themselves. The *subject* that is taught by the respondent has no substantial

influence on the two key elements of journalistic roles, just as the other background characteristics. Whether one teaches journalism or another subject has no influence on the view on tasks. On the contrary: the level of consensus is very high between the two groups. This is not the case with regard to the view on the position of journalists. Respondents that teach journalism (skills, principles) show a stronger support for the mirror-view: not letting beliefs and convictions influence reporting, mirroring reality as it is and letting facts speak for themselves. However, the overall conclusion is that the influence of background characteristics on the view on tasks and position of journalists is modest and seldom statistically significant.

That is clearly not the case with regard to *region*. The six distinguished regions differ significantly on the vast majority of items concerning tasks as well as position. Despite the clarity of these differences, underlying patterns appear to be far less obvious.

With regard to tasks the teachers from the East and South-East show a stronger inclination to support items that are related to fast journalism, such as 'get information to the public quickly' and 'concentrate on bringing the latest news'. Teachers from the West in comparison show stronger support for items that are related to a watchdog role of journalism: 'monitor and scrutinize government', 'monitor and scrutinize business organizations', 'monitor and scrutinize organizations from civil society'. Teachers from the North and Central show relatively strong support for items that are related to investigative journalism: providing analysis, in-depth background information and information that people need to make political decisions. Teachers from the South-West often are in between those of the West and the North/Central, but with a strong support for tasks in the field of analysis and background.

With regard to position, teachers from the East, and to a lesser extent those from the South-East, strongly support being a mirror and being impartial, but also strongly support promoting social change. Teachers from the North/Central in comparison clearly favour giving attention to positive developments, being transparent and monitoring and scrutinizing other news media. Teachers from the West also show a relatively strong support for monitoring and scrutinizing other media. Teachers from the South-West show high scores on letting personal beliefs not get in the way of reporting reality as it is.

Overall, chapter 4 has made clear that the views of European journalism teachers on two key elements of journalistic roles (tasks and position) can be interpreted in terms of differences as well as in terms of consensus. If one should focus on differences, it became clear that background characteristics (gender, age, degree, subject) do not have a huge impact on the views of teachers, but region has. The regional differences are mostly statically significant, but do not always show consistent patterns. If one should focus on consensus, it became clear that male and female teachers, young and old teachers, teachers of journalism and teachers of other subjects and teachers with different educational degrees, show high levels of agreement. On the aggregated level, European teachers appear to agree that the future tasks of journalists should lie in the area of slow, investigative forms of journalism and that journalists should more act like mirrors than movers of social reality.

5. Journalism Culture and Regions

This chapter focuses on journalism culture and how it can be defined in terms of journalistic roles, on how role orientations relate to values (ethical values and normative ideas about the direction journalism should take), on how role orientations relate to choices concerning qualifications for (future) journalists and on the extent to which certain role orientations are supported by teachers in the various European regions. The first step is trying to operationalize the multicoloured concept of journalism culture.

5.1 Deconstructing Journalism Culture

In his ground-breaking article on Deconstructing Journalism Culture¹⁰, Thomas Hanitzsch distinguishes seven principal dimensions of journalism culture: interventionism, power distance, market orientation, objectivism, empiricism, relativism and idealism. The first three form the basic elements of journalistic roles. A few years earlier, Donsbach & Patterson¹¹ did a similar kind of exercise by distinguishing two basic dimensions for defining journalistic roles for political news journalists: passive versus active on one hand and advocate versus neutral on the other. In 2018 Hanitzsch & Vos¹² suggest “a new look into journalistic roles”, mainly because they find the old look is too strongly focused on political life, whereas journalism also plays a role in everyday life and this role is increasing. Standing in a robust academic tradition of producing classifications, they distinguish no less than 18 roles for the domain of political life and 7 for the domain of everyday life. All these, and other attempts to grasp journalism culture and its key constituents are inspired by the work of Weaver and Wilhoit.¹³ They distinguished three main roles for journalism in the 1980’s: Disseminator, Interpreter, Watchdog. This was supplemented by a fourth role in the 1990’s: (populist) Mobilizer.

In this research our starting point are the ideal-typical traits that Deuze¹⁴, and others like Golding & Elliott or Kovach & Rosenstiel, mention as the five important values for journalism:

- Public service: journalists provide a public service as ‘watchdogs’ or ‘newshounds’;
- Autonomy: journalists must be autonomous, free and independent in their work;
- Immediacy: journalists have a sense of immediacy, actuality and speed;
- Objectivity: journalists are impartial, neutral, objective, fair and (thus) credible;
- Ethics: journalists have a sense of ethics, validity and legitimacy.

¹⁰ Hanitzsch, T. (2007). Deconstructing Journalism Culture: Toward a Universal Theory. *Communication Theory*, 17(2017), 367-385.

¹¹ Donsbach, W. & Patterson, T.E. (2004). Political news journalists: Partisanship, professionalism, and political roles in five countries. In F. Esser & B. Pfetsch (Eds.), *Comparing political communication: Theories, cases and challenges* (pp.251-270). New York: Cambridge University Press.

¹² Hanitzsch, T. & Vos T.P. (2018). Journalism beyond democracy: A new look into journalistic roles in political and everyday life. *Journalism* Vol. 19(2) 146–164.

¹³ See for instance: Weaver, D. H. & Wilhoit, G.C. (1996). *The American journalist in the 1990s: U.S. news people at the end of an era*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.

¹⁴ For all of these authors, see: Deuze, M. (2005). What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism*, 6(4), 442–464.

The first four of these can be seen as important constituents of journalistic roles. The fifth adds the moral dimension and is treated separately in our research. The four constituents refer to four basic concepts that journalists relate to: Audience (Public service), Power (Autonomy), Time (Immediacy), Reality (Objectivity). In the following paragraphs, these four will be used as the principal dimensions and building blocks for categorisation and analysis.

5.1.1 *Four dimensions, eight positions*

The four dimensions that are used as building blocks for analysis are:

Table 5.1.1 Four dimensions

AUDIENCE
POWER
TIME
REALITY

In each of these four dimensions a continuum is defined on the basis of two separate positions, one at each of the ends of the line (Table 5.1.2), and combinations of the two in between.

With regard to the orientation towards the Audience, two positions are distinguished: on one end the view that the audience is primarily a collection of consumers, at the other end the view that the audience primarily should be seen as a collection of citizens.

With regard to the orientation towards Power, the position on one end is that of the neutral and impartial observer and on the other end the adversarial position that is focused on scrutinizing institutions and exposing abuses.

With regard to the orientation towards Time, on one end is the fast position, that is related to bringing the latest news, and on the other end the slow position, that is related to providing background and analysis.

With regard to the orientation towards Reality, the position on one end is that of the Mirror, that is based on a correspondence view on (social) reality, and on the other end the Interventionist position that is based on a constructivist view on (social) reality.

Table 5.1.2 Four Dimensions; Eight Positions

1. AUDIENCE	Consumer ----- Citizen
2. POWER	Neutral ----- Adversarial
3. TIME	Fast ----- Slow
4. REALITY	Mirror ----- Interventionist

In the questionnaire each of the eight positions is covered by 3 items or 4 items. These items should ideally form a reliable scale to measure the extent to which teachers adhere to each of the positions.

Table 5.1.3 shows the items that were used for each of the positions, including the reliability score of the eight scales (Cronbach's Alpha).

Table 5.1.3 Eight positions and the items to measure them

	Dimensions	Positions (Cronbach's Alpha)	Items
1	<i>Audience orientation</i>	<i>Consumers</i> .737	Provide entertainment and relaxation Concentrate on news that will sell Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens
		<i>Citizens</i> .670	Give ordinary people a chance to express their views Motivate people to get socially involved Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems Stand up for the disadvantaged
2	<i>Power orientation:</i>	<i>Neutral</i> .749	Be a detached observer Remain strictly impartial Be a neutral disseminator of information
		<i>Adversarial</i> .755	Monitor and scrutinize government Monitor and scrutinize business organisations Monitor and scrutinize civil society organisations Expose Social abuses
3	<i>Time orientation:</i>	<i>Fast</i> .741	Get information to the public quickly Make each day as many stories as possible Concentrate on bringing the latest news
		<i>Slow</i> .666	Provide in-depth background information Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs Provide information that people need to make political decisions
4	<i>Reality orientation:</i>	<i>Mirror</i> .607	Mirror reality as it is Let facts speak for themselves Let beliefs and convictions not influence reporting
		<i>Interventionist</i> .611	Promote social change Influence public opinion Set the socio-political agenda

This framework is used for the analysis and presentation of the research data on journalistic roles and the correlations between these roles and values and qualifications.

Teachers at European institutes for journalism education do not support all eight positions to the same extent. Table 5.1.4 shows the mean scores on each of the positions, organized by Dimension.

Within the Audience-dimension teachers are on average far more inclined to favour the citizens-position (M=3,69) than the consumers-position (M=2,35). With regard to Power the adversarial position (M=3,92) has a higher mean score than the neutral position (M=3,67).

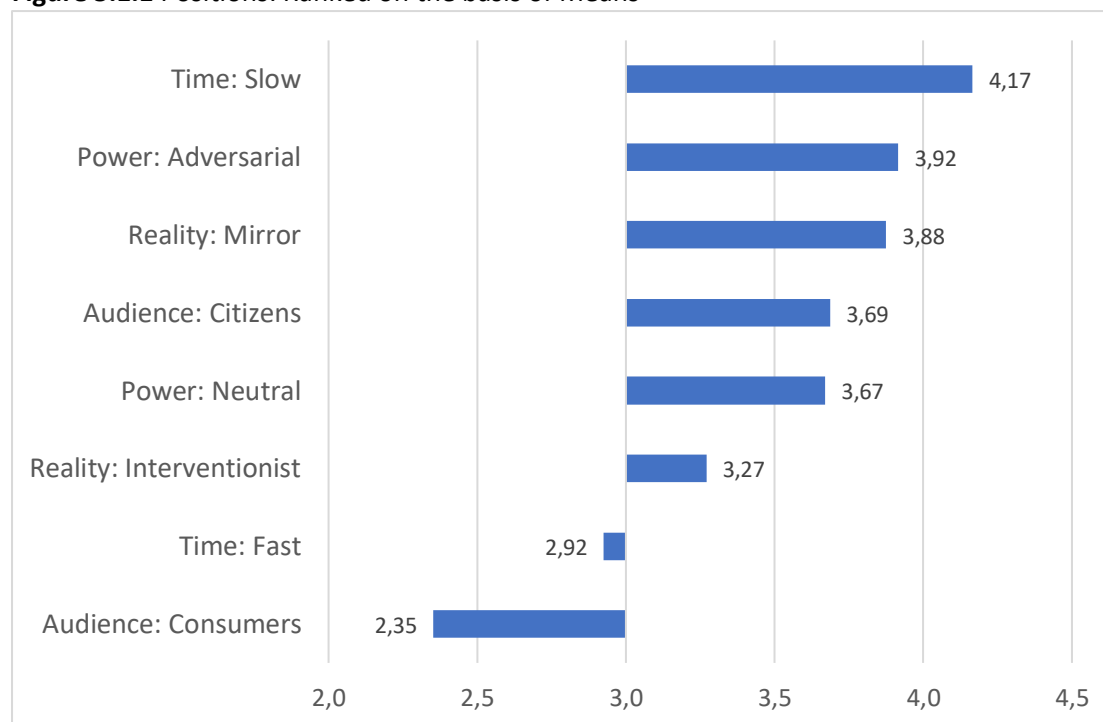
There is a huge gap between the two positions of the Time-dimension: the Slow position has a mean of 4,17 and the fast position has a mean of 2,92. Finally, within the Reality-dimension the mirror-position (M=3,88) has a higher mean than the interventionist-position (3,27).

Table 5.1.4 Positions: Means and Standard Deviations

Dimensions	Positions	M	SD
Audience:	Consumers	2,35	0,818
	Citizens	3,69	0,614
Power:	Neutral	3,67	0,837
	Adversarial	3,92	0,597
Time:	Fast	2,92	0,770
	Slow	4,17	0,584
Reality:	Mirror	3,88	0,738
	Interventionist	3,27	0,715

In Figure 5.1.1 the eight positions are ranked according to the mean score. Slow is the number one, and Consumers is the number eight.

Figure 5.1.1 Positions: Ranked on the basis of Means



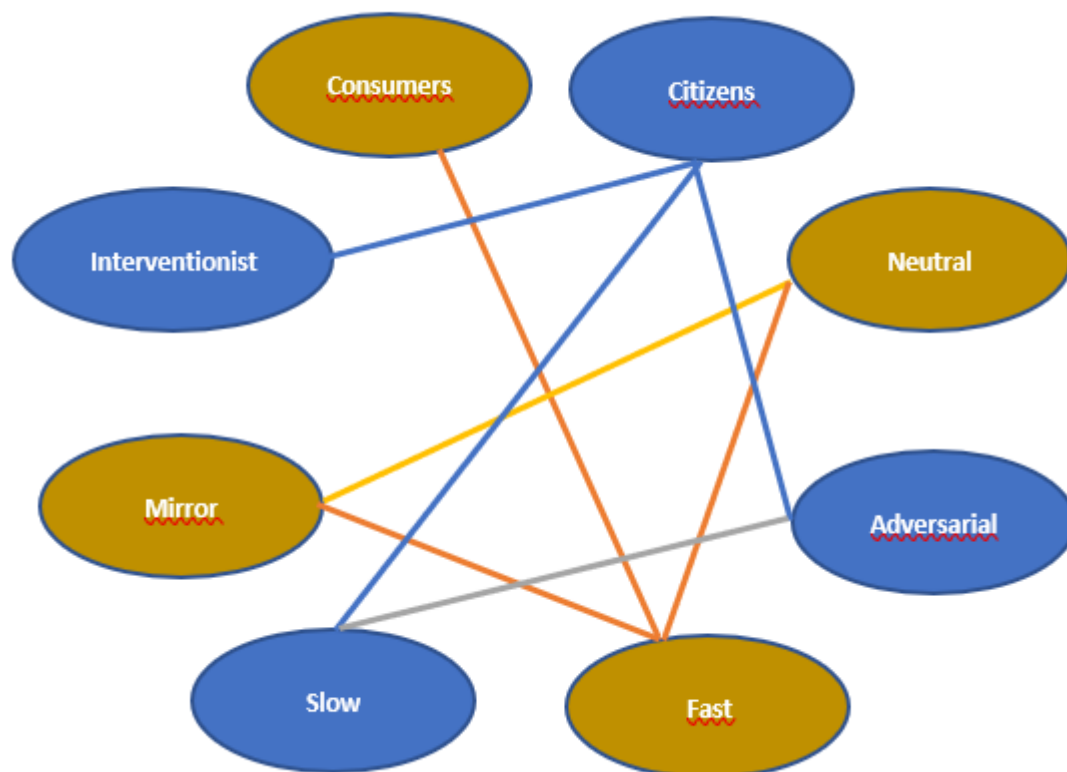
The positions should not be interpreted as dichotomies. For instance: seeing the audience as citizens does not mean that they can't be seen as consumers anymore. Furthermore, the positions can be interrelated across the borders of the dimensions. For instance: a high score on the Mirror-position (Reality-dimension) can very well go together with a high score on the

Neutral Position (Power-dimension). Appendix 8 gives an overview of the correlations between the positions. It shows rather high correlations (> 0.300) between the following pairs of positions:

- Consumers – Fast
- Citizens – Adversarial
- Citizens – Slow
- Citizens – Interventionist
- Neutral – Fast
- Neutral – Mirror
- Adversarial – Slow
- Fast – Mirror

Figure 5.1.2 gives a graphic representation of the strongest relations between the eight positions.

Figure 5.1.2 Correlations $> .300$ between the eight positions



5.1.2 From eight positions to four roles: DIMO

The next step in the analysis has been to use the eight positions for the reconstruction of four different roles, in accordance with the Wilhoit/Weaver-tradition. Out of an exploratory Principal Component Analyses (see Appendix 9) came basically the following four components, each of which contains the items that are related to a set of two positions:

Component 1, Mirror + Neutral
 Component 2, Slow + Adversarial
 Component 3, Fast + Consumers
 Component 4, Interventionist + Citizens

These four components have been labelled as Roles in the following way:

- Disseminator (Fast + Consumers)
- Investigator (Slow + Adversarial)
- Mobilizer (Interventionist + Citizens)
- Observer (Mirror + Neutral)

Table 5.1.5 shows the correlations between the eight position and the four roles. Obviously, the correlation between a certain position and the role of which it is part, is very high (>.800). But next to these very high correlations there are several other significant correlations. For instance: the citizens-position is part of the Mobilizer-role, but it also significantly correlates with the Investigator role and – to a lesser extent – with the Disseminator-role. This means that the relations between positions and roles are not exclusive (see also Figure 5.1.2).

Table 5.1.5 Correlations between Positions and Roles

Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	Disseminator	Investigator	Mobilizer	Observer
Audience: Consumers	,880*	-,239*	,113*	,094
Audience: Citizens	,125*	,450*	,866*	,075
Power: Neutral	,238*	,052	-,035	,911*
Power: Adversarial	-,121*	,912*	,374*	,105
Time: Fast	,861*	-,065	,245*	,360*
Time: Slow	-,224*	,831*	,256*	,105
Reality: Mirror	,242*	,163*	,097	,885*
Reality: Interventionist	,237*	,145*	,818*	-,037

*. Correlation is significant at the $p < .001$ level (2-tailed).

Table 5.1.6 gives an overview of the four roles, the two positions each of them contains, the six or seven items that can be used for their measurement and the level of reliability of the resulting scales (Cronbach's Alpha). The four roles – Disseminator, Investigator, Mobilizer, Observer (acronym: DIMO) – will be used in the analyses that follow.

Table 5.1.6 The relation between Roles, Dimensions/Positions and Items

Nr	Role orientation (Cr.Alpha)	Dimensions	Items
1	Disseminator (.799)	<i>Time orientation:</i> <i>Fast</i> .741	Get information to the public quickly Make each day as many stories as possible Concentrate on bringing the latest news
		<i>Audience orientation:</i> <i>Consumers</i> .737	Provide entertainment and relaxation Concentrate on news that will sell Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens
2	Investigator (.798)	<i>Time orientation:</i> <i>Slow</i> .666	Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs Provide in-depth background information Provide information that people need to make political decisions
		<i>Power orientation:</i> <i>Adversarial</i> .755	Monitor and scrutinize government Monitor and scrutinize business organisations Monitor and scrutinize civil society organisations Expose Social abuses
3	Mobilizer (.726)	<i>Reality orientation:</i> <i>Interventionist</i> .611	Promote social change Influence public opinion Set the socio-political agenda
		<i>Audience orientation:</i> <i>Citizens</i> .670	Give ordinary people a chance to express their views Motivate people to get socially involved Stand up for the disadvantaged Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems
4	Observer (.796)	<i>Reality orientation:</i> <i>Mirror</i> .607	Mirror reality as it is Let facts speak for themselves Let beliefs and convictions not influence reporting
		<i>Power orientation:</i> <i>Neutral</i> .749	Be a detached observer Remain strictly impartial Be a neutral disseminator of information

The four roles have different Mean scores (Table 5.1.7). The teachers at European institutes for journalism education see the Investigator role ($M=4,03$) as the most important one and the Disseminator role ($M=2,64$) as the one that should be the least important in the coming years.

Table 5.1.7 DIMO: Means and Distribution

	Disseminator	Investigator	Mobilizer	Observer
Mean	2,64	4,03	3,52	3,78
SD	.690	.520	.556	.708

Figures 5.1.3 to 5.1.6 show the distribution of the scores on the four roles. All of them are a little skewed, but nevertheless do not show extremities and more or less resemble a normal distribution.

Figure 5.1.3 Distribution of scores: Disseminator

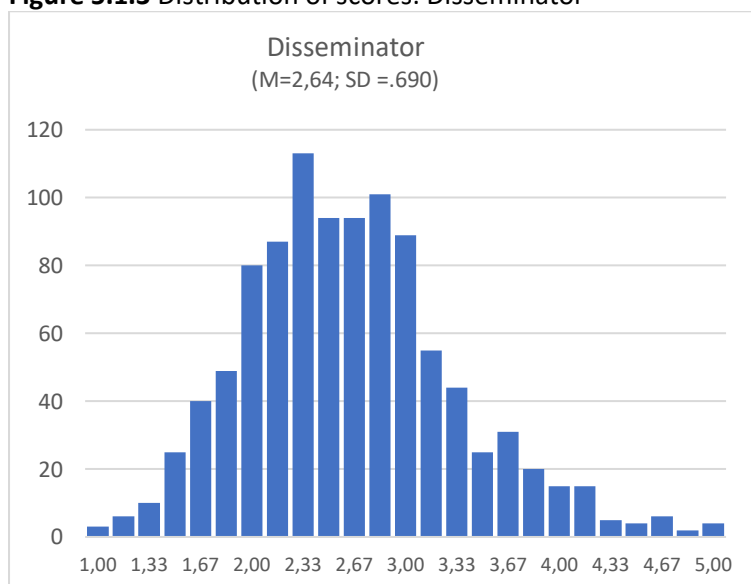


Figure 5.1.4 Distribution of scores: Investigator

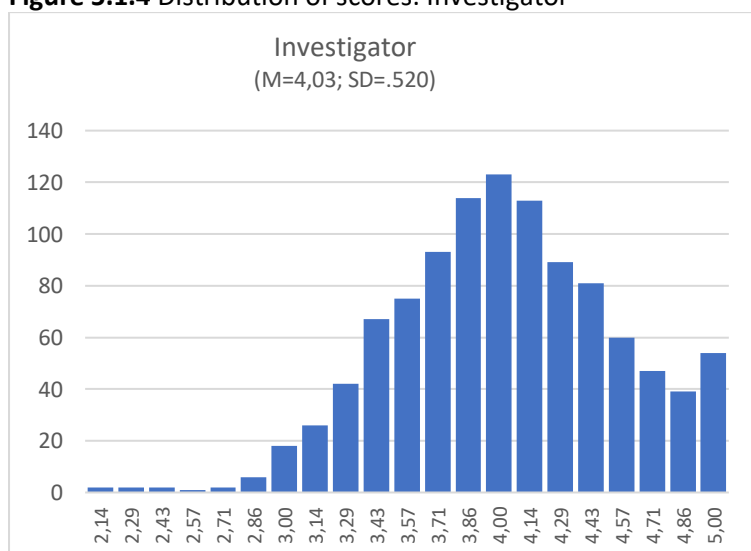


Figure 5.1.5 Distribution of scores: Mobilizer

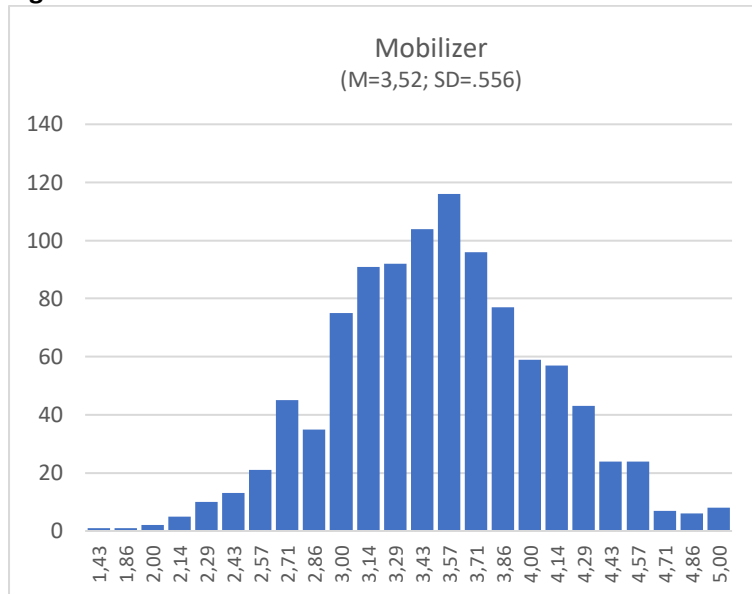
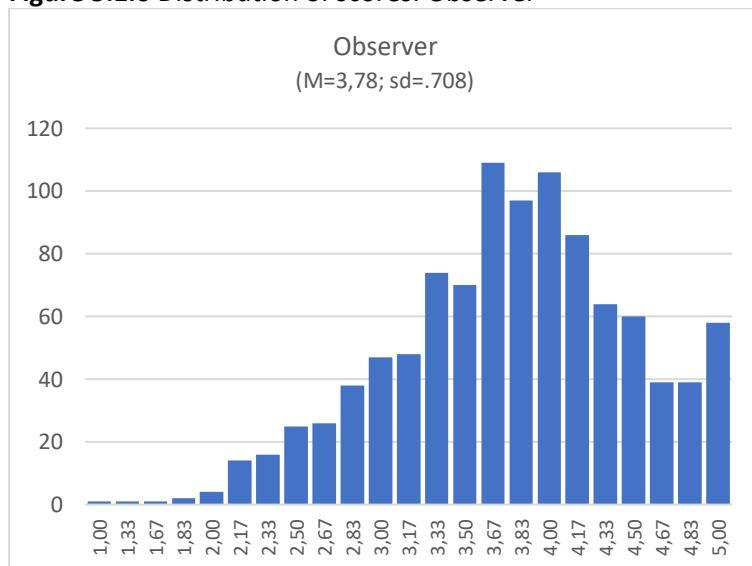


Figure 5.1.6 Distribution of scores: Observer



As was stated earlier, background characteristics do not have a huge impact on the views on journalistic tasks and on the journalistic position in society and towards reality. Table 5.1.8 shows the significant relations between the four roles and the four most important background characteristics. The outcomes indicate that females are more likely than males to support the Mobilize role. Age turns out to be negatively related to the Mobilizer role, which means that the support for this role drops with age. Degree is positively related to the Mobilizer role, teachers with a PhD-degree are stronger supporters of this role than their colleagues with a Master or Bachelor degree, respectively. Furthermore, younger teachers are more supportive for the Disseminator role than their older colleagues. The subject that is taught (journalism or other) does not relate to the view on roles.

Table 5.1.8 Significant relations* between Roles and Background characteristics

Pearson Chi-Square	Gender	Age	Degree	Subject
Disseminator	-	193,137 (df120)	-	-
Investigator	-	-	-	-
Mobilizer	50,717 (df23)	193,746 (df115)	103,384 (df46)	-
Observer	-	-	-	-

*Significant at the .001 level (2-tailed)

Finally, role perceptions are not considered to be one-dimensional¹⁵, and it interesting see if and to what extent the support that teachers give to one role correlates with the support for the other roles. Table 5.1.9 shows that there is a negative correlation between the Disseminator and the Investigator role and there is no significant correlation between the Mobilizer and the Observer role. All other (cor)relations are positive and significant. The strongest relation is between the Investigator and the Mobilizer, followed by the one between the Disseminator and the Observer.

Table 5.1.9 Correlations between the four roles

Pearson Correlations	Disseminator	Investigator	Mobilizer	Observer
Disseminator	1	-,186*	,206*	,263*
Investigator	-,186*	1	,369*	,119*
Mobilizer	,206*	,369*	1	n.s.
Observer	,263*	,119*	n.s.	1

*Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed) (n.s.=not significant)

¹⁵ Cf. Weaver, D.H., Willnat, L. & Wilhoit, G.C. (2018). The American Journalist in the Digital Age: Another look at US News People. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 1-30. On page 15 they claim: "...journalists' perceptions of their own roles are not one-dimensional, but tend to be composed of several roles at the same time."

5.2 Roles and values

This paragraph will focus on the relationship between roles and values. The roles that are taken into account are the four that were distinguished in the previous section: Disseminator, Investigator, Mobilizer, Observer. The values that are reported upon are about ethics of journalism and the normative view on possible directions in the further development of journalism.

5.2.1 Role orientations and Ethics

Before confronting the four roles with the views of the teachers on ethical issues, the overall outcomes of the answers on the question about ethics will be shown.

The questionnaire contained 16 items about disputable journalistic practices. The teachers were asked to tell if they find these practices acceptable in the case of an important, yet not life-threatening topic. Again, a five-point scale was used (5= strongly agree; 1= strongly disagree). Table 5.2.1 shows that most of the issues have a mean score below 3, which means that on average they are not found to be acceptable. There are three exceptions: 'Use confidential government documents without authorization' (M=3,28), 'Get employed in an organization to get inside information' (M=3,20) and 'Reveal the truth, no matter the consequences' (M=3,03).

Table 5.2.1 Ethics: acceptability of 16 different practices (N=1049)

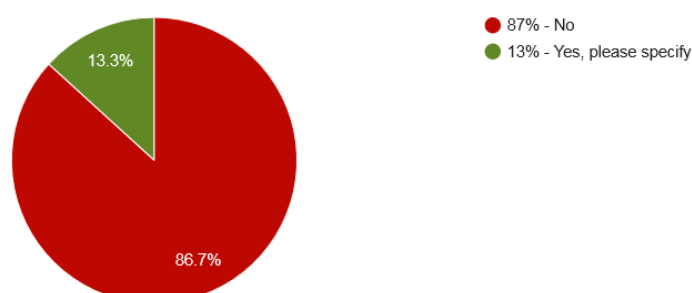
Ethics	M	SD
a. Reveal confidential sources	1,88	1,07
b. Claim to be somebody else	2,35	1,11
c. Use hidden microphones and cameras	2,92	1,04
d. Pay people for confidential information	2,09	1,01
e. Get employed in an organization to get inside information	3,20	1,03
f. Use confidential government documents without authorization	3,28	1,15
g. Use personal documents without permission	2,32	1,04
h. Exert pressure on unwilling informants to get a story	1,96	,95
i. Agree to protect confidentiality but not doing so.	1,42	,72
j. Use re-creations or dramatizations of news by actors without mention	1,59	,83
k. Publish a story with unverified content	1,39	,69
l. Accept money from sources	1,24	,55
m. Alter photographs substantially	1,31	,62
n. Alter quotes from sources substantially	1,32	,63
o. Use copyrighted material without permission	1,72	,91
p. Reveal the truth, no matter the consequences	3,03	1,18
Overall	2,06	0,91

Figure 5.2.1 shows the percentages of each of the five answering categories (plus the sixth one: don't know) and ranks the practices on the basis of the level of acceptance. At the bottom of the ranking is: 'Accept money from sources' which overwhelmingly is seen as the least acceptable thing a journalist can do. The next two at the bottom are 'Altering photographs substantially' and 'Altering quotes from sources substantially'. Above all, teachers seem to find it important that information is gathered without financial ties and information is presented without manipulating it.

Figure 5.2.1 Ethics: acceptability of 16 different practices - Ranking

Sub-questions	Resp.	% of responses					avg	n
f. Use confidential government documents without authorization	1049	12	36	25	16	9	3	3.28
e. Get employed in an organization to get inside information	1049	5	41	28	15	8	2	3.21
p. Reveal the truth, no matter the consequences	1049	12	24	29	22	11	3	3.03
c. Use hidden microphones and cameras	1049	3	29	33	21	11	3	2.92
b. Claim to be somebody else	1049	16	23	28	27	3		2.35
g. Use personal documents without permission	1049	13	21	37	22	4		2.32
d. Pay people for confidential information	1049	10	19	35	33			2.09
h. Exert pressure on unwilling informants to get a story	1049	7	16	37	37	3		1.96
a. Reveal confidential sources	1049	3	8	10	31	46		1.88
o. Use copyrighted material without permission	1049	4	13	29	51			1.72
j. Use re-creations or dramatizations of news by actors without mention	1049	3	7	29	57	3		1.59
i. Agree to protect confidentiality but not doing so.	1049	5	26	67				1.42
k. Publish a story with unverified content	1049	4	24	68				1.39
n. Alter quotes from sources substantially	1049	4	20	74				1.32
m. Alter photographs substantially	1049	4	19	74				1.31
l. Accept money from sources	1049	5	16	79				1.24

Figure 5.2.2 Comments – Percentage of respondents



About 13% of the respondents commented on this question about ethics (Figure 5.2.2). These comments all fall within one and the same category: “It all depends” and show strong resemblance. Typical examples of these comments are:

- *It's a very sensitive subject. I'm against hidden cameras or other things like that. But sometimes you have to do that. But it's very important being very responsible about this tools and using it just as a second tool, having in the ends other evidences*
- *It's really hard to answer these question on a general level. It really depends on context*
- *Difficult to judge as each case is different*
- *Decisions on such practices would need to be taken on each individual case, dependent on many issues (e.g. public interest, likelihood of obtaining information in other ways etc) which this question does not consider*
- *Each question could be answered with: 'it depends on the context'. Difficult to give a definitive answer. I guess we all have a price.*
- *Practices are very situational; very difficult to determine their acceptability in the case of 'an important story' (for me, it is still too general a category).*
- *It all depends on the topic and the context*

Appendix 4 gives an overview of the outcomes concerning ethics separated by background characteristics (gender, age, degree, subject, region).

The difference between males and females in their views on ethical issues are limited. Nevertheless, females are less inclined than males to use information without authorization or permission and less inclined to exert pressure on informants, but they are more inclined to consider the consequences of revealing the truth (Appendix 4, Table 1).

The background variable ‘Age’ does also not have a huge influence on ethical views. On four of the sixteen items significant differences are found (Appendix 4, Table 2). These four items do not have a clear common denominator. Post-hoc analysis (Bonferroni) shows that the differences are mainly caused by the youngest age group (20-39 y.).

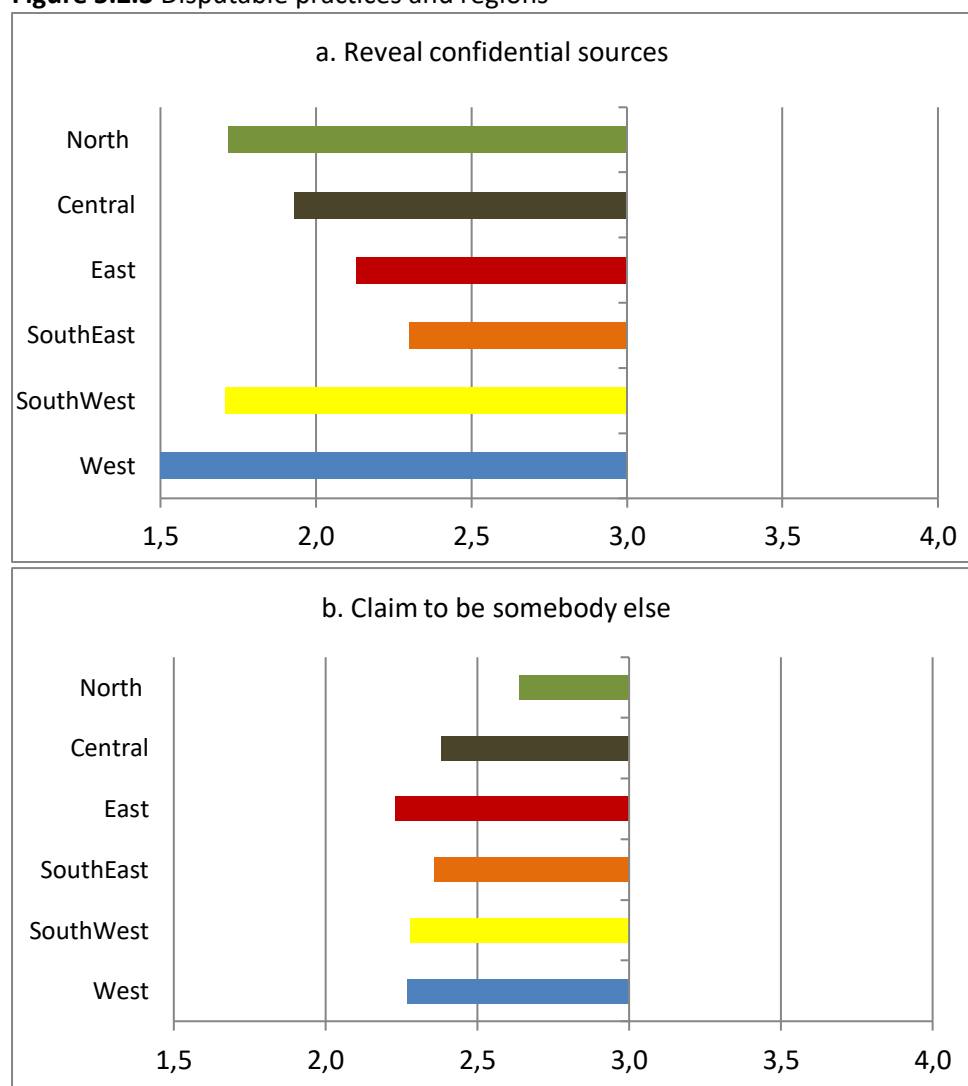
On four out of sixteen items on journalism ethics, the background variable ‘Degree’ causes a significant difference (Appendix 4, Table 3). In all four cases teachers with a PhD-degree have a deviant view, according to the Bonferroni post-hoc analysis. Teachers with a PhD-degree are more inclined to reveal confidential sources of pay for confidential information, but less inclined to use documents (personal, governmental) without authorization. Furthermore, they are more inclined to accept the use of dramatizations of news by actors without mention.

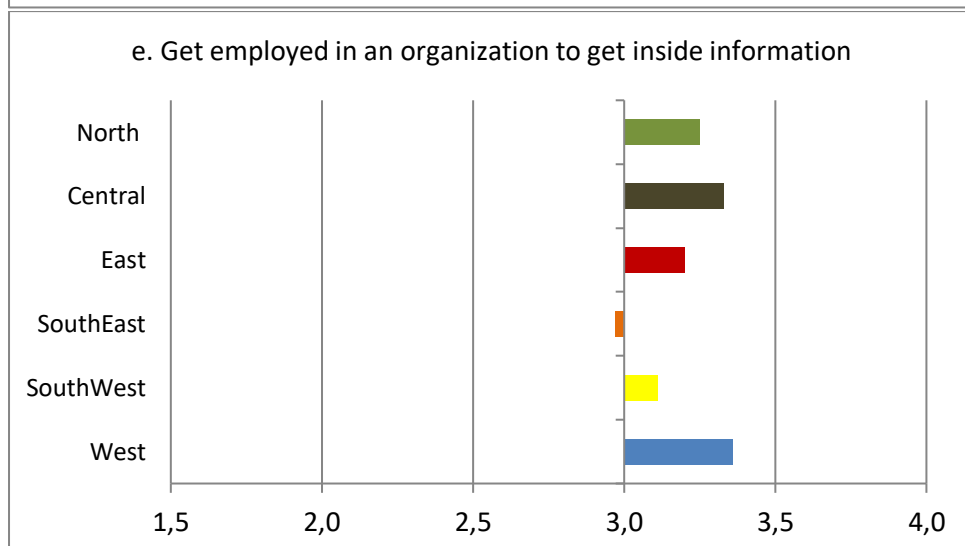
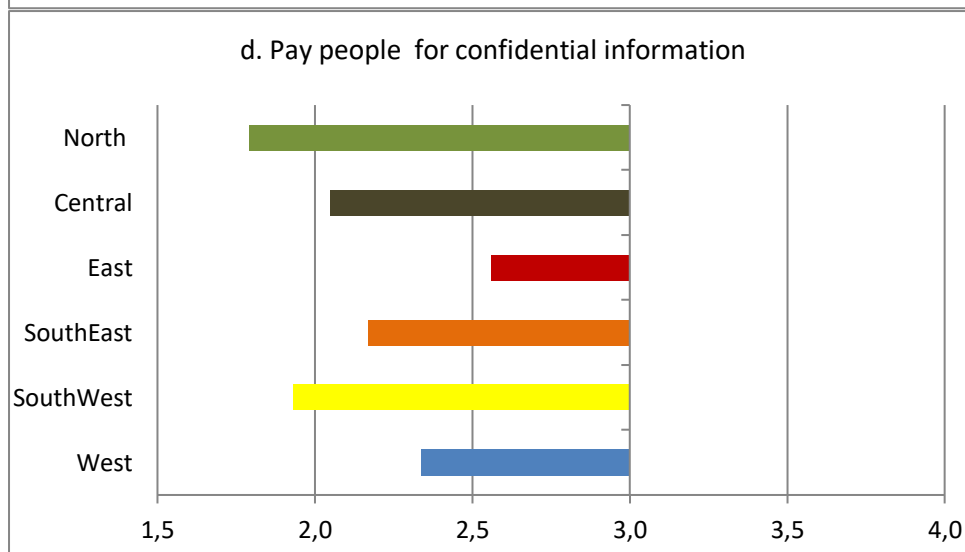
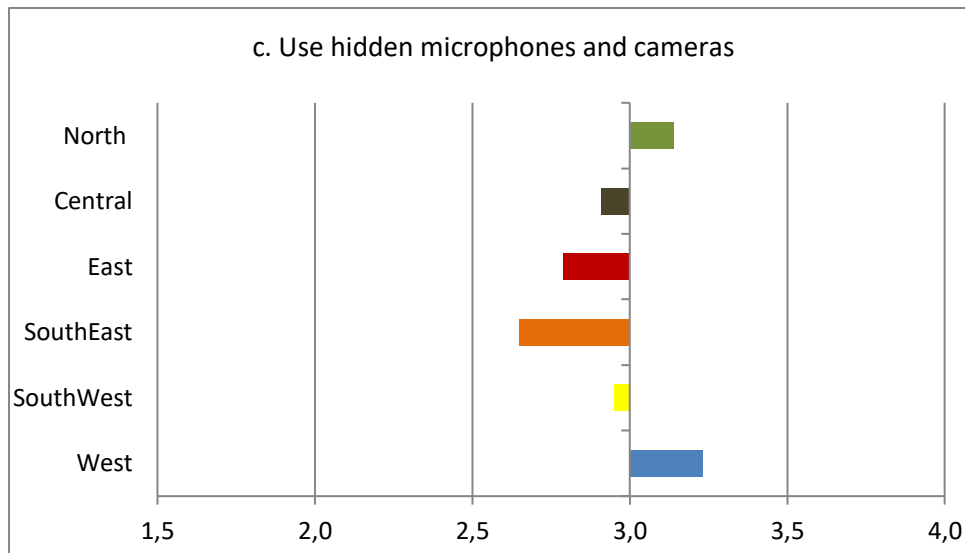
In five cases the view on ethical issues is influenced by the subject that is taught. Teachers of journalism are more inclined to accept using documents (personal, governmental) without authorization, but less inclined to accept revealing confidential sources, paying people for confidential information and accepting money from sources (Appendix 4, Table 4).

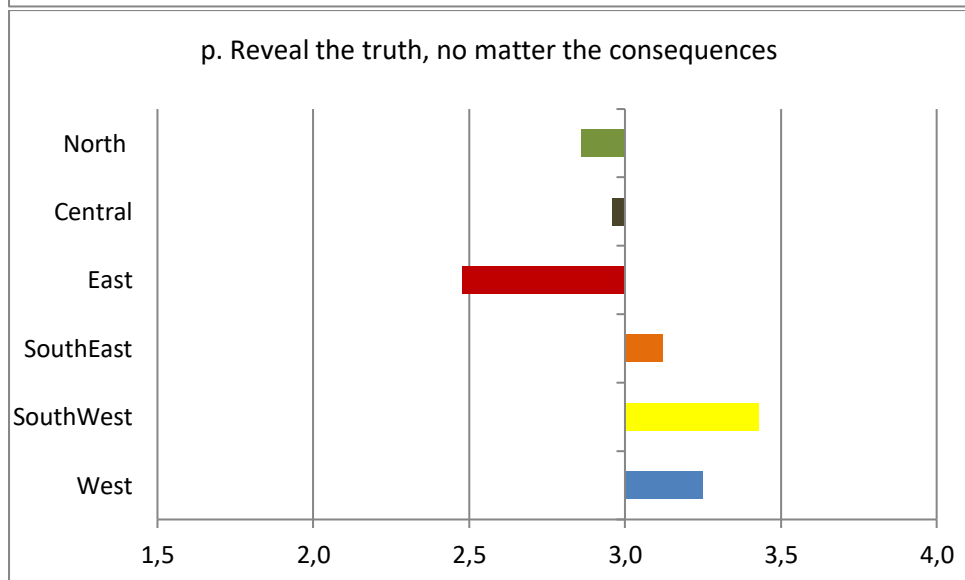
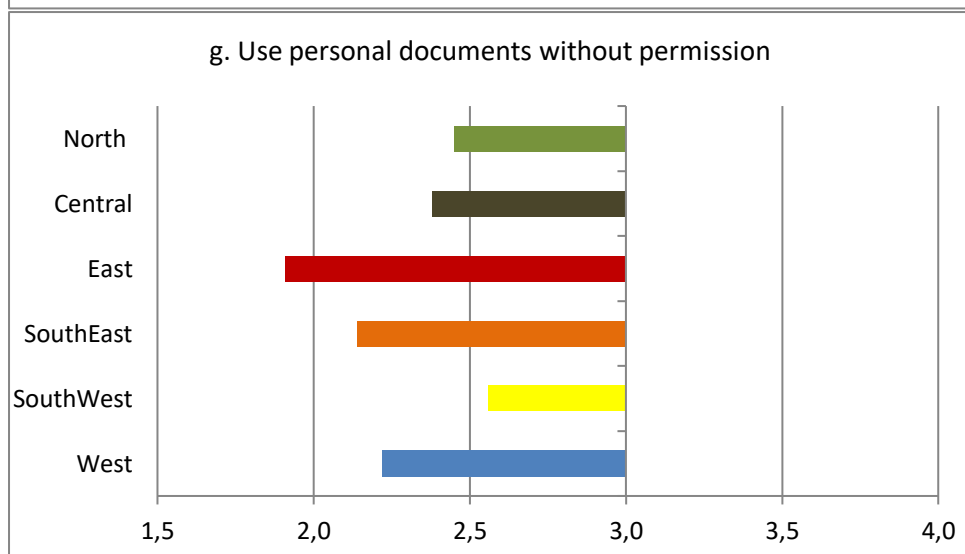
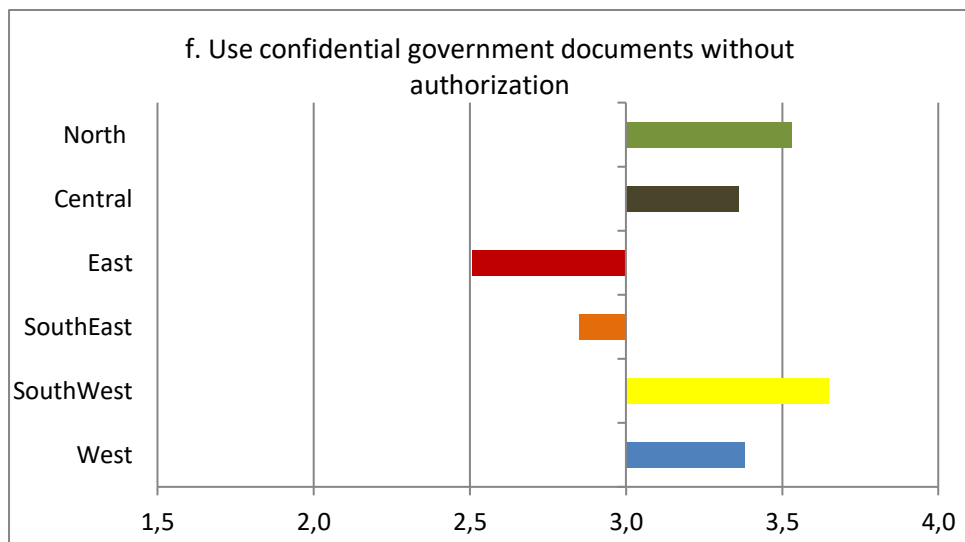
The background variable ‘Region’ causes significant differences on all items about journalism ethics, with only one exception (exert pressure on unwilling informants). Post-hoc analysis does not reveal a clear and consistent pattern. In general, the views of teachers in the regions North and Central are close to each other, and so are the views of teachers from East and South-East. But this is no more than a general tendency. Furthermore, teachers from the East

are the least inclined to use government information without authorization or to reveal the truth regardless of the consequences. On the other hand, teachers from the East find accepting money from sources more acceptable than their colleagues from other regions. Figure 5.2.3 shows the items with the biggest differences between the regions.

Figure 5.2.3 Disputable practices and regions







A central question of this sub-paragraph is whether or not the level of support for a certain role associates with the level of acceptance of certain practices. Table 5.2.2 shows the correlations – between roles and practices – that are significant on at the $p < 0.001$ -level (2-tailed). The higher the number, the more acceptable a certain practice is found.

The first thing that attracts attention is that the Observer role only shows negative correlations. It seems that teachers that favour a role of being a non-interventionist mirror of reality, consequently show a tendency to abstain from methods of getting information that are not in the open, such as claiming to be somebody else, use hidden cameras or getting employed to get inside information.

Teachers that favour the role of the Disseminator are also less inclined to use hidden equipment or to get employed for inside information, but they are more inclined to accept money from sources or pay people for information, to alter quotes or photographs substantially or to use recreations of news by actors without mentioning. This might be due to the pressure to deliver stories within limited time frames, but that is clearly an issue for further research.

Teachers that favour the role of the Mobilizer are on average more inclined to reveal confidential sources and to agree to protect confidentiality but not doing so, but less inclined to use confidential government documents without authorization. Furthermore, they are more inclined to accept money from sources and to use dramatizations of news by actors without mentioning.

Finally, teachers that favour the role of the Investigator are less inclined to accept money from sources and more inclined to reveal the truth, no matter the consequences.

Table 5.2.2 Roles (DIMO) and Ethics; Correlations

	Disseminator	Investigator	Mobilizer	Observer
a. Reveal confidential sources	,123*		,134*	
b. Claim to be somebody else				-,169*
c. Use hidden microphones and cameras	-,124*			-,139*
d. Pay people for confidential information	,137*			
e. Get employed in an organization to get inside information	-,153*			-,169*
f. Use confidential government documents without authorization	-,219*		-,174*	-,191*
g. Use personal documents without permission				-,170*
h. Exert pressure on unwilling informants to get a story				
i. Agree to protect confidentiality but not doing so.	,183*		,144*	
j. Use re-creations or dramatizations of news by actors without mention	,228*		,209*	
k. Publish a story with unverified content	,170*			
l. Accept money from sources	,253*	-,113*	,134*	
m. Alter photographs substantially	,220*			
n. Alter quotes from sources substantially	,229*			
o. Use copyrighted material without permission				-,163*
p. Reveal the truth, no matter the consequences		,130*		

*, Pearson Correlation is significant at the 0.001 level (2-tailed).

5.2.2 Role orientations and Directions

In every country of Europe the news industry is going through a phase of substantial, if not fundamental change. Among scholars there is a rather high level of agreement on the view that journalism should be ‘reconstructed’, ‘reinvented’, ‘rebuilt’, ‘reconsidered’, ‘rethought’, and ‘rethought again’.¹⁶ There is less agreement *how* it should be reconstructed, rethought or reinvented: on the direction in which journalism should develop.

In our research the focus has not been on predicting the most likely direction, given dominant techno-economic and socio-political trends. Instead, the subject is taken to the normative level, beyond factual landscapes and current trends. The teachers were asked to react on ten possible directions in a value-laden, normative way: in which direction *should* professional journalism develop. The question was formulated as follows:

“In several countries there are or have been discussions about whether or not professional journalism should be “redefined” in the 21st century. Below you will find 10 statements about the direction in which journalism might evolve. Please indicate to what extent you agree with those statements: In my view, it would be good if journalism was...
5. Strongly Agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly Disagree”

Table 5.2.3 gives an overview of the mean scores and standard deviations of the ten items

Table 5.2.3 Views on future Directions: Means and standard deviations (N=1034)

In my view, it would be good if journalism was...	M	SD
a. more about social responsibility and less about earning money	4.03	0.83
b. more about ordinary people and less about the ruling elites	3.55	0.95
c. more about long term issues and less about the events of the day	3.89	0.90
d. more about solutions and less about problems	3.48	0.96
e. more about consensus and less about conflict	3.05	0.98
f. more about what’s next and less about what happened	3.14	0.92
g. more about interacting with audiences and less about one-way sending	3.68	0.95
h. more about getting the whole story and less about trying to be first	4.30	0.75
i. more about successes and less about failures	3.05	0.87
j. more about renewing journalistic content and less about new technology	3.73	0.89
Overall	3.59	0.90

Figure 5.2.4 ranks the items on the basis of the mean scores and shows the percentages of the various answering categories.

The top 3 items are: ‘h. more about getting the whole story and less about trying to be first’(M= 4,30), ‘a. more about social responsibility and less about earning money’(M= 4,03) and ‘c. more about long term issues and less about the events of the day’ (M=3,89). These

¹⁶ See Chapter 2 Introduction

items have in common that they suggest a preference for a slower form of journalism, away from the fast journalism that is focused on the events of the day.

The following 3 items are at the bottom of the ranking: 8. 'f. more about what's next and less about what happened' (M=3,14), 9. 'i. more about successes and less about failures' (M=3,05) and 10. 'e. more about consensus and less about conflict' (M=3,05). These three items have in common that they can be seen as related to the concept of Constructive journalism.¹⁷ About 30% of the European teachers (strongly) agree with these items, about 25% (strongly) disagree, and almost half of the teachers are neutral.

The general conclusion on the topic of the future direction is that all directions that are mentioned in the question do get the support of the average teacher at a European institute for journalism education. None of the items have a score below 3. There appears to be a relatively strong support for items that suggest a shift in the direction of slower forms of journalism and relatively little support for items that are connected with constructive forms of journalism.

Figure 5.2.4 Views on future Directions: Means and standard deviations (N=1034)

Sub-questions	Resp.	% of responses					avg
h. more about getting the whole story and less about trying to be first	1034	44	43	9			4.3
a. more about social responsibility and less about earning money	1034	30	46	18	4		4.03
c. more about long term issues and less about the events of the day	1034	26	43	22	7		3.89
j. more about renewing journalistic content and less about new technology	1034	20	40	30	7	3	3.73
g. more about interacting with audiences and less about one-way sending	1034	20	39	28	11		3.68
b. more about ordinary people and less about the ruling elites	1034	16	37	32	13		3.55
d. more about solutions and less about problems	1034	14	36	33	14		3.48
f. more about what's next and less about what happened	1034	7	25	41	23		3.14
i. more about successes and less about failures	1034	6	20	48	21	3	3.05
e. more about consensus and less about conflict	1034	8	23	38	26	4	3.05

¹⁷ See for instance:

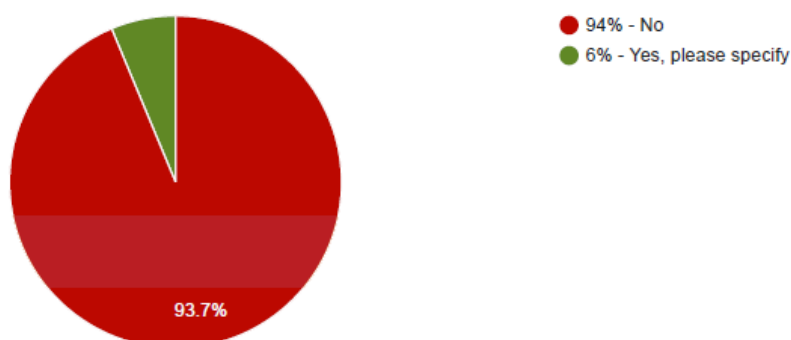
Haagerup, U. (2014/2017). *Constructive journalism; Why negativity destroys the media and democracy – And how to improve journalism of tomorrow*. Rapperswil: InnoVatio Publishing.

Gyldensted, C. (2015). *From Mirrors to Movers. Five Elements of Positive Psychology in Constructive Journalism*. Charleston (SC): G Group Publishing.

Hermans, L. & Drok, N. (2018). Placing Constructive Journalism in Context, *Journalism Practice*, 12:6, 679-694, DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2018.1470900

Just as with the earlier questions, this question provoked comments. Figure 5.2.5 shows that the percentage of respondents that commented, is 6%. This is about half of the percentages that we have seen at earlier questions.

Figure 5.2.5 Comments – Percentage of respondents



Again, the comments go in various directions, but nevertheless two main groups of comments can be distinguished. The first group can be labelled: “not either/or”. Typical examples are:

- *My many 'Neutral' answers in this question expresses my opinion that the two alternative directions not necessarily have to exclude each other. In other words, they can be combined.*
- *I am very sorry to find nearly all the above mentioned choices false dichotomies. This gives rise to the question why this is the case. Is there an outcome that is preferred? I'm quite shocked by this, actually...*
- *Mmmmhh, again, it's not black or white. It is about the entire journalistic landscape.*
- *This is very much about constructive journalism. But efforts are also needed to equip journalists better for muck raking and fact checking, through relatively new disciplines as data journalism and deep web search.*
- *I find the survey utterly frustrating . These questions are ones for great debate , not box ticking*

The second group of comments specifically focuses on one item: item j (“more about renewing journalistic content and less about new technology”). Typical examples are:

- *I find question J really difficult to answer as new technology feeds the type of content journalist are able to produce and the formats in which we can publish.*
- *j. not quite sure what you mean*
- *I think question (j) is very important.*
- *Glad you asked question j. The debate about journalism currently seems to drown in discussions about new technology*
- *I do not understand sentence j.*

Appendix 5 compares the outcomes on the of background characteristics (gender, age, degree, subject, region). With regard to the views on possible future directions of journalism, a high level of consensus exists among the teachers of institutes of journalism education

across Europe. The various background characteristics have limited influence on those views and do not show clear underlying patterns.

With regard to 'Gender', the outcomes show that females are more supportive than males on two items: journalism should be more about social responsibility instead of about earning money, and more about getting the whole story instead of trying to be first (Appendix 5, Table 1).

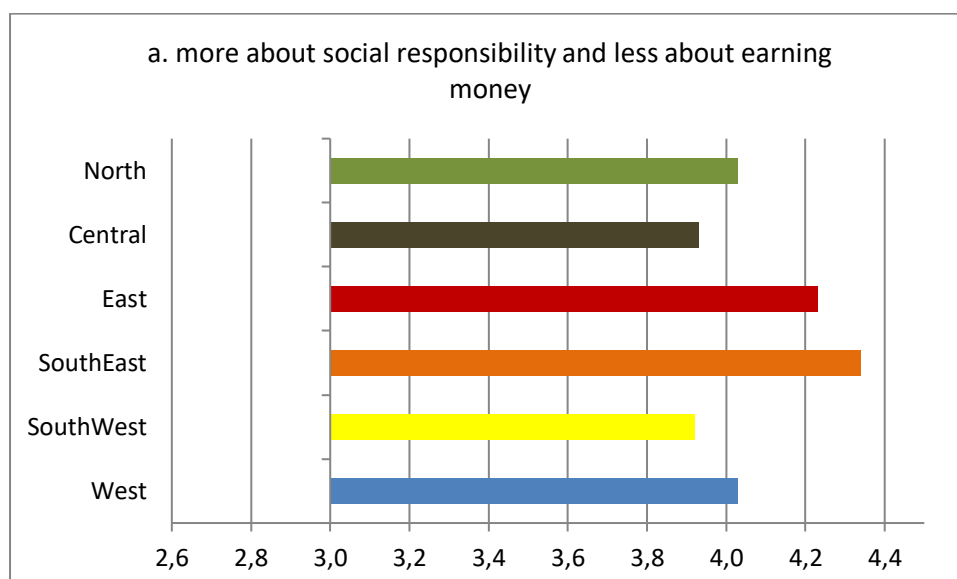
With regard to 'Age', only one item generates a significant difference: journalism should be more about renewing content and less about new technology. The youngest age group (20-39 y) agrees the least with this, especially in comparison with the 50-59 year old (Appendix 5, Table 2).

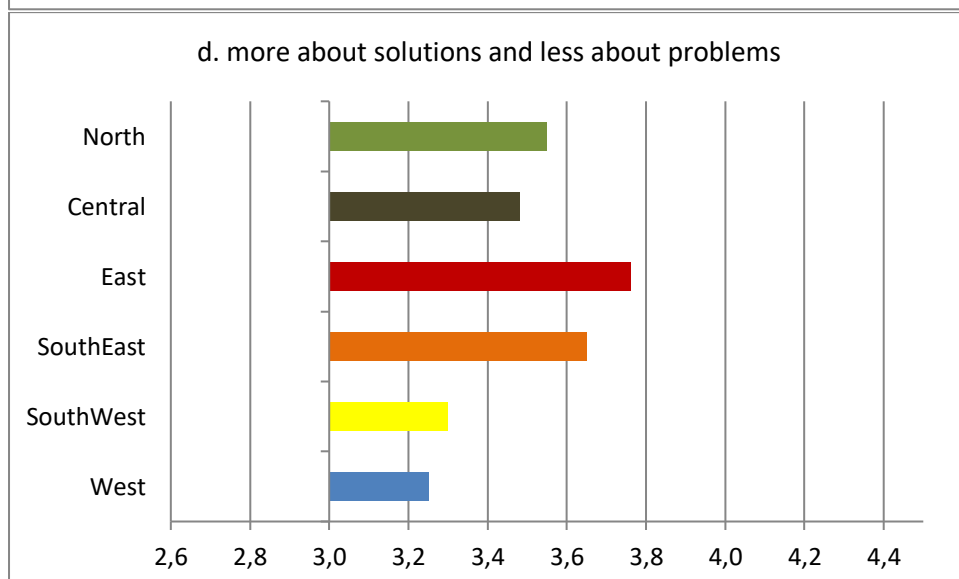
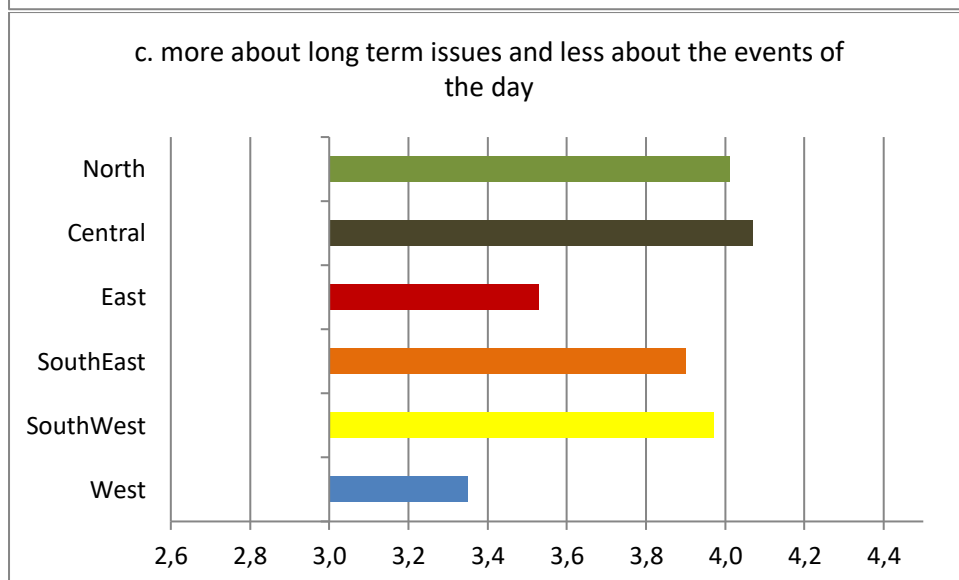
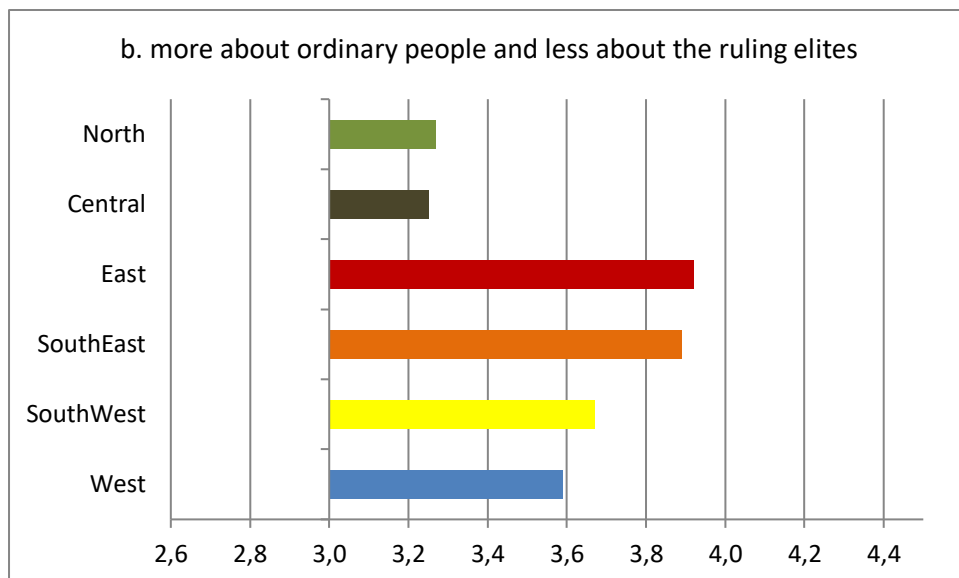
The variable 'Degree' does have some impact on the views on the future direction of journalism (Appendix 5, Table 3). The differences are mainly caused by a deviant view of – again – teachers with a PhD-degree on four items. These four items, however, do not show a consistent pattern.

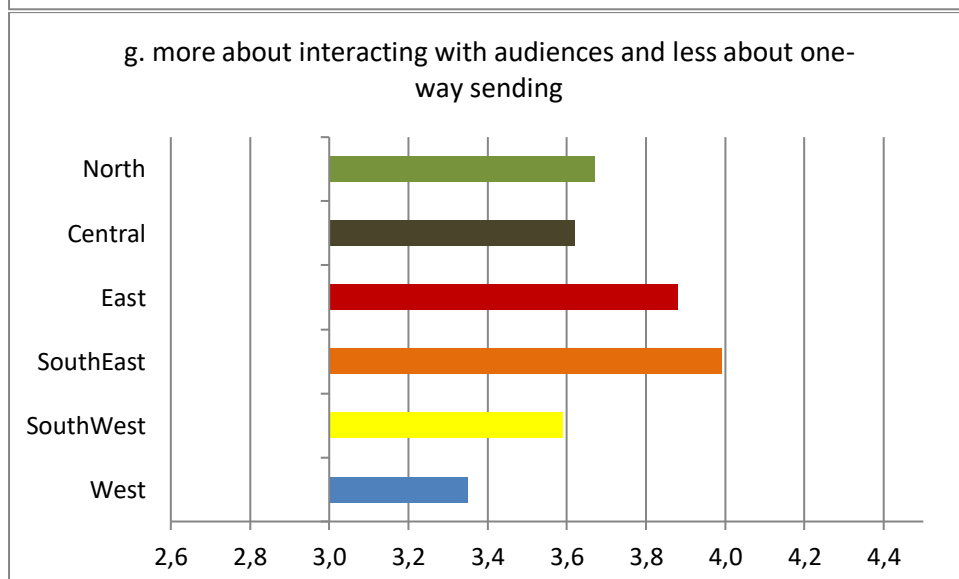
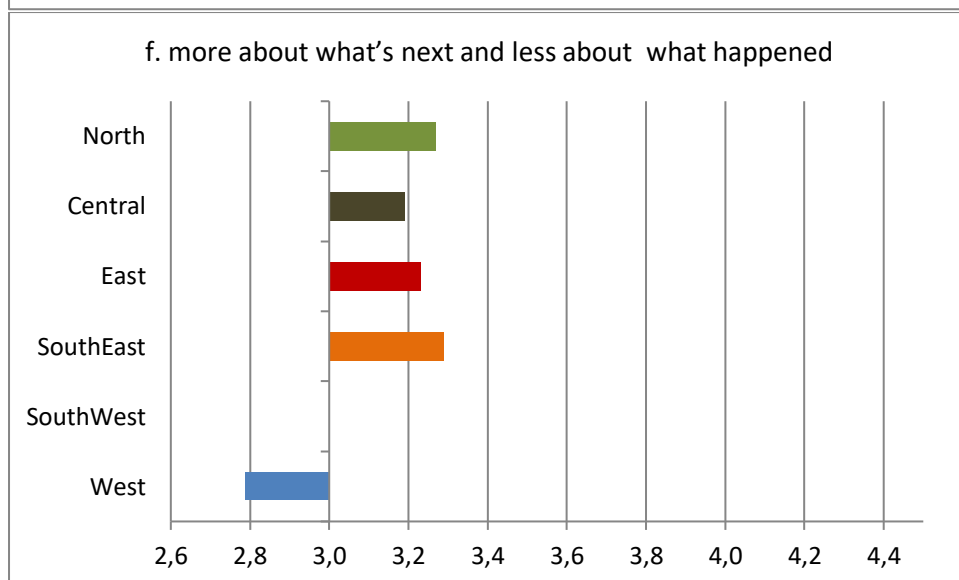
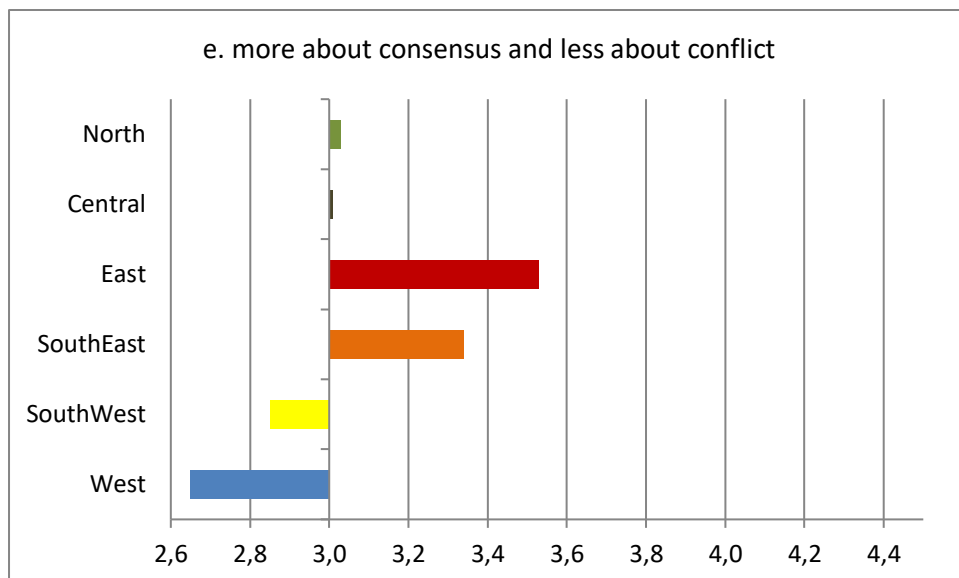
The background variable 'Subject' has influence on only two of the ten items. Teachers of Journalism are less than teachers of Other subjects inclined to support the view that journalism should be more about long term issues instead of about the events of the day, and more about consensus instead of conflict (Appendix 5, Table 4).

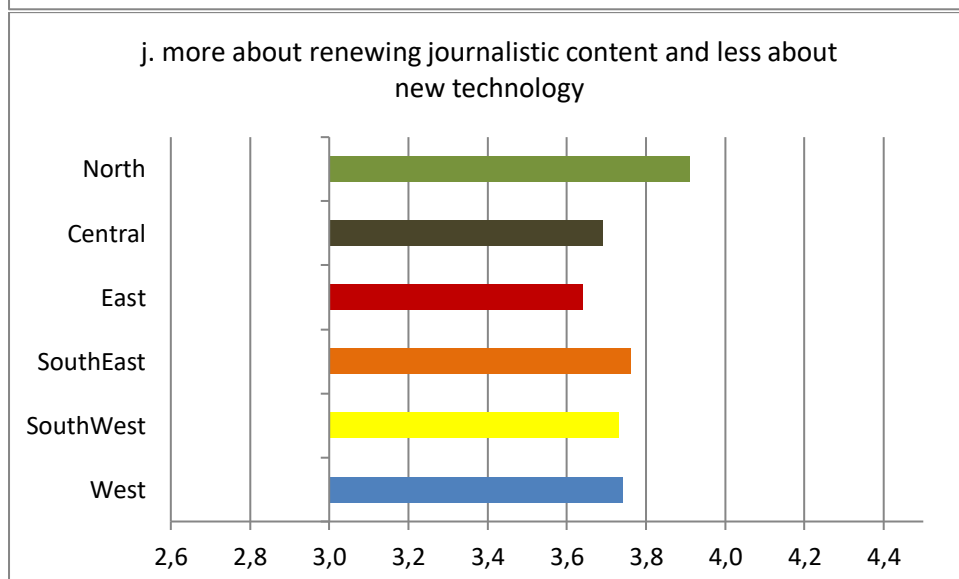
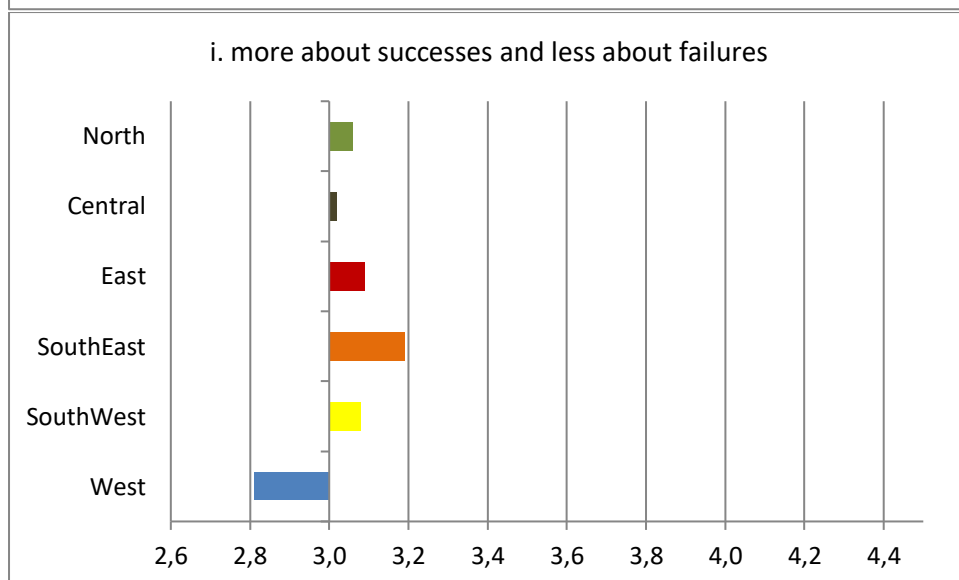
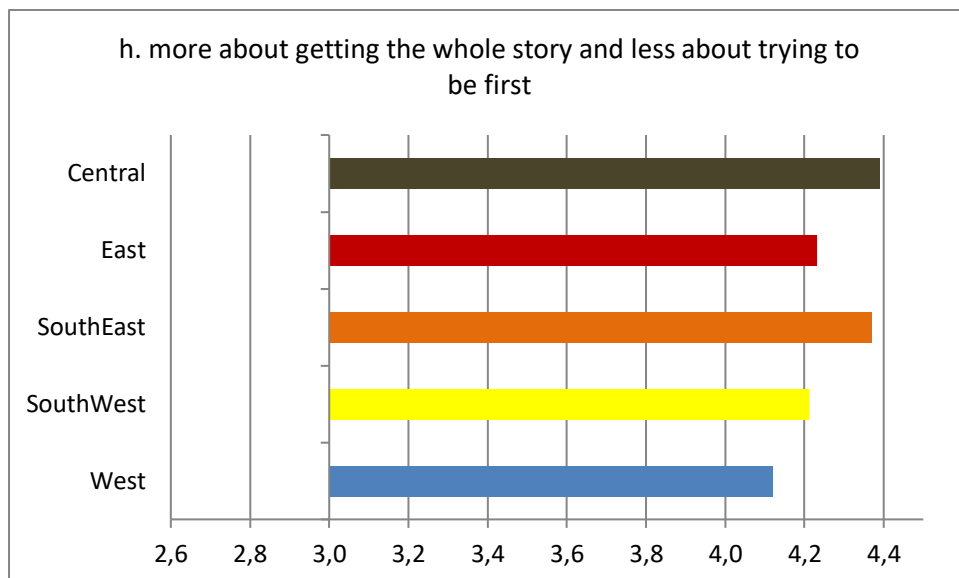
The background characteristic with the strongest influence on the items about the future direction of journalism undoubtedly is 'Region'. Appendix 5, Table 5, shows that Region strongly impacts on eight of the ten items. Post-hoc analyses (Bonferroni) shows that East and South East are clearly more supportive of focusing more on social responsibility instead of earning money and of focusing more on consensus instead of conflict. The region West is in general the least supportive of the several directions, especially the items about focusing more on long term issues, on solutions, on consensus, on what's next and on interacting with audiences. Figure 5.2.6 gives a visual representation of the regional differences with regard to the ten directions.

Figure 5.2.6 Regional differences with regard to views on future Directions









A central question of this sub-paragraph is whether or not the level of support for a certain role associates with the level of support for change in a certain direction. Table 5.2.4 gives an overview of the correlations between roles and directions. It only shows the correlations that are significant on the $p < .001$ -level.

The first thing that catches the eye is the huge number of significant correlations between the Mobilizer role and the directions. The Mobilizer role strongly associates with 9 out of 10 directions, especially those concerning social responsibility, attention for ordinary people, solutions, consensus and interacting.

The second thing that attracts attention is that the Disseminator role is the only one to show negative correlations. These concern the statements on 'less about events of the day', 'less about trying to be first' and 'less about new technology'.

Table 5.2.4 Roles (DIMO) and Directions; Correlations

		Disseminator	Investigator	Mobilizer	Observer
a. more about social responsibility and less about earning money			,205*	,388*	
b. more about ordinary people and less about the ruling elites		,160*		,373*	,174*
c. more about long term issues and less about the events of the day		-,215*	,187*		
d. more about solutions and less about problems				,318*	
e. more about consensus and less about conflict		,114*		,310*	,126*
f. more about what's next and less about what happened				,220*	
g. more about interacting with audiences and less about one-way sending		,180*		,286*	
h. more about getting the whole story and less about trying to be first		-,200*	,266*	,144*	
i. more about successes and less about failures				,198*	
j. more about renewing journalistic content and less about new technology		-,142*	,203*	,178*	

*. Pearson Correlation is significant at the .001 level (2-tailed).

5.3 Roles and Qualifications

This paragraph focuses on the view of European teachers of journalism on the future importance of various qualifications for journalists and on possible relations between the assessment of roles and qualifications.

5.3.1 Overview qualifications

In the questionnaire, teachers were asked to assess the desired future importance of 22 qualifications. The question was formulated as follows:

“In the next ten years, the importance of the following qualifications for professional journalists should become:

5. Much Higher 4. Higher 3. Same as now 2. Lower 1. Much Lower 9. Don’t know”

Table 5.3.1 shows the mean scores and standard deviations of 22 important qualifications that are mentioned in the so-called Tartu Declaration (2013).¹⁸ The overall mean score is high (M=3,92), which often is the case when asking about the future importance of qualifications. Teachers, but also students and practitioners, are inclined to believe that everything should and will become more important in the years ahead.¹⁹ There is not a single qualification with a mean score below 3.00.

¹⁸ www.ejta.eu/tartu-declaration

¹⁹ Cf. Drok, N. (2014). Beacons of reliability: European journalism students and professionals on future qualifications for journalists. In L. D’Haenens, M. Opgenhaffen & M. Corten (Eds.), *Cross-continental Views on Journalistic Skills* (pp. 24-41). Oxon: Routledge.

Table 5.3.1 Desired future importance of qualifications: means and standard deviations (N=1021)

Qualifications	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
a. Have a commitment to democratic society	3.85	0.79
b. Link the local with the national and the global	4.01	0.71
c. Know current events and their context	4.07	0.71
d. Discover newsworthy issues on the basis of in-depth research	4.18	0.66
e. Work under time pressure	3.12	0.92
f. Organize contributions from the public	3.54	0.84
g. Have a wide general knowledge	4.01	0.80
h. Have a more specialized knowledge in a field	3.94	0.76
i. Be able to find multiple perspectives on an issue	4.15	0.69
j. Be able to evaluate sources	4.26	0.69
k. Interact with the public	3.77	0.83
l. Select information on the basis of reliability	4.12	0.71
m. Select information on the basis of relevance	3.99	0.72
n. Use different types of story-telling techniques	4.03	0.78
o. Make journalistic use of technology	4.03	0.77
p. Present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals	4.03	0.80
q. Take responsibility for the choices you made during the process	4.03	0.75
r. Take responsibility for the impact of your product	3.94	0.78
s. Be able to recognize market opportunities	3.48	0.85
t. Be able to develop new products/formats	3.85	0.81
u. Reflect on the future of journalism	3.89	0.81
v. Provide workable solutions for complex practical issues that professional journalism faces	3.90	0.73
Overall	3.92	0.77

Figure 5.3.1 ranks the qualifications on the basis of the mean score and gives the percentages of each answering category. What immediately catches the eye is that there are almost no qualifications with ‘red’ answers, meaning that none of the more than thousand teachers chose the answer ‘lower’ or ‘much lower’. There are five exceptions. Two have to do with the market (‘t. Be able to develop new products/formats’ and ‘s. Be able to recognize market opportunities’); two have to do with the public (‘k. Interact with the public’ and ‘f. Organize contributions from the public’); one is about fast journalism (‘e. Work under time pressure’). The first four still have a rather high mean score (3,48 – 3,85); the one about working under time pressure has by far the lowest mean. This can be seen as a corroboration of earlier findings in this research: many teachers do not believe that speed will be the answer to journalism’s problems.

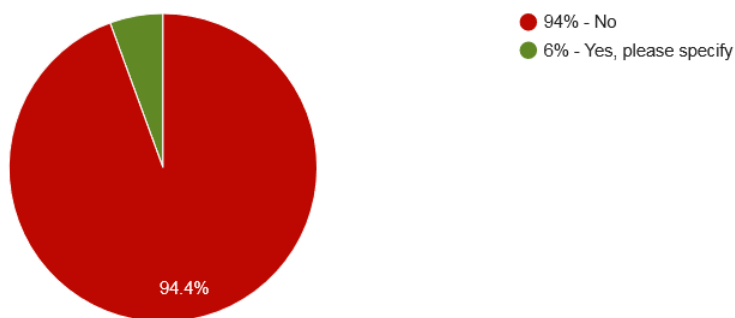
That is consistent with the qualifications that are at the top of the ranking: 1. ‘Be able to evaluate sources’ (M=4,26), 2. ‘Discover newsworthy issues on the basis of in-depth research’ (M=4,18) and 3. ‘Be able to find multiple perspectives on an issue’ (M=4,15).

Figure 5.3.1 Desired future importance of qualifications: ranking

Sub-questions	Resp.	% of responses			avg
j. Be able to evaluate sources	1021	40	46	13	4.26
d. Discover newsworthy issues on the basis of in-depth research	1021	32	53	13	4.18
i. Be able to find multiple perspectives on an issue	1021	32	50	17	4.15
l. Select information on the basis of reliability	1021	30	50	17	4.12
c. Know current events and their context	1021	28	51	20	4.07
o. Make journalistic use of technology	1021	29	44	23	4.03
q. Take responsibility for the choices you made during the process	1021	29	42	26	4.03
n. Use different types of story-telling techniques	1021	29	45	22	4.03
p. Present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals	1021	29	46	21	4.03
g. Have a wide general knowledge	1021	30	42	24	4.01
b. Link the local with the national and the global	1021	24	52	21	4.01
m. Select information on the basis of relevance	1021	24	50	24	3.99
h. Have a more specialised knowledge in a field	1021	23	48	25	3.94
r. Take responsibility for the impact of your product	1021	26	41	30	3.94
v. Provide workable solutions for complex practical issues that professional journalism faces	1021	20	48	26	3.9
u. Reflect on the future of journalism	1021	23	43	25	3.89
t. Be able to develop new products/formats	1021	21	46	26	3.85
a. Have a commitment to democratic society	1021	21	42	32	3.85
k. Interact with the public	1021	18	45	30	3.77
f. Organise contributions from the public	1021	10	40	35	3.54
s. Be able to recognize market opportunities	1021	11	36	39	3.48
e. Work under time pressure	1021	8	21	47	3.12

Almost 6% of the respondents commented on this question (Figure 5.3.2).

Figure 5.3.2 Comments



These comments can be divided into two main categories.

The first category can be labelled: “No change is needed”. Exemplary remarks are:

- *They are all important and will remain so*
- *For journalism it is important to reflect on the future, to recognize market opportunities, to develop new products, to make use of technology, but most journalists just should do their work as usual in a new and changing environment*
- *I answered many questions with a 'same as now' because in my view those qualifications are basics*
- *Many 'same as now' since I think a shift has already taken place*
- *Journalists should take up their traditional role and try to effect change in society and politics for the good.*

The second category can be labelled: “Change is needed”. Typical remarks are:

- *Journalism should be about contents, not marketing or technology development considerations. That said, journalists need access to people who help them with such issues as needed.*
 - *If the journalism industry is to regain its credibility then impact, responsibility, showing all sides (bosses and unions during strike action, for example) will need to be a priority. Complex journalism is celebrated but any hint of 'propaganda' is increasingly frowned upon.*
 - *In ten years, it is unlikely we will have the same freedom of speech and democracy in Europe as we do now unless we fight racism, homelessness, catastrophic climate change, financial instability, and the use of destructive plastic and chemicals. To do that we need more journalism that does not rely on corporate advertising; need more journalism sponsored by NGOs and civil society organisations, competing with community media, state media and capitalist media.*
-

Appendix 6 shows the outcomes concerning qualifications in relation to the background characteristics (gender, age, degree, subject, region).

The background characteristic 'Gender' has influence on seven of the 22 items about qualifications. In all cases females are more supportive than males (Appendix 6, Table 1). This counts for the two qualifications on taking responsibility (choices, impact), on two more or less related items about diversity (multiple perspectives, local-national-global), on two more or less related items about trustworthiness (evaluate sources, select on the basis of reliability), and one on the relation with the public (organize their contributions). This pattern indicates that females in general do have a (slightly) different view on the kind of qualifications that future journalists should master.

The background variable 'Age' impacts on six of the 22 qualifications (Appendix 6, Table 2). Post-hoc analysis (Bonferroni) shows that in all cases it is the youngest age group ((20-39 y) that has a different view, especially in comparison to the 50-59 years old. The younger teachers are more in favour of the qualifications that are aimed at the public (interact, organize contributions), at taking responsibility (choices, impact), and at the market (recognizing market opportunities, develop new products/formats).

The background variable 'Degree' has influence on half of the 22 items about qualifications, but not in a systematic way (Appendix 6, Table 3). In ten cases the difference is caused by a difference between PhD and Master, in two cases strengthened by a difference between PhD and Bachelor. The outcomes do not show a clear and consistent pattern, which reinforces the idea that Degree does not have a systematic influence, other than that teachers with a PhD-degree have an overall inclination to find many of the qualifications more important for the future than other teachers, especially those with a Master degree. This could mean that they are more critical about the current level of journalism education in the light of future needs, but it would take additional research to determine whether or not that is the case.

The subject that is taught (Journalism, Other), does not have a strong influence on the view of future qualifications (Appendix 6, Table 4). On four items the differences are significant. Three of those have to do with technology: present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals, make journalistic use of technology, and use different types of story-telling techniques. Teachers of Journalism are more in favour of these than teachers of Other subjects. This is also the case with regard to the fourth item that shows a significant difference: be able to develop new products/formats. Apart from these four qualifications there appears to be a high level of consensus between the teachers of the two groups.

The background variable 'Region' – again – has the strongest influence. The differences between the regions are significant on all 22 items (Appendix 6, Table 5). Post-hoc analysis (Bonferroni) shows that in general the teachers of the South East and East most strongly believe that the future importance of most of the qualifications will rise. Teachers of the North and the Central are far less outspoken about this, although they too believe that all qualifications should gain importance. It is not clear whether these differences between the regions should be explained by differences in answering styles, or in actual differences in view of the amount of change that is needed in the coming years.

5.3.2 Roles and Clustered qualifications

In order to be able to get a clear view on the possible relation between roles and qualifications, the 22 qualifications have been clustered into five groups with the help of a Principal Component Analysis (see Appendix 7).

Table 5.3.2 shows the 5 clusters that have come out of this and which are labelled as follows: Content, Form, Society, Market, Reflection. To see if these clusters could be used as reliable scales, Cronbach's Alpha was calculated, which led to satisfying outcomes.

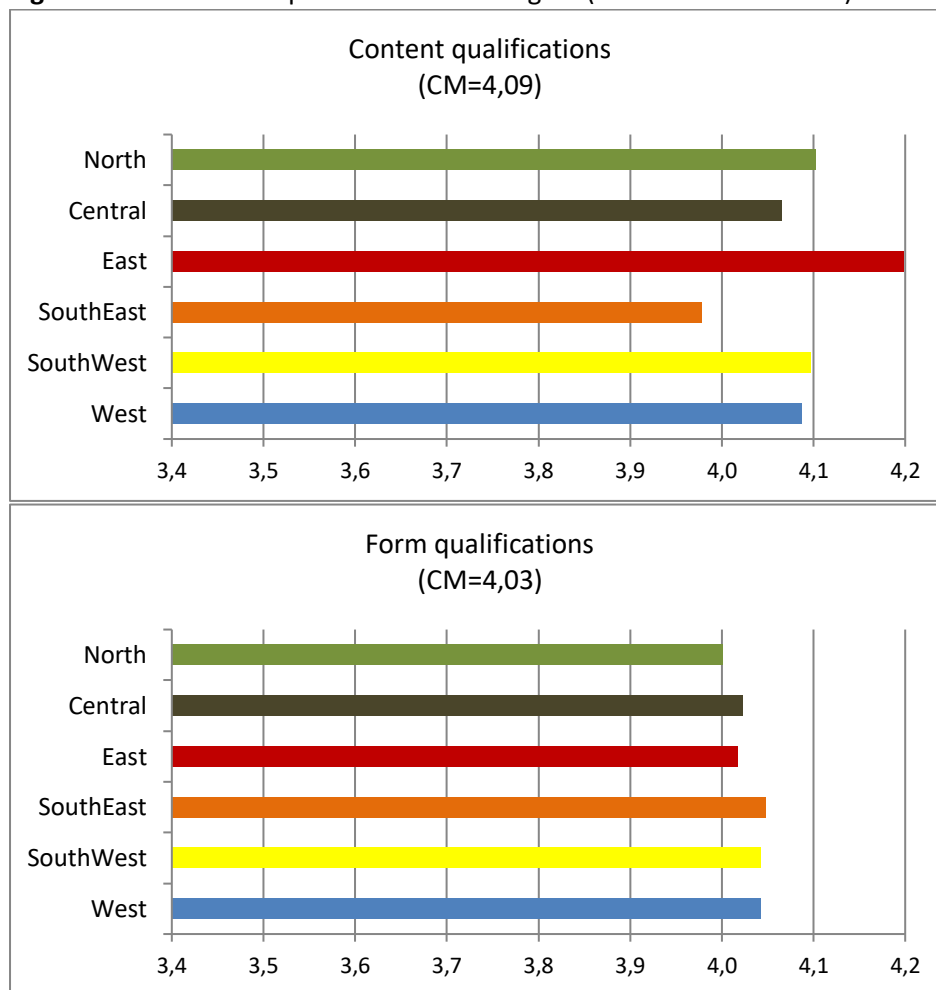
Table 5.3.2 Clusters of qualifications: items, Mean and Cronbach's Alpha

QUALIFICATION Clusters	Mean	Cronbach's Alpha
CONTENT	4,05	.824
g. Have a wide general knowledge		
h. Have a more specialized knowledge in a field		
i. Be able to find multiple perspectives on an issue		
j. Be able to evaluate sources		
l. Select information on the basis of reliability		
m. Select information on the basis of relevance		
q. Take responsibility for the choices you made during the process		
r. Take responsibility for the impact of your product		
FORM	3,99	.812
n. Use different types of story-telling techniques		
o. Make journalistic use of technology		
p. Present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals		
t. Be able to develop new products/formats		
SOCIETY	4,03	.743
a. Have a commitment to democratic society		
b. Link the local with the national and the global		
c. Know current events and their context		
d. Discover newsworthy issues on the basis of in-depth research		
MARKET	3,49	.674
e. Work under time pressure		
f. Organize contributions from the public		
k. Interact with the public		
s. Be able to recognize market opportunities		
REFLECTION	3,90	.738
u. Reflect on the future of journalism		
v. Provide workable solutions for complex practical issues that professional journalism faces		

Perhaps the most remarkable outcome of the clustering process is that the two qualifications concerning the relation with the public (interact, organize their contributions) are in the Market-cluster. They showed strong correlations with the market-oriented items, and not so much with the society-oriented items.

Now that the 22 qualifications are reduced to five coherent clusters, it is possible to give a straightforward insight into the relations between Regions and qualifications (Figure 5.3.3) and Roles and qualifications (Table 5.3.3).

Figure 5.3.3 Clustered qualifications and Region (CM=Corrected Mean)



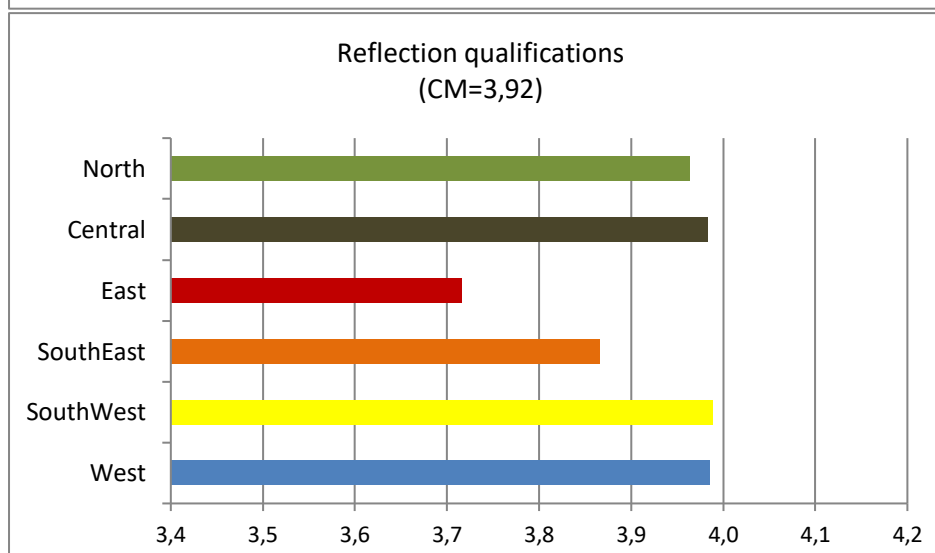
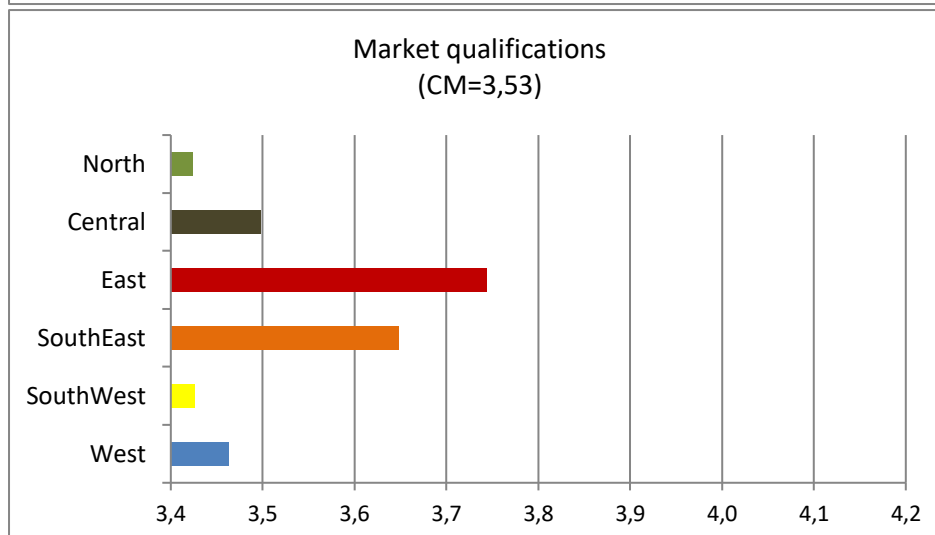
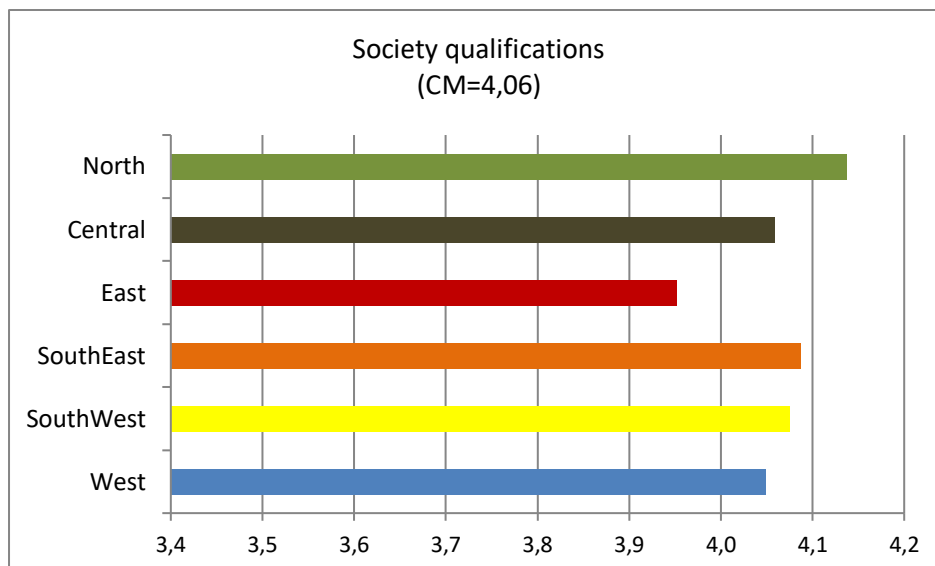


Table 5.3.3 shows the correlations between the five clusters of qualifications and the four roles. There are only four cells in this Table that show no significant correlation at the .001-level.

The Disseminator-role does not correlate on that level with three clusters of qualifications: content qualifications, society qualifications and reflection qualifications. On the remaining two clusters, the Disseminator role shows a higher correlation than the other three roles do: form qualifications and market qualifications.

The Investigator-role does not significantly correlate at the .001-level with market qualifications, but it shows higher correlations than other roles do on content qualifications, society qualifications and reflection qualifications. These scores are quite the opposite of those of the Disseminator role.

The other two roles, Mobilizer and Observer, show rather high correlations on most clusters without a convincing pattern.

Table 5.3.3 Roles and Qualifications; Correlations

	Disseminator	Investigator	Mobilizer	Observer
Content qualifications		,458*	,298*	,305*
Form qualifications	,321*	,178*	,236*	,222*
Society qualifications		,502*	,337*	,214*
Market qualifications	,481*		,352*	,198*
Reflection qualifications		,326*	,277*	,175*

*. Pearson Correlation is significant at the 0.001 level (2-tailed).

5.4 Roles and regions

This paragraph focuses on regional similarities and differences in the support for the four journalistic roles. In sub-paragraph 5.4.1 the six regions are compared on the basis of the four dimensions/eight positions. Sub-paragraph 5.4.2 turns to the aggregated level and compares the six regions on the basis of the four distinguished roles

5.4.1 *Regional differences in dimensions/positions*

The first four Figures of this subparagraph show the comparison of the six regions on the level of the dimensions (Figure 5.4.1 to 5.4.4).

Figure 5.4.1 shows the mean-scores of the six regions on the two positions of the Audience-dimension. It makes clear that the citizens-position gets far more support than the consumers-position, regardless of region.

Figure 5.4.2 shows the mean scores of the six regions on the two positions of the Power-dimension. In most regions the adversarial-position gets a little more support than the neutral-position, except for the region East.

Figure 5.4.3 shows the mean scores of the six regions on the two positions of the Time-dimension. In North, Central, South-West and West the slow-position gets clearly more support than the fast-position. In East and South-East the difference between the two is more moderate.

Figure 5.4.4 shows the mean scores of the six regions on the two positions of the Reality-dimension. The mirror-position gets stronger support than the interventionist-position, most clearly in the South-West.

Figure 5.4.1 Regional differences concerning the Audience-dimension

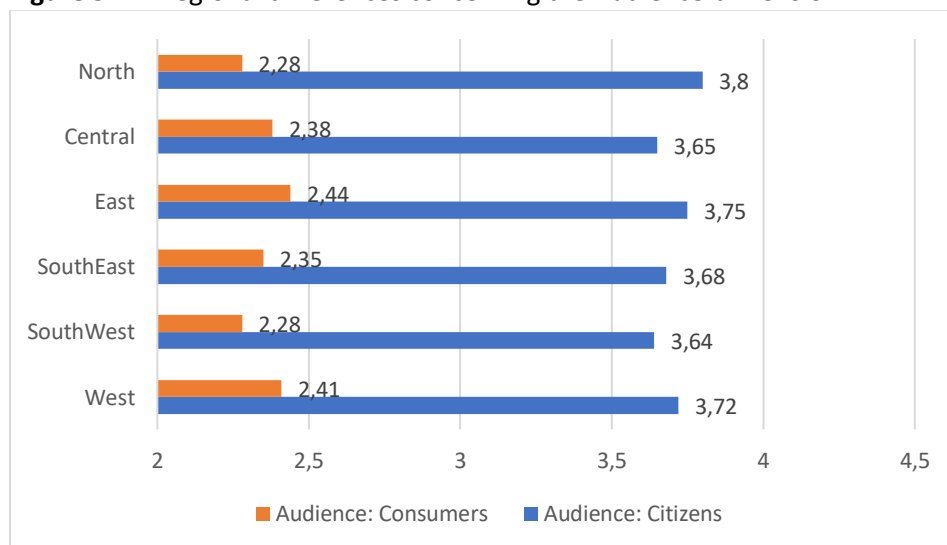


Figure 5.4.2 Regional differences concerning the Power-dimension

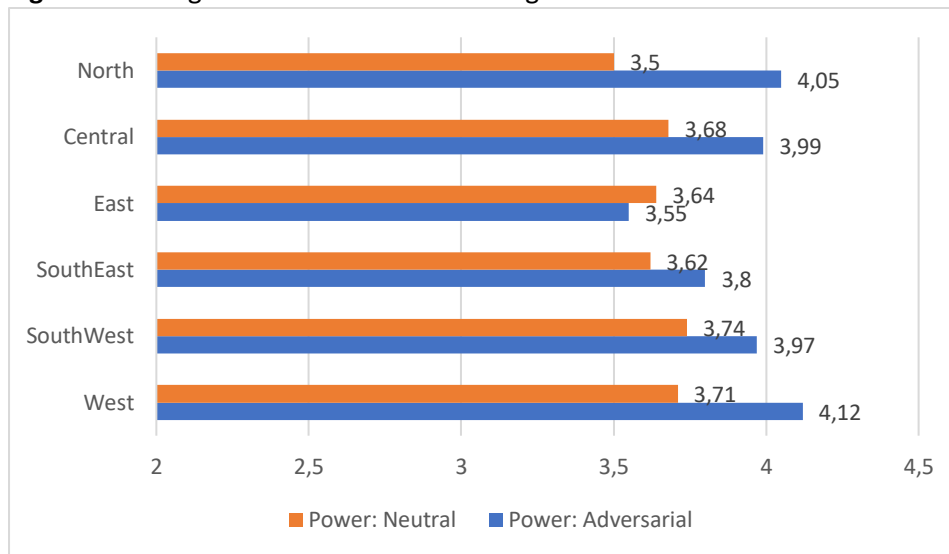


Figure 5.4.3 Regional differences concerning the Time-dimension

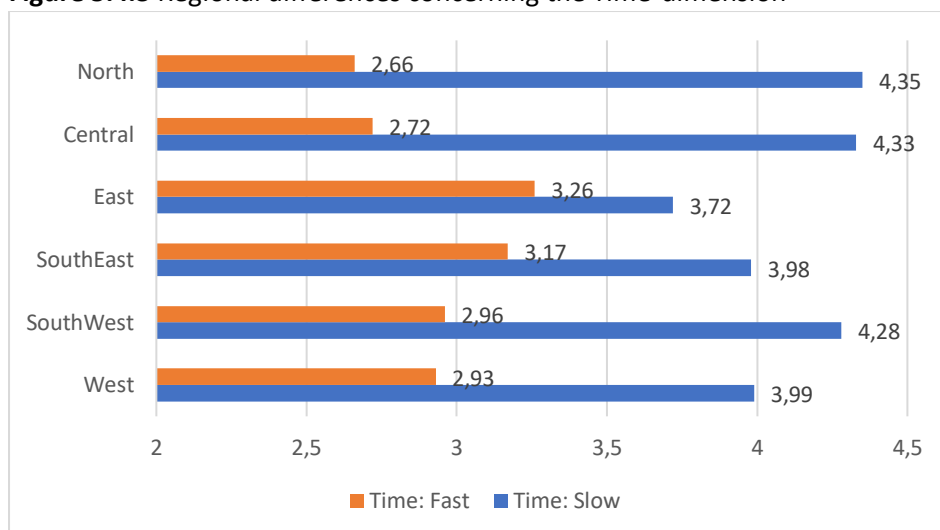
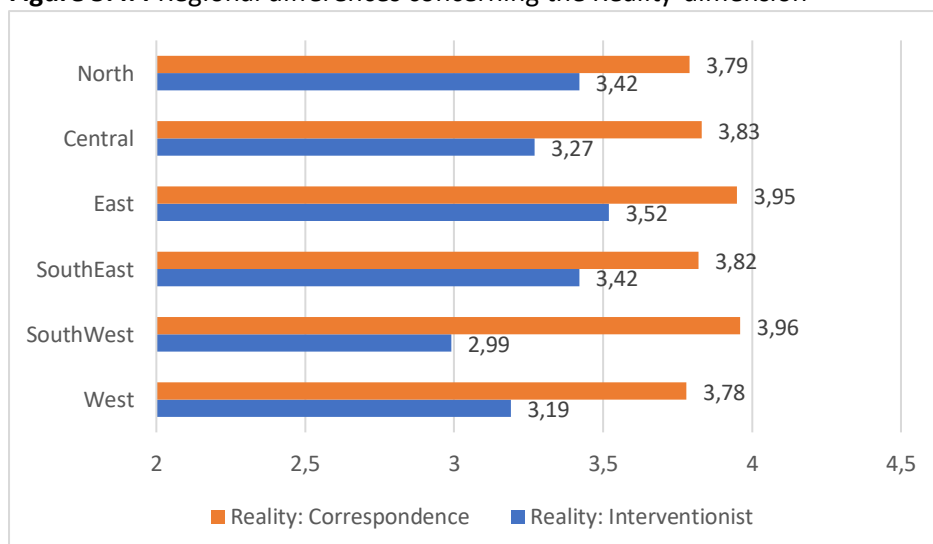


Figure 5.4.4 Regional differences concerning the Reality-dimension



Figures 5.4.5 to 5.4.12 literally zoom in on the differences between the regions on the level of the eight positions.

Figure 5.4.5 and 5.4.6 show that there is little difference between the six regions with regard to the consumers- as well as the citizens-position. The East shows the highest support for the consumers-position, the North and South-West the lowest. The differences are small, or even negligible.

Figure 5.4.5 Regional differences concerning the Consumers-position

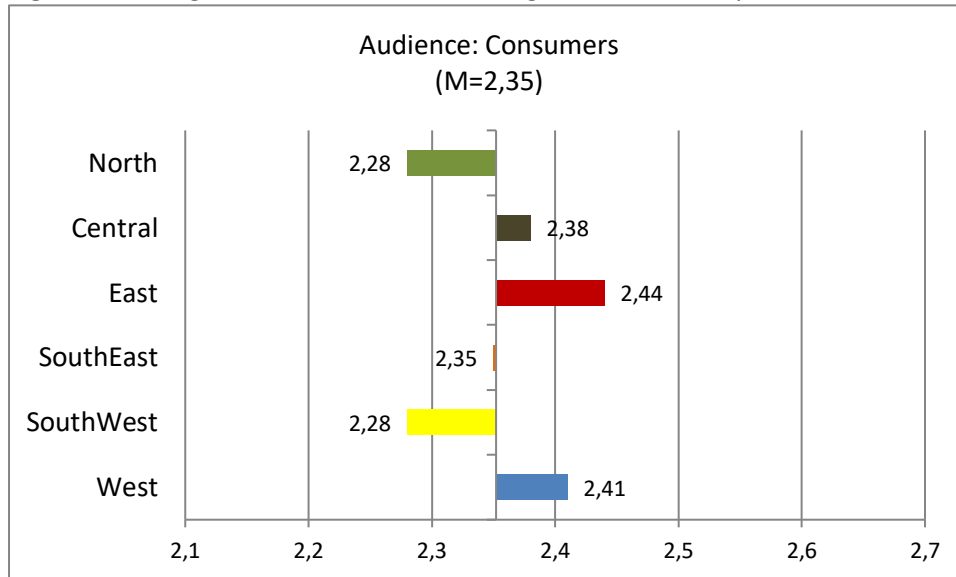


Figure 5.4.6 Regional differences concerning the Citizens-position

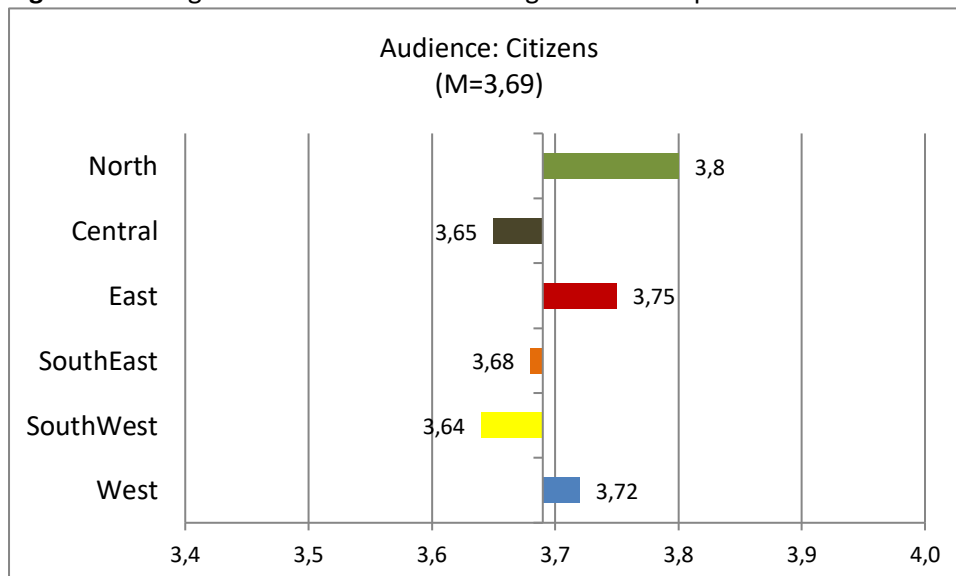


Figure 5.4.7 and 5.4.8 show that there is – again – very little difference between the six regions with regard to the neutral-position, with the exception of the North which has a relatively low score. The differences concerning the adversarial-position are clearly more distinct, with scores above average in West, North, Central and South-West, in that order. The South-East and – especially – East show scores that are well below average.

Figure 5.4.7 Regional differences concerning the Neutral-position

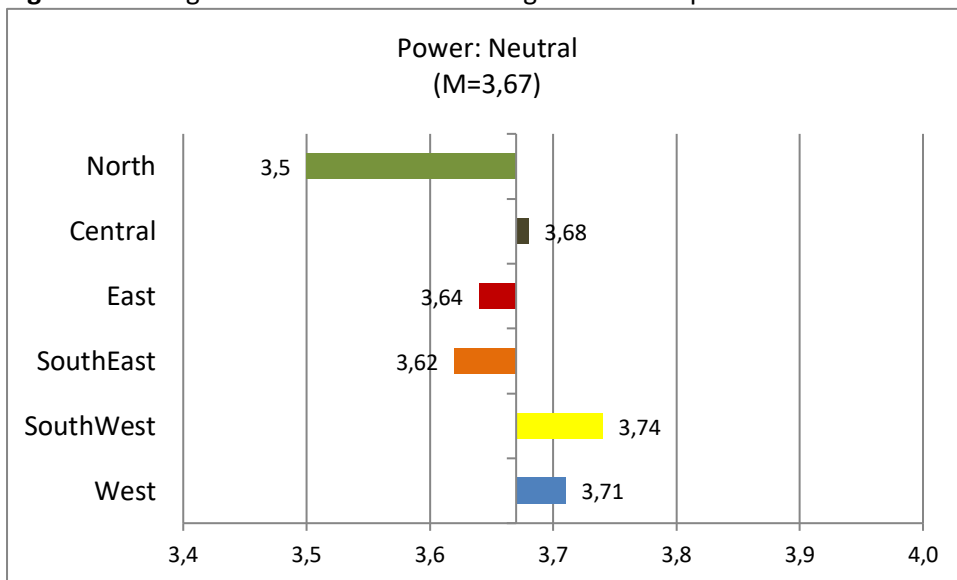
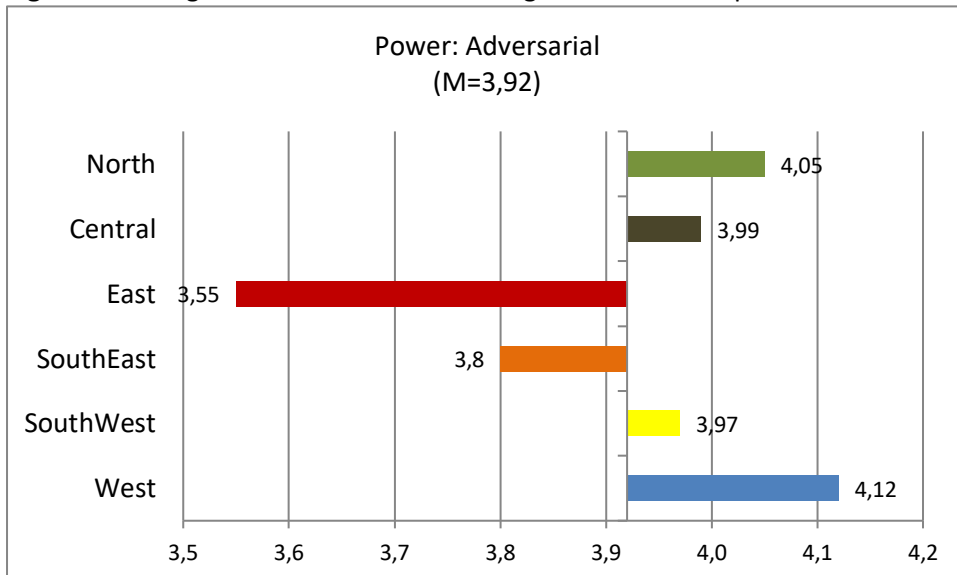


Figure 5.4.8 Regional differences concerning the Adversarial-position



Figures 5.4.9 and 5.4.10, that zoom in on the fast- and slow-position within the Time-dimension, also show considerable differences between the six regions. North and Central show scores way below average on the fast-position, whereas East and South-East clearly are above average. On the slow-position the Tables are turned, albeit that the West is clearly below average and the East shows very little support for the slow-position.

Figure 5.4.9 Regional differences concerning the Fast-position

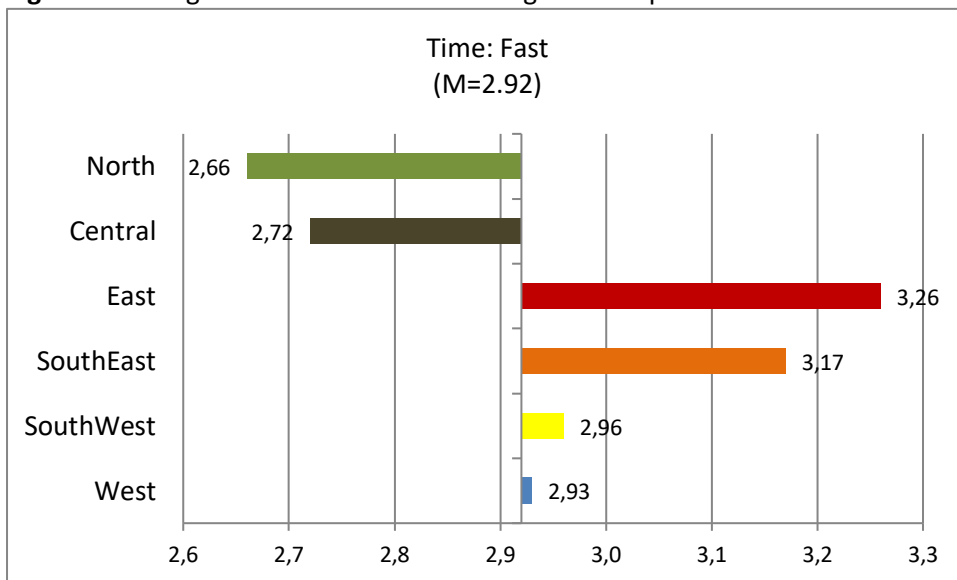


Figure 5.4.10 Regional differences concerning the Slow-position

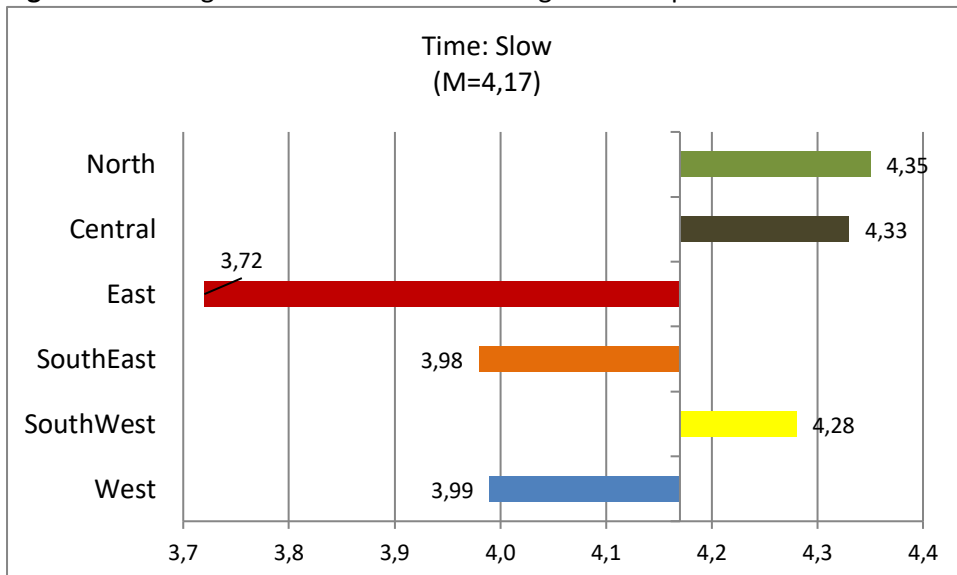


Figure 5.4.11 and 5.4.12 focus on the mirror- and interventionist-position respectively. Most regions stay rather close to the mean score in Figure 5.4.11 (mirror-position). Concerning the interventionist-position (Figure 5.4.12) the differences are bigger: West and – especially – South-West are below average, whereas North, South-East and – especially – East are clearly above average.

Figure 5.4.11 Regional differences concerning the Mirror-position

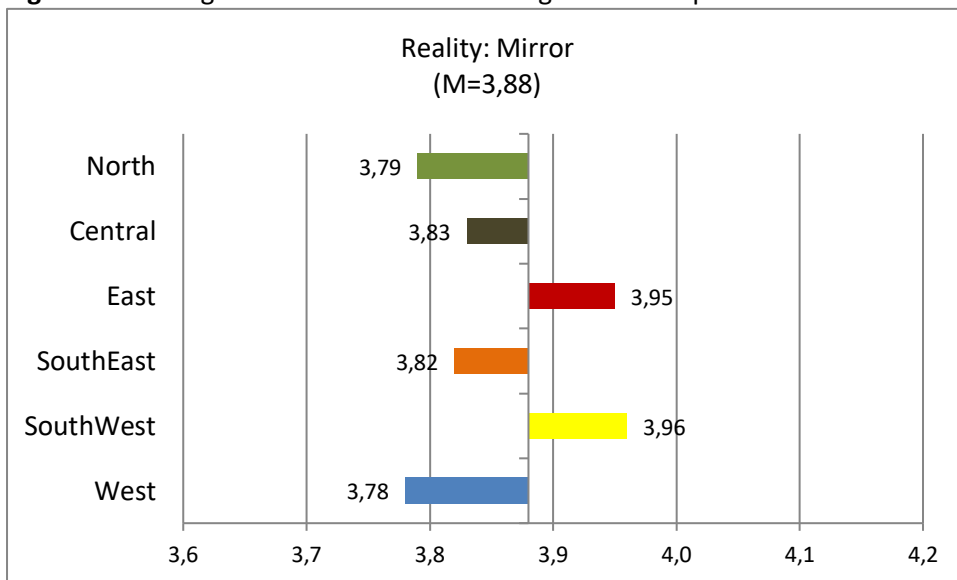
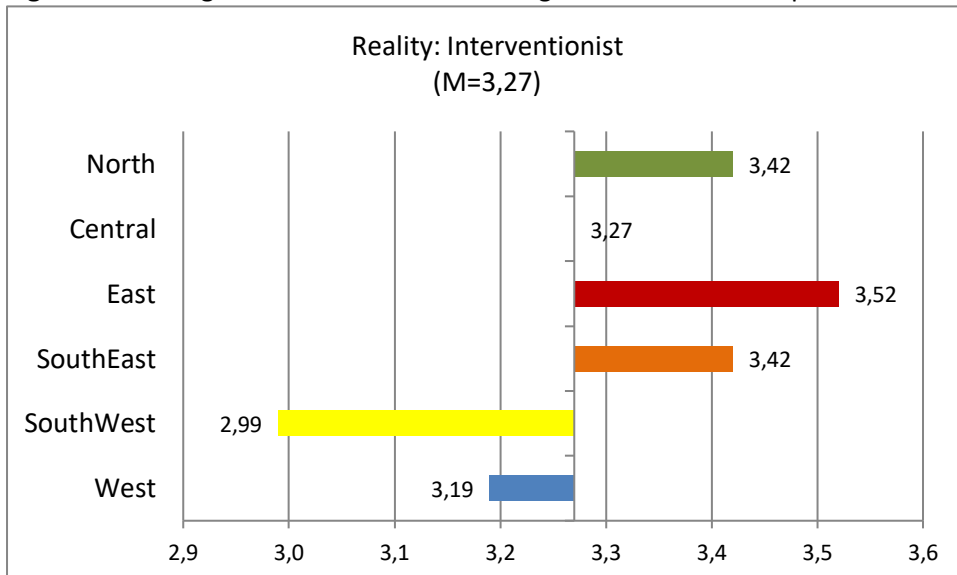


Figure 5.4.12 Regional differences concerning the Interventionist-position



In the next sub-paragraph the relation between the six regions and the eight positions will be dealt with on the aggregated level of the four roles: Disseminator, Investigator, Mobilizer and Observer.

5.4.2 Regional differences in role orientations

This paragraph focuses on the regional differences with regard to the four different role orientations that were discussed in section 5.1.2. The corrected regional Figures (see section 3.1.4) were taken and compared to the overall mean. Because these corrected Figures were taken and because the weight of the regions differs considerably (in terms of percentage of the total respondents), the overall mean often is not precisely in the middle of the sum of the scores of the regions.

Figure 5.4.11 shows that the Disseminator role is the most popular in the South-East and – especially – the East. This role is clearly less popular in – especially – North Europe. The other three regions score around the overall mean. As was noticed before, the overall mean for this role is quite low ($M=2,64$). A mean score below 3.0 means that European teachers believe that this role should become less important in the years ahead. This even counts for the teachers of the East ($M=2,89$), although they are somewhat more positive than their colleagues from the other regions.

Figure 5.4.11 Regional differences concerning the Disseminator role

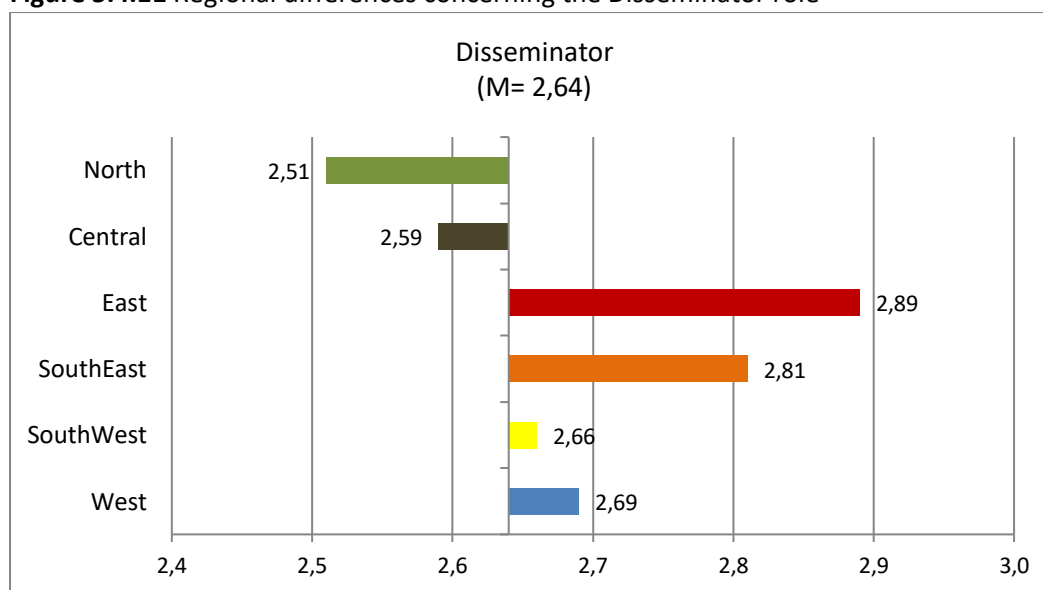


Figure 5.4.12 paints another picture. For all regions, the Investigator role should become more important in the future. This feeling is the strongest in the North, followed by Central, South-West and West respectively. In the South-East and – especially – the East this view gets clearly less support. To a certain extent the Figures 5.4.11 and 5.4.12 are opposites.

Figure 5.4.12 Regional differences concerning the Investigator role

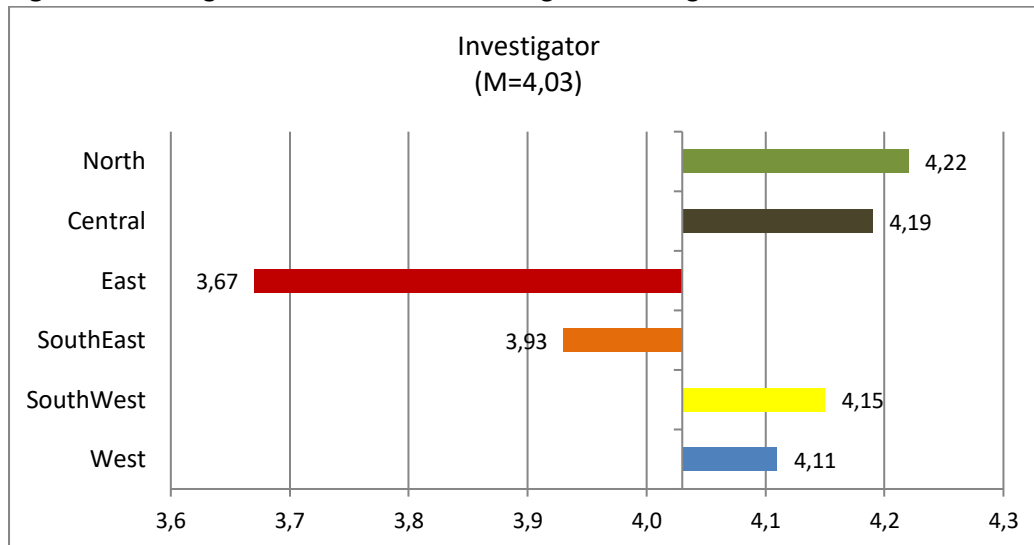


Figure 5.4.13 shows the outcome of the Mobilizer role, separated by region. The differences between the regions are rather small: the average scores of the regions stay within a 0,2 point margin from the overall mean. The South-West is the only region with a score below the overall mean, while the North and East are most clearly above the overall mean.

Figure 5.4.13 Regional differences concerning the Mobilizer role

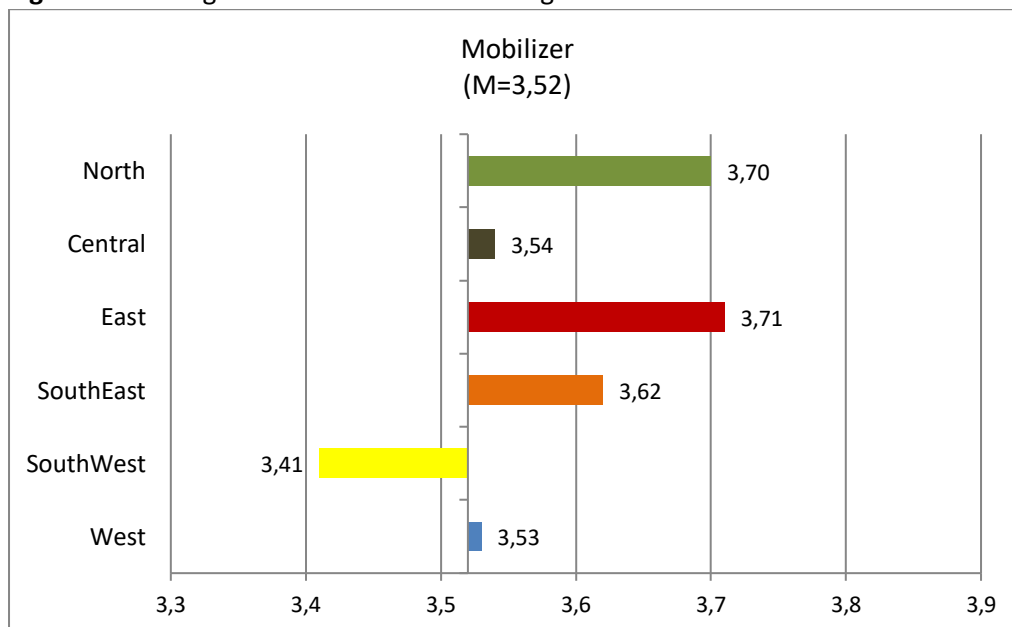
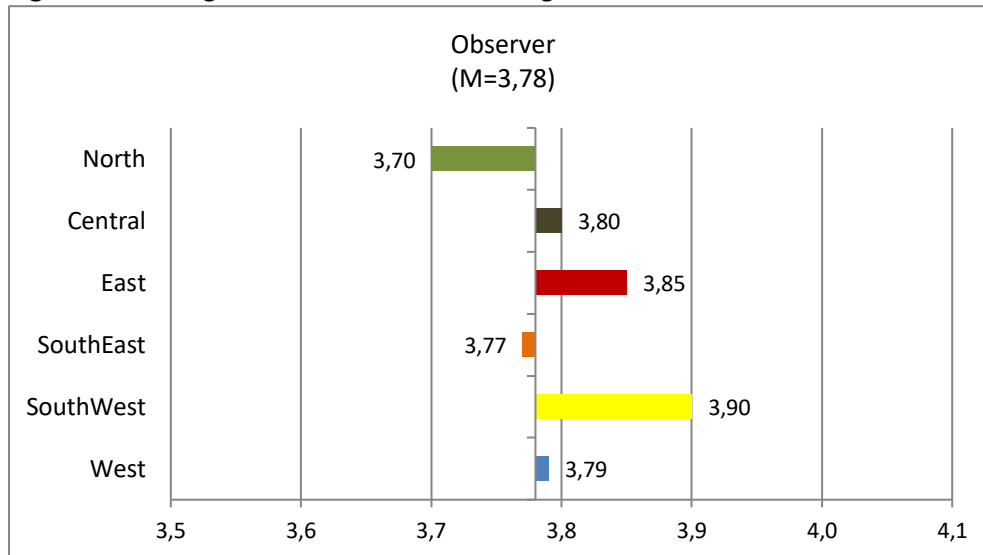


Figure 5.4.14 shows the outcomes of the Mobilizer role. Again, the overall mean is clearly above 3.0. Furthermore, the differences between the regions are small. The North is relatively low on the Observer role, while it was relatively high on the Mobilizer role. For the South-East this is the other way around. Nevertheless, the overall picture with regard to the Observer role is that there is a high level of consensus between the regions.

Figure 5.4.14 Regional differences concerning the Observer role



Next to the analyses on the aggregated level of the six regions, it is interesting to see how the support for each role is in the 28 countries that participated in this research. Figures 5.4.15 to 5.4.18 give an overview of the country-scores on each of the roles. Countries with a high position on the Disseminator-ranking often have a low position on the Investigator-ranking (rank-correlation: $-.826$). Countries with a high position on the Mobilizer-ranking in many cases have a low position on the Observer-ranking (rank-correlation: $-.686$). This is consistent with the correlations between the four roles that were presented in Table 5.1.9.

Figure 5.4.15 Country differences concerning the Disseminator role

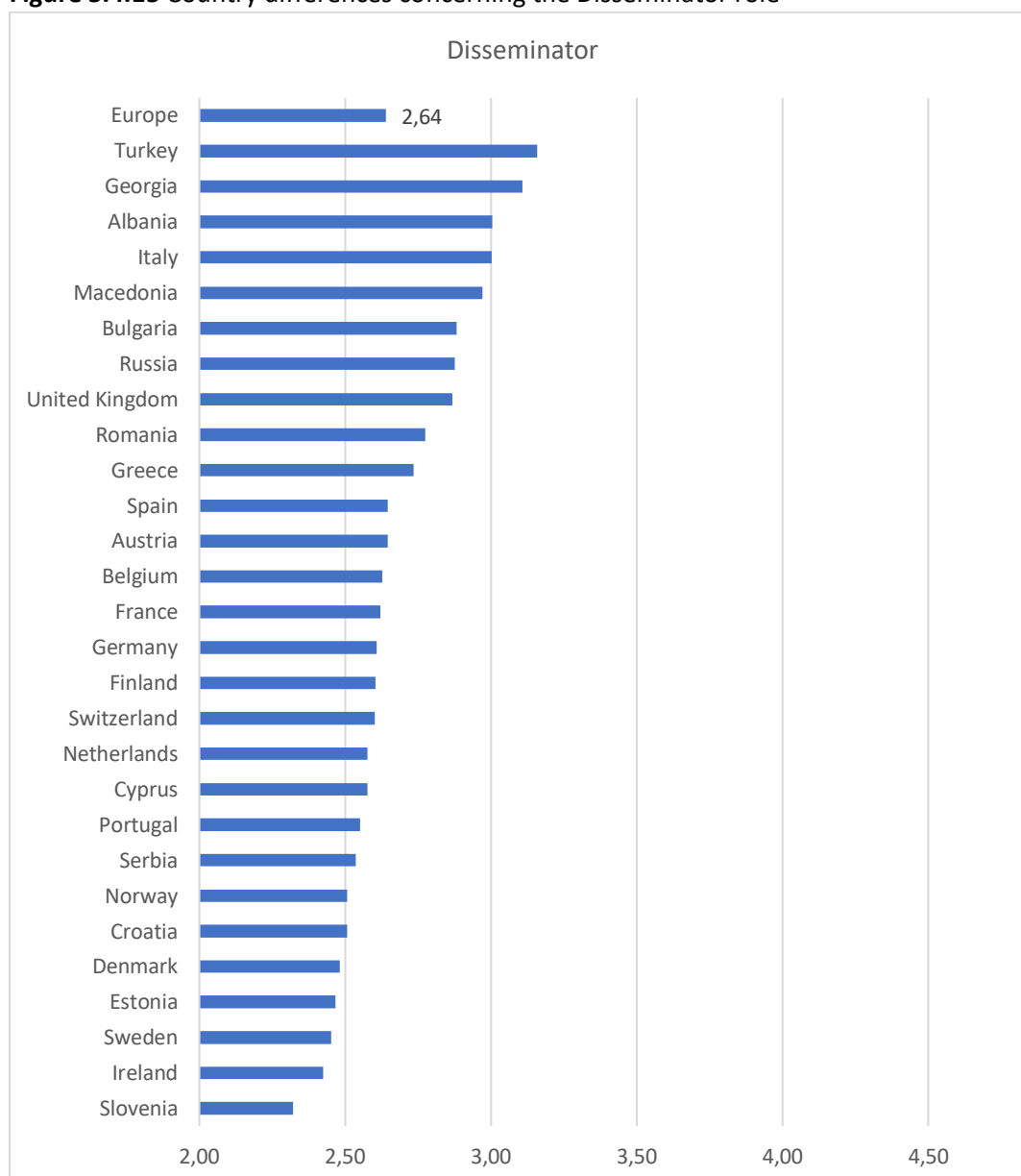


Figure 5.4.16 Country differences concerning the Investigator role

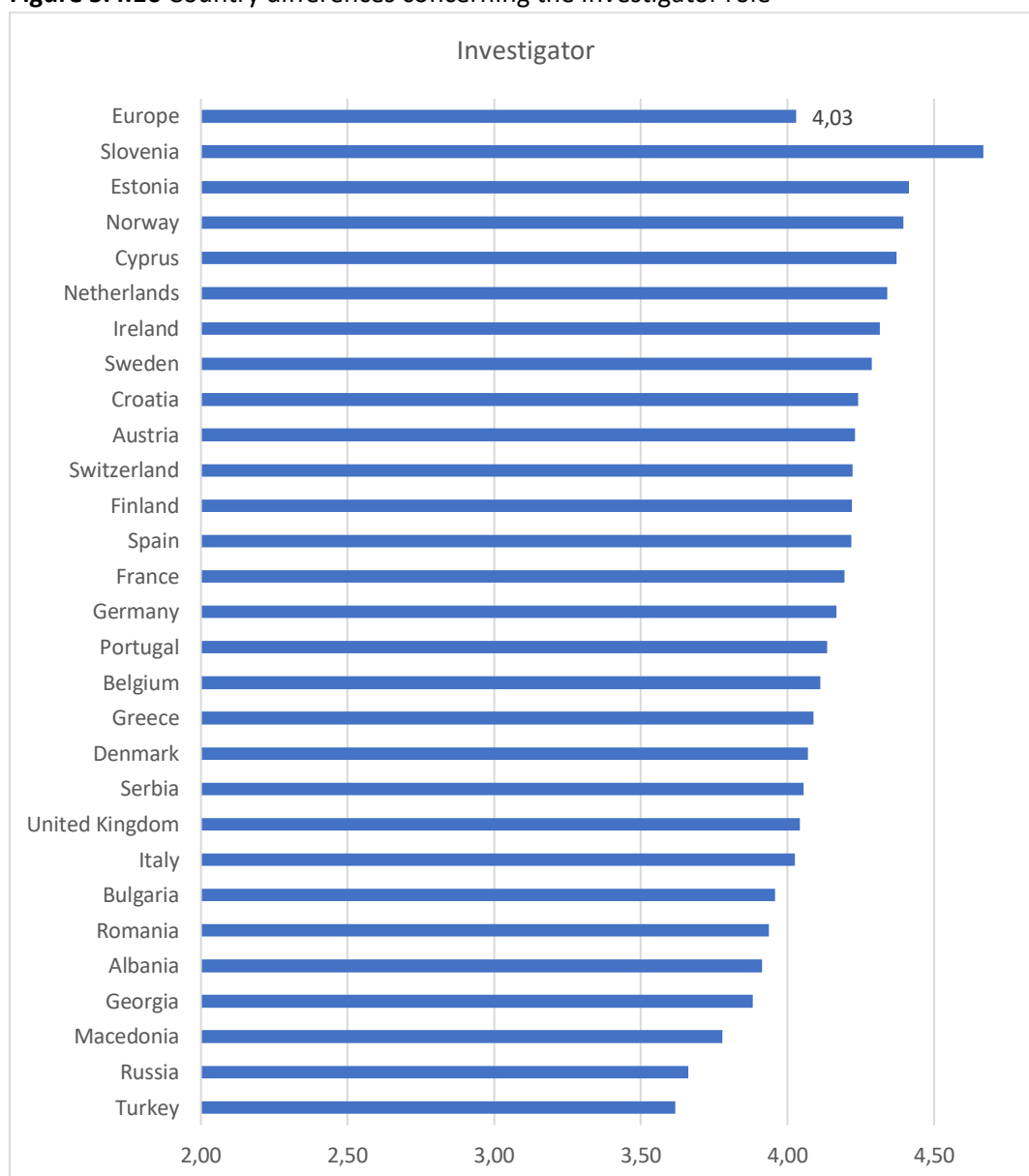


Figure 5.4.17 Country differences concerning the Mobilizer role

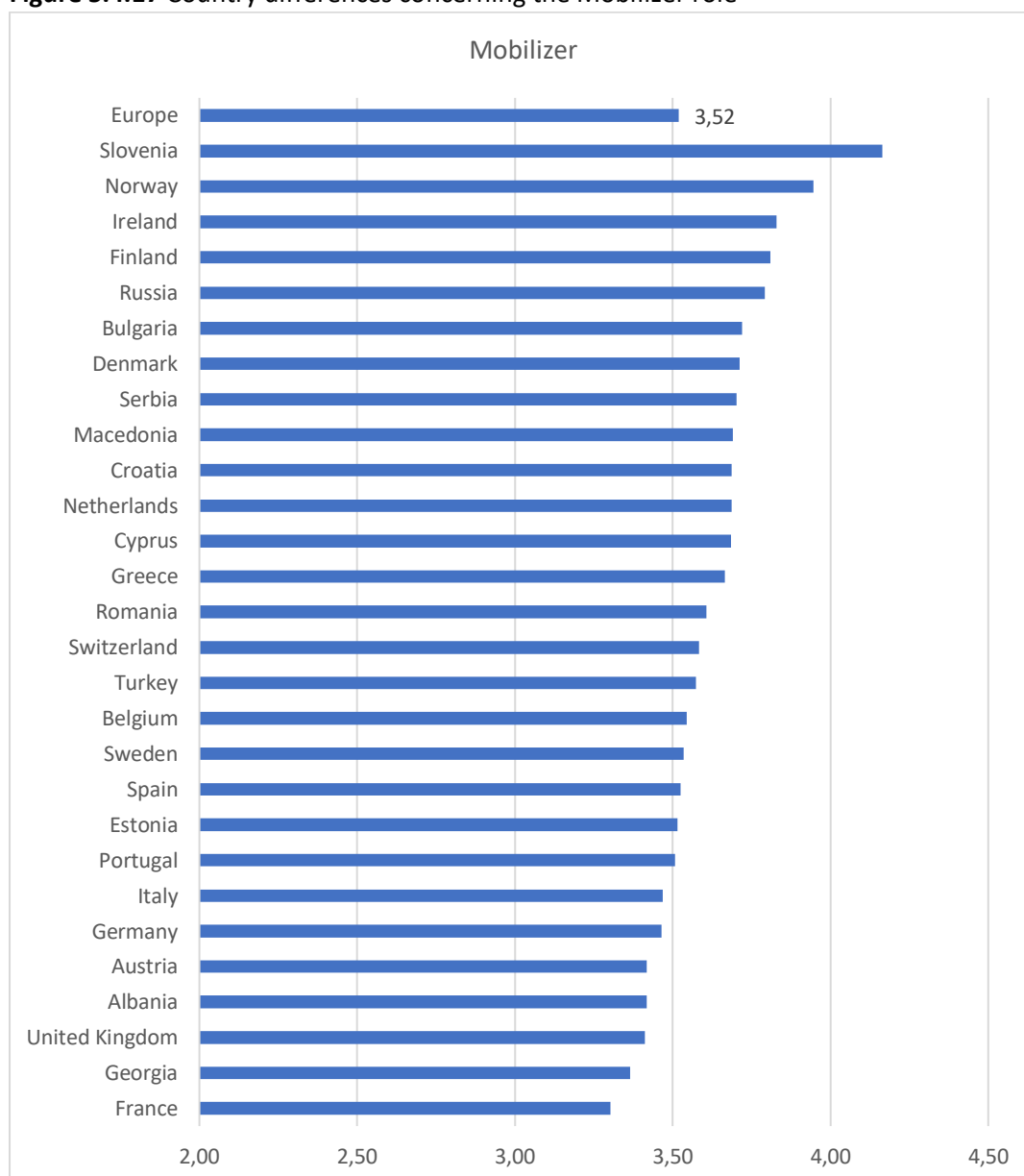


Figure 5.4.18 Country differences concerning the Observer role

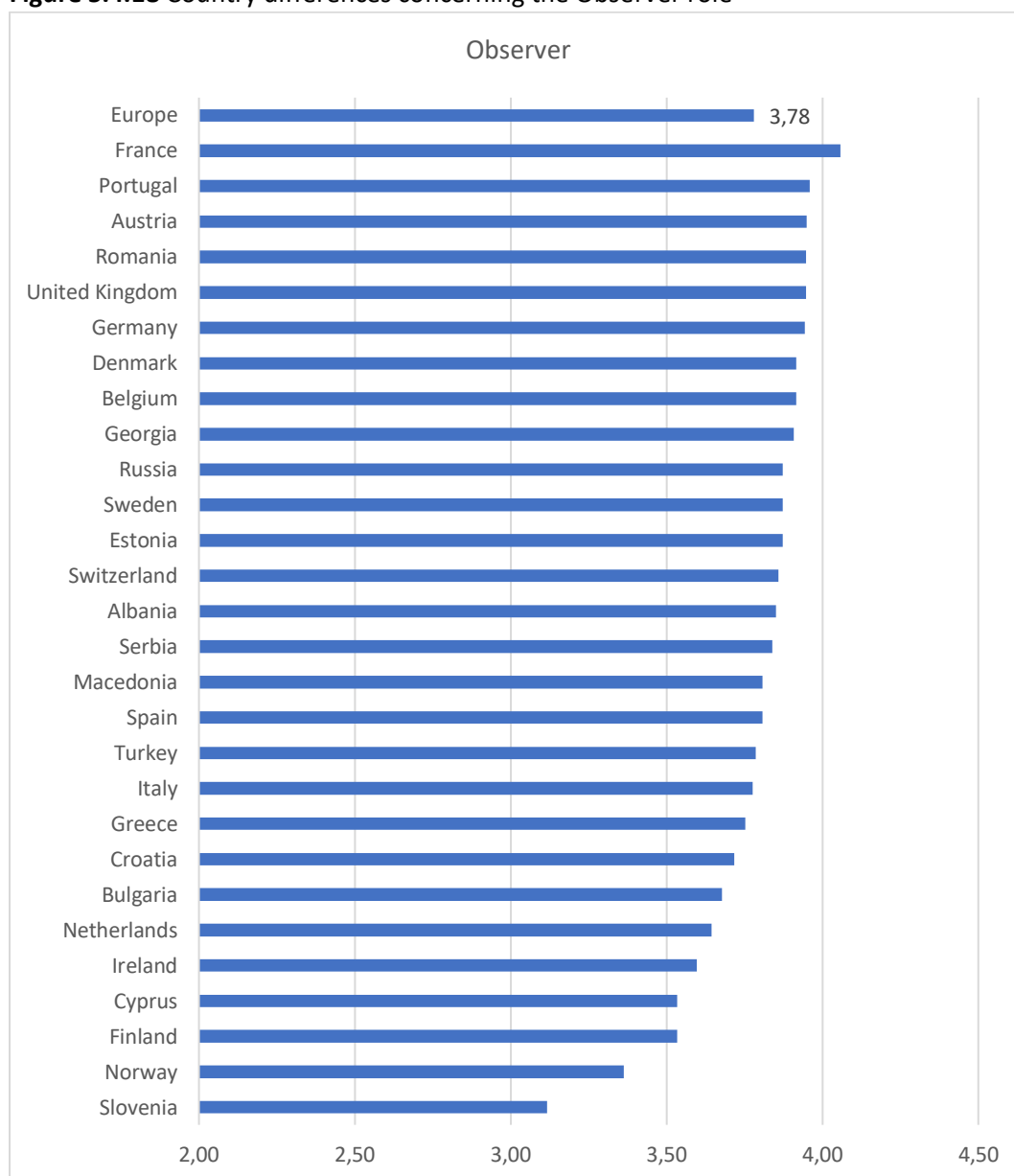


Table 5.4.1 gives the same information, but in another way. For each of the 28 countries the ranking on the four roles is given. Slovenia is the most outspoken country with the number 1 positions on the Investigator role and the number 28 positions on the Disseminator role, and the number 1 position on the Mobilizer role and the number 28 position on the Observer role.

Table 5.4.1 Participating countries (N=28) and their ranking on each of the four Roles.

	Disseminator	Investigator	Mobilizer	Observer
Albania	3	24	25	14
Austria	12	9	24	3
Belgium	13	16	17	8
Bulgaria	6	22	6	22
Croatia	23	8	10	21
Cyprus	19	4	12	25
Denmark	24	18	7	7
Estonia	25	2	20	12
Finland	16	11	4	26
France	14	13	28	1
Georgia	2	25	27	9
Germany	15	14	23	6
Greece	10	17	13	20
Ireland	27	6	3	24
Italy	4	21	22	19
Macedonia	5	26	9	16
Netherlands	18	5	11	23
Norway	22	3	2	27
Portugal	20	15	21	2
Romania	9	23	14	4
Russia	7	27	5	10
Serbia	21	19	8	15
Slovenia	28	1	1	28
Spain	11	12	19	17
Sweden	26	7	18	11
Switzerland	17	10	15	13
Turkey	1	28	16	18
United Kingdom	8	20	26	5

5.5 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has focused on how journalism culture can be defined in terms of journalistic roles, on how role orientations relate to values, on how role orientations relate to choices concerning qualifications for (future) journalists and on regional differences in role orientations.

The first step in this chapter has been to deconstruct a complex concept such as Journalism Culture into manageable components that allow a certain degree of measurement. The deconstruction process began with identifying four concepts to which journalism has to relate to, and that are linked to four central values of journalism (public service, autonomy, immediacy, objectivity): Audience, Power, Time, Reality. These four concepts are used as four dimensions that can be seen as a continuum with two positions, one at each end of the line. This leads to a total of eight positions: consumers vs citizens (Audience dimension), neutral vs adversarial (Power dimension), fast vs slow (Time dimension), mirror vs interventionist (Reality dimension).

Each of these eight positions is measured by a scale consisting of three or four items that have a satisfying level of reliability. Furthermore, a position can be interrelated to a position from another dimension. For instance: the citizens position has strong relations with the interventionist, the adversarial and the slow position; the mirror position is strongly related to the neutral and the fast position.

Pairs of two positions with the strongest mutual relationship are subsequently used as building blocks for constructing four journalistic roles: the Disseminator role, the Investigator role, the Mobilizer role and the Observer role. The best fit, backed up by a Principal Component Analysis and the level of reliability of the resulting scales, was obtained by moulding the eight positions into the four roles in the following way: Fast + Consumers = Disseminator, Slow + Adversarial = Investigator, Interventionist + Citizen = Mobilizer, Mirror + Neutral = Observer. Overall, the Investigator role got the highest score ($M=4,03$) and the Disseminator role the lowest score ($M=2,64$). This indicates that, according to the teachers at European institutes for journalism education, the future of professional journalism should be about analysing, researching, scrutinizing and exposing instead of bringing the latest news or concentrating on news that will sell.

The second main question of this chapter has been how role orientations relate to ethical values and normative ideas about the direction journalism should take. With regard to the ethical values, it became clear that out of sixteen disputable practices, teachers found accepting money from sources the least acceptable, followed by altering photographs substantially and altering quotes substantially. In relation to role orientations, the research found that teachers that show a relatively strong support for the Disseminator role are more likely to accept certain disputable practices, such as accepting money from sources, altering

photographs or quotes substantially or use dramatizations of news by actors without mentioning. Teachers that show a relatively strong support for the Observer role are less likely to accept disputable practices such as claiming to be somebody else, use confidential or personal documents without permission, use hidden cameras and microphones, and getting employed to get inside information.

With regard to the direction journalism should take, the outcome is that putting more effort trying to get the whole story and less in trying to be first is seen as the most important of ten different items. The runner-up is: more about social responsibility and less about earning money, followed by a preference for more attention for long term issues and less for the events of the day. Teachers that show a relatively strong support for the Mobilizer role are more likely to support almost all of the ten distinguished directions. Teachers that show a relatively strong support for the Investigator role are more likely to support items that are about getting the whole story and about covering long term issues. Next to that, they are relatively strong supporters of the view that journalism should be more about renewing journalistic content and less about new technology. On these three issues teachers that show a relatively strong support for the Disseminator role are the opposite of their colleagues supporting the Investigator role.

The third main question of this chapter has been how role orientations relate to choices concerning qualifications for (future) journalists. The overall conclusion is that teachers find that all qualifications should become more important in the years to come. The research indicates that of the 22 in the questionnaire distinguished qualifications, teachers show the strongest support for the ability to evaluate sources, followed by the ability to do in-depth research and to find multiple perspectives on an issue. For convenience of comparison the 22 qualifications were clustered into five groups: content qualifications, form qualifications, society qualifications, market qualifications, and reflection qualifications. The overall conclusion with regard to these clusters is that on average the European teachers prioritize the content-related qualifications, followed by society-, form-, reflection- and market-oriented qualifications respectively. The Mobilizer and Observer role both show rather high correlations with each of these five groups. Again, the Disseminator and Investigator are more or less opposites. Support for the Investigator role strongly correlates with content qualifications, society qualifications, and reflection qualifications, but not with market qualifications and not so much with form qualifications. Support for the Disseminator role strongly correlates with form qualifications and market qualifications, and not with the other three.

The fourth and final main question of this chapter has been whether or not there are regional differences in role orientations. Comparing the six regions shows consensus as well as dissensus. There appears to be a rather high level of consensus among the regions about the importance of the Observer role ($M=3,78$). The same is true for the two underlying positions of this role: the mirror position and the neutral position, although the North has a relatively low score on the latter. With regard to the Mobilizer role ($M=3,52$) there is a high level of consensus, but there are also some differences that are noteworthy: especially the North and

the East show relatively strong support for this role. This is not caused by difference with regard to the underlying citizen-positions, but mainly due to differences with regard to the other underlying position: the interventionist-position. North and East have relatively high scores on this position.

The other two roles, Disseminator and Investigator, are far less characterized by consensus. North and Central score relatively high on the Investigator role and low on the Disseminator role. For the East and South-East it is the other way around: relatively low scores on the Investigator role and relatively high ones on the Disseminator role. The other two regions, West and South-West, stay closer to the overall mean for both roles. Concerning the Investigator role the underlying positions (adversarial and slow) show the same pattern as the overarching role. There is one exception: the West is very high on adversarial and this is 'neutralised' by a low score on slow. Concerning the Disseminator role, the differences between the regions are not caused by differences in the underlying consumer-position, but by differences in the underlying fast-position. North and Central have rather low scores on the fast-position and East and South-East rather high ones. West and South-West stay in the middle.

The overall conclusion can be that teachers across Europe agree on many issues. There is in general a fairly high level of consensus. Focusing on role orientations, the outcomes nevertheless show some considerable differences between the regions of Europe. These differences are mainly due to differences concerning the adversarial position (power dimension), the interventionist position (reality dimension) and the fast position as well as the slow position (both: time dimension). The main European fault line lies on the time dimension, with North and Central as the main proponents of the slow-position and East and South-East of the fast-position. In turn, the slow position is strongly linked to the citizens-position and the adversarial-position, whereas the fast position has its strongest links with the consumers-position, the neutral-position and the mirror-position. However important and interesting, the regional differences with regard to the Investigator role, and the Disseminator role, should not be exaggerated. Regions that are high on fast and low on slow, still show a higher score for slow than for fast. For example: the East has a score of 3,72 on slow, which is quite low compared to the other regions, but still higher than the (relatively high) score the East has for fast: 3,26.

It is not possible to explain the deeper causes for these differences on the basis of this study. The outcomes in general show little systematic effect of background characteristics (gender, age, degree, subject) other than region. The countries that form those regions do differ substantially with regard to their history, their political system, their economic position, their educational system, their socio-cultural situation, their media-system, their journalism practice, their news audiences and so on. It seems no more than logical that these differences in background on the national level have their impact on the views of teachers on the desired future of journalism. On the other hand, and despite all these differences, the members of the European Journalism Training Association do agree on many important issues; including the

Tartu Declaration that contains a joint mission statement and a total of fifty qualifications that are at the basis of the journalism curricula around Europe.

It would take a longitudinal study to determine whether or not the views across Europe are actually converging or that they are in fact evolving in more or less the same direction, with some countries in the lead and others following in due time. Ten years ago, the European Journalism Training Association initiated a research on competences and qualifications²⁰, but this does not really provide the kind of longitudinal information one would need, mainly because it used another line of questioning. However, a modest comparison of the outcomes of the two studies does support the idea that ‘evolution’ is a better way to frame the differences in view than ‘convergence’ (see appendix 10). The hypothesis then would be that journalism in the whole of Europe is moving in more or less the same direction, but that countries/regions differ with regard to their inclination and/or their possibilities to initiate or adapt to new developments. The outcomes of this research suggest that one of the most fundamental changes in professional journalism should be – in the eyes of European teachers – a shift from fast to slow journalism, from disseminating to investigating. Only time will tell whether this shift will turn out to be the new horizon towards which all countries – sooner or later – will move. For now, we see that teachers in the North appear to be the early adopters²¹ of this view, followed by Central, West/South-West and East/South-East respectively.

²⁰ For an overview, see: Drok, N. (2014). Beacons of reliability: European journalism students and professionals on future qualifications for journalists. In L. D’Haenens, M. Opgenhaffen & M. Corten (Eds.), *Cross-continental Views on Journalistic Skills* (pp. 24-41). Oxon: Routledge.

²¹ In his famous book *Diffusion of Innovation* (5th ed. 2005, New York: Free Press), Everett Rogers defines different groups of adopters of innovations: innovators/early adopters (16%), early majority (34%), late majority (34%) and laggards (16%).

6 Epilogue

This research started from the idea that professional journalism is going through a phase of structural change. This change can be interpreted as a transition from working within the context of a mass media model to working within the context of a network model. Important aspects of this transition are the changing technological and economic conditions with which professional journalism has to deal. Within the news industry, and thus within journalism education, these changing conditions are the key topic in the thinking about innovation in journalism. If professional journalism is to survive, finding effective responses to these changing conditions is necessary. However, it is not sufficient. The transition from a mass media model to a network model should not only be understood in terms of a structural, techno-economic change, but also in terms of a cultural change. Thinking about innovation should not only include the *means*, but also the *goals* of professional journalism. It should include reconsidering central values of journalism – public service, autonomy, immediacy, objectivity – and give them new meaning in the light of the changing context.

In several sociological traditions, the concept of the ‘role’ is crucial in the study of culture.²² On the basis of these traditions, journalistic roles have become a key element in the study of the culture of journalism.²³ They can be defined as normative understandings of what journalism is and what it should do. The most important ways to acquire and develop these normative understandings are education and socialization. In the process of education and socialization *teachers* play a crucial role. They know the field, very often from within, but do not feel the daily time pressure that has become more common in a digital 24/7 news environment. This offers them more room for reflection and for taking a long-term perspective, which is precisely what is needed when dealing with cultural change.

This research is about the views of teachers on future journalistic roles, values and qualifications from a normative viewpoint. The first target group for the outcomes are also the teachers. The outcomes are supposed to inform them, give them food for thought and reflection, and to compare their own views with those of others. This might help them to put their own convictions into perspective. On the basis of the answers that the more than thousand responding teachers gave on questions about journalistic tasks and about the position of journalism in society and towards reality, four role conceptions were constructed. Next, these role conceptions were connected with ethical values, normative views on the future direction of journalism and normative views on future qualifications of journalism students. Finally, the various views on roles, values and qualifications were associated with the regional dimension, for which Europe was divided into six regions. On the agenda for the next years is a confrontation of the outcomes of this research on teachers with the outcomes of the Worlds of Journalism Study (the upcoming 2020 data-collection) and of the Journalism Students around the Globe study (2017-data). This would enable a large-scale international

²² For instance in (symbolic) interactionism or (structural) functionalism

²³ See for instance: Mellado, C., Hellmueller, L. & Donsbach, W. (Eds.) (2017). *Journalistic Role Performance; Concepts, Contexts, and Methods*. New York/London: Routledge.

comparison between journalism professionals, journalism students and journalism teachers on role orientations.

At the theoretical level, this study contains some insights that might be worth to be further developed and tested. More specifically this is the case with the way journalism culture was deconstructed. Four central values of journalism have been the starting point: Public service, Autonomy, Immediacy, Objectivity. These values were linked to four key concepts/dimensions for journalism: Audience, Power, Time, Reality. These four concepts/dimensions were conceived as lines with two more or less opposite positions at the end, one at each side: consumer orientation versus citizen orientation (Audience), neutral attitude versus adversarial attitude (Power), orientation on fast forms of journalism versus orientation on slow forms of journalism (Time), act as a mirror of (social) reality or as an interventionist (Reality). The resulting eight positions could be transformed into four major Roles: Disseminator (fast + consumer), Investigator (slow + adversarial), Mobilizer (citizen + interventionist), Observer (neutral + mirror). Each role can be measured by a reliable scale, consisting of six to seven items.

Applying these roles in the regional analysis appeared to be fruitful. In all six regions the Investigator role got the highest mean score and the Disseminator role the lowest. In other words: teachers across the whole of Europe believe that the future of professional journalism lies – or: should lie – in the field of Investigative forms of journalism. It is interesting to know that among professional journalists themselves the Disseminator role is often the most popular one, although it is not always clear whether this is the result of a factual observation or a normative ideal.²⁴ Next to the relatively high level of consensus among the teachers from the six regions, there are also interesting differences in the views on the importance of the four roles. These mainly refer to the Disseminator and Investigator role, and to North/Central on the one hand and East/South-East on the other. North and Central are so to speak the strongest supporters of the Investigator role and the weakest supporters of the Disseminator role, while in East and South-East the opposite is the case.

The level of support for one role or another also impacts upon the normative views on ethics, future directions and future qualifications. Supporters of the Observer role are in general the strongest critics with regard to ethical disputable practices, while supporters of the Disseminator role are more inclined to find certain practices sometimes acceptable, such as altering photographs or quotes substantially. With regard to future directions, supporters of the Mobilizer role are positive about almost all the directions that were distinguished in the questionnaire. Supporters of the Investigator role are strongly in favour of getting the whole story instead of trying to be first and of paying more attention to long term issues and less to the events of the day. For supporters of the Disseminator role it is the other way around. With

²⁴ Weaver, D. H. & Willnat L. (eds.). (2012). *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century*. London/New York: Routledge.

Hanitzsch, T. & Vos T.P. (2018). Journalism beyond democracy: A new look into journalistic roles in political and everyday life. *Journalism* Vol. 19(2) 146–164

regard to future qualifications the main differences are – again – between “Investigators” and “Disseminators”. Supporters of the Investigative role especially value qualifications that are about content, society and reflection and not (so much) those about form and market. For supporters of the Disseminator role it is precisely the other way around.

Taken together, the many outcomes of this research paint a complicated but interesting picture of the views of journalism teachers across Europe on journalistic roles, values and qualifications. Of course, we do not know to which extent the views of teachers on journalistic roles really translate into actual teaching. Not only because there can be a gap between ideals and practice, but also because teachers are not the only ones that have a say in what is taught. Nevertheless, as was stated before, in the process of renewing journalism through education, teachers play a pivotal role. The many outcomes of this research can fuel the pan-European discussion among journalism teachers about high-quality journalism education and the direction in which it should move.

Obviously, countries differ with respect to the pace and extent to which they move in the new direction. As said before, journalism is an ‘ism’, a belief system. This means that views on what is good journalism and what is not are to a large extent culturally defined, dependant on time and place. Journalism should not be regarded as a statue, but as a garden. It is never finished. It will always need maintenance and care, depending on the weather, depending on the season, depending on the climate.

Overall, the data do not indicate that the various regions of Europe are moving towards each other. It seems more likely that all European countries are developing in more or less the same direction. This direction cannot be captured in just one word, but throughout Europe it is characterized by the transition from a mass media model to a network model, including a corresponding shift in journalistic culture. That is a shift from a sender-oriented culture, aimed at the fast dissemination of news, to an interaction-oriented culture, aimed at analysis and research.

Appendix 1 Questionnaire



Journalistic Roles, Values and Qualifications in the 21st century; how journalism educators view the future of a profession in transition.

A survey among journalism teachers in 28 European countries

- 1. The European Journalism Training Association distinguishes two types of institutes for journalism education. In which type do you teach mainly (choose only one)?**

- ☐ Institute for higher education
- ☐ Mid-career training centre

- 2. Where is your institute located?**

Country: City:

- 3. What subject do you teach mainly (choose only one)?**

- ☐ Journalism (skills, principles)
- ☐ Communication science/ Media theory
- ☐ Language (native, foreign)
- ☐ General knowledge (e.g. economics, history, law, philosophy)
- ☐ Research methods
- ☐ Other (please specify)

- 4. Are you working full-time or part-time?**

- ☐ Full-time
- ☐ Part-time
 - ☐ 1 – 20%
 - ☐ 21 – 40%
 - ☐ 41 – 60%
 - ☐ 61 – 80%
 - ☐ 81 – 100%

We now would like to know your view on the future importance of a number of tasks that professional journalists perform. We are interested in what you wish for, in what you think should happen.

5. Compared to today, in the next ten years the importance of the following task for professional journalists should become:

5 Much Higher 4 Higher 3 Same as now 2 Lower 1 Much Lower 9 Don't know

a. Get information to the public quickly	5	4	3	2	1	9
b. Stay away from stories that cannot be verified	5	4	3	2	1	9
c. Monitor and scrutinize government	5	4	3	2	1	9
d. Stand up for the disadvantaged	5	4	3	2	1	9
e. Provide entertainment and relaxation	5	4	3	2	1	9
f. Expose social abuses	5	4	3	2	1	9
g. Make each day as many stories as possible	5	4	3	2	1	9
h. Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs	5	4	3	2	1	9
i. Monitor and scrutinize business organisations	5	4	3	2	1	9
j. Give ordinary people a chance to express their views	5	4	3	2	1	9
k. Concentrate on news that will sell	5	4	3	2	1	9
l. Provide information that people need to make political decisions	5	4	3	2	1	9
m. Concentrate on bringing the latest news	5	4	3	2	1	9
n. Provide in-depth background information	5	4	3	2	1	9
o. Monitor and scrutinize civil society organisations	5	4	3	2	1	9
p. Motivate people to get socially involved	5	4	3	2	1	9
q. Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens	5	4	3	2	1	9
r. Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems	5	4	3	2	1	9

6. Do you have any comments on the previous questions (question number 5)?

- ☐ No
☐ Yes (Please specify)

The following question is about the position of journalists in society ('neutrality') and with regard to reality/truth ('objectivity'). Answering categories are:

5 Strongly Agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral 2 Disagree 1 Strongly Disagree 9 Don't know

7. A journalist should....

a. be a detached observer	5	4	3	2	1	9
b. promote social change	5	4	3	2	1	9
c. remain strictly impartial	5	4	3	2	1	9
d. influence public opinion	5	4	3	2	1	9
e. be a neutral disseminator of information	5	4	3	2	1	9
f. set the socio-political agenda	5	4	3	2	1	9
g. mirror reality as it is	5	4	3	2	1	9
h. report about positive developments in society	5	4	3	2	1	9
i. <u>not</u> let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting	5	4	3	2	1	9
j. be transparent about the working process	5	4	3	2	1	9
k. let facts speak for themselves	5	4	3	2	1	9
l. monitor and scrutinize the reporting of other news media	5	4	3	2	1	9

8. Do you have any comments on the previous questions (question number 7)?

- ☐ No
☐ Yes (Please specify)

The following question is about professional ethics. Consider an assignment about an important economic topic given to a journalist. We would like to know whether or not you find that certain practices are acceptable.

9. The following practice is acceptable in case of an important economic topic.

5 Strongly Agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral 2 Disagree 1 Strongly Disagree 9 Don't know

a. Reveal confidential sources	5	4	3	2	1	9
b. Claim to be somebody else	5	4	3	2	1	9
c. Use hidden microphones and cameras	5	4	3	2	1	9
d. Pay people for confidential information	5	4	3	2	1	9
e. Get employed in an organization to get inside information	5	4	3	2	1	9
f. Use confidential government documents without authorization	5	4	3	2	1	9
g. Use personal documents without permission	5	4	3	2	1	9
h. Exert pressure on unwilling informants to get a story	5	4	3	2	1	9
i. Agree to protect confidentiality but not doing so.	5	4	3	2	1	9
j. Use re-creations or dramatizations of news by actors without mention	5	4	3	2	1	9
k. Publish a story with unverified content	5	4	3	2	1	9
l. Accept money from sources	5	4	3	2	1	9
m. Alter photographs substantially	5	4	3	2	1	9
n. Alter quotes from sources substantially	5	4	3	2	1	9
o. Use copyrighted material without permission	5	4	3	2	1	9
p. Reveal the truth, no matter the consequences	5	4	3	2	1	9

10. Do you have any comments on the previous question (question number 9)?

- ☐ No
☐ Yes (Please specify)

In several countries there are or have been discussions about whether or not professional journalism should be “redefined” in the 21st century. Below you will find 10 statements about the direction in which journalism might evolve. Please indicate to what extent you agree with those statements:

5 Strongly Agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral 2 Disagree 1 Strongly Disagree 9 Don't know

11. In my view, it would be good if journalism was...

a. more about <i>social responsibility</i> and less about <i>earning money</i>	5	4	3	2	1	9
b. more about <i>ordinary people</i> and less about the <i>ruling elites</i>	5	4	3	2	1	9
c. more about <i>long term issues</i> and less about the <i>events of the day</i>	5	4	3	2	1	9
d. more about <i>solutions</i> and less about <i>problems</i>	5	4	3	2	1	9
e. more about <i>consensus</i> and less about <i>conflict</i>	5	4	3	2	1	9
f. more about <i>what's next</i> and less about <i>what happened</i>	5	4	3	2	1	9
g. more about <i>interacting</i> with audiences and less about <i>one-way sending</i>	5	4	3	2	1	9
h. more about <i>getting the whole story</i> and less about <i>trying to be first</i>	5	4	3	2	1	9
i. more about <i>successes</i> and less about <i>failures</i>	5	4	3	2	1	9
j. more about <i>renewing journalistic content</i> and less about <i>new technology</i>	5	4	3	2	1	9

12. Do you have any comments on the previous question (question number 11)?

- ☐ No
☐ Yes (Please specify)

The following question is about qualifications for (beginning) journalists. Within the European Journalism Training Association we have distinguished many qualifications that are important for journalism education. We would like to know your view on the future importance of the following qualifications. We are interested in what you wish for, in what you think should happen.

13. In the next ten years, the importance of the following qualifications for professional journalists should become:

5 Much Higher 4 Higher 3 Same as now 2 Lower 1 Much Lower 9 Don't know

a. have a commitment to democratic society	5	4	3	2	1	9
b. link the local with the national and the global	5	4	3	2	1	9
c. know current events and their context	5	4	3	2	1	9
d. discover newsworthy issues on the basis of in-depth research	5	4	3	2	1	9
e. work under time pressure	5	4	3	2	1	9
f. organize contributions from the public	5	4	3	2	1	9
g. have a wide general knowledge	5	4	3	2	1	9
h. have a more specialized knowledge in a field	5	4	3	2	1	9
i. be able to find multiple perspectives on an issue	5	4	3	2	1	9
j. be able to evaluate sources	5	4	3	2	1	9
k. interact with the public	5	4	3	2	1	9
l. select information on the basis of reliability	5	4	3	2	1	9
m. select information on the basis of relevance	5	4	3	2	1	9
n. use different types of story-telling techniques	5	4	3	2	1	9
o. make journalistic use of technology	5	4	3	2	1	9
p. present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals	5	4	3	2	1	9
q. take responsibility for the choices you made during the process	5	4	3	2	1	9
r. take responsibility for the impact of your product	5	4	3	2	1	9
s. be able to recognize market opportunities	5	4	3	2	1	9
t. be able to develop new products/formats	5	4	3	2	1	9
u. reflect on the future of journalism	5	4	3	2	1	9
v. provide workable solutions for complex practical issues that face professional journalism	5	4	3	2	1	9

14. Do you have any comments on the previous question (question number 13)?

- ☐ No
☐ Yes (Please specify)

We have one question about your view on the future labour market for your students.

15. To what extent do you agree that your current students will be working in following positions within the next 10 years?

5 Strongly Agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral 2 Disagree 1 Strongly Disagree 9 Don't know

a. A contracted job at an established news organization	5	4	3	2	1	9
b. Freelancing for established news organizations	5	4	3	2	1	9
c. Doing journalism at a start-up/new outlet	5	4	3	2	1	9
d. Working at a media production company	5	4	3	2	1	9
e. Doing part-time journalism and part-time something else	5	4	3	2	1	9
f. Working in a PR/communication job	5	4	3	2	1	9
g. Working outside of journalism and communication	5	4	3	2	1	9
h. Something else? Please, specify briefly. <div></div>	5	4	3	2	1	9

Finally, we would like to get more insight in the characteristics of journalism teachers in Europe.

16. What is your sex:

- ☐ Male
☐ Female

17. What is your age:

- ☐ 20 – 29
☐ 30 – 39
☐ 40 – 49
☐ 50 – 59
☐ 60 – 69
☐ Older

18. What is your highest educational degree?

- ☐ Secondary school
- ☐ Bachelor degree
- ☐ Master degree
- ☐ PhD degree
- ☐ Other, please specify:

19. How many years of practical experience do you have working as a journalist?

- ☐ None
- ☐ 1 – 5
- ☐ 6 – 15
- ☐ 16 – 30
- ☐ More than 30

20. In the next ten years, for journalism teachers the importance of the following qualifications should become:

5 Much Higher 4 Higher 3 Same as now 2 Lower 1 Much Lower 9 Don't know

a. Having practical experience in journalism	5	4	3	2	1	9
b. Having a university degree in journalism or a related field	5	4	3	2	1	9
c. Having a university degree in any field	5	4	3	2	1	9
d. Having didactical-pedagogical knowledge and skills	5	4	3	2	1	9
e. Having a wide general knowledge	5	4	3	2	1	9
f. Having knowledge in a specialized field	5	4	3	2	1	9
g. Having research skills	5	4	3	2	1	9
h. Having linguistic skills	5	4	3	2	1	9
i. Having technical skills for digital media	5	4	3	2	1	9
j. Something else? Please, specify briefly	5	4	3	2	1	9
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Thank you very much for your cooperation !

Appendix 2 Tasks and Background characteristics

Table 1 Mean and SD of the future importance of tasks for professional journalists separated by gender

Tasks	Male (N=541)		Female (N=466)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Provide in-depth background information	4.24	0.74	4.29	0.73
Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs	4.14	0.77	4.25	0.74
Stay away from stories that cannot be verified	4.14	0.91	4.27	0.93
Monitor and scrutinize business organizations	4.02	0.78	4.02	0.78
Monitor and scrutinize government	3.96	0.81	4.02	0.80
Provide information that people need to make political decisions*	3.96	0.78	4.11	0.78
Expose social abuses	3.86	0.85	3.91	0.75
Stand up for the disadvantaged*	3.76	0.84	3.96	0.77
Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems*	3.72	0.81	3.91	0.80
Monitor and scrutinize civil society organizations*	3.72	0.75	3.88	0.75
Motivate people to get socially involved*	3.54	0.88	3.83	0.82
Give ordinary people a chance to express their views*	3.35	0.98	3.56	0.94
Get information to the public quickly	3.34	0.97	3.41	0.94
Concentrate on bringing the latest news	2.97	0.88	3.03	0.84
Provide entertainment and relaxation	2.57	0.96	2.49	0.93
Concentrate on news that will sell	2.43	1.02	2.39	1.02
Make as many stories as possible each day	2.30	1.02	2.47	1.01
Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens	2.06	1.03	1.98	1.02
Overall Mean	3.45	0.88	3.54	0.85

*Significant difference in the scores between male and female (T-test; $p < .01$).

Outcomes of the T-test:

Provide information that people need to make political decisions: $t(1013) = -2.96, p = .003$

Stand up for the disadvantaged: $t(1003) = -4.08, p = .000$

Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems: $t(970) = -3.83, p = .000$

Motivate people to get socially involved: $t(988) = -5.40, p = .000$

Give ordinary people a chance to express their views: $t(1005) = -3.58, p = .000$

Table 2 Mean and SD of the future importance of tasks for professional journalists separated by age categories

Tasks	Age 20-39 (N=281)		Age 40-49 (N=314)		Age 50-59 (N=287)		Age 60 and older (N=123)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Provide in-depth background information	4.20	0.79	4.28	0.71	4.30	0.70	4.24	0.74
Stay away from stories that cannot be verified	4.20	0.98	4.23	0.89	4.20	0.91	4.13	0.89
Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs	4.13	0.77	4.16	0.79	4.25	0.71	4.26	0.74
Provide information that people need to make political decisions	4.04	0.77	3.99	0.77	4.06	0.80	4.03	0.82
Monitor and scrutinize business organizations	3.96	0.75	4.06	0.80	3.99	0.79	4.10	0.78
Monitor and scrutinize government	3.95	0.78	3.99	0.83	3.97	0.79	4.08	0.84
Expose social abuses*	3.93	0.79	3.92	0.78	3.76	0.86	3.93	0.75
Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems*	3.91	0.78	3.82	0.80	3.74	0.81	3.70	0.88
Stand up for the disadvantaged*	3.88	0.79	3.95	0.79	3.77	0.86	3.73	0.83
Monitor and scrutinize civil society organizations	3.81	0.70	3.81	0.78	3.77	0.76	3.80	0.78
Motivate people to get socially involved*	3.76	0.88	3.70	0.83	3.58	0.87	3.58	0.88
Give ordinary people a chance to express their views*	3.51	0.98	3.43	0.93	3.34	1.01	3.61	0.89
Get information to the public quickly	3.39	1.00	3.39	0.96	3.27	0.94	3.49	0.87
Concentrate on bringing the latest news*	3.06	0.87	3.07	0.89	2.87	0.79	2.99	0.88
Provide entertainment and relaxation*	2.68	1.02	2.49	0.91	2.41	0.90	2.57	0.90
Concentrate on news that will sell	2.50	1.10	2.42	0.99	2.31	0.98	2.45	0.98
Make as many stories as possible each day	2.46	1.12	2.37	0.97	2.29	0.93	2.43	1.07
Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens	2.09	1.11	1.99	0.94	1.98	1.02	2.02	1.04
Overall Mean	3.53	0.89	3.51	0.85	3.44	0.86	3.51	0.86

*Significant difference in the scores between the age categories (ANOVA; $p < .05$)

Outcomes of the ANOVA-test:

Expose social abuses: $F(3, 1004)=2.82, p=.038$

Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems: $F(3, 990)=3.01, p=.029$

Stand up for the disadvantaged: $F(3, 1006)=3.62, p=.013$

Motivate people to get socially involved: $F(3, 994)=2.62, p=.049$

Give ordinary people a chance to express their views: $F(3, 1003)=2.90, p=.034$

Concentrate on bringing the latest news: $F(3, 1009)=3.21, p=.023$

Provide entertainment and relaxation: $F(3, 1003)=4.23, p=.006$

Table 3 Mean and SD of the future importance of tasks for professional journalists separated by educational degree

Tasks	PhD (N=365)		Master (N=443)		Bachelor (N=121)		Other (N=77)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Provide in-depth background information	4.30	0.77	4.26	0.69	4.14	0.80	4.31	0.71
Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs*	4.29	0.77	4.15	0.73	4.02	0.80	4.28	0.75
Stay away from stories that cannot be verified	4.24	0.88	4.16	0.92	4.12	1.02	4.40	0.92
Provide information that people need to make political decisions*	4.09	0.83	4.02	0.71	3.84	0.81	4.12	0.85
Monitor and scrutinize business organizations	4.05	0.78	4.01	0.76	4.02	0.85	3.91	0.81
Monitor and scrutinize government	4.01	0.85	3.98	0.76	3.98	0.80	3.95	0.87
Expose social abuses*	3.94	0.84	3.78	0.79	3.93	0.74	4.09	0.76
Stand up for the disadvantaged*	3.91	0.83	3.77	0.81	3.88	0.77	4.03	0.82
Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems*	3.90	0.84	3.77	0.76	3.60	0.83	3.91	0.85
Motivate people to get socially involved*	3.85	0.88	3.53	0.83	3.51	0.78	3.87	0.92
Monitor and scrutinize civil society organizations	3.83	0.77	3.78	0.72	3.70	0.79	3.92	0.78
Give ordinary people a chance to express their views*	3.59	0.98	3.34	0.94	3.35	0.91	3.49	1.06
Get information to the public quickly*	3.49	0.96	3.22	0.94	3.50	0.96	3.44	0.97
Concentrate on bringing the latest news*	3.09	0.92	2.93	0.81	2.90	0.81	3.14	0.82
Make as many stories as possible each day*	2.52	1.03	2.26	0.99	2.38	1.03	2.43	1.04
Provide entertainment and relaxation	2.49	0.94	2.52	0.96	2.64	0.94	2.62	0.86
Concentrate on news that will sell	2.44	1.03	2.38	1.02	2.47	1.03	2.37	0.92
Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens	1.97	1.03	2.07	1.03	2.10	1.05	1.85	0.91
Overall Mean	3.56	0.88	3.44	0.84	3.45	0.87	3.56	0.87

*Significant difference in the scores between the educational degrees (ANOVA; $p < .05$)

Outcomes of the ANOVA-test:

Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs: $F(3, 1011)=5.08, p=.002$

Provide information that people need to make political decisions: $F(3, 1011)=3.58, p=.014$

Expose social abuses: $F(3, 1004)=5.01, p=.002$

Stand up for the disadvantaged: $F(3, 1006)=3.55, p=.014$

Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems: $F(3, 990)=5.07, p=.002$

Motivate people to get socially involved: $F(3, 994)=12.50, p=.000$

Give ordinary people a chance to express their views: $F(3, 1003)=4.87, p=.002$

Get information to the public quickly: $F(3, 1008)=6.70, p=.000$

Concentrate on bringing the latest news: $F(3, 1009)=3.72, p=.011$

Make as many stories as possible each day: $F(3, 1003)=4.74, p=.003$

Table 4 Mean and SD of the future importance of tasks for professional journalists separated by teaching subject

Tasks	Journalism (N=650)		Other (N=424)	
	M	SD	M	SD
Provide in-depth background information	4.24	0.73	4.29	0.74
Stay away from stories that cannot be verified	4.22	0.93	4.16	0.91
Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs	4.19	0.74	4.20	0.77
Provide information that people need to make political decisions	4.04	0.78	4.04	0.78
Monitor and scrutinize business organizations	4.01	0.78	4.01	0.80
Monitor and scrutinize government	4.00	0.81	3.98	0.80
Expose social abuses	3.91	0.81	3.85	0.80
Stand up for the disadvantaged	3.87	0.81	3.83	0.81
Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems	3.80	0.80	3.82	0.83
Monitor and scrutinize civil society organizations	3.79	0.76	3.81	0.74
Motivate people to get socially involved	3.64	0.86	3.71	0.88
Give ordinary people a chance to express their views	3.48	0.97	3.40	0.97
Get information to the public quickly	3.42	0.90	3.32	1.05
Concentrate on bringing the latest news	3.05	0.81	2.95	0.93
Provide entertainment and relaxation	2.56	0.94	2.54	0.96
Concentrate on news that will sell	2.47	1.00	2.38	1.08
Make as many stories as possible each day	2.41	1.01	2.37	1.03
Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens	2.02	1.00	2.08	1.10
Overall Mean	3.51	0.86	3.49	0.89

No significant differences (ANOVA; $p < .05$).

Table 5 Mean and SD of the future importance of tasks for professional journalists separated by region

Tasks	North	Central	East	South East	South West	West	SD
a. Get information to the public quickly*	3,08	3,28	3,82	3,60	3,44	3,38	0,23
b. Stay away from stories that cannot be verified*	4,24	4,34	4,40	3,97	4,29	3,92	0,18
c. Monitor and scrutinize government*	4,10	4,11	3,74	4,06	4,05	4,22	0,15
d. Stand up for the disadvantaged*	3,87	3,84	3,94	3,88	3,89	4,15	0,10
e. Provide entertainment and relaxation	2,47	2,60	2,59	2,57	2,61	2,61	0,05
f. Expose social abuses	3,90	3,90	3,85	3,87	3,99	4,10	0,09
g. Make as many stories as possible each day*	2,06	2,13	3,04	2,75	2,47	2,26	0,35
h. Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs*	4,38	4,39	3,88	4,03	4,42	3,93	0,23
i. Monitor and scrutinize business organizations*	4,35	4,17	3,50	3,90	4,11	4,23	0,28
j. Give ordinary people a chance to express their views*	3,55	3,31	3,66	3,59	3,54	3,44	0,11
k. Concentrate on news that will sell*	2,43	2,45	2,75	2,46	2,33	2,48	0,13
l. Provide information that people need to make political decisions*	4,21	4,20	3,76	4,07	4,12	4,05	0,15
m. Concentrate on bringing the latest news*	2,88	2,84	3,25	3,37	3,03	3,23	0,20
n. Provide in-depth background information*	4,50	4,52	3,87	4,12	4,39	4,08	0,24
o. Monitor and scrutinize civil society organizations*	3,94	3,90	3,61	3,75	3,85	4,05	0,14
p. Motivate people to get socially involved*	3,77	3,65	3,91	3,79	3,59	3,74	0,10
q. Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens	1,96	2,13	2,16	2,13	1,92	2,21	0,11
r. Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems*	4,04	3,94	3,98	3,79	3,67	3,66	0,15
Total (corrected)	3,54	3,54	3,54	3,54	3,54	3,54	

*Significant differences (ANOVA; $p < .05$) See next page.

Outcomes ANOVA -test (N= ca 1010; df=5)

	F	Sig.
a. Get information to the public quickly	11,810	0,000
b. Stay away from stories that cannot be verified	5,885	0,000
c. Monitor and scrutinize government	5,645	0,000
d. Stand up for the disadvantaged	2,220	0,050
g. Make as many stories as possible each day	26,293	0,000
h. Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs	17,730	0,000
i. Monitor and scrutinize business organizations	21,610	0,000
j. Give ordinary people a chance to express their views	3,644	0,003
k. Concentrate on news that will sell	3,152	0,008
l. Provide information that people need to make political decisions	7,018	0,000
m. Concentrate on bringing the latest news	11,648	0,000
n. Provide in-depth background information	21,609	0,000
o. Monitor and scrutinize civil society organizations	5,174	0,000
p. Motivate people to get socially involved	3,404	0,005
r. Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems	6,781	0,000

Appendix 3 Position and Background characteristics

Table 1 Mean and SD of the position of journalists separated by gender

Position A journalist <u>should</u> ...	Male (N=539)		Female (N=465)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
be transparent about the working process*	4.40	0.70	4.51	0.65
not let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting*	3.89	1.03	4.07	0.93
be a detached observer	3.87	1.01	3.87	1.01
mirror reality as it is	3.87	0.98	4.00	0.93
report about positive developments in society	3.84	0.80	3.88	0.86
monitor and scrutinize the reporting of other news media	3.69	0.89	3.68	0.98
let facts speak for themselves	3.62	1.03	3.78	1.04
remain strictly impartial	3.60	1.09	3.65	1.02
be a neutral disseminator of information	3.50	1.04	3.50	1.01
promote social change*	3.40	0.90	3.67	0.91
influence public opinion	3.08	0.96	3.20	0.94
set the socio-political agenda*	3.04	1.00	3.28	0.99
Overall Mean	3.65	0.95	3.76	0.94

*Significant difference in the scores between male and female (T-test; $p < .01$)

Outcomes of the T-test:

be transparent about the working process: $t(1011) = -2.61, p = .009$

not let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting: $t(999) = -3.05, p = .002$

promote social change: $t(1005) = -4.67, p = .000$

set the socio-political agenda: $t(1005) = -3.92, p = .000$

Table 2 Mean and SD of the position of journalists separated by age categories

Position A journalist <u>should</u> ...	Age 20-39 (N=280)		Age 40-49 (N=315)		Age 50-59 (N=287)		Age 60 and older (N=123)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
be transparent about the working process	4.43	0.69	4.50	0.69	4.45	0.64	4.39	0.72
mirror reality as it is*	4.04	0.93	3.96	0.96	3.83	0.98	3.84	0.93
not let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting	4.03	0.97	4.01	0.96	3.91	1.06	3.93	0.93
be a detached observer	3.87	1.03	3.83	0.98	3.86	1.04	3.96	0.97
report about positive developments in society	3.82	0.88	3.91	0.82	3.88	0.78	3.78	0.84
let facts speak for themselves	3.77	1.05	3.71	1.04	3.60	1.04	3.69	1.02
remain strictly impartial	3.69	1.10	3.61	1.04	3.54	1.03	3.69	1.09
promote social change*	3.64	0.90	3.63	0.92	3.37	0.88	3.37	0.94
monitor and scrutinize the reporting of other news media	3.62	0.93	3.72	0.94	3.69	0.93	3.73	0.91
be a neutral disseminator of information	3.55	1.04	3.58	0.98	3.42	1.05	3.39	1.03
set the socio-political agenda	3.26	1.00	3.11	0.96	3.10	1.01	3.13	1.05
influence public opinion	3.18	0.99	3.11	0.96	3.15	0.88	3.07	1.00
Overall Mean	3.74	0.96	3.72	0.94	3.65	0.94	3.66	0.95

*Significant difference in the scores between the age categories (ANOVA; $p < .05$)

Outcomes of the ANOVA-test:

Mirror reality as it is: $F(3, 992)=2.93, p=.033$

Promote social change: $F(3, 1003)=6.79, p=.000$

Table 3 Mean and SD of the position of journalists separated by educational degree

Position A journalist should...	PhD (N=365)		Master (N=442)		Bachelor (N=121)		Other (N=77)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Be transparent about the working process	4.43	0.72	4.49	0.62	4.48	0.67	4.32	0.81
Not let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting	4.01	0.98	3.91	1.02	3.97	0.98	4.20	0.82
Mirror reality as it is*	3.81	1.07	3.95	0.90	4.03	0.85	4.22	0.78
Be a detached observer*	3.80	1.04	3.84	1.00	3.98	0.94	4.18	0.94
Promote social change*	3.79	0.87	3.34	0.91	3.30	0.87	3.72	0.84
Report about positive developments in society*	3.77	0.90	3.91	0.77	4.01	0.78	3.78	0.83
Monitor and scrutinize the reporting of other news media*	3.73	0.97	3.74	0.86	3.45	0.99	3.51	0.94
Let facts speak for themselves	3.65	1.07	3.66	1.02	3.83	0.95	3.87	1.11
Remain strictly impartial*	3.64	1.04	3.56	1.05	3.55	1.06	3.99	1.13
Be a neutral disseminator of information	3.42	1.04	3.53	1.00	3.53	1.05	3.66	1.04
Influence public opinion*	3.39	0.86	3.02	0.96	2.88	0.91	2.99	1.15
Set the socio-political agenda*	3.38	0.94	3.06	1.01	2.84	0.97	3.04	1.06
Overall Mean	3.73	0.96	3.67	0.93	3.65	0.92	3.79	0.95

*Significant difference in the scores between the educational degrees (ANOVA; $p < .05$)

Outcomes of the ANOVA-test:

Mirror reality as it is : $F(3, 992)=4.63, p=.003$

Me a detached observer: $F(3, 1005)=3.63, p=.013$

Promote social change: $F(3, 1003)=21.86, p=.000$

Report about positive developments in society: $F(3, 1008)=3.68, p=.012$

Monitor and scrutinize the reporting of other news media: $F(3, 996)=4.39, p=.004$

Remain strictly impartial: $F(3, 1002)=3.75, p=.011$

Influence public opinion: $F(3, 1004)=14.58, p=.000$

Set the socio-political agenda: $F(3, 1003)=12.38, p=.000$

Table 4 Mean and SD of the position of journalists separated by teaching subject

Position A journalist <u>should</u> ...	Journalism (N=641)		Other (N=419)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Be transparent about the working process	4.48	0.67	4.39	0.69
Not let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting*	4.04	0.97	3.87	1.00
Mirror reality as it is*	4.01	0.91	3.82	1.01
Report about positive developments in society	3.88	0.81	3.83	0.85
Be a detached observer	3.87	1.02	3.86	0.98
Let facts speak for themselves	3.76	1.04	3.62	1.03
Remain strictly impartial	3.64	1.06	3.60	1.04
Monitor and scrutinize the reporting of other news media	3.64	0.92	3.77	0.93
Be a neutral disseminator of information	3.53	1.02	3.47	1.03
Promote social change	3.52	0.90	3.53	0.93
Set the socio-political agenda	3.15	1.02	3.15	0.97
Influence public opinion	3.11	0.98	3.14	0.91
Overall Mean	3.72	0.94	3.67	0.95

*Significant difference in the scores between teaching subjects (T-test; $p < .01$)

Outcomes of the T-test:

Not let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting: $t(1056)=2.66, p=.008$

Mirror reality as it is: $t(829)=3.15, p=.002$

Table 5 Mean and SD of the position of journalists separated by region

Position A journalist should...	North	Central	East	South East	South West	West
a. be a detached observer*	3,69	4,00	3,84	3,81	4,03	3,84
b. promote social change*	3,48	3,29	3,91	3,90	3,60	3,48
c. remain strictly impartial*	3,43	3,49	3,94	3,72	3,77	3,75
d. influence public opinion*	3,39	3,15	3,45	3,34	2,79	3,21
e. be a neutral disseminator of information*	3,31	3,53	3,47	3,58	3,66	3,70
f. set the socio-political agenda*	3,34	3,32	3,54	3,24	2,79	3,00
g. mirror reality as it is*	3,60	4,00	4,18	3,91	4,12	3,73
h. report about positive developments in society*	4,14	4,01	3,29	3,82	4,02	3,98
i. not let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting*	4,01	3,81	4,09	3,97	4,26	3,88
j. be transparent about the working process*	4,73	4,70	4,05	4,17	4,58	4,38
k. let facts speak for themselves*	3,62	3,62	3,94	3,84	3,74	3,90
l. monitor and scrutinize the reporting of other news media*	4,15	3,96	3,18	3,59	3,53	4,03
Total (corrected)	3,74	3,74	3,74	3,74	3,74	3,74

*=Significant differences (ANOVA-test; $p < .05$)

Outcomes ANOVA -test (df=5; $p < .05$)

	F	Sig
a. be a detached observer	2,862	0,014
b. promote social change	15,581	0,000
c. remain strictly impartial	5,944	0,000
d. influence public opinion	14,361	0,000
e. be a neutral disseminator of information	2,642	0,022
f. set the socio-political agenda	15,405	0,000
g. mirror reality as it is	8,072	0,000
h. report about positive developments in society	20,838	0,000
i. not let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting	6,727	0,000
j. be transparent about the working process	28,380	0,000
k. let facts speak for themselves	2,903	0,013
l. monitor and scrutinize the reporting of other news media	26,153	0,000

Appendix 4 Ethics and Background Characteristics

Table 1 Ethics and Gender

Ethics	Male (N=533)		Female (N=461)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
a. Reveal confidential sources	1,83	1,07	1,91	1,05
b. Claim to be somebody else	2,41	1,14	2,30	1,07
c. Use hidden microphones and cameras	2,95	1,06	2,90	1,02
d. Pay people for confidential information	2,08	1,02	2,08	1,00
e. Get employed in an organization to get inside information	3,24	1,05	3,17	1,02
f. Use confidential government documents without authorization*	3,47	1,12	3,05	1,13
g. Use personal documents without permission*	2,50	1,07	2,11	0,96
h. Exert pressure on unwilling informants to get a story*	2,05	0,98	1,86	0,89
i. Agree to protect confidentiality but not doing so.	1,42	0,75	1,40	0,63
j. Use re-creation/dramatizations of news by actors without mention	1,59	0,82	1,58	0,83
k. Publish a story with unverified content	1,40	0,71	1,38	0,66
l. Accept money from sources	1,22	0,53	1,26	0,53
m. Alter photographs substantially	1,32	0,65	1,28	0,54
n. Alter quotes from sources substantially	1,34	0,68	1,28	0,53
o. Use copyrighted material without permission*	1,84	0,98	1,57	0,76
p. Reveal the truth, no matter the consequences*	3,15	1,20	2,87	1,13
Overall Mean	2,11	0,93	2,00	0,86

*Significant differences (T-test; $p < .01$).

Outcomes of the T-test:

f. Use confidential government documents without authorization: $t(986)=5.85$, $p=.000$

g. Use personal documents without permission: $t(970)=5.95$, $p=.000$

h. Exert pressure on unwilling informants to get a story: $t(988)=3.15$, $p=.002$

o. Use copyrighted material without permission: $t(984)=4.81$, $p=.000$

p. Reveal the truth, no matter the consequences: $t(980)=3.70$, $p=.000$

Table 2 Ethics and Age

Ethics	20-39		40-49		50-59		60+	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
a. Reveal confidential sources	1,86	,99	1,96	1,13	1,78	1,04	1,82	1,07
b. Claim to be somebody else*	2,55	1,14	2,33	1,10	2,30	1,09	2,15	1,07
c. Use hidden microphones and cameras	3,00	1,03	2,89	1,08	2,95	1,00	2,81	1,06
d. Pay people for confidential information	2,19	1,07	2,09	1,02	1,99	0,92	2,02	1,02
e. Get employed in an organization to get inside information	3,29	1,02	3,14	1,03	3,24	1,03	3,10	1,07
f. Use confidential government documents without authorization*	3,08	1,19	3,28	1,12	3,39	1,09	3,41	1,16
g. Use personal documents without permission	2,26	1,05	2,40	1,07	2,33	1,00	2,22	1,02
h. Exert pressure on unwilling informants to get a story	1,97	,92	1,89	0,94	1,95	0,94	2,09	1,01
i. Agree to protect confidentiality but not doing so.	1,45	,74	1,44	0,69	1,36	0,66	1,37	0,69
j. Use re-creations or dramatizations of news by actors without mention*	1,78	1,03	1,50	0,75	1,49	0,71	1,58	0,70
k. Publish a story with unverified content	1,43	,78	1,40	0,68	1,33	0,60	1,43	0,67
l. Accept money from sources*	1,32	,67	1,22	0,49	1,18	0,41	1,22	0,51
m. Alter photographs substantially	1,33	,66	1,27	0,54	1,31	0,62	1,30	0,57
n. Alter quotes from sources substantially	1,35	,68	1,26	0,52	1,31	0,63	1,34	0,67
o. Use copyrighted material without permission	1,77	,98	1,72	0,89	1,67	0,84	1,65	0,82
p. Reveal the truth, no matter the consequences	3,00	1,17	3,06	1,17	2,98	1,20	3,10	1,18
Overall Mean	2,10	0,94	2,05	0,89	2,04	0,86	2,04	0,89

*=Significant differences (ANOVA-test; $p < .05$)

Outcomes ANOVA -test:

b. Claim to be somebody else: $F(3, 981)=4.46, p=.004$

f. Use confidential government documents without authorization: $F(3, 984)=4.27, p=.005$

j. Use re-creations or dramatizations of news by actors without mention: $F(3, 987)=7.55, p=.000$

l. Accept money from sources: $F(3, 998)=3.15, p=.024$

Table 3 Ethics and Degree

Ethics	PhD		Master		Bachelor	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
a. Reveal confidential sources*	2,02	1,10	1,79	1,03	1,69	0,98
b. Claim to be somebody else	2,38	1,14	2,37	1,09	2,36	1,13
c. Use hidden microphones and cameras	2,83	1,06	2,97	1,04	3,04	1,01
d. Pay people for confidential information*	2,20	1,02	1,98	0,98	2,03	0,99
e. Get employed in an organization to get inside information	3,13	1,04	3,26	1,02	3,24	1,08
f. Use confidential government documents without authorization*	3,11	1,17	3,40	1,08	3,46	1,11
g. Use personal documents without permission*	2,16	0,98	2,41	1,06	2,55	1,08
h. Exert pressure on unwilling informants to get a story	1,94	0,95	1,95	0,94	2,13	1,03
i. Agree to protect confidentiality but not doing so.	1,45	0,72	1,39	0,68	1,36	0,72
j. Use re-creations or dramatizations of news by actors without mention*	1,72	0,91	1,49	0,75	1,52	0,81
k. Publish a story with unverified content	1,43	0,74	1,38	0,65	1,40	0,70
l. Accept money from sources	1,27	0,55	1,24	0,54	1,19	0,47
m. Alter photographs substantially	1,30	0,57	1,30	0,62	1,28	0,61
n. Alter quotes from sources substantially	1,31	0,62	1,31	0,64	1,32	0,60
o. Use copyrighted material without permission	1,73	0,93	1,72	0,90	1,75	0,85
p. Reveal the truth, no matter the consequences	2,95	1,22	3,03	1,13	3,18	1,19
Overall Mean	2,06	0,92	2,06	0,88	2,09	0,90

*=Significant differences (ANOVA-test; $p < .05$)

Outcomes ANOVA -test:

a. Reveal confidential sources: $F(2, 919)=6.50, p=.002$

d. Pay people for confidential information: $F(2, 917)=4.97, p=.007$

f. Use confidential government documents without authorization: $F(2, 908)=8.18, p=.000$

g. Use personal documents without permission: $F(2, 895)=8.59, p=.000$

j. Use re-creations or dramatizations of news by actors without mention: $F(2, 913)=7.83, p=.000$

Table 4 Ethics and Subject

Ethics	Journalism		Other	
	M	SD	M	SD
a. Reveal confidential sources*	1,76	1,04	2,05	1,10
b. Claim to be somebody else	2,35	1,13	2,36	1,09
c. Use hidden microphones and cameras	2,95	1,04	2,88	1,04
d. Pay people for confidential information*	2,02	1,01	2,19	1,01
e. Get employed in an organization to get inside information	3,23	1,04	3,16	1,02
f. Use confidential government documents without authorization*	3,41	1,14	3,07	1,12
g. Use personal documents without permission*	2,41	1,06	2,19	1,00
h. Exert pressure on unwilling informants to get a story	1,97	0,96	1,94	0,94
i. Agree to protect confidentiality but not doing so	1,39	0,71	1,47	0,72
j. Use re-creations or dramatizations of news by actors without mention	1,54	0,83	1,66	0,83
k. Publish a story with unverified content	1,38	0,68	1,42	0,71
l. Accept money from sources*	1,21	0,52	1,30	0,58
m. Alter photographs substantially	1,32	0,63	1,30	0,60
n. Alter quotes from sources substantially	1,34	0,66	1,29	0,59
o. Use copyrighted material without permission	1,71	0,89	1,74	0,93
p. Reveal the truth, no matter the consequences	3,07	1,18	2,98	1,18
Overall Mean	2,07	0,91	2,06	0,90

*Significant differences (T-test; $p < .01$)

Outcomes of the T-test:

a. Reveal confidential sources: $t(1026) = -4.23, p = .000$

d. Pay people for confidential information: $t(1025) = -2.63, p = .009$

f. Use confidential government documents without authorization: $t(1016) = 4.64, p = .000$

g. Use personal documents without permission: $t(867) = 3.38, p = .001$

l. Accept money from sources: $t(796) = -2.73, p = .006$

Table 5 Ethics and region

Ethics	North	Central	East	South East	South West	West
	M	M	M	M	M	M
a. Reveal confidential sources*	1,76	1,98	2,07	2,35	1,63	1,52
b. Claim to be somebody else*	2,70	2,44	2,17	2,41	2,17	2,30
c. Use hidden microphones and cameras*	3,21	2,98	2,71	2,71	2,81	3,28
d. Pay people for confidential information*	1,83	2,11	2,49	2,21	1,84	2,37
e. Get employed in an organization to get inside information*	3,33	3,42	3,11	3,04	2,96	3,40
f. Use confidential government documents without authorization	3,61	3,45	2,44	2,91	3,47	3,42
g. Use personal documents without permission*	2,51	2,44	1,86	2,19	2,43	2,25
h. Exert pressure on unwilling informants to get a story	2,10	1,95	1,82	2,04	1,94	1,98
i. Agree to protect confidentiality but not doing so*	1,26	1,40	1,62	1,65	1,39	1,24
j. Use re-creations or dramatizations of news by actors without mention*	1,50	1,56	1,96	1,82	1,36	1,63
k. Publish a story with unverified content*	1,55	1,43	1,49	1,54	1,15	1,42
l. Accept money from sources*	1,15	1,24	1,54	1,27	1,11	1,30
m. Alter photographs substantially*	1,32	1,36	1,43	1,42	1,16	1,25
n. Alter quotes from sources substantially*	1,34	1,32	1,47	1,41	1,21	1,20
o. Use copyrighted material without permission*	1,78	1,86	1,60	1,66	1,63	1,69
p. Reveal the truth, no matter the consequences*	2,92	3,04	2,41	3,19	3,26	3,30
Overall Mean	2,12	2,12	2,01	2,11	1,97	2,10

*=Significant differences (ANOVA-test; $p < .05$)

Outcomes ANOVA -test:

- a. Reveal confidential sources: $F(5, 1022)=11.22, p=.000$
- b. Claim to be somebody else: $F(5, 1009)=5.38, p=.000$
- c. Use hidden microphones and cameras: $F(5, 1010)=6.87, p=.000$
- d. Pay people for confidential information: $F(5, 1021)=11.31, p=.000$
- e. Get employed in an organization to get inside information: $F(5, 1016)=7.54, p=.000$
- f. Use confidential government documents without authorization: $F(5, 1012)=24.53, p=.000$
- g. Use personal documents without permission: $F(5, 997)=8.41, p=.000$
- i. Agree to protect confidentiality but not doing so: $F(5, 1032)=7.45, p=.000$
- j. Use re-creations or dramatizations of news by actors without mention: $F(5, 1015)=12.21, p=.000$
- k. Publish a story with unverified content: $F(5, 1028)=9.93, p=.000$
- l. Accept money from sources: $F(5, 1026)=13.20, p=.000$
- m. Alter photographs substantially: $F(5, 1025)=5.85, p=.000$
- n. Alter quotes from sources substantially: $F(5, 1025)=4.41, p=.001$
- o. Use copyrighted material without permission: $F(5, 1020)=2.77, p=.017$
- p. Reveal the truth, no matter the consequences: $F(5, 1006)=11.41, p=.000$

Appendix 5 Directions and Background Characteristics

Table 1 Directions and Gender

Developments	Male		Female	
	M	SD	M	SD
a. more about social responsibility and less about earning money*	3,98	,826	4,11	,815
b. more about ordinary people and less about the ruling elites	3,54	,928	3,55	,972
c. more about long term issues and less about the events of the day	3,96	,831	3,82	,955
d. more about solutions and less about problems	3,43	,953	3,54	,966
e. more about consensus and less about conflict	2,98	,997	3,13	,956
f. more about what's next and less about what happened	3,17	,955	3,11	,892
g. more about interacting with audiences and less about one-way sending	3,63	,959	3,72	,949
h. more about getting the whole story and less about trying to be first*	4,25	,777	4,37	,703
i. more about successes and less about failures	3,02	,891	3,08	,846
j. more about renewing journalistic content and less about new technology	3,71	,912	3,76	,868
Overall Mean	3,57	0,90	3,62	0,89

*Significant differences (T-test; $p < .01$)

Outcomes of the T-test:

a. more about social responsibility and less about earning money: $t(1003) = -2.57$, $p = .010$

h. more about getting the whole story and less about trying to be first: $t(1009) = -2.65$, $p = .008$

Table 2 Directions and Age

Developments	20-39		40-49		50-59		60+	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
a. more about social responsibility and less about earning money	4,06	,813	4,04	,855	4,02	,801	3,99	,825
b. more about ordinary people and less about the ruling elites	3,63	,927	3,54	,980	3,46	,941	3,56	,922
c. more about long term issues and less about the events of the day	3,83	,936	3,90	,905	3,99	,806	3,80	,946
d. more about solutions and less about problems	3,52	,950	3,47	,942	3,51	,988	3,37	,970
e. more about consensus and less about conflict	3,10	1,004	3,08	,953	3,01	1,000	2,93	,946
f. more about what's next and less about what happened	3,20	,969	3,07	,907	3,14	,933	3,16	,856
g. more about interacting with audiences and less about one-way sending	3,76	,921	3,68	,973	3,59	,960	3,67	,972
h. more about getting the whole story and less about trying to be first	4,35	,692	4,31	,759	4,30	,710	4,17	,890
i. more about successes and less about failures	3,05	,875	3,09	,862	3,02	,880	2,99	,867
j. more about renewing journalistic content and less about new technology*	3,61	,961	3,72	,909	3,85	,797	3,80	,865
Overall Mean	3,61	0,90	3,59	0,90	3,59	0,88	3,54	0,91

*=Significant differences (ANOVA-test; $p < .05$)

Outcomes ANOVA -test:

j. more about renewing journalistic content and less about new technology: $F(3, 988)=3.64, p=.013$

Table 3 Directions and Degree

Developments	PhD		Master		Bachelor	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
a. more about social responsibility and less about earning money*	4,21	,775	3,89	,865	3,93	,753
b. more about ordinary people and less about the ruling elites*	3,64	,982	3,40	,893	3,58	,984
c. more about long term issues and less about the events of the day	3,93	,893	3,88	,889	3,74	,916
d. more about solutions and less about problems	3,51	,936	3,42	,961	3,52	1,014
e. more about consensus and less about conflict*	3,14	1,043	2,98	,926	2,94	,994
f. more about what's next and less about what happened	3,15	,910	3,13	,937	3,20	,958
g. more about interacting with audiences and less about one-way sending	3,73	,956	3,63	,967	3,67	,949
h. more about getting the whole story and less about trying to be first	4,32	,751	4,30	,703	4,25	,829
i. more about successes and less about failures	3,09	,857	3,02	,853	3,03	,921
j. more about renewing journalistic content and less about new technology*	3,83	,896	3,70	,851	3,54	1,036
Overall Mean	3,65	0,90	3,53	0,88	3,54	0,94

*=Significant differences (ANOVA-test; $p < .05$)

Outcomes ANOVA -test:

a. more about social responsibility and less about earning money: $F(2, 925)=16.12, p=.000$

b. more about ordinary people and less about the ruling elites: $F(2, 929)=6.95, p=.001$

e. more about consensus and less about conflict: $F(2, 924)=3.46, p=.032$

j. more about renewing journalistic content and less about new technology: $F(2, 913)=4.87, p=.008$

Table 4 Directions and Subject

Developments	Journalism		Other	
	M	SD	M	SD
a. more about social responsibility and less about earning money	3,99	,844	4,09	,795
b. more about ordinary people and less about the ruling elites	3,59	,951	3,48	,935
c. more about long term issues and less about the events of the day*	3,83	,901	3,98	,878
d. more about solutions and less about problems	3,43	,968	3,56	,937
e. more about consensus and less about conflict*	2,97	,960	3,17	,992
f. more about what's next and less about what happened	3,13	,938	3,16	,902
g. more about interacting with audiences and less about one-way sending	3,71	,959	3,62	,944
h. more about getting the whole story and less about trying to be first	4,27	,781	4,34	,693
i. more about successes and less about failures	3,00	,850	3,14	,900
j. more about renewing journalistic content and less about new technology	3,72	,900	3,76	,886
Overall Mean	3,56	0,91	3,63	0,89

*Significant differences (T-test; $p < .01$)

Outcomes of the T-test:

c. more about long term issues and less about the events of the day: $t(1022) = -2.68$, $p = .008$

e. more about consensus and less about conflict: $t(848) = -3.31$, $p = .001$

Table 5 Directions and Regions

	North	Central	East	South East	South West	West
a. more about social responsibility and less about earning money*	4,03	3,93	4,23	4,34	3,92	4,03
b. more about ordinary people and less about the ruling elites*	3,27	3,25	3,92	3,89	3,67	3,59
c. more about long term issues and less about the events of the day	4,01	4,07	3,53	3,90	3,97	3,35
d. more about solutions and less about problems	3,55	3,48	3,76	3,65	3,30	3,25
e. more about consensus and less about conflict*	3,03	3,01	3,53	3,34	2,85	2,65
f. more about what's next and less about what happened	3,27	3,19	3,23	3,29	3,00	2,79
g. more about interacting with audiences and less about one-way sending	3,67	3,62	3,88	3,99	3,59	3,35
h. more about getting the whole story and less about trying to be first	4,39	4,39	4,23	4,37	4,21	4,12
i. more about successes and less about failures	3,06	3,02	3,09	3,19	3,08	2,81
j. more about renewing journalistic content and less about new technology*	3,91	3,69	3,64	3,76	3,73	3,74
Overall Mean	3,62	3,56	3,70	3,77	3,53	3,37

*=Significant differences (ANOVA-test; $p < .05$)

Outcomes ANOVA -test:

a. more about social responsibility and less about earning money: $F(2, 925)=16.12, p=.000$

b. more about ordinary people and less about the ruling elites: $F(2, 929)=6.95, p=.001$

e. more about consensus and less about conflict: $F(2, 924)=3.46, p=.032$

j. more about renewing journalistic content and less about new technology: $F(2, 913)=4.87, p=.008$

Appendix 6 Qualifications and background characteristics

Table 1 Qualifications and Gender

Qualifications	Male (N=534)		Female (N=462)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
a. Have a commitment to democratic society	3.83	0.79	3.88	0.78
b. Link the local with the national and the global*	3.92	0.71	4.10	0.69
c. Know current events and their context	4.05	0.70	4.10	0.72
d. Discover newsworthy issues on the basis of in-depth research	4.16	0.68	4.21	0.65
e. Work under time pressure	3.12	0.93	3.13	0.91
f. Organize contributions from the public*	3.48	0.86	3.62	0.81
g. Have a wide general knowledge	3.97	0.82	4.07	0.78
h. Have a more specialized knowledge in a field	3.89	0.77	4.00	0.74
i. Be able to find multiple perspectives on an issue*	4.06	0.70	4.25	0.67
j. Be able to evaluate sources*	4.19	0.71	4.35	0.66
k. Interact with the public	3.73	0.85	3.81	0.80
l. Select information on the basis of reliability*	4.06	0.72	4.19	0.70
m. Select information on the basis of relevance	3.96	0.72	4.03	0.72
n. Use different types of story-telling techniques	4.05	0.79	4.02	0.77
o. Make journalistic use of technology	4.03	0.80	4.04	0.75
p. Present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals	4.01	0.83	4.06	0.76
q. Take responsibility for the choices you made during the process*	3.97	0.76	4.10	0.75
r. Take responsibility for the impact of your product*	3.88	0.79	4.01	0.78
s. Be able to recognize market opportunities	3.43	0.84	3.54	0.87
t. Be able to develop new products/formats	3.82	0.83	3.89	0.79
u. Reflect on the future of journalism	3.86	0.84	3.92	0.78
v. Provide workable solutions for complex practical issues that professional journalism faces	3.85	0.74	3.96	0.72
Overall Mean	3.88	0.78	3.97	0.75

*Significant differences (T-test; $p < .01$)

Outcomes of the T-test:

b. Link the local with the national and the global: $t(994) = -3.97, p = .000$

f. Organize contributions from the public: $t(955) = -2.66, p = .008$

i. Be able to find multiple perspectives on an issue: $t(997) = -4.52, p = .000$

j. Be able to evaluate sources: $t(1004) = -3.69, p = .000$

l. Select information on the basis of reliability: $t(998) = -2.91, p = .004$

q. Take responsibility for the choices you made during the process: $t(995) = -2.74, p = .006$

r. Take responsibility for the impact of your product: $t(999) = -2.74, p = .006$

Table 2 Qualifications and Age

Qualifications	20-39 (N=278)		40-49 (N=312)		50-59 (N=282)		60 + (N=123)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
a. Have a commitment to democratic society	3.78	0.79	3.88	0.80	3.83	0.78	3.95	0.74
b. Link the local with the national and the global	4.05	0.70	4.05	0.72	3.91	0.71	4.03	0.65
c. Know current events and their context	4.10	0.70	4.08	0.74	4.00	0.70	4.17	0.65
d. Discover newsworthy issues on the basis of in-depth research	4.20	0.67	4.19	0.67	4.14	0.69	4.24	0.59
e. Work under time pressure	3.10	0.92	3.11	0.95	3.11	0.88	3.24	0.92
f. Organize contributions from the public*	3.66	0.83	3.52	0.83	3.48	0.82	3.47	0.92
g. Have a wide general knowledge	3.96	0.83	3.97	0.82	4.05	0.79	4.18	0.74
h. Have a more specialized knowledge in a field	3.96	0.77	3.95	0.75	3.90	0.79	3.95	0.66
i. Be able to find multiple perspectives on an issue	4.20	0.67	4.18	0.70	4.06	0.72	4.14	0.66
j. Be able to evaluate sources	4.30	0.63	4.28	0.70	4.24	0.73	4.17	0.72
k. Interact with the public*	3.88	0.76	3.76	0.85	3.65	0.88	3.81	0.77
l. Select information on the basis of reliability	4.18	0.67	4.11	0.76	4.11	0.69	4.04	0.71
m. Select information on the basis of relevance	4.00	0.67	4.00	0.75	3.94	0.74	4.04	0.69
n. Use different types of story-telling techniques	4.03	0.80	4.08	0.76	4.00	0.78	4.02	0.77
o. Make journalistic use of technology	4.10	0.77	4.06	0.77	4.00	0.76	3.90	0.80
p. Present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals	4.11	0.81	4.01	0.79	3.99	0.80	4.00	0.78
q. Take responsibility for the choices you made during the process*	4.17	0.74	4.00	0.78	3.92	0.74	4.02	0.72
r. Take responsibility for the impact of your product*	4.10	0.76	3.87	0.79	3.86	0.80	3.93	0.71
s. Be able to recognize market opportunities*	3.69	0.82	3.46	0.83	3.30	0.85	3.50	0.90
t. Be able to develop new products/formats*	4.00	0.81	3.84	0.83	3.75	0.81	3.75	0.74
u. Reflect on the future of journalism	3.87	0.86	3.91	0.80	3.86	0.78	3.94	0.78
v. Provide workable solutions for complex practical issues that professional journalism faces	3.93	0.72	3.93	0.72	3.81	0.78	3.94	0.67
Overall Mean	3.97	0.76	3.92	0.78	3.86	0.77	3.93	0.74

*=Significant differences (ANOVA-test; $p < .05$)

Outcomes ANOVA -test:

f. Organize contributions from the public: $F(3, 953)=2.65, p=.048$

k. Interact with the public: $F(3, 1001)=3.87, p=.009$

q. Take responsibility for the choices you made during the process: $F(3, 993)=5.54, p=.001$

r. Take responsibility for the impact of your product: $F(3, 997)=5.83, p=.001$

s. Be able to recognize market opportunities: $F(3, 967)=10.35, p=.000$

t. Be able to develop new products/formats: $F(3, 984)=5.30, p=.001$

Table 3 Qualifications and Degree

Qualifications	PhD (N=361)		Master (N=438)		Bachelor (N=120)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
a. Have a commitment to democratic society*	3.97	0.80	3.77	0.77	3.76	0.76
b. Link the local with the national and the global*	4.15	0.69	3.91	0.68	3.87	0.75
c. Know current events and their context*	4.13	0.71	3.99	0.70	4.03	0.69
d. Discover newsworthy issues on the basis of in-depth research	4.23	0.72	4.14	0.62	4.12	0.68
e. Work under time pressure	3.19	0.93	3.04	0.91	3.13	0.88
f. Organize contributions from the public*	3.66	0.80	3.44	0.81	3.51	0.95
g. Have a wide general knowledge	4.04	0.83	3.94	0.79	3.98	0.80
h. Have a more specialized knowledge in a field*	4.01	0.78	3.88	0.72	3.84	0.77
i. Be able to find multiple perspectives on an issue	4.19	0.73	4.10	0.66	4.07	0.68
j. Be able to evaluate sources*	4.32	0.70	4.23	0.67	4.08	0.72
k. Interact with the public*	3.86	0.82	3.69	0.82	3.79	0.86
l. Select information on the basis of reliability*	4.18	0.70	4.02	0.69	4.17	0.73
m. Select information on the basis of relevance*	4.04	0.74	3.91	0.68	4.03	0.73
n. Use different types of story-telling techniques	4.02	0.77	4.03	0.78	4.13	0.73
o. Make journalistic use of technology*	4.09	0.78	3.96	0.79	4.08	0.73
p. Present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals	4.06	0.78	3.98	0.84	4.08	0.72
q. Take responsibility for the choices you made during the process*	4.09	0.78	3.96	0.73	3.96	0.76
r. Take responsibility for the impact of your product	3.99	0.82	3.86	0.76	3.92	0.75
s. Be able to recognize market opportunities	3.54	0.86	3.45	0.86	3.36	0.86
t. Be able to develop new products/formats	3.91	0.82	3.80	0.80	3.79	0.88
u. Reflect on the future of journalism	3.88	0.83	3.88	0.79	3.87	0.80
v. Provide workable solutions for complex practical issues that professional journalism faces	3.95	0.77	3.88	0.71	3.82	0.75
Overall Mean	3.98	0.78	3.86	0.75	3.88	0.77

*=Significant differences (ANOVA-test; $p < .05$)

Outcomes ANOVA -test:

a. Have a commitment to democratic society: $F(2, 910)=7.21, p=.001$

b. Link the local with the national and the global: $F(2, 918)=14.05, p=.000$

c. Know current events and their context: $F(2, 927)=3.90, p=.021$

f. Organize contributions from the public: $F(2, 880)=6.66, p=.001$

h. Have a more specialized knowledge in a field: $F(2, 922)=3.73, p=.024$

j. Be able to evaluate sources: $F(2, 927)=5.56, p=.004$

k. Interact with the public: $F(2, 925)=4.22, p=.015$

l. Select information on the basis of reliability: $F(2, 921)=5.55, p=.004$

m. Select information on the basis of relevance: $F(2, 924)=3.97, p=.019$

o. Make journalistic use of technology: $F(2, 921)=3.01, p=.050$

q. Take responsibility for the choices you made during the process: $F(2, 917)=3.31, p=.037$

Table 4 Qualifications and Subject

Qualifications	Journalism (N=603)		Other (N=394)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
a. Have a commitment to democratic society	3.82	0.78	3.90	0.80
b. Link the local with the national and the global	3.99	0.73	4.03	0.67
c. Know current events and their context	4.06	0.69	4.08	0.73
d. Discover newsworthy issues on the basis of in-depth research	4.17	0.66	4.20	0.67
e. Work under time pressure	3.16	0.90	3.06	0.95
f. Organize contributions from the public	3.54	0.85	3.54	0.83
g. Have a wide general knowledge	4.03	0.77	3.99	0.86
h. Have a more specialized knowledge in a field	3.91	0.76	3.99	0.74
i. Be able to find multiple perspectives on an issue	4.15	0.69	4.13	0.70
j. Be able to evaluate sources	4.25	0.69	4.28	0.69
k. Interact with the public	3.81	0.82	3.71	0.84
l. Select information on the basis of reliability	4.13	0.72	4.10	0.70
m. Select information on the basis of relevance	3.98	0.72	4.01	0.72
n. Use different types of story-telling techniques*	4.14	0.75	3.87	0.80
o. Make journalistic use of technology*	4.13	0.74	3.89	0.81
p. Present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals*	4.11	0.79	3.90	0.80
q. Take responsibility for the choices you made during the process	4.03	0.76	4.02	0.75
r. Take responsibility for the impact of your product	3.91	0.79	3.97	0.78
s. Be able to recognize market opportunities	3.51	0.87	3.44	0.83
t. Be able to develop new products/formats*	3.91	0.80	3.76	0.82
u. Reflect on the future of journalism	3.90	0.83	3.87	0.77
v. Provide workable solutions for complex practical issues that professional journalism faces	3.94	0.74	3.83	0.72
Overall Mean	3.94	0.77	3.89	0.77

*Significant differences (T-test; $p < .01$)

Outcomes of the T-test:

n. Use different types of story-telling techniques: $t(995)=5.31, p=.000$

o. Make journalistic use of technology: $t(1000)=4.76, p=.000$

p. Present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals: $t(1000)=4.06, p=.000$

t. Be able to develop new products/formats: $t(988)=2.68, p=.008$

Table 5 Qualifications and Region

Qualifications	North	Central	East	South East	South West	West
a. Have a commitment to democratic society*	3,83	3,76	3,64	4,39	3,83	3,87
b. Link the local with the national and the global*	3,92	3,82	4,19	4,30	4,05	4,00
c. Know current events and their context*	3,89	3,84	4,11	4,32	4,24	4,25
d. Discover newsworthy issues on the basis of in-depth research*	4,08	4,06	4,13	4,42	4,28	4,24
e. Work under time pressure*	2,96	3,01	3,27	3,64	2,98	3,30
f. Organize contributions from the public*	3,34	3,37	3,96	3,90	3,52	3,36
g. Have a wide general knowledge*	3,72	3,78	4,28	4,22	4,10	4,36
h. Have a more specialized knowledge in a field*	3,91	3,79	4,05	4,16	3,96	3,96
i. Be able to find multiple perspectives on an issue*	4,02	4,00	4,35	4,29	4,20	4,15
j. Be able to evaluate sources*	4,22	4,09	4,36	4,40	4,34	4,29
k. Interact with the public*	3,65	3,60	4,04	4,10	3,70	3,88
l. Select information on the basis of reliability*	4,02	3,95	4,32	4,30	4,16	4,14
m. Select information on the basis of relevance*	3,84	3,83	4,11	4,16	4,12	3,96
n. Use different types of story-telling techniques*	3,81	3,88	3,92	4,32	4,18	4,30
o. Make journalistic use of technology*	3,86	3,88	4,16	4,38	4,08	4,08
p. Present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals*	3,90	3,84	4,12	4,30	4,10	4,20
q. Take responsibility for the choices you made during the process*	3,82	3,83	4,36	4,19	4,08	4,10
r. Take responsibility for the impact of your product*	3,59	3,78	4,24	4,20	4,00	3,96
s. Be able to recognize market opportunities*	3,08	3,33	3,91	3,82	3,50	3,43
t. Be able to develop new products/formats*	3,60	3,73	4,09	4,13	3,90	3,73
u. Reflect on the future of journalism*	3,69	3,84	3,65	4,13	4,02	4,03
v. Provide workable solutions for complex practical issues that professional journalism faces*	3,82	3,75	3,90	4,09	4,00	4,01
Average	3,75	3,76	4,05	4,19	3,97	3,98

*=Significant differences (ANOVA-test; $p < .05$)

Outcomes ANOVA -test:

See next page.

Outcomes ANOVA -test:

- a. Have a commitment to democratic society: $F(5, 985)=13.58, p=.000$
- b. Link the local with the national and the global: $F(5, 992)=10.99, p=.000$
- c. Know current events and their context: $F(5, 1003)=15.84, p=.000$
- d. Discover newsworthy issues on the basis of in-depth research: $F(5, 999)=6.88, p=.000$
- e. Work under time pressure: $F(5, 992)=11.60, p=.000$
- f. Organize contributions from the public: $F(5, 952)=16.46, p=.000$
- g. Have a wide general knowledge: $F(5, 1001)=17.96, p=.000$
- h. Have a more specialized knowledge in a field: $F(5, 997)=5.16, p=.000$
- i. Be able to find multiple perspectives on an issue: $F(5, 1005)=7.27, p=.000$
- j. Be able to evaluate sources: $F(5, 1002)=5.86, p=.000$
- k. Interact with the public: $F(5, 1001)=10.67, p=.000$
- l. Select information on the basis of reliability: $F(5, 996)=8.20, p=.000$
- m. Select information on the basis of relevance: $F(5, 1000)=7.72, p=.000$
- n. Use different types of story-telling techniques: $F(5, 991)=12.04, p=.000$
- o. Make journalistic use of technology: $F(5, 996)=9.22, p=.000$
- p. Present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals: $F(5, 996)=8.25, p=.000$
- q. Take responsibility for the choices you made during the process: $F(5, 993)=13.52, p=.000$
- r. Take responsibility for the impact of your product: $F(5, 997)=15.08, p=.000$
- s. Be able to recognize market opportunities: $F(5, 967)=19.52, p=.000$
- t. Be able to develop new products/formats: $F(5, 984)=9.71, p=.000$
- u. Reflect on the future of journalism: $F(5, 984)=8.07, p=.000$
- v. Provide workable solutions for complex practical issues that professional journalism faces:
 $F(5, 963)=5.44, p=.000$

Appendix 7 Clustering qualifications

Rotated Component Matrix ^a	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
l. Select information on the basis of reliability	,721				
m. Select information on the basis of relevance	,707				
i. Be able to find multiple perspectives on an issue	,666				
j. Be able to evaluate sources	,660				
h. Have a more specialized knowledge in a field	,596				
q. Take responsibility for the choices you made during the process	,569				,427
r. Take responsibility for the impact of your product	,547				,457
g. Have a wide general knowledge	,526				
o. Make journalistic use of technology		,816			
p. Present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals		,812			
n. Use different types of story-telling techniques		,752			
t. Be able to develop new products/formats		,548			,414
b. Link the local with the national and the global			,722		
a. Have a commitment to democratic society			,703		
c. Know current events and their context	,423		,652		
d. Discover newsworthy issues on the basis of in-depth research	,444		,573		
f. Organize contributions from the public				,788	
k. Interact with the public				,732	
e. Work under time pressure				,523	
s. Be able to recognize market opportunities		,416		,464	
u. Reflect on the future of journalism					,743
v. Provide workable solutions for complex practical issues					,677
LABEL	Content	Form	Society	Market	Reflection

*Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. a. Rotation converged in 7 iterations.

Appendix 8 Correlations between the positions on the four dimensions

Tabel 1. Correlations between the positions on the four dimensions

		Audience		Power		Time		Reality	
		Consumers	Citizens	Neutral	Adversarial	Fast	Slow	Mirror	Interventionist
Audience	Consumers	1,000							
	Citizens	0,023	1,000						
Power	Neutral	0,094	-0,002	1,000					
	Adversarial	-0,181*	0,443*	0,039	1,000				
Time	Fast	0,517*	0,205*	0,319*	-0,014	1,000			
	Slow	-0,253*	0,328*	0,056	0,530*	-0,123*	1,000		
Reality	Mirror	0,079	0,139*	0,613*	0,152*	0,337*	0,129*	1,000	
	Interventionist	0,187*	0,421*	-0,073	0,157*	0,217*	0,088	0,006	1,000

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.001 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 9 Principal Component Analysis (four components) for constructing roles

Table 1 Rotated Component Matrix

Rotated Component Matrix ^a	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Remain strictly impartial	,770	-,042	,098	-,003
Be a neutral disseminator of information	,729	,017	,075	-,067
Be a detached observer	,714	,019	,050	-,106
Not let personal beliefs and convictions influence reporting	,703	,035	,000	,018
Mirror reality as it is	,642	,055	,123	,035
Let facts speak for themselves	,554	,140	,124	,135
Monitor and scrutinize business organizations	-,113	,759	-,096	,074
Monitor and scrutinize civil society organizations	,044	,731	,074	,117
Monitor and scrutinize government	,071	,700	-,058	,147
Provide in-depth background information	,020	,645	-,209	,003
Provide analysis and interpretation of current affairs	,037	,627	-,054	-,005
Provide information that people need to make political decisions	,133	,539	-,156	,266
Expose social abuses	,148	,464	-,031	,457
Concentrate on news that will sell	-,053	-,148	,778	,043
Treat the public as consumers rather than citizens	,007	-,135	,730	-,027
Provide entertainment and relaxation	,010	-,073	,710	-,004
Make as many stories as possible each day	,263	-,116	,700	,169
Concentrate on bringing the latest news	,350	,068	,579	,170
Get information to the public quickly	,312	-,080	,551	,170
Promote social change	,096	-,023	,087	,752
Motivate people to get socially involved	,066	,182	-,004	,717
Point people toward possible solutions for societal problems	-,015	,193	-,091	,656
Stand up for the disadvantaged	,044	,412	-,071	,565
Influence public opinion	-,266	-,075	,220	,518
Set the socio-political agenda	-,088	-,015	,172	,491
Give ordinary people a chance to express their views	,082	,190	,242	,417

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

Component 1 Observer

Component 2 Investigator

Component 3 Disseminator

Component 4 Mobilizer

Appendix 10 Comparison of 15 qualifications 2009 - 2018

Table 1 shows the ranking of 15 qualifications that were in both the survey of 2009 and 2018.

To avoid possible misunderstanding: these are not the rankings of all the qualifications that were in these surveys, just the ones that were in both.

The qualification with the highest positive difference is: Discover newsworthy issues on the basis of in-depth research.

The qualification with the highest negative difference is: Work under time pressure.

This seems to be in line with the idea that research-based journalism is gaining importance over time, at the expense of speed-based journalism.

Table 1 Comparison of 15 qualifications: 2009 and 2018

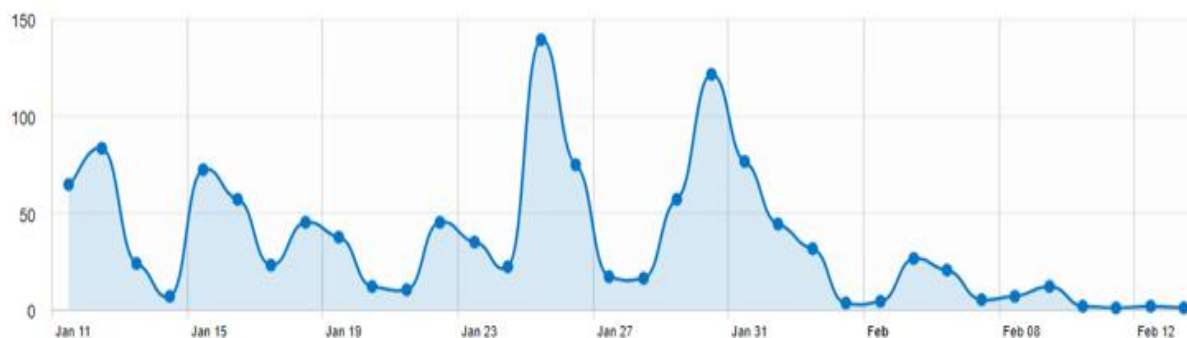
	2018	2009	Difference
Discover newsworthy issues on the basis of in-depth research	1	7	+6
Select information on the basis of reliability	2	1	-1
Know current events and their context	3	4	+1
Take responsibility for the choices you made during the process	4	6	+2
Use different types of story-telling techniques	5	8	+3
Present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals	6	10	+4
Have a wide general knowledge	7	2	-5
Have a more specialized knowledge in a field	8	12	+4
Take responsibility for the impact of your product	9	5	-4
Have a commitment to democratic society	10	11	+1
Reflect on the future of journalism	11	13	+2
Interact with the public	12	9	-3
Organize contributions from the public	13	14	+1
Be able to recognize market opportunities	14	15	+1
Work under time pressure	15	3	-12

Appendix 11 Data Collection

This study is based on data that were collected through an online questionnaire, using the Check Market Survey Tool (www.checkmarket.com). In January 2018 an online questionnaire was sent to all members of EJTA in 28 European countries. Some countries have one member, others have several members. In total the questionnaire was sent to 68 member institutes.

The link to the questionnaire became operational on January 10th 2018, 15.30 h., and stayed open for 5 weeks, until February 13th, 09.25 h. The response was measured on a daily base, and two reminders were sent out during the period of data collection (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 Response Timeline



The online questionnaire contained 20 questions in total (see Appendix 1). The main questions were about 5 issues:

1. Journalistic tasks (18 items; e.g. Get information to the public quickly)
2. Journalistic positions (12 items; e.g. Be a detached observer)
3. Ethics (16 items on disputable practices; e.g. Accept money from sources)
4. Directions (10 items on possible future directions; e.g. More about long term issues and less about the events of the day)
5. Qualifications (22 items from the EJTA Tartu Declaration; e.g. Be able to evaluate sources)

The items from the questions about tasks, positions and ethics were matched with items from similar questions in earlier research (cf. Weaver, D. H. & Willnat L. (eds.). (2012). *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century*. London/New York: Routledge. See also: <http://www.worldsofjournalism.org/>).

Furthermore, the items on journalistic tasks and journalistic positions are the ingredients for the construction of the four roles, that are central in this research.

The questionnaire was in English, French and Russian. For every of the participating 68 member institutions a coordinator was appointed. They were the key persons for spreading the link to the online questionnaire among their colleagues. Apart from that, they provided the number of teachers at their institute of journalism education, regardless of their job size or the subject they are teaching. Comparing that number to the actual response lead to an estimated response rate of 60%. In total 1193 respondents started answering the questionnaire and 1010 completed it.

